A Companion to

THE GREAT WESTERN SCHISM

(1378-1417)

Edited by

JOËLLE ROLLO-KOSTER & THOMAS M. IZBICKI

BRILL

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THE GREAT SCHISM AND THE SCHOLARLY RECORD

Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki

The Great Schism or Triple Schism (1378–1417) has a long record of historiographic opinions, many tied to confessional suppositions. The predominant opinions, however, derived from Roman Catholic circles. Conciliarists tended to emphasize not the legitimacy of one papal line, that of Rome, Avignon, or Pisa but the role of the Council of Constance (1414–18) in authoritatively reuniting the Church. Even papal apologists, beginning with the Dominican cardinal Juan de Toquemada (1388–1468), were reluctant to draw a conclusion about which line was legitimate. Such a judgment might have proven divisive, especially in the period of the Council of Basel (1431–49), which challenged a legitimately elected pope, Eugenius IV (1431–47). Torquemada argued that the decree *Haec sancta* of the Council of Constance, enacted in 1415, was not an act of a true general council, because the council only became licit when the three obediences of the Schism assembled at Constance. Torquemada admitted that Eugenius IV might have thought Gregory XII (1406–15), his uncle, was true pope; but the thrust of his argument remained that no choice between the obediences was useful to the Church.[1] Only later would this stance be changed, favoring convocation of the council by the Roman claimant, Gregory, as the legitimization of the Constance assembly by the true pope. The rewrite favoring Rome was especially the work of 19th-century Roman Catholic writers, but it predominated in most writings until the middle of the 20th century. Even then, as Francis Oakley has observed, the *Annuario pontificio* listed the Pisan popes, Alexander V (1409–10) and the first John XXIII (1410–15), as legitimate popes until 1947, during the reign of Pope Pius XII.[2]

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[1] Thomas M. Izbicki, "Papalist Reaction to the Council of Constance: Juan de Torquemada to the Present," *Church History* 55 (1986), 7–20.

[2] Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church, 1300–1870* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 254–55.

The convocation of the Second Vatican Council caused a rethinking of ideas about the origins of conciliarism, one most often associated with the work of Brian Tierney.[3] Even then, the historiography of the Schism was little affected by new currents in the field of historical ecclesiology. The most vexing problem in assessing the Schism remained that of judging the conclave that elected the archbishop of Bari, Bartolomeo Prignano, who chose to reign as Pope Urban VI (1378–89). The tumultuous situation in Rome at that time could lead scholars to judge the election of Urban coerced, legitimating the later choice of Cardinal Robert of Geneva as Pope Clement VII (1378–94). The time between the conclave in Rome and the flight of the cardinals, when they petitioned Urban for favors, could lead to the opposite conclusion, that only his violent conduct drove the Sacred College to choose a new pontiff. Until recently, the balance of the scholarship has favored the latter interpretation.[4] New approaches, including analysis of the customs surrounding papal elections, cast light even on this controversy from time immemorial.[5] This is reflected in our collection of studies.

Likewise, there are other, less "political" issues that were largely ignored by historians until much later times. The cultural and even the pastoral impacts of ecclesiastical division began being addressed in depth only on the 6th centennial of the outbreak of the Schism.[6] This need to look beyond ecclesiastical politics and polemics, as interesting as they are, to other issues is reflected too in the diversity of topics covered in our own collection. This includes taking up vernacular sources and the viewpoints of less exalted persons, to set alongside the pronouncements of theologians and jurists.[7]

Breadth of coverage is the aim throughout this collection. The time covered extends past the early years of the Schism to its termination at Constance. The broadest range of experiences is presented, center and

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[3] Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contributions of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge, 1955).

[4] The difficulty of separating fact from party plea and self interest is emphasized by John H. Smith, *The Great Schism 1378* (New York, 1970), p. 135.

[5] See, most recently, Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *Raiding Saint Peter: Empty Sees, Violence and the Initiation of the Great Schism (1378)* (Leiden, 2008).

[6] See the articles on curial society, humanism, religious sentiment, and art in *Genèse et débuts du grand schisme d'Occident: Avignon, 25–28 septembre 1978: Colloque international tenu à Avignon, 25–28 septembre 1978*, ed. Michel Hayez (Paris, 1980).

[7] See, most recently, Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, 2006).

periphery,[8] clerical and lay, male and female, Christian and Muslim. Theology, including exegesis of Scripture, diplomacy, French literature, reform, art, and finance all receive attention. The depth of the pain caused by the Schism, sundering the cherished unity of Christendom, is revealed. So too is the creativity that went first into defending a claim to the papacy and then to solving the problems that these claims had caused at every level of western European society. These are not the last words on the Great Schism, but they are contributions to the debates resulting from taking a broader view than just choosing between Rome, Avignon, and Pisa.

Joëlle Rollo-Koster initiates this collection with a review of the origin of the schism, that is, the election of Urban VI, and the issue of violence. Descriptions of civil disturbances abound in the various narratives of the Schism. After surveying the many contemporary narratives and the position of the historiography on the topic, she recontextualizes the events, looking for regularity and anomaly within the frame of the traditional practices of the Empty See. The events surrounding the initiation of the Schism offer a case study in perceptions, whether in contemporary documents or in the historiography. To a large extent, the actions of the "seditious Roman mob" exonerated the cardinals of having provoked the Schism with their double election. They claimed that they had voted in "fear" and that, as such, their election of April 1378 was void. One way to counterbalance the partiality of some of the historiography is to investigate how contemporaries visualized and understood the Schism. A review of several contemporaries' answers to the events (Antonio Baldana, Dietrich of Niem, Urban's *Factum Urbani*, Giovanni de Legnano, Baldo degli Ubaldi, and Bartolomeo de Saliceto) offer evidence that points toward the idea that the cardinals were cognizant of forms of electoral celebratory violence but pretended ignorance to annul an election that dissatisfied them.

Stefan Weiß continues engaging the responsibility of the cardinals in the second chapter, dedicated to the financial incentives that could have motivated the cardinals to defect from the ranks of Urban VI. Weiß addresses directly a topic that is often mentioned but rarely analyzed in

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[8] The geography of the Schism is outlined in the maps of the obediences in Robert N. Swanson, *Universities, Academics, and the Great Schism* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd series) 12 (Cambridge, Eng., 1979), pp. xiii, xiv.

details: Urban VI's reforming process. Weiß frames Urban VI's efforts at reforming his court in continuity with his homonymic predecessor Urban V. The financial reformation of the cardinal's expenditures is presented as one more reason for the breach between the pope and his college. But the reasons could be multiple: For example, Urban was not part of the college, and the *ultramontains* (the French cardinals) could have resented that a Neapolitan was bringing too many of his compatriots to the court. Still, Weiß presents arguments that are novel and will challenge many assumptions. For example, he suggests that the creation of new cardinals would diminish the revenues of the existing college and thus antagonize it against the pope; the pope attempted at curbing simony included the college to whom he refused the customary gifts offered by a newly elected pope.

The next four chapters attempt to gauge the impact of the Schism, measuring the repercussion of the crisis on the population of the West and East. Philip Daileader attempts to assess the effect of the crisis on a public that can be described as outside the boundaries of the intellectual elite of the time. As he rightfully points out, every Catholic individual was involved by virtue of the choice he/she made between one obedience and the other/s. More important, Daileader looks for and checks evidence that would point to practical problems or crisis of spirituality. His survey wants to remain intimate, local, and micro-historical without sacrificing thoroughness and range. He leads his readers through the reactions and responses of regions, dioceses, monastic institutions (regular and mendicant), cities, and universities.

Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski completes the investigation of the effects of the Schism on the population at large by focusing on another segment of the public that was affected by the crisis, the many poets, mystics, and visionaries of the time. She scrutinizes especially the translation of their reactions into imagery. Her examination rests on the dialectic between elite discourse and poetic/visionary utterance and on their shared conceptualization. First she suggests that the Schism was conceptualized as a drama pictured and represented in the form of various revelations, fables, tournaments, battles, and dream visions. Next, Blumenfeld-Kosinski looks at the conceptualization of the Schism as violence on, or illness of, the ecclesiastical body. She ends her survey with the millenarian themes of disasters, end of times, and second coming. Her encounter with various lay and clerical authors' conceptualization and images of the Schism bring us close to a contemporary understanding of the crisis and proposed solution to solve it.

Michael Hanly follows a similar approach, with a micro-historical analysis focused on a single individual, Honorat Bovet (1350–*c.* 1409). Honorat Bovet was a Benedictine monk and prior of Selonnet in Provence, a legist, a diplomat, and an author. Most students of history know him for his *Arbre des batailles* of 1389, his *Somnium super materia scismatis* composed in 1394, and his *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun* of 1398. Scholarship has in general favored the major intellectual forces of the time, studying such figures as Simon de Cramaud, Pierre d'Ailly, and Jean Gerson. But their kind did not operate in a vacuum, and countless obscure figures functioned in their shadow, charged with diplomatic missions and legal research to support the better-known players. Hanly surveys Bovet's role in the Schism until his death, shortly after the Council of Pisa. He pays attention to his activities surrounding what is traditionally called the withdrawal or subtraction of obedience in the summer of 1398. Hanly brings us close to a man who witnessed not only the Schism but also its continuation with the election of Benedict XIII in 1394 and witnessed as well the secondary crisis of the subtraction of obedience between 1398 and 1403, when Pope Benedict XIII was isolated and alone against Avignon, the majority of his cardinals, and the French crown.

Michael A. Ryan continues the study of Honorat Bovet and *L'apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun*, using this time his writing as a starting block for his investigation of the comprehension and conceptualization of the Schism by those who lived "outside" of western Christendom, especially in the Byzantine and Muslim worlds. In the first section, Ryan discusses the history and historiography surrounding the Byzantines' reaction to the events of the Schism, an event that the East considered significant enough; and in his second part, he addresses the relationship between Islam and the Great Western Schism via a study of Christian writers such as Honorat Bovet, who used Muslim literary characters to critique Christendom. For Bovet, the incapacity of solving the Schism weakened Christianity and made it powerless to confront the Ottoman's threat. Finally, Ryan investigates the life and prophetic writing of Anselm Turmeda/'Abdallah al-Taryuman, a Franciscan friar from Majorca who converted to Islam and wrote an astrologically themed prophetic poem criticizing the state of religious and political affairs in the West. In his case, the trauma of the Great Western Schism provides the context for Turmeda's conversion and prophecy.

Kathleen Fleck investigates next the impact of the Schism by means of less traditional means: she focuses on cultural production. Her

chapter introduces and analyzes the artistic production, patronage, and collecting fashion in Avignon. There, as in Rome, being a patron legitimized one's position. Both Avignonese popes, Clement VII and Benedict XIII, continued patronage in Avignon to emphasize the true pontifical nature of "their" city over Rome. Fleck's survey emphasizes the production of luxury items, painting, sculpture, architecture, the development of the library under both Avignonese popes, and their patronage of manuscript production. In closing this first section of the volume dedicated to social, economic, and cultural issues related to the Schism, she brings us to the world of artists, artisans, and collectors.

The next four chapters conclude the volume by shifting the analytical approach to the religious intellectual milieu of the time, concentrating on ecclesiology and reform. Christopher Bellitto's approach is to examine reform or attempted reform by both the Church's head (papacy, curia, upper levels of the hierarchy) and grassroots movements (dioceses, cathedral chapters, local religious houses, parishes, lay movements) around the time of the Schism. He notes that historians' focus on one aspect or the other has created a false dichotomy of interest, tipping over a balanced rendition of the topic. Bellitto points to the fact that in the late Middle Ages, reform was most often thought in terms of *in capite* and *in membris*, not *reformatio in capite* or *in membris*. Bellitto guides his readers through the historiography, historical survey, and specific history of reform around the time of the Schism, whether issued from the head and/or the members of the Church.

D. Zach Flanagin's chapter addresses the fundamentally most difficult question of the time: would the wrong choice of allegiance lead to hell? Flanagin brings home the ecclesiological impact of the Schism by concentrating on the strong bond that linked salvation to the Church. How could salvation literally happen in a Church divided? The Schism disrupted one of the basic tenets of Christianity: since the patristic era, it had been understood that there was no salvation outside the Church. As Flanagin's opening example demonstrates, salvation was understood in sacramental terms, and a Gerson exiled in Bruges witnessed the devastating effect of the crisis on a population. Denying the validity of the sacraments for either obedience rocked the foundation of Christianity. Flanagin probes questions that every Christian of the time must have thought about. How can we define the Church outside of which there is no salvation? Who is the head of that Church? Who is the source of its power and authority? What is the stable foundation of that Church? And, most pressingly at the time, were recognition,

allegiance, and obedience to the *true pope* constitutive factors in belonging to the *true Church*?

Thomas Izbicki leads toward the final discussion of this volume, dedicated to the argument for a solution to the Schism. The novelty of the crisis forced a stretch of the mind in the selection of texts that served as basic points of reference. Izbicki searches for the authoritative texts that were chosen, the circumstances of their context, and how they were cited. His attention focuses especially on two texts that dealt with circumcision. This topic is not as remote from the topic of this volume as one may think. The act of circumcising or not identified and demarked a choice of religious allegiance. Paul's letter to the Galatians addressed the topic indirectly. Should apostles eat with uncircumcised converts? The other passage from the Acts of the Apostles addressed the issue head-on by waving away the obligation of circumcision for new Christians. Both texts exemplified issue of authority and decision-making in the face of a pressing issue. In Galatians, Paul rebuked Peter for his hesitation to share a meal with gentiles; in Acts, a council took action. It is evident that these texts fit the situation of the Schism perfectly. Izbicki weaves artfully the implication of the ancient writing on the decision and action of the Schism; either text could challenge papal power and defend conciliarism.

Finally, Philip Stump brings us to closure with his discussion of the Council of Constance. It may be that this council has left the most indelible mark on the literature of the Schism. Mastering a vast historiography, Stump walks us through the difficulty and fortuitous breaks that the council encountered before it could effectively end the Great Western Schism. Stump identifies the various referrals to precedence made by the council, identifying the most important secondary works, differences of opinion among scholars, and the primary sources of references.

All in all, this volume offers the most recent historiography of a topic that has attracted the attention of many scholars over centuries of studies. As traditional topics of discussion, such as politics, ecclesiology, and conciliarism, are addressed, this volume also heeds the most recent historiographical trends that focus on economic, social, artistic, and anthropological readings of sources. In all cases, the following chapters introduce the interested audience to a field of study that is vast, exciting, and still developing.

CIVIL VIOLENCE AND THE INITIATION OF THE SCHISM

Joëlle Rollo-Koster*

I

The issue of violence and, more precisely, of civil violence stands prominently in the history of the Great Western Schism. As will be seen in what follows, it is pivotal in the initiation of the crisis. In January 1377, the last Avignonese pope, Gregory XI, returned the court to Rome after some 70 years spent in the capital of the Comtat Venaissin, a papal state surrounded by French territory. Gregory died a few months after his return, on 27 March 1378.[1] Following canon law,[2] on the night of

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  [1] For a brief introduction to the Avignon papacy, see Guillaume Mollat, *Les papes d'Avignon, 1305–1378* (Paris, 1930); Bernard Guillemain, *La cour pontificale d'Avignon: Étude d'une société* (Paris, 1966); Yves Renouard, *The Avignon Papacy, 1305–1403*, trans. Denis Bethell (Hamden, 1970); and Sylvain Gagnière, *Histoire d'Avignon* (Aix-en-Provence, 1979).

  [2] That is, Gregory X's 1274 *Ubi Periculum*, a bull that created the conclave during the second council of Lyon. Gregory X wanted to ensure that the college of papal electors would be strictly enclosed during the conclave "*cum clave*" to facilitate their deliberations and lessen interferences. The text reads: "[…] With the approval of the sacred council, we decree that if the pope dies in a city where he was residing with his curia, the cardinals present in that city are obliged to await the absent cardinals, but for ten days only. When these days have passed, whether those absent have arrived or not, all are to assemble in the palace where the pope lived. Each is to be content with one servant only, clerical or lay, at choice. We allow however those in evident need to have two, with the same choice. In this palace all are to live in common in one room, with no partition or curtain. Apart from free entry to a private room, the conclave is to be completely locked, so that no one can enter or leave. No one may have access to the cardinals or permission to talk secretly with them, nor are they themselves to admit anyone to their presence, except those who, by consent of all the cardinals present, might be summoned only for the business of the imminent election. It is not lawful for anyone to send a messenger or a written message to the cardinals or to any one of them. Whoever acts otherwise, sending a messenger or a written message, or speaking secretly to one of the cardinals, is to incur automatic excommunication. In the

7 April 1378, the 16 cardinals present in Rome (11 French, 4 Italian, and 1 Spanish)[3] entered into conclave and, despite internal divisions between Limousins and northern French, elevated Bartolomeo

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conclave some suitable window is to be left open through which the necessary food may be served conveniently to the cardinals, but no entry for anyone is to be possible through this way […]"; *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols. (London, 1990), 1:314–15. *Ubi Periculum* required a ten-day wait between the papal death and the opening of the conclave to allow absent cardinals to join the court. Again, to hasten the process and prevent long peregrinations, Gregory ordered that the conclave would take place in the palace where the defunct pontiff resided. *Ubi Periculum* also added a few dietary restrictions. If the election lasted more than three days, on the following five the cardinals ate a single dish at each meal; if it lasted more than eight days, the cardinals dieted on a bread, water, and wine regimen. In addition as long as the conclave lasted, the cardinals received no revenues from the Apostolic Chamber's treasury, another break from normalcy aimed at accelerating the cardinals' resolve for a speedy electoral process. A few more regulations clarified contingencies: what to do if a cardinal left, if the pope died outside his place of residence, and who safeguarded the conclave. Gregory noted wisely that even though the council was making rules, it was still to be seen how well they would be enforced. The authorities of the city where the election would be held were in charge of enforcing the regulations and ensuring their observance. Tanner, in his masterful edition, introduces the text and appends a complete bibliography. I can only refer interested readers to it. He reminds his readers that in 1298 the text was incorporated into canon law with Boniface VIII's *Liber Sextus: Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1:303–08.

[3] This somewhat simplistic national division masks a fragmentation of allegiances between the cardinals that went deeper than a somewhat anachronistic geography. Parties or lobbies formed vertically and horizontally around kinship, family, and clients principally and, to a lesser degree, around regional solidarity. In general, the *familia* and cardinals' "party" (in the political sense) were an aggregation of kin and regional solidarities. In April 1378, the cardinal electorate was divided into three "lobbies." The first was the Limousins party composed of five limousins and two "outsiders": Jean de Cros, cardinal of Limoges; Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille; Pierre de Vergne; Guy de Malesset, cardinal of Poitiers; and Géraud du Puy, cardinal of Marmoutier; then the caorsin (Cahors) Pierre de Sortenac, cardinal of Viviers, and probably Guillaume Noëllet, cardinal of Sant'Angelo, from Angoulême. The second lobby was composed of three "northern" French: Bertrand Latgier, cardinal of Glandève; Hugues de Montalais, cardinal of Brittany; and Pierre Flandrin, cardinal of Saint-Eustache, who were joined by Robert de Genève and Pedro de Luna. The last faction was represented by the four Italians: Piero Corsini, cardinal of Florence; Francesco Tebaldeschi, cardinal of St. Peter; Simone Borsano, cardinal of Milan; and Jacopo Orsini. This multiplicity disappeared into a *ultramontain/Italian* cleavage with the growing discontent against Urban VI, the choice of compromise between his Italian origin (favored by the Roman crowd) and his long acquaintance with the Avignonese court to which he belonged as head of the Chancelry. On the cardinals' "parties," see Noël Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI et les origines du grand schisme d'Occident," *Revue des questions historiques* 48 (1890), 371–72; Bernard Guillemain, "Cardinaux et société curiale aux origines de la double élection de 1378," in *Genèse et débuts du grand schisme d'Occident: Colloque international tenu à Avignon, 25–28 septembre 1978* (Paris, 1980), pp. 19–30; and Henri Bresc, "La genèse du schisme: Les partis cardinalices et leurs ambitions dynastiques: Sur Pierre Ameilh," in *Genèse et débuts*, pp. 45–57.

Prignano, archbishop of Bari, as Pope Urban VI, on 8 April 1378.[4] He was crowned on 10 April.[5]

As will be told repeatedly in the sources, the election was not altogether peaceful. The Roman crowd had threatened curialists, mostly the French, since their return to Rome in 1377. In April 1378, the crowd had chanted threats throughout the length of the conclave, and the conclave had dissolved before it could complete its work. Still, the election went on, and the legitimacy of its procedure was not questioned during the Spring of 1378. Cardinals sent letters introducing the new pope to various European governments, and on 14 April 1378, Cardinal Robert of Geneva—the future counter-pope Clement VII—announced the election of Urban VI to the German King Charles IV.[6] On 19 April 1378, the 16 cardinals present in Italy wrote to their colleagues in Avignon: "We have firm hope and confidence in our pope and believe that under his guidance the orthodox faith will be strengthened and that the state of the universal Church will begin to blossom again. May our Saviour grant that he may serve for a very long time."[7] Nothing controversial transpired through their words, then.

The state of affairs changed over the course of the weeks that followed the election. Urban was a very well-qualified civil servant who had never been a cardinal, and he lacked tact and savoir-faire somewhat necessary for his position.[8] He alienated his court with his reprimands.[9]

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[4] The physical setting of the election at the Vatican Palace is detailed in Marc Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 15 (1977), 218–20.

[5] A summary of this election can be found in Paul Ourliac, "Le schisme et les conciles (1378–1449)," in *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours*, ed. Jean Marie Mayeur (Paris, 1990), pp. 89–139; and "Clément VII," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie écclésiastiques*, ed. Alfred Baudrillart, vol. 12 (Paris, 1953), pp. 1162–76.

[6] The letter of 14 April 1378 is transcribed in Walter Branddmüller, *Papst und Konzil im Grossen Schisma (1378–1431): Studien und Quellen* (Paderborn, 1990), p. 33.

[7] Walter Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical History* (London, 1948; repr. Hamden, 1968), p. 29.

[8] Walter Ullmann, described Urban: "As chancellor of the curia at Avignon (where he had spent virtually all his working life) he had an enormous experience in administration. He had been, so to speak, the head of the papal civil service at Avignon and knew the working of the curia intimately […]. He was a reliable, highly efficient, hard working official who had all the merits but also the demerits and limitations of a civil servant. Never at any time had he anything to do with policy making"; Walter Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), p. 293. After his election, Urban showed his weaknesses: "an uncontrolled temper, megalomania, and extreme rudeness in consistory"; Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy*, p. 294.

[9] See, for example, Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy*, p. 294; Bernard Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy*, trans. James Sievert (New York, 1992), p. 220; and

A physical distance between the pope and his cardinals grew from his sharp words: The cardinals of Poitiers and d'Aigrefeuille, who were both in frail health, were first to leave Rome in May 1378; they justified their departure by complaining about the unsanitary conditions of the intense Roman summer heat. Other cardinals trailed them. The cardinals of Viviers, Limoges, and Bretagne departed the following weeks, Glandève around 15 June, and Geneva and Pedro de Luna around 24 June.[10]

By the end of June, all the cardinals but the Italians were in Anagni, proclaiming that Urban—who was then in Tivoli—was no pope.[11] On 20 July in Anagni, the French cardinals (or *ultramontains*) asked their Italian colleagues to join them. On 5 August, Italians and French—in the persons of the cardinals Flandrin, Malesset, and Geneva—met to discuss the eventuality of a general council. The idea failed because only a pope could call a legitimate council, and they refused to qualify Urban as such.[12] On 2 August, the cardinals published their version of the election and asked for Urban's abdication.[13] On 9 August, 1378, the cardinals posted their *Declaratio* on the gates of Anagni's cathedral.[14] The letter denounced Urban's election as fraudulent because it had taken place under duress and violence. They claimed that in April 1378, Roman officials and the mob had coerced from the cardinals the

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Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Rome and Medieval Culture: Selections from History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, trans. Mrs. Gustavus W. Hamilton (Chicago, 1971), pp. 328–36.

[10] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI et les origines du grand schisme d'Occident," p. 418.

[11] Noël Valois, *La France et le grand schisme d'Occident*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1896), 1:71–76.

[12] As Cardinal Pierre Flandrin stated in 1378 Anagni, nobody had the power of jurisdiction to summon a council but the pope himself or his legate, "every general council receives its authority from the pope, and the things that are decided and declared there receive their efficacy from the pope"; E. F. Jacob, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch* (Notre Dame, 1963), p. 3. The idea of a council went through a long process, because it was, in itself, a controversial, and revolutionary proposition. When all parties agreed that only a council could solve the Schism, one essential caveat remained. Only a pope elected canonically could convene a council, and he was, by his multiplicity, pitifully missing at the time. The theoretical debate on the legitimacy of either pope questioned the legitimacy of a council called by either one. No legitimate pope—or, for that matter, two legitimate popes—meant no legitimate council. Agreeing to either pope's call for a council meant recognizing him as legitimate and his opposite illegitimate. No middle ground could be reached easily for negotiating an end to the crisis.

[13] The following outline of events is compiled from Etienne Delaruelle, E. R. Labande, and Paul Ourliac, *L'église au temps du grand schisme et de la crise conciliaire, 1378–1449* (Paris, 1962), pp. 10–15.

[14] The letter is translated and analyzed by Walter Ullmann in a chapter entitled "The Case of the Cardinals"; see Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, pp. 69–89.

election of an Italian and thus had hindered the freedom of the papal electoral process. Retracting their earlier public delight at the election of Urban, they stated on 9 August 1378: "From this time onwards the cardinals treated him as pope and paid homage to him, but never in the intention that he should be true pope."[15] On that same day, the cardinals also anathematized Urban for failing to reimburse a loan of 20,000 florins to Onorato Caetani.[16] On 20 September 1378, 13 cardinals elected Robert of Geneva as Pope Clement VII in Fondi, where they had found refuge at the court of Onorato Caetani. Clement was enthroned on 21 September and crowned on 31 October.[17] The Italian cardinals in Anagni abstained from voting. This counter-election initiated the Great Western Schism, which lasted up to 1417.

II

Details of the 1378 election are covered in several monographs, but quite often, historical exactitude disappears behind propaganda.[18] Most studies are based on documents found in the Vatican Archives' *Armarium LIV*, the so-called *Libri de Schismate* that gathered in several volumes the depositions taken down for the Spanish kings (vols. 14–39, for the Chancery's copies of the originals and vols. 40–48 for copies of the latter).[19] The *Libri de Schismate* (*Books of the Schism*) gathered the statements of clerics and laymen, present *or not* in the city at the time of Urban's election.

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[15] Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, p. 75.

[16] Valois, *La France*, 1:77.

[17] Valois, *La France*, 1:80.

[18] Among some of the best works to date, see a special issue of the Cahiers de Fanjeaux focused on the Schism: Hélène Millet, ed., *Le Midi et le grand schisme d'Occident* (Toulouse, 2004); *Genèse et débuts*; and see also Valois, *La France*; Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*; John Holland Smith, *The Great Schism, 1378* (London, 1970); George Jefferis Jordan, *The Inner History of the Great Schism of the West: A Problem in Church Unity* (1930; repr. New York, 1930); Robert Norman Swanson, *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism* (Cambridge, 1979); and Howard Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud and the Great Schism* (New Brunswick, 1983).

[19] Francis X. Blouin, Jr., *Vatican Archives: An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 338–39. The volumes are inventoried in Michael Seidlmayer, "Die spanischen 'Libri de Schismate' des Vatikanischen Archivs," *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, 1st series, 8 (1940), 199–262.

Among the most notable monographs that deal with the initiation of the Schism, Noël Valois's four volumes on France and the Great Western Schism and his article detailing the specifics of the election in the *Revue des questions historiques* stand out.[20] Valois's account corrected the heavily French-leaning version of Louis Gayet, chaplain of Saint-Louis des Français,[21] who in turn had written his history of the Schism to revise the Italian-leaning narrative found in the *Annales ecclesiastici* of Odorico Rinaldi.[22] Bias aside, the abbot's transcription of the Vatican Archives' *Libri de Schismate* made most contemporary depositions of 1378 available to interested scholars and added many passages omitted by Rinaldi.

In order to realign the historiography as close as possible to the reality, Mark Dykmans in "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI" read closely the three main narratives of the events of April 1378. He called attention to their many textual omissions and manipulations.[23] The language of Dykmans, a Jesuit father, is candid enough to be astonishing. When discussing cardinal Orsini's deposition, Dykmans interjects in his narrative, "He is one of the very few who did not lie."[24] The statement gains significance when penned by a Catholic scholar, keeper of the Vatican Library. To unweave the lies, Dykmans reverted *ad fontes*.

Marc Dykmans has clearly established the dating and details of each of the three original documents. Piero Corsini, the cardinal of Florence, started his document in Tivoli in July 1378 and finished it with revi-

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[20] Valois, *La France*, and "L'élection d'Urbain VI et les origines du grand schisme d'Occident." For example, Smith, *The Great Schism*, relies heavily on Valois. As Olderico Prerovsky stated, "difficilmente potrà essere aggiunto qualcosa di sostanzialmente nuovo, che possa cambiare i fatti che già conosciamo, dalle 224 minuziose e spesso noiose deposizioni dei 164 testimoni oculari. Gli avvenimenti che raccontano, qualcuno anche tre, quattro volte, sono stati diligentemente ricostruiti da Noël Valois"; Olderico Prerovsky, *L'elezione di Urbano VI e l'insorgere dello scisma d'Occidente* (Rome, 1960), p. 40.

[21] Louis Gayet, *Le grand schisme d'Occident d'après les documents contemporains déposés aux Archives secrètes du Vatican*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1889); the two volumes are divided between a narrative section (vol. 1) and documents, or *Pièces justificatives* (vol. 2). The numbering of the *Pièces justificatives*' pages is independent from the narrative; I have identified in my notes when the reference was made to the documents by adding *Pièces justificatives* in the footnote.

[22] *Annales ecclesiastici*, ed. Cesare Baronio, Odorico Rinaldi, Giacomo Laderchi, Augustin Theiner, Antoine Pagi, and Giovan Domenico Mansi, 37 vols. (Barri-Ducis, 1864–83), vol. 26 more specifically for the year of schism.

[23] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," pp. 217–64.

[24] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," p. 243.

sions in 1380 Nice; it was included in his "treatise" *De Schismate* in 1386.[25] Corsini was one of the first cardinals to describe the "unruly" election. He belonged to the group of four Italian cardinals: himself, Francesco Tebaldeschi (alias the cardinal of St. Peter), Simon Borsano (archbishop of Milan), and Jacopo Orsini (cardinal-deacon of St. George), who had remained faithful to Urban VI. When the French party abandoned Urban in Tivoli, to reach Anagni, Urban refused to follow the *ultramontains*.[26] He counter-struck by sending to them an embassy formed by his Italian supporters. It included three of his four supporters: Corsini, Orsini, and Borsano. The fourth, Tebaldeschi, was too weak to make the journey. The "Italians" left on 25 June, and once in Anagni cathedral, they bade the *ultramontains* to end their disaffection and rejoin their pope in Tivoli. The *ultramontains*' answer was to convene with their Italian counterparts in the chamber of Robert of Geneva, and each of the 12 *ultramontains* (the 13th, Jean de La Grange, was absent) in turn swore on the gospels that the election of Urban had been invalid.

Once back in Tivoli, the three Italians cardinals started a common draft of their version of the events. On 20 July, at the Dominican convent where they resided, they received envoys from Anagni: a notary and two witnesses. The *ultramontains* were begging the Italians to join them, and, most importantly, their request was dated *sede vacante* (Empty See), meaning that for them Urban was no longer pope. Afraid to face Tebaldeschi, the notary left to the three "Italians" the task of presenting their request to the old cardinal. It should be noted that for some of the renegade cardinals at that moment, the situation was becoming difficult. Urban's politics had been conciliatory. He was close to a double victory that brought him back into favor in the hearts of the Italians and *ultramontains*. He had approved the election of Wenceslas

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[25] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," p. 221; and "Du conclave d'Urbain VI au grand schisme: Sur Pierre Corsini et Bindo Fesulani, écrivains florentins," *Archivium historiae pontificiae* 13 (1975), 223.
[26] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," p. 243. The *ultramontains* were Jean de Cros alias cardinal of Limoges; Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille, cardinal of St. Stefano Rotondo; Bertrand Latgier alias cardinal of Glandève; Hugues de Montelais alias cardinal of Bretagne; Robert de Genève alias cardinal of Geneva; Guy de Malesset alias cardinal of Poitiers; Pierrre de Sortenac alias cardinal of Viviers; Géraud du Puy alias cardinal of Marmoutier; Pierre Flandrin, cardinal of St. Eustace; Guillaume Noellet, cardinal of Sant'Angelo; Pierre de Vergne, cardinal of Sta. Maria in Via Lata; and the Spaniard Pedro de Luna, future pope Benedict XIII; see Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, pp. 9–10.

as Holy Roman Emperor and had made peace with Florence without Milan's intervention.

The Italian cardinals decided to hand Urban a copy of their report, surely on 26 July—hence its label as the "July 26 *casus*," and they left for the Castle of Vicovaro, some 15 km from Tivoli. At this point, they were not breaking ranks with Urban; they were just negotiating with both parties.[27] Dykmans attributes to Orsini some slight revisions of the "July 26 *casus*" before it was sent to Anagni, where the *ultramontains* used it as their basic canvas. The *ultramontains*' manifesto of 2 August emerged from Orsini's "July 26 *casus*." Pierre Flandrin, cardinal-deacon of St. Eustache, penned most of the *ultramontains*' elaboration.[28] Dykmans has edited and juxtaposed the three texts, differentiating between the original draft of Corsini (dated 26 July), Orsini's revisions of the "July 26 *casus*," and finally the 2 August version of the *ultramontains*.[29]

These documents are essential to the history of the Schism, especially the 2 August manifesto, and they became the basis of all contemporary and subsequent discussions. Cardinals recited the 2 August manifesto by heart, and the text converted to the Clementist obedience the king of France, Vincent Ferrer, and Peter of Luxembourg—the two legitimizing saints of the Avignonese obedience.[30]

It is needless to add that these sources, drafted chronologically the closest to the events, are some of the most valid for the analysis of the events, and the documents that originated from Tivoli and Anagni inspired most others. Urban's own defense, a treatise commonly labeled the *Factum Urbani* that was sent to the king of Aragon, complements information offered in other documents—even if it is overly tendentious. Walter Ullmann, in his *The Origins of the Great Western Schism*, and John Holland Smith, in *The Great Western Schism*, used the *Factum Urbani* abundantly.[31]

The *casus* of the Italian and French cardinals, the scores of depositions found in the *Libri de Schismate*, and the *Factum Urbani* offer the main collection of sources. Additional documents regarding the events were gathered by Etienne Baluze and incorporated in his collection on the

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[27] The information provided here was translated from Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," pp. 220–23.

[28] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," pp. 223–24.

[29] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," pp. 226–39.

[30] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," p. 225.

[31] Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, pp. 11–25; and Smith, *The Great Western Schism*, pp. 137–40.

Avignonese popes' lives. This group of documents counts the "Epistola Petri Rostagni, castellani castri Sancti Angeli, ad cardinales qui erant apud Avenionem tempore mortis Gregorii XI," summarily dated 1378, with the cardinals' response of 3 July 1378; the "Protestatio domini Betrandi cardinalis Glandatensis antequam intraret conclave, suo sigillo sigillata, cum subscriptione notarii," dated 10 December 1378; and the well-known "Declaratio cardinalium adversus Bartholomaeum archiepiscopum Barensem intrusum in papatu," dated from Anagni 2 August 1378, whose original now is housed at the Archives Départementales de Vaucluse.[32] The election is also retold in Baluze's first and second lives of Gregory XI.[33]

In general, many of the Schism's primary sources used for the reconstruction of the events of April 1378 come from the hands of the same individuals who participated in the counter-election. It is not surprising that they would validate and legitimize their actions by accusing the violence of Roman mob, which in any case articulated most narratives of the election. I have argued elsewhere that the narratives of the election should be read within the context of the Empty See, and I will return to this later in this paper.[34] But for now, it remains to measure the level of violence present during the election.[35]

<div align="center">III</div>

Even before his death, Pope Gregory XI foresaw the violence that could plague the election of his successor and acted preemptively to validate any election. In his bull *Periculis et detrimentis*, dated 19 March

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[32] H. Célestins d'Avignon 64, 2. For Baluze's compilation, see Etienne Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, ed. Guillaume Mollat, 4 vols. (Paris, 1914–27), 4:167–84.

[33] See Baluze, *Vitae paparum avenionensium*, 1:430–36, and 441–59.

[34] See Joëlle Rollo-Koster's works: "*Castrum Doloris*: Rites of Vacant See and the Living Dead Pope in Schismatic Avignon," in *Medieval and Early Modern Rituals: Formalized Behavior in Europe, China and Japan*, ed. Joëlle Rollo-Koster (Leiden, 2002), pp. 245–77; "The Politics of Body Parts: Contested Topographies in Late Medieval Avignon," *Speculum* 78 (2003), 66–98; and, more specifically, "Looting the Empty See: The Great Western Schism Revisited (1378)," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 2 (2005), 429–74, and *Raiding Saint Peter: Empty Sees, Violence, and the Initiation of the Great Western Schism (1378)* (Leiden, 2008). On the Empty See in general, see Lorenzo Spinelli, *La vacanza della sede apostolica dalle origini al concilio Tridentino* (Milan, 1956).

[35] I follow here the narratives from the *Libri de Schismate*'s depositions, which I also used in "Looting the Empty See."

1378, Gregory altered the electoral process by abrogating the rules of the conclave set up by Gregory X in *Ubi periculum*—for this instance only—and urged the cardinals to speed up their entry into conclave.[36] The bull stated that the electoral majority was to be attained with the members actually present in the conclave—he discarded quorum and the waiting period of ten days—and that the will of the minority was not negotiable or required.[37] He also dispensed the conclave from meet-

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[36] Pope Gregory X set up the conclave during the second council of Lyon in 1274, after his own election in Viterbo demonstrated some of the flaws of the electoral college as it was then. See Ludovico Gatto, *Il pontificato di Gregorio X* (Rome, 1959); and Gregoire X in *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*, ed. Philippe Levillain (Paris, 1994), p. 754. See the decrees of the second Council of Lyon (1274), in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1:314–22; and the text of Gregory X's *Ubi Majus Periculum* in Jean Gaudemet, *Les élections dans l'église latine des origines au XVI siècle* (Paris, 1979), pp. 209–12. For a survey of the conclave, see "Conclave," in *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*, ed. Philippe Levillain (Paris, 1994), pp. 437–39; Antonio Franchi, *Il conclave di Viterbo (1268–1271) e le sue origini: Saggio con documenti inediti* (Ascoli, 1993); Lucius Lector, *Le conclave: Origines, histoire, organisation, législation ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1894); Gregorio Leti, Charles Vanel, and Hendrick van Huyssen, *Histoire des conclaves depuis Clement V jusqu'à present* (Cologne, 1694); Alberto Melloni, *Il conclave: Storia di una istituzione* (Bologna, 2001); and F. Petruccelli della Gattina, *Histoire diplomatique des conclaves* (Paris, 1864).

[37] The bull is found in the *Annales ecclesiastici*, 26:282. Marc Dykmans, "La bulle de Grégoire XI à la veille du grand schisme," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome, moyen âge-temps modernes* 89 (1977), 485–87, also transcribes the bull. The text is important enough to be cited in detail; it reads, "Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Futuris periculis et detrimentis gravissimis que Ecclesie Sancte Dei ex longa vacatione propter guerras ingruentes et earum occasione et alias quam plurimas causas possent accidere salubri remedio obviare cupientes auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium irrefragabiliter statuimus et etiam ordinamus quod, si hinc ad kalendas septembris proxime futuras contingat nos decedere, S.R.E. cardinales tunc in Romana curia presentes seu major pars numero ipsorum, absentibus non vocatis, nec aliquatenus expectatis, possint licite quemcumque locum alias honestum voluerint eligere, sive intra vel extra urbem, etiam minoris partis presentium contradictione non obstante pro electione futuri summi pontificis immediate successoris nostri hac vice facienda recipere et habere, et tempus cardinalibus a jure prefixum ad expectandum cardinales absentes, antequam ad electionem summit pontificis procedant et conclave pro eligendo ingrediantur abreviare vel prolongare vel in totum tollere, prout ipsis vel majori parte ipsorum videbitur expedire, locumque predictum electum et receptum semel vel pluries mutare aliumque de novo recipere, et sine eo quod conclave aliquod ingrediantur libere eligere, prout ipsi vel majori parti ipsorum videbitur oportunum, minori parte non consentiente seu etiam contradicente. Dantes et concedentes auctoritate apostolica et de plenitudine potestatis predictis cardinalibus presentibus seu majori parti ipsorum omnem potestatem et auctoritatem eligendi Romane et universalis Ecclesie summum pontificem, nobis immediatum successorem, statuentes et decernentes auctoritate apostolica et de plenitudine potestatis, ut ille qui a predictis cardinalibus in Romana curia presentibus vel majori parte numero ipsorum, minori parte etiam non consentiente vel contradicente, in papam et Romanum pontificem electus fuerit S.R. et universalis Ecclesie summus pontifex et pastor absque ulla exceptione sit et habeatur, predictorum

ing where he would die and left the location of the conclave open to the cardinals' choice, within or outside Rome. The cardinals controlled the location of the conclave and the length of time needed to obtain a majority of votes.[38] It seems that Gregory XI was anticipating trouble and was focused on accelerating the next election. He also had reservations about his new capital, Rome.

The circumstances surrounding the drafting of Gregory's legislation remain uncertain. Several witnesses—who knew of it—point to the gravity of the situation.[39] They claim that Gregory acted preemptively to protect his cardinals from violence because "If the cardinals did not elect a Roman pope, great ills would happen in Rome."[40] But the bull was never promulgated, and it seems that the cardinals were unaware of its existence, even though other witnesses knew of it! In an essay published in 1977, Marc Dykmans blamed the papal camerlengo Pierre de Cros for its cover up, and he consequently charged him with the initiation of the Schism.[41]

The *ultramontains* built their case on the general atmosphere of nationalistic resentment in Rome against the French curia and pope, to rationalize their perception of the violence that took place against them. According to the *ultramontains*, the Romans threatened them before, during, and after the election, in order to intimidate, scare, and later

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cardinalium conscientias de eligendo bono pastore onerantes ac ipsos obscrantes per viscera misericordie Dei nostri ipsisque nichilominus injungentes districtius et sub penis juris quod in premissis pure, simpliciter, absque omni fraude, ac celeriter quantum poterunt. Secundum Deum et eorum conscientias procedere non postponant constitutionibus predecessorum nostrorum Romanum pontificum contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque quas in quantum premissis obviant vel alicui premissorum volumus pro ista vice pro infectis haberi ipsos tamen et ipsarum modificationes alias volumus in suorobore permanere. Nullique ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre constitutionis statuti ordinationis et decreti infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si qui autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei et Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incursuriam. Datum Rome apud S. Petrum XIIII Kalendas aprilis pontificatus nostri anno octavo."

[38] Ferdinand Gregorovius, in his history of medieval Rome, discussed the gist of the bull: "Sick to death, Gregory issued a bull on March 19, in which he commanded that on his departure the candidate elected by the majority of cardinals in, or out of, conclave, in Rome or elsewhere, should be recognized as pope, in defiance of the opposition of the minority"; Gregorovius, *Rome and Medieval Culture*, p. 326.

[39] See Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 12–16.

[40] "Si cardinales non eligerent papam romanum, credebat quod Rome esset multum malum"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, p. 13.

[41] Dykmans, "La bulle de Grégoire XI à la veille du grand schisme," pp. 485–95. Bernard Guillemain, "Cardinaux et société curiale aux origines de la double élection de 1378," in *Genèse et débuts*, p. 25, also accused Pierre de Cros.

punish the cardinals. Guillaume Noëllet, the cardinal of Sant'Angelo, offers a narrative permeated with the animosity of the Romans toward the French—an hostility that validates and justifies the fear of the French. He considered the French an easy prey in the city. They had no kin or friends in Rome who could protect and defend them from the Romans, whom he considered traditionally prone to violence, blood-thirsty, seditious, and dissentious.[42] He describes a Roman violence that was organic and nationalistic.

Similarly, other testimonies hint at an organic Roman violence and have underscored the novena, the nine days that separated the pope's death from the entry into the conclave (27 March–7 April 1378), as a period of popular unrest.[43] The inquisitor of Aragon, Nicolas Eymeric, and the abbot of Sistres present a dark picture of Rome and its inhab-itants. Instruments of torture and of capital punishment (axes and chopping blocks) dangled from the top of a column in the middle of St. Peter's Square, and noisy bands of armed men scared people away throughout the city.[44] Torture instruments were displayed elsewhere to deter popular insurgency and calm the Roman mob.[45] The abbot of Sistres clues us in on the purpose of deterrence. Roman officials war-

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[42] He states, "Actus enim impressivi suprascripti, attenta conditione romanorum, qui sunt viri sanguinum et consueverunt sedetiones et rumores facere, et quod audent dicere, sunt ausi facere et attenta conditione cardinalium citramontanorum qui Rome non habebant parentelas nec amicitias et erant in provincia aliena de effusione sanguinis humani diffamata, credo quod impresserunt in ipsis cardinalibus justum metum"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, p. 135.

[43] Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 85–97.

[44] "Secundo: Romani in quadam columpna lapidea sita in platea S. Petri posuerunt in alto securim, lignum, et alia instrumenta acomoda ad homines decapitandum et per omnis illos IX dies exequiarum D. Gregorii, inibi tenuerunt ad, ut presumitur, incutiendum timorem volentibus eos a suo concepto malo proposito impedire.

Sexto: Romani per X dies predictos continue fecerunt discurrere, et cum eisdem discurebant, rusticos antelatos per plateas et vicos principales urbis, armatos lanceatos et scutatos, sonum facientes cum quibusdam instrumentis terribilem ad terrendum"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificative*s, pp. 121–22. The abbot of Sistres' testimony states, "Fuerunt deputati quatuor notabiles et probi viri quorum unusquisque habebat sub se tres regiones, excepto ultimo qui habebat iiiior, et quilibet istorum cum comitiva magna circuibat regiones sibi commissas de die et de nocte armati cum vexillo societatis et sonitu tubarum et cum duobus aperitoribus seu executoribus justicie cum menario sive gladio et tympo instrumentis decapitationi hominum deputatis. Et ultra hoc in quaque ex plateis principalibus Urbis semper stabant apperitores cum timpo et gladio supradictis, scilicet S. Petri, Campi floris, Capitolii, Columpne et Transtiberim, ut ex hoc omnes perterriti in dictos cardinales, nec sequentes curiam sceleratii facerent aliquid violentie vel timoris"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, p. 42.

[45] See the testimonies of the abbot of Sistres and Tomaso Petra; Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, p. 100.

ranted the legitimacy of the conclave. They had taken as many steps as possible to safeguard the freedom of the conclave: They had imposed the death penalty on anyone who would harass and despoil lay and religious curialists; they had planned to dispatch two citizens of good character to each of the city's quarters to guarantee the security of the curialists' lives and goods; and, as an added safety, ten citizens in each quarter would safeguard the curialists' goods—they had prearranged a bond system whereby ten citizens would disburse 10,000 florins on deposit to reimburse the victims if they were eventually robbed.[46] These plans tend to show that officials were somewhat familiar with a certain form of violence during the Empty See and that they attempted to prevent it or to at least protect its known victims, the members of the papal court.[47]

Narratives of the events of 1378 repeat ad nauseam the mobs' cheer—"we want a Roman or at least an Italian"—and indicate clearly that the mob wanted to be involved in the election. The "clamor" of the crowd drew the attention of the cardinals toward the contending force

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[46] The text reads, "Primo namque per totam Urbem extitit publice proclamatum pro parte Senatoris et DD. Bandarensium et aliorum Officialum Urbis quod nemo esset ausus aliquem curialem clericum vel laicum offendere in rebus vel persona sub pena capitis et redemptionis totaliter spe sublata. Secundo, quod quia in Roma est divisa in XIIII regiones que in aliis locis capelle vel parochie nominantur deputati fuerunt duo nobiliores viri pro qualibet regione, quibus potestas omnimoda et baylia per Senatorem et Officiales predictos data fuit ut quousque esset novus papa creatus omnes curiales deffenderent et si quod invenirent qui dictis curialibus offenderent in bonis vel personis eos morti traderent simpliciter et de facto. Tertio, ut magis tuti essent cardinales prefati, fuerunt deputati decem probi et divites viri pro qualibet regione, qui haberent omnia bona curialium custodire et sub tali conditione quod si quis fuisset in dicta regione deraubatus de curialibus supradictis, omnia usque ad unum iota tenerentur dicti deputati predictis curialibus resarcire, pro quibus sic resarciendis unusquisque de predictis X deputatis dedit in custodia Senatoris fidejussoris scilicet X^m florenos," Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, pp. 42–43. But most interestingly, a marginalia adds, "the events showed the contrary because the cardinal of Bretagne and others were robbed and received no indemnity (Contrarium patuit de facto quoniam D. cardinalis de Britania et alii fuerunt deraubati et nihil potuerunt recuperare)"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, p. 42.
[47] François de Conzié, who wrote his *ordo* shortly after the beginning of the Schism, dealt very specifically with the papal funeral and election, and with the liturgical activities of the college of cardinals during the interregnum. De Conzié updated the *ordo XIV*. See the discussion in the first chapter. See De Conzié's *ordo*, as found in Marc Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la renaissance: Les texts avignonnais jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme d'Occident* (Brussels, 1983), 1:47–61 and 262–335. See also Marc Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la renaissance: De Rome à Avignon ou le cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi* (Brussels, 1981), for the older *ordo XIV*.

it presented.[48] The crowd's language—words such as *volumus*—leads to a single conclusion: during the 1378 election the Romans wanted to participate fully in the electoral system. Several witnesses state that the crowd wanted an election that matched their desires, and the Romans were negotiating candidates with the cardinals.[49] Cardinal d'Aigrefeuille explains that the Romans' enthusiasm for the election led them to compile a list of Italian and Roman *papabile*.[50] The aim of such a list was to present it to the cardinals and ask them to choose from it. Later in the process, after a rumor circulated that the cardinals had named an Italian, some Roman officials came to see the bishop of Marseille to request a Roman pope. The bishop tried to demonstrate to them the extravagance of their request. He asked them, ironically what he was supposed to expect next! Were they trying to get the exact person they wished and annul by force all the cardinals' labors?[51]

The speech that Nardus—one of the Roman bannerets in charge of the conclave's integrity—made to the crowd shows again the expectation of the Romans. He told the crowd that, up to that point, the cardinals had given them only empty words but now were ready to abide by electing a Roman or an Italian pope. His statement infers that for him the cardinals were finally bowing to the crowd pressure. He added that

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[48] See, for example, the testimony of the bishop of Castres; he states that the crowd vociferated: "Romanus volumus vel ad minus Italicum, et si hoc non faciunt per clavatum Dei scindamus eos pro frustra"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, p. 4.

[49] "Non videbant quod contra voluntatem ipsorum [the Romans] posset alius quam Romanus vel Italicus eligi quin rumor et scandalum et magna pericula sequerentur"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, p. 129. There are many examples showing the Romans' desire to participate in the electoral process. The cardinal of Florence states that he would have chosen a French candidate if not for his promise to the Romans, their behavior, and the fear they inspired him. He obviously had negotiated with the Romans if promises were made; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, 2:10–15. The cardinal of Glandève, speaking for the cardinals in general, summarizes the situation with "populo romano satisfere debent"; He also states, "quod isti Romani primo petierunt unum, quod deberet esse acceptus deo et mundo"; both quotes are in the *Annales ecclesiastici*, 26:286. Again, the language indicates that cardinals were discussing the Roman demands.

[50] The testimony of Aigrefeuille states, "Dico quod hoc unquam scivi vel audivi, salvo quod semel fuit michi relatum et pro vero assertum quod romani ad invicem consulterant et deliberaverant quod nomina certorum prelatorum italicorum et romanorum tunc Rome existentium ex quibus iste B. [Bartolomeo Prignano, future Urban VI] erat unus, in scriptis redigerent et servatis modis inter eos deliberatis de quibus speciale continetur incasu, mos requirerent ut alterum ex illi eligeremus"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, p. 114.

[51] See the deposition of Guillaume de la Voulte, bishop of Marseille, Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, p. 41.

because the cardinals had basically done what the mob wanted, it was time for the mob to obey the cardinals and disperse.[52]

Authors discussing the Schism find evidence of the city's dangerous atmosphere in the presence of companies of mercenaries headed by the leading condotierri of the time: Bernardon de la Salle, Jean de Malestroit, and Sylvestres Budes, and in the behavior of certain cardinals. According to Valois, Pedro de Luna dictated his testament, Bertrand Latgier requested that a confessor attend him at the conclave, Robert of Geneva covered his body with armor under his *rochet*, and Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille said a tearful goodbye to his staff.[53]

Before the cardinals entered into the conclave, they nervously followed the movements of the crowd, assuming that it was intent on attacking them. They worried about its every movement. When a rumor circulated that the election would take place at Sta. Maria Nuova (now Sta. Francesca Romana), where Gregory laid in state, the cardinals watched nervously as the crowd rushed to the church. It is no stretch of the mind to think that the crowd rushed there in hopes of being the first to hear the name of the new pope. Testimonies also underscore the threat presented by the size of the crowd that occupied the Vatican for the conclave's entrance.[54] Several reasons explain its presence. The most obvious reason is the same as prevails today: worshippers awaited anxiously the nomination of their new pope. In his treatise against Urban VI, Nicolas Eymeric offers additional justifications—though he contradicts his allegations because he considered the election of Urban VI tainted by the crowd's threats. The 1378 election coincided with Easter and the distribution of indulgence on Easter Saturday.[55] A large crowd of pilgrims gathered in the city for the occasion, and even

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[52] "Domini usque nunc cardinales dabant vobis verba generalia, modo dicunt effectualiter quod volunt contentare nos de papa romano vel italico; et debemus duo facere, primo regraciari Deo, secundo facere debetis illa que ipsi dicunt"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, p. 10.

[53] Valois, *La France*, 1:15.

[54] The size and behavior of the crowd (hostile or devotional) is of course debatable and varies according to each witness. Gayet tried to make some sense of it and argued that it was composed of Romans and neighbors, who were "accustomed" to carry their weapons at all time. Friends, neighbors, and a personal guard accompanied the cardinals; see Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 197–204.

[55] The Easter indulgence is highlighted in a rubric extracted from a ceremonial book dated by Bernhard Schimmelpfennig at the time of Benedict XIII. The rubric states clearly "Die sabbati sancta papa dat indulgentias populo"; Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher der römischen Kurie im Mittelalter* (Tubingen, 1973), p. 309.

a Clementist like Eymeric was aware of the reason.[56] If the traditional distribution of the Easter indulgence attracted pilgrims to the city, the forthcoming election and the papal advent only increased their number. The newly elected pope's indulgence was granted and proclaimed by the prior-bishop, or cardinal-bishop of Ostia, who consecrated the pope.[57] The mathematical mentality decoded by Jacques Chiffoleau in *La comptabilité de l'au-delà* was in place; the distribution of a double indulgence appealed to a large crowd hoping to reduce its time in purgatory with the multiplication of indulgence days.[58]

Most testimonies, after discussing their uneasiness in Rome during the novena, focus on the crowd that invaded the conclave on its day of entry.[59] Still, what they often do not mention is that the crowd was part of the ceremonial's procedure.[60] They often question the dedication of the conclave's official guards who allowed such an overflow. But what seems to have specifically astonished the French cardinals was the social status of the guards of the conclave. One guard was a carter, the other an apothecary, and both men had named and swore in four other guards.[61] The cardinals' narrative makes the inefficiency of the guards responsible for the troubles that surrounded the election. The cardinals' class bias is evident. They insist that the guards were named from the Roman citizenry and not from the nobility, and that if the latter had been in charge, things would have proceeded differently. According to

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[56] Baluze, *Vitae paparum avenionensium*, 2:910.

[57] Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal: De Rome en Avignon ou le cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi*, p. 319.

[58] Jacques Chiffoleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du moyen âge, vers 1320–vers 1480* (Rome, 1980). Jacques Stefaneschi's early 14th-century ceremonial clarified the condition of distribution of the Easter and papal advent's indulgences; Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal: De Rome en Avignon ou le cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi*, pp. 200, 299.

[59] Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 212–21.

[60] See for example De Conzié's *ordo* in Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la renaissance: Les texts avignonnais jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme d'Occident*, 1:47–61, and 262–335, according to him during their last diner at their personal residence the cardinals offered their last recommendations to their chamberlain and staff, requesting the maintenance of peace and order, and the staff's prayers for a judicious choice in the new pontiff. At the toll of the bell the cardinals hurried to the conclave palace and entered through its main gate, left wide open for the occasion to allow temporary access to all well-wishers who accompanied the cardinals.

[61] Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, p. 214.

the high-ranking curialists, nothing good could be expected from such people, and they regretted the expulsion of the Roman nobility.[62]

IV

Analyses of curialists' testimonies make much of the fear of pillaging and are strong evidence of the mood pervading the city.[63] According to the *Factum Urbani*, the Roman authorities assumed the maintenance of order and the protection of the cardinals in the Borgo and conclave's surroundings, because they were aware of potential trouble.[64] However, the prevalence of this fear demonstrates that everybody was expecting it as a normal part of the ceremonies; most curialists stated clearly that riots and pillaging were expected.[65] Regardless of the precaution identified earlier, especially in the testimony of the abbot of Sistres, the Borgo was emptied. Higher-rank ecclesiastics present in Rome, mostly the bishops and cardinals, secured their goods and took refuge with friends and in convents. The two brothers of the Ammanati family, for example, Tommaso and Bonifacio, retained only the barest necessities for their daily routine.[66]

Violence may also have been mixed with greed. Pierre de Cros, camerlengo of the dead Gregory, explains how, before the conclave,

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[62] See the testimonies of Brother Ferrier and Alvarès Gonzalve; Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, p. 215.

[63] I discuss the traditional pillaging that took place at the death and at the election of a popes in "*Castrum Doloris*: Rites of Vacant See and the Living Dead Pope in Schismatic Avignon," pp. 245–77; "The Politics of Body Parts: Contested Topographies in Late Medieval Avignon," pp. 66–98; and in "Looting the Empty See," pp. 429–74. Also, some of my earlier findings are forthcoming in "Empty See and Ritual Pillaging in the Middle Ages" in *Power, Gender and Ritual in Europe and the Americas: Essays in Honor of Richard C. Trexler*, ed. Peter Arnade and Michael Rocke (Toronto, forthcoming); "Violence électorale coutumière et le début du schisme," in *Pariser Historische Studien: Der Ausbruch des Großen Abendländischen Schismas im Jahre 1378*, ed. Stefan Weiß (Munich, forthcoming); "*Spolia*, Ritual Pillaging, and the Avignonese Papacy," in *Petrarch's Babylon: Cultural Exchange in Papal Avignon*, ed. Susan Noakes (Minneapolis, forthcoming); and in *Raiding Saint Peter: Empty Sees, Violence, and the Initiation of the Great Western Schism (1378)*.

[64] Ullman, *The Origin of the Great Western Schism*, p. 12.

[65] See, for example, the testimonies of Jean Rame, Thomaso, Bonifacio Ammanati, and Guillaume de Sabine, who insist on threats against their persons and goods but who took measures above all to protect their possessions, hiding them with well-meaning neighbors; Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 130–36.

[66] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," pp. 363–65. Tommaso, archbishop of Naples, ended up being promoted to cardinal by Clement VII in 1385.

he had evaded a few Romans who waited for him outside Sta. Maria Nova where he attended the novena high mass; their plan was to take him to Castel Sant' Angelo, where the treasury of the Church had been deposited. There they would have beheaded him unless he had let them in and delivered to them the fortress and its effects. He fortunately escaped and found refuge in the same fortress.[67]

The defense of Castel Sant' Angelo was important for the future of the papacy; after all, it contained the treasury but also determined the future of the cardinals. According to the *Factum Urbani*, most cardinals were "somewhat uneasy, [they] arranged for all their private goods, particularly money, books, jewels, and all other mobile possessions to be brought into the castle of Sant' Angelo, as soon as Gregory died."[68] The focus on Castel Sant' Angelo makes sense when one realizes the many assets it contained.

Noël Valois and Marc Dykmans have sketched the physical setting of the 1378 conclave.[69] The conclave took place on the first floor of the Vatican, in an enclosed area comprised of two chapels, a vestibule, and the cardinals' cells. A flight of stairs linked this first floor to the palace's courtyard, but the gate connecting the courtyard and stairs had been sealed. Three doors led out of the conclave to other rooms on the first floor. One was sealed, and the other two were left open until all visitors exited the conclave. They were all to be sealed at the

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[67] "Item dominica in Passione, existentibus DD cardinalibus et dicto olim Camerario in dicta ecclesia B. Marie Nove in missa novene que tunc solempniter cantabatur, fuit revelatum ipsi D. olim Camerario, quod aliqui romani insidiabantur sibi, et volebant eum capere in exitu misse, et ducere ante castrum S. Angeli, ubi tum idem D. camerarius facerat poni omnia vel saltem majorem partem bonorum et jocalium, et ibi ipsum decapitare, ordinaverant nisi redderet castrum, et omnia que intus erant; ad que providens ipse D. olim Camerarius, statim missa finita, cum modica comitiva, ascendens equm, per vias oblicas et furtive, pervenit ad idem castrum, et interius intravit, nec ulterius exivit nisi post triduum post intronizationem"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, p. 152.

[68] Ullman, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, p. 12. The *Factum Urbani* states, "Cum praedicti tunc cardinales verisimiliter suspicantes de dicta morte Gregorii, deliberaverunt invicem aliqua pro cautela, custodia et tuitione rerum ac bonorum suorum, et inter caetera major pars ipsorum, maxime Gallici seu Ultramontani, deliberaverunt mittere, et miserunt pecunias, vasa argentea, libros, jocalia, ornamenta, et alia eorum bono mobilia, ipsaque portari et recondi fecerunt in castro S. Angel fortissimo et tutissimo, quod castrum situm erat, et est juxta Urbem, prope dictum burgum S. Petri, et tenebatur nomine Romanae Ecclesiae per castellanum Ultramontanum; quaedam vero ex illis bonis fuerunt posita in aliis locis tam intra quam extra urbem"; *Annales ecclesiastici*, 26:330.

[69] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," pp. 382–83; and Dykmans, "La troisième élection d'Urbain VI," pp. 218–20.

conclave's inauguration, leaving a small hatch in one of the doors to communicate and bring in food.

After the visitors cleared away, Guillaume de la Voulte was locking one of the gates when someone stole the key from him.[70] He retrieved it, but the effort fatigued him. He abandoned the door and returned to his room for several hours. The guards kept watch because the cardinals expected a visit from the 13 *caporioni*, the heads of Rome's neighborhoods, and they indeed arrived after the closing bell rang. It was around eight o'clock at night, and the cardinals received them in one of the chapels. The *caporioni* requested the election of a Roman or Italian pope, mentioning the physical risk the cardinals would face if they did not accede to this request. Orsini and d'Aigrefeuille reasoned with the *caporioni*, arguing that their request was the equivalent of electoral tampering and raised the possibility of a schism. They left an hour later. Guillaume de la Voulte returned to his task and ordered the last door of the conclave sealed. For some unknown reason, instead of walling the last door, as the *ordo* requested, he only locked it.

During this first night of the conclave, the spatial division framed perceptions, separating the cardinals and their servants inside the conclave from the guards and crowd outside.[71] Testimonies describe a nervous night of sounds and commotion, indoors and outdoors. Inside the conclave's cells, everyone nervously lay awake until their fear became justified. In the middle of the night, a crowd rushed through various gates and attacked the dead pope's pantry and cellar. Jean Columbi states that around three or four in the morning a mob plundered the pope's pantry, bedroom, and antechamber and ransacked through the cellar, from which they took vegetables and wine and in which they spilled wine all over the ground.[72] Several witnesses corroborate the events. Etienne de Millarisis, Jean de Saint-Isidore, Tomaso Ammanati,

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[70] The cardinals had appointed Guillaume de la Voulte, bishop of Marseille, guard of the conclave while the camerlengo remained in Sant' Angelo; he was assisted by the bishops of Tivoli and Todi, both Roman citizens.

[71] Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 229–34, discusses this first "tumultuous" night of the conclave.

[72] "Romani intraverunt per vim in loco, vel in guardamanjar, ubi erant victualia pape, et camera paramenti et alia in qua dormiebat papa; et cellarium vini et quod abstulerunt quod invenerunt in dictis cameris […] et quod biberunt et sparserunt de vino et de agresto, et hoc credit quod potuit esse ad tres vel quatuor horas noctis"; or "Rumore invalescente, fregerunt cellaria vini pape Gregorii, ibique romani intrantes, et dum diversis vinis fuerunt omnes crapulati, ceperunt pejora prioribus"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, p. 244.

and Rodrigue Ferdinand witnessed the pillaging of the papal kitchen, "depredati fuerunt coquinam." All agree that a large quantity of wine was spilled; it created a spill deep enough to require that wooden boards be placed on the ground for safety.[73] According to witnesses, the mobs finally settled down in a state of advanced drunkenness.[74]

The 26 July 1378 *casus* of the Italian cardinals and the 2 August 1378 manifesto of the French cardinals mention the same events in differing terms. The Italian cardinals bring up the violent occupation of the palace by an armed and noisy mob that was yelling, "We want him Roman or Italian" and bring up the electors' sleepless night; while the French corroborate the latter, adding that they also heard death threats. None mentioned the pillage of the kitchen and cellar.[75]

The following morning, Thursday, 8 April, uneasiness continued. While the cardinals were hearing mass, the morning bell echoed all over the Borgo, but it rang like the tocsin of alarm. An individual was holding onto the bell tower as he range the bell, holding a red hat and signaling toward the Capitoline Hill. The mob still chanted for an Italian or Roman pope. To calm the crowd, Aigrefeuille and Orsini pushed their senior, Cardinal Corsini, prior of the cardinals, to promise the mob that a Roman or Italian pope would be elected. The cardinals discussed their options, including how to legitimize a contentious election once peace was restored. Still, as soon as Pedro de Luna proposed Bartolomeo Prignano's name, the cardinals elected him by the mandatory two-thirds majority vote. Each cardinal clearly spelled

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[73] Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 244–47.

[74] Guillaume de la Voulte states, "Tota nocte fuerunt clamando et vociferando fortiter et postea intraverunt in palacio et ruperunt cellarium ubi erat vinum et plures alias cameras, acceperunt illa que sibi placebant et non tantum bibebant vinum sed permittebant exire per terram et fecerunt ut pejus poterant in vino et in aliis rebus que ibi erant, non sicut amici et custodes, sed sicut inimici et destructores, et sic per totam noctem non cessaverunt"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, p. 4.

[75] Dykmans, "La troisième élection d'Urbain VI," pp. 230–33, juxtaposes both texts. The Italians state, "Non obstante quod Romani occupaverunt palatium, et tota nocte, existentes armati, ut plurimum sine intermissione clamaverunt dicentes: 'Romano voy Italiano lo volemo,' et ita cum sonitu tubarum et tamburorum, continuaverunt per totam noctem, adeo quo aliqui ex dominis modicum dormierunt." The French text is basically similar, adding, "Et aliqui asserunt se audivisse aliquos clamantes: 'moriantur.'" Regardless of the state of mind of the witnesses, the raucous behavior of the mob seems to almost remove any sense of threat. The trumpets and tambourines reinforce the notion that the cardinals were facing a group of celebrating drunkards rather than political agitators.

his choice aloud, matching the interest of the Church with that of the Roman mobs. This is commonly labeled Urban's first election.[76]

It is interesting to note that Cardinal Orsini was the only cardinal who refused to vote, claiming aggravating circumstances. But he may have had ulterior movives that in the end added to the violence of the day. According to a witness, agitators hiding among onlookers were maneuvering the crowd to chant Orsini's name. This suggests that there was an Orsini faction and that he was or wished to be one of the *papabile*. One witness, a certain Nardus, testified to these actions, and he named the agitators as being from the *familia* and kinsmen of Cardinal Orsini.[77] Similarly, the inquest report of Rodrigue Bernard—for the benefit of the king of Castille—mentions the deposition of Nardus and the behavior of Orsini's *familia*, adding that of one of the four guards of the conclave, Sichus domini Fuchi, was also inciting the crowd to chant Orsini's name.[78]

At this stage, the cardinals could not deliver the news to the crowd until Prignano himself had accepted his duty. While this excuse for the delay in publication is more than plausible, there are several other factors to be considered. At least three cardinals worried that the nomination would not satisfy the Romans and welcomed the delay offered by Prignano's acquiescence. According to them, when the mob saw movement around the conclave, it immediately suspected that the election had taken place and started clamoring for a Roman pope and even yelled the name of Orsini. This switch in language from "an Italian or Roman" to strictly "a Roman" made the cardinals nervous.[79]

Noël Valois suggests still another reason. The cardinals feared pillage, and the delay allowed them extra time to store away their

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[76] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," pp. 390–93.

[77] See the deposition of Nardus: "Et tunc aliqui romani qui erant de familia D. cardinalis de Ursinis predicti et consanguineorum suorum abscondebant facies inter alios et clamabant quod romanum tantum volebant"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificati*ves, p. 11.

[78] Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, pp. 139–40.

[79] See the depositions to the envoys of the king of Aragon of the cardinals of Viviers, Poitiers, and Aigrefeuille, respectively, in Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, 2:83, 104, 127. Viviers states, "Ante nominationem B. audivi quod clamabant de ytalico vel romano, ex post videtur michi quod clamaverunt aliqui de romano"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, 2:83. The official statement issued by the envoy of the king of Castille (Rodrigue Bernard) mentions that "agitators" worked the crowd at that precise moment in favor of cardinal Orsini. He asserts that according to his records, members of Orsini's *familia* as well as one of the constable guarding the conclave yelled his name; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, p. 139.

goods.[80] According to Valois, once the cardinals decided on the name of the pope, they took all the required steps for protecting their goods. Ingenious cardinals hid boxes of jewels in a room tucked behind the altar of the second chapel. Another hideout was accessed through a hole in a door that reached into a room of the archbishop of Narbonne, in which a hole in the floor gave secondary access to the floor below, where they stashed the goods.[81]

The well-known notary of the palace, Dietrich of Niem, states in his *De schismate* that "after the cardinals had elected him [Prignano] pope unanimously, they sent for him and other prelates on Friday, at the third hour. He immediately moved his books and other valuables into a safe place, so that they would not be stolen, if the rumor were spread abroad that he had been elected."[82] He also insinuates that the simple rumor of the election would initiate the pillage of the goods of the newly elected; and, more to the point, his testimony serves the case of customary pillaging when Dietrich added that it was a Roman tradition to do so.[83]

Testimonies allude to this "expected" despoliation in various degrees. The cardinal of Viviers replied ambiguously when asked about the delay in the publication of the name of the newly elected and whether the cardinals feared then for their lives.[84] He considered the crowd somewhat out of control and feared its breaching of the conclave, but he only mentions the possibility of *scandalum* if this happened—which is open to interpretation—and he especially emphasizes the possible loss of their goods. Like many others, he does not clearly state that pillaging was expected at the denouement of the conclave, but he suggests that it was.[85]

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[80] Valois, *La France*, 1:46; and "L'élection d'Urbain VI," p. 394.

[81] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," p. 394.

[82] Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, p. 40.

[83] The text reads, "Qui quidem Urbanus statim libros et quasdam alias res ipsius ad loca tuta portari fecit, ne, si rumor insurgeret in populo, quod ipse electus esset in papam, forsan Romani more suo irruerent in ejus hospitium ac ipsum suis libris et rebus hujusmodi spoliarent"; *Annales ecclesiastici*, 26:288–89. It is interesting that Ullman chose to pass on the words *more suo* in his translation.

[84] "Super decimum non recordor de ea pro nunc, sed credo quod fuit, quia si populus intrasset in illo furore, potuisset esset scandalum et perditio bonorum que habebamus ibi"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, 2:79.

[85] The cardinal of Sant' Angelo also assumed that, after the election was made public, the crowd would pillage goods in the conclave. He states, "Item post permissa, DD. Cardinales dubitantes romanos ne si fieret publicatio nominationis Bartholomei,

When the cardinal of Aigrefeuille testified to the envoys of the king of Aragon, he inadvertently framed the situation quite well. D'Aigrefeuille had to answer an extremely pressing question. The cardinals had declared the election null and void because of their fear of the mob's action. The envoys were pressing witnesses on the level of fear at the time, understanding quite well that the level of fear and pressure would make or unmake the validity of the election. The envoys were surprised by a banality. In the middle of a situation that, according to the cardinals, was quite chaotic and dangerous, as they feared that the crowd would enter the conclave and attack their goods and lives, the cardinals stopped all operation once they had named Prignano, and they sat down to eat. The envoys stated their surprise; for them the cardinals' behavior did not suggest a heightened sense of danger. Was it reasonable to eat when they feared an imminent attack on their lives?[86] The meal taken by the cardinals seems to suggest that they were not overly eager to leave the premises and did not feel a pressing danger. Perhaps because the cardinals knew what was coming next—the customary pillage—they did not overly fear the action of the crowd.

This discrepancy between the cardinals' narrative and their action may actually point to violence as the customary action of the crowd. It is worth mentioning that up to now, the narratives indicate a somewhat traditional—if we stick to Niem's words—sacking of the goods of the newly elected. While goods were moved, Guillaume de la Voulte pressed the cardinals to hurry, his voice obscured by the clamor of the

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romani intrarent et raperent bona que erant in conclave"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, 2:130.

[86] We have to remember that D'Aigrefeuille argued for the invalidity of the election. He states, "Dico quod facta dicta pretensa electione, dictum et proloqutum inter nos extitit ut dicta electio publicaretur et dictus B. intronizaretur ad hoc ut eadem die conclave et tantum periculum exire possemus: sed hoc dilatum extitit, quia aliqui ex DD. Italicis dixerunt quod hujusmodi electio tunc esset nobis valde periculosa, nam ipsam tunc faciendo, romani qui adhuc erant in suo furore, conclave intrarent et, ut ipsi tenebant firmiter, incederent ad rapiendum bona nostra ibi existentia, ex quo posset oriri dissentio sive rumor tam inter ipsos, quoa familiares nostros, et sic essemus in periculo magno; sed consulerunt, et ita factum fuit, ut mitteremus pro quibusdam prelatis, quorum iste B. unus fuit, ad hoc ut romani hoc audientes, magnis manerent quieti, et medio tempore intenderemus quantum possemus ad recolligenda dicta bona nostra et in locis securis et secretis recondenda vel ab inde extrahenda si possemus, prout et fecimus quantum nobis possibile fuit; et quia dicti prelati nondum omnes venerant et cibaria nostra erant jam introducta satis cursorie, insolide et exhoneste comedimus"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, 2:117. The unstated assumption of the envoys was that once the cardinals had decided on Prignano and sent representatives to announce the news to the candidate, they would have escaped and not eaten.

mob. Orsini went to the door's counter and promised the crowd that before vespers they would have someone they liked. He wrote down the names of Prignano and six other Italian prelates on a piece of paper, handed it to Guillaume de la Voulte, and told him that these individuals were requested at the palace. With the exception of Thomaso degli Ammanati, who was afraid of the mob surrounding the conclave, the other six reached the Vatican without any interference or hassle. They dined with the cardinals, avoiding discussing the election.

At this stage of the narrative, there is again mention of violence. Cardinals told their staff to pack and protect their goods. Attendants had been ordered to, "as soon as the meal ends, fold linen and utensils and hide everything outside the conclave in a room where, at this exact moment, they were creating a great opening."[87] After the meal, as the cardinals were rinsing their hands, they ordered their attendants to carry away as many silver bowls as they could—on their person, in their effects, or in their belt.[88]

According to Valois's research, it is during this meal that the cardinal of Glandève mentioned to Fernando Perez that he had been scared—tellingly using the past tense. With dinner finished, the cardinals of Florence and Aigrefeuille discussed violent conclaves of the past, like the one that resulted with the election of John XXII in Carpentras.[89] When Tebaldeschi proposed reelecting Prignano, now that the calm was restored, 13 out of 16 cardinals claimed that it was unnecessary—they all agreed on Prignano.[90] This episode has been commonly labeled the second election. We can conclude that at that specific time they viewed the recent so-called violence as negligible, certainly not a cause for a

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[87] The text reads, "Et quod omnia ustensilia et bona eorum […] mobilia confestim plicarentur et ponerentur in certo loco extra conclave, in quadam camera ubi fuerat factum illa hora unum magnum foramen"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, p. 353.

[88] Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, p. 353.

[89] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," pp. 395–97. For a discussion of the events in Carpentras and the election of Pope John XXII, see Guillaume Mollat, "L'élection du pape Jean XXII," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 1 (1910), 34–49 and 147–66; Guillemain, *La cour pontificale*, pp. 108–09; Mollat, *Les papes d'Avignon*, pp. 38–41; J. Liabastres, *Histoire de Carpentras ancienne capitale du Comté Venaissin* (Carpentras, 1891), pp. 21–22; Baluze, *Vitae paparum avenionensium*, 1:107, 152, 169, 172, 178, and 234–42; Martin Bertrandy, *Recherches historiques sur l'origine, l'élection et le couronnement du pape Jean XXII* (Paris, 1854); and "Jean XXII," in *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*, ed. Philippe Levillain (Paris, 1994), pp. 943–47. Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal: De Rome en Avignon ou le cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi*, pp. 160–62, makes some passing references to the intricacies of that election's vote.

[90] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," p. 398.

violation of electoral form. They validated the election a second time to emphasize its legitimacy.

While the cardinals dined, the Romans were still clamoring loudly outside the conclave, well aware that the recent activities and the arrival of the six prelates meant that the election had taken place. It is at this moment that one of the most infamous episodes took place. From one of the conclave's windows, Cardinal Orsini asked those gathered to go to Saint Peter. Misunderstanding his words, the crowd rushed to the cardinal of Saint-Peter's (alias Tebaldeschi) house and sacked it—the crowd had confused the site of Saint Peter with the cardinal's epithet.[91]

<center>V</center>

The sacking of St. Peter's residence often goes unmentioned in the testimonies because it initiated a turn to the worse: The conclave was sacked at the same time, and the situation became even more confusing.[92] The sacking of the conclave occurred when the crowd asked Cardinal Orsini if the pope was a Roman, Orsini supposedly moved his nail on his teeth. The gesture may have been interpreted as a "no," and the conclave was plundered. The cardinals' testimonies emphasize that the crowd took all their possessions inside the conclave, including jewelry, but that mobs also plundered their possessions outside the conclave's walls.[93] As events were unfolding, the keeper, Guillaume de la Voulte, overcome by the crowd, panicked and simply left his post.[94] A group of cardinals hid in the camerlengo's apartment, where a cleric proposed to dress the old Cardinal Tebaldeschi as a substitute pope to calm the onslaught. Struggling against his well-intended assailants, Tebaldeschi was enthroned, covered with the white miter and red cape, and paraded on his chair to the call of the papal bell and the sound of the *Te Deum*. Tebaldeschi was subsequently hidden in a secret chamber while the election of Prignano was announced.[95]

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[91] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," p. 399.

[92] Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 266–397, juxtaposes the pillage's narrative. I will not repeat his task.

[93] Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 369–70.

[94] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," p. 399.

[95] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," pp. 400–01.

According to most testimonies, the onslaught on the conclave was linked to the election; for the French cardinals it was a very obvious sign of the mob's displeasure, but ironically, for others, it suggested the joy the Romans felt,[96] Roman's "rapacity,"[97] or impatience and excitement about meeting the new pope.[98] For some authors, it was also part of the reenactment of an older tradition.

Two witnesses detailed their knowledge of the tradition. They are rarely discussed because they were of a somewhat lower-level rank and their testimonies thus did not carry the weight of the cardinals' depositions. Their words are nevertheless highly informative for the purpose of this chapter. The first witness was Francis, a chanter from Plaisance. According to him, the Romans purposely broke the doors of the conclave to pillage its content. The Romans assumed that it was customary for them to pillage the conclave and the house of the pope-elect.[99] In his testimony, the chanter remembered that several members of the court had informed him of the practice, and several Romans in turn had asked him if these rumors of a traditional pillage were true.[100] His answer was that he had never heard of the assault on the conclave but had surely heard of the electoral pillaging tradition in Avignon. This is the first-ever recorded testimony that mentions electoral pillaging in Avignon. The chanter remembered that some Romans (but he could not commit to specific names) had inquired about the tradition during the novena that preceded the conclave, and he was certain that the Romans questioned him on the traditional pillaging.

The testimony of Bartolomeo de Zabrici, bishop of Recanati and Macerata, adds weight to Francis' words. His deposition is long and detailed.[101] He describes himself as holding a doctorate in canon law, and he was Auditor of Apostolic Causes under Urban V. Gregory XI elevated him to his episcopate. Bartolomeo calls himself a close friend

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[96] According to this view, the mob broke the conclave because of its uncontrolled enthusiasm; see Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, p. 368.

[97] Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 369–70.

[98] Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, p. 371.

[99] "Illud fregerunt ad intentionem deraubandi illud quod erat in conclavi, credendo quod hoc poterant facere licite secundum morem ita de conclavi sicut de domo illius qui dicetur esse papa"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, p. 371.

[100] "Ab eo quesiverant aliqui romani si erat de more hoc quod dicebatur deraubare conclave et domum"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme*, p. 371.

[101] Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, pp. 92–134. Somebody did not like his somewhat "Urbanist" deposition. In the margins of his second testimony, someone added at times "it is not true" or words to that effect; see especially pp. 114–17.

of Cardinal de Vergne, whom he had known since childhood and who, most important, was present in Rome during the election.[102] His narrative offers nothing exceptional until we reach the election per se. Using the first person *scio*, he stated that he knew from good sources—especially from Cardinal Pierre de Vergne, and Guillaume de la Voulte, bishop of Marseille and keeper of the conclave—that on Thursday, the cardinals chose the pope early in the day after disagreeing over several candidates. Once a candidate was chosen, the college sent for several prelates in order to bring them to the palace. The elected belonged to the group. Once the prelates arrived, de la Voulte asked what to do with them, and the cardinal of Aigrefeuille advised to do nothing before lunch; the prelates ate in the antechamber (*camera paramenti*) and the cardinals in the conclave.[103]

In the meantime, the crowd, waiting outside the gates of the conclave, started to suspect that an election had taken place when it saw the cardinals' envoys and the arrival of the various prelates. The abbot of Monte Cassino, of Roman origin, was among the prelates called in; when the crowd saw him, it suspected that he had been the one elected and rushed to his house to pillage it. As time passed, many more Romans were converging toward the palace, hollering their desire to know who was their next pope. De la Voulte replied, "Go to St. Peter," and, according to Bartolomeo, the crowd misunderstood. Thinking that the cardinal of St. Peter had been elected, they went to his residence and plundered it, "as it was customary and as I saw [witnessed] in Avignon when the lord of Beaufort had been made pope, back then, they [the crowd] had pillaged the house [of the elected] as was customary with all of his predecessors."[104] Once the Romans had

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[102] "Ego Bartholomeus de Zabriciis doctor decretorum minus, indignus episcopus Recanatensis et Maceratensis, per S. M. D. Gregorium ad eamdem promotus ecclesiam, olimque causarum palatii apostolici auditor, per s.m. Urbanum papam V ad id assumptus officium […] et hoc scio et quia D. de Vernhio tunc cardinalis, cujus ego fueram socius a pueritia, quasi in studio, et cujus etiam in rota fueram socius, et cujus post assumptionem ejus ad cardinalatum fueram auditor, et socius prout etiam eram tunc frater, quia erat lemovicensis natione"; *Gayet, Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, pp. 92–93.

[103] Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, p. 100.

[104] "Verum tamen, romani multi audientes papam esse factum, iverunt ad palatium hora tertiarum, et quia missum fuit pro abbate Cassinense, qui romanus erat, quum pro aliis prelatis missum fuit, et *multi crediderunt eum papam, et hac ex causa fuit omnibus bonis que erant in domo sua spoliatus* […] Romani vero venerunt ad palacium, clamabant et scire volebant quis esset papa. Et D. Massilliensis respondit: Vadatis ad S. Petrum, *et tunc multi crediderunt quod D. S. Petri esset papa. Iverunt ad ejus domus et*

ransacked both houses, they realized—after the respective prelates' staff warned them—that neither man had been chosen as pope. A sizable crowd returned to the conclave, where they were yelling "We want a Roman." Cardinal Orsini appeared, asking the crowd to calm down because the pope was indeed an Italian. However, friends of the abbot and of the cardinal of St. Peter yelled, "No, no, we want a Roman." Here Bartolomeo interjects his narrative with a statement to the effect that he had heard all of this from many cardinals, and if the crowd had not made such a racket, they would have enthroned Prignano after lunch. However, because the crowd was still bellowing for a Roman, the cardinals got nervous—he thought that regardless of the cardinals' choice, the Romans, who by then had finished their lunch and drank their fill, would have complained anyway. When hearing calls for a Roman pope, the cardinals pleaded with the cardinal of St. Peter to pass as the newly elected. They covered him with the papal cape and announced his election. The crowd then entered to pillage the conclave as was customary and offered their respect to the pope.[105]

At this point of the narrative, the author describes several "traditional" pillages directly related to the election: first, the pillaging of the residences of the pseudo-newly elected or the real pope—the abbot of

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derrobaverunt eam, quia mox esse consuevit, et vidi in Avinione, quod quum factus fuit D. de Bellofortis papa, iverant similiter ad derobandum domum, sicut de aliis predecessoribus"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, p. 100. The italics are mine.

[105] "Deinde Romani videntes quod in domibus dictorum cardinalis S. Petri et Abbatis per custodientes domus dicebatur quod non erant pape, redierunt cum impetu ad palatium, cum maxime amicis dicti Abbatis, et etiam aliqui D. S. Petri, eo tamen ignorante, et aliqui D. Jacobi, quos vidi et cognovi, qui clamabant: Romano lo volemo, alta voce […] et tunc D. Jacobus de Ursinis apparuit populo dicens: Ne clametis, quia et vos habetis papam italicum. Et tunc omnes amici predictorum clamabant: non, non, Romano lo volemo. Et, ut ego audivi a pluribus ex cardinalibus ex his qui tunc erant, si non fuisset iste clamor, tunc post prandium intronizarent Dominum nostrum; sed inter eos fuit dictum: Ex quo non fecimus romanum, ipse et nos essemus in periculo […] Propter hunc clamorem, fuit in conclave dictum Domino Nostro quia abscontaret se a populi furore, et cardinales, cum magna instantia, supplicarunt D. S. Petri quod vellet se fingere papa, ne ipsi perirent, et ne etiam tantum scandalum de morte eorum pateret, et ipse devinctus precibus eorum importunis, permisit se indui papali mantello, et tunc fuit dictum: D. S. Petri est papa. Et tunc romani consanguinei, amici et servitores ejus, me vidente, ut irent ad eum, inceperunt frangere portas conclavis, que erant et fuerant murate usque ad horam quasi none. *Alii autem intrabant ad derobandum postes conclavis, ut est moris*, aliis ad videndum papam, et faciendam sibi reverentiam, *alii ad Dominos suos cardinales, ad salvandum bona eorum*, et ad sociandum eos, et ego fui unus de hiis qui intravi cum multis romanis, et ut associarem dominum meum tunc de Vernhio"; Gayet, *Le grand schisme: Pièces justificatives*, pp. 101–02. The italics are mine.

Monte Cassino and the cardinal of St. Peter, and the late Gregory XI in Avignon—and the pillaging of the conclave after the crowd thought that St. Peter had been elected.

The pillaging of the 1378 conclave signaled some form of "closure," even though some violence persevered. During the last moment of the conclave, when the door had been broken open, some cardinals escaped the Vatican. Once peace was restored, most of them returned quietly to the palace or to their residence, escorted by the Roman crowd, evidence that the conclave and its pillage had ended and the situation had returned to normal. The cardinals of Florence (Piero Corsini), Milan (Simone Borsano), and Marmoutier (Géraud du Puy) went home. Bertrand Latgier, cardinal of Glandève, was menaced, but parishioners from Sta. Cecilia protected him as he returned to his lodging at the Franciscan convent of the Trastevere. A large crowd accompanied Pedro de Luna to his residence at the Torre Sanguinea. As they passed by Castel Sant' Angelo, the castle garrison assumed that he was a hostage of the crowd and attempted to rescue him. He refused their help and went home. Six cardinals took shelter in Castel Sant' Angelo and moved to surrounding castles during the night. They resisted traveling back to the Vatican to confirm Prignano, expecting a dangerous journey because the cardinal of Brittany, last to arrive at Sant' Angelo, had been robbed of his jewelry on the way, and his house had been plundered.[106] Eventually, the cardinals signed an affidavit allowing their colleagues to crown Prignano without them and joined the celebrations later in the day, when they again approved the election of Urban. This is considered the third election of Urban VI.[107]

The thread of events recounted in many narratives of the 1378 election is corroborated by many other sources. But if the thread remains largely unchanged, each narrative adds details that complement the larger picture. For example, one can find some candid information in the narrative that issued from an anonymous writer of the life of Urban VI in the *Liber Pontificalis*.[108] According to l'abbé Duchesne, editor of the lives, the writer was a contemporary of Martin V and Eugene IV but not of Urban VI and probably wrote around 1435. If the author's distance from the events devalues his information, certain details enhance it. The

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[106] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," pp. 402–03.
[107] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," pp. 403–08.
[108] *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne and Cyrille Vogel, 3 vols. (Paris, 1955–57), 2:496–507.

motivations he assigns to Roman municipal officers when pleading for a Roman or Italian pope appear quite realistic. Without a pope, Rome was losing revenues from visitors and pilgrims; the return of the pope would mean the economic revival of the city.[109] He describes the expectant crowd in St. Peter's square, chanting "romano lo volemo" and waiting impatiently to hear the name of the newly elected in order to rush to his residence and sack it—as a token of its joy; the text reads "Et expectantes potius publicata electione Romani pontificis currere ad domum electi spoliare in signum gaudii."[110] The author clearly linked the sacking of a new pope's residence to the existing custom that was reviewed earlier. For him, the sack was a form of celebration. He further details how the crowd, unsure of who had been elected and guessing that it was the old cardinal of St. Peter, Francesco Tebaldeschi, rushed to his palace to loot all the goods (*bona mobilia*) they could find. Once again, he clearly links the pillage to the election. To finish the day, the crowd—obviously misinformed—chanted "papam Romanum desideravimus et Romanum habemus" while rushing through the opened doors of the conclave to plunder the silver bowls and others goods belonging to the cardinals, "Eo maxime quia quedam pars conclavi fuit aperta, causa asportandi vasa argentea et alia bona dominorum cardinalium."[111]

There is little doubt that the Roman behavior frightened the French cardinals, because, according to the same author, it is then that the French, fearing for their lives, paraded old Tebaldeschi as the new pope, while he was claiming to those who would listen "in effectu ego non sum papa, nec volo esse antipapa; sed melior me est electus in papam, dominus archiepiscopus barensis."[112] This author suggests that it is only when the crowd uncovered the French ploy (parading Tebaldeschi) that the cardinals left for Castel Sant' Angelo. They feared the reaction of the Romans after it was shown that they had duped them with a sham election. The following day, Tebaldeschi returned to his plundered palace, obviously not worried about an attack against him personnaly.[113]

Another chronicler, the Provençal Bertrand Boysset, offers similar information, including the sacking of the conclave and several cardinals' residences. He agrees that the slogan chanted by the Romans,

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[109] *Liber pontificalis*, 2:496.
[110] *Liber pontificalis*, 2:499.
[111] *Liber pontificalis*, 2:500.
[112] *Liber pontificalis*, 2:501.
[113] *Liber pontificalis*, 2:501.

"Romanum volumus papam, vel omnes moriemini," could be perceived as threatening.[114] However, he does offer an explanation for the violence of the words: the Romans had forced themselves inside the palace and into the wine cellar, where they had indulged in "bonis vini*s*" and had become quite inebriated.[115] It is possible that their inebriation was responsible for their actions. Walter Ullmann quotes Urban himself as referring to the election riots as *vinolentia* rather than *violentia*.[116]

In any case, from the third election of Urban on, the ceremonies followed tradition. While Pierre de Vergne announced the election from a window, the cardinal of Florence, prior of the cardinal-bishops, harangued Prignano with the words "Lord we elected you," dressed him with the pontifical habit and regalia, and opened the doors of the Vatican for the public's adoration of the new leader of Christianity. Cardinals asked the usual favors, and on Easter Sunday, 10 April 1378, ceremonies concluded with Prignano's coronation. After Mass, the pope distributed indulgences from Saint Peter, gave his benediction to the Romans from the Basilica's window, offered a sermon, distributed palms, and excommunicated the enemies of the Church (Florence in this case). He then proceeded to St. John Lateran, where he was enthroned a second time, before returning to St. Peter, where Cardinal Orsini crowned him Urban VI.[117] It is noteworthy that Orsini was not cardinal-bishop of Ostia. According to liturgy, the latter should have crowned the pope, but Pierre d'Estaing had died on 25 November 1377 and had not yet been replaced.[118] Young Jacopo Orsini, cardinal-deacon of St. George, crowned Urban. Urban VI was officially pope.

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[114] Franz Ehrle, "Die chronik des Garoscus de Ulmoisca Veteri und Bertrand Boysset," *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 7 (1900), 332.

[115] Ehrle, "Die chronik des Garoscus de Ulmoisca Veteri und Bertrand Boysset," p. 332.

[116] Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, p. 39.

[117] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," pp. 409–10.

[118] The author of the Catholic Encyclopedia's article on "Ostia and Velletri," U. Benigni, duly noted that during the Schism each obedience appointed a cardinal-bishop of Ostia, because the liturgical importance of the bishop of Ostia was not missed by anyone; see "Ostia and Velletri," in the online Catholic Encyclopedia, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11346a.htm. The cardinal-bishop's role in the coronation ceremony legitimated the pope's liturgical standing. The fact is easily reconciled with information gathered in Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi, 1198–1431*, vol. 1 (Münster, 1898; repr. Padua, 1978). Five *cardinales episcopi Ostiens* are listed for the period of the Schism: Bertrandus Atgerius (1378–92), Philippus Alenconio (1388–97), Johannes de Novocastro (1393–98), Angelus Acciaiuolus (1397–1408), and Johannes de Bronhiaco (1405–26); Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi, 1198–1431*,

VI

Here ends the narrative of the election according to various contem-
porary sources, yet for historians, the issue of violence is still to be
resolved. Most sources mention some form of violence—agitated crowd
and pillaging for example—next to validations for the actions: people
were drunk or the violence was customary. Before entering into the
details surrounding the violence of April 1378 and its perception in
contemporary sources and secondary literature, it should be noted that
at least two historians have considered the "period" of the Schism, that
is the late Middle Ages, as prone to violence. Thus the violence of 1378
should not come as a surprise; it was just part of the "time." Robert-
Henri Bautier may have been the first historian to seriously consider the
mob violence as somewhat "historically" legitimate. The French author
argues that the people in the late Middle Ages made many demands
on their leaders, and rebellions abounded. The turmoil associated with
the initiation of the Schism fit the patterns of those rebellions. Bautier
noticed and highlighted the increasing popular upheavals that marked
the few years that ranged between the late 1370s and early 1380s: The
Ciompi in Florence, the Maillotins in Paris, the peasants' revolt in
England, and the riots in Flanders and Germany. He juxtaposed their
chronology with growing popular demands on authorities. These revolts
claimed relief from secular or ecclesiastical absolutism and asked for
political representation. A somewhat pre-democratic wind was blowing
on late medieval people that opposed traditional lordships.[119] Similarly,
Samuel Cohn rationalizes anti-ecclesiastical or papal rebellions as a hall-
mark of the their times. In examining scores of late medieval rebellions
geographically and chronologically he concludes that the fight against
the Black Death and for control of the disease emboldened people and
inspired them to demandi some forms of political freedom.[120]

  If we now turn to survey the specific historiography of the level of
violence in 1378 Rome, it remains inconclusive. In 1890, Noël Valois

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1:36. When popes of either obedience elevated a cardinal-bishop of Ostia during the
Schism, they were liturgically legitimizing their office. Contesting the election of either
pope on liturgical grounds became impossible because the two parallel cardinal-bishops
of Ostia legitimated the consecration of either obedience. Both obediences followed
the prescribed liturgy of papal consecration.

  [119] Robert-Henri Bautier, "Aspects politiques du Grand Schisme," in *Genèse et
débuts*, p. 459.

  [120] Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *Lust for Liberty: The Politics of Social Revolt in Medieval
Europe, 1200–1425, Italy, France, and Flanders* (Cambridge, MA, 2006).

recapitulated the situation. A line of demarcation sharply separated the *Clémentistes*, for example, Baluze and Gayet, from the *Urbanistes*, like Raynaldi and Lindner.[121] For the former there was violence; for the latter, violence was overrated because cardinals crowned Urban, henceforth legitimizing the election. The debate is dated, and one can note that the modern historiography has not innovated much. Where staunch dogmatism previously ruled, hesitation and ambivalence frame modern authors' discussion.

Several historians identify the agitation surrounding the conclave as a direct cause of the Schism (the violence precluded a legitimate election because the cardinals had no peace of mind), although they recognize simultaneously that the cardinals' behavior before and after the conclave followed routine. For example, Guillaume Mollat, in his life of Clement VII for the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, alludes to a charged mood in Rome at the death of Gregory, but he hesitates to lay the blame on anyone specific. Relying on Etienne Baluze and Louis Gayet, he depicts the pressures Roman municipal officers put on the cardinals when pleading for the election of a Roman or Italian pope and the danger presented by popular demonstrations in the street.[122] He first describes the situation as chaotic: "panic spread everywhere. Pillage was feared."[123] However, he later states, "In any case, the cardinals did not seem to have felt overly threatened. They did not deem it necessary to call in the mercenaries at the pay of the curia or to find refuge in the Castel Sant' Angelo that was impregnable."[124] Mollat wants to read threat and danger in the behavior of the crowd but has to minimize the impact of the violence when he surveys the cardinals' behavior, which was not one of fear.

The choice of evidence presented can make the case for or against a threatening level of violence. John Holland Smith, in *The Great Schism*, unwillingly asserts the conventional character of the few days surrounding the 1378 election when he relies on the evidence provided by the dispatch of the Mantuan envoy Christoforo da Piacenza, dated 9 April 1378. Christoforo, in a moment of total serendipity, does not mention *any* tumult during the election. Walter Brandmüller has recently edited

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[121] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," pp. 354–56.

[122] Baluze, *Vitae paparum avenionensium*; and Gayet, *Le grand schisme*.

[123] "La panique se répandit partout. On craignait le pillage"; "Clément VII," p. 1164.

[124] "Cependant les cardinaux ne semblent pas avoir appréhendé outre mesure le danger. Ils ne songèrent ni à appeler à leur aide les routiers à la solde de l'église romaine, ni à se renfermer dans le château Saint Ange, inexpugnable"; "Clément VII," p. 116.

into one volume the correspondence of some of the foreign emissaries present in Rome in 1378 to their patrons. There is no doubt that Christoforo da Piacenza provides the most laconic testimony. What he wrote in April 1378 to Lodovico Gonzaga, offers a marvelous example of the quintessential "historical silence." Christoforo stated, "Significo dominacioni vestre, prout alias scripsi, quod die XXVII mensis Marcii dominus papa Gregorius migravit ab hoc seculo, et die octava mensis Aprilis domini cardinales, *bonitate et industria Romani populi* (my italics) elegerunt in papam dominum Bartholomeum."[125] His letter brings us to the core of historical analysis and issues of human perception or human deception. For Christoforo, the good and industrious Romans had facilitated the cardinals' electoral task!

Even though John H. Smith mentions that there was no love lost between French and Romans, he emphasizes that the cardinals did not take the threats (so indeed he saw some) seriously, and they continued to live in the city with few extra precautions. Smith also vacillates between the Roman "mob" and the cardinals in his quest for responsibility in the questionable election.[126] Arguing for the mob's will, he discusses the ten-day rule set up by Alexander III [*sic*] to separate the death of a pope and entry into conclave. He states, "If the citizens of Rome were to nullify the French advantage in numbers [of cardinals], their move had to be made during the ten days."[127] He follows with various examples of the mob's verbal attacks on the cardinals, whereas later he seems to concede that the election of Urban owed much more to the conclave's division between French parties than to the Roman riots.[128]

Olderico Prerovsky's monograph is above all a biography of Urban VI, and he largely follows Noël Valois's analysis of 164 witnesses to the events of April 1378. He does consider the action of the crowd as a menace to the conclave and envisions it as an electoral breach of form. Still, he pauses in his decision to render judgement and questions the cardinals' silence in the few days that followed the election and coronation of Urban VI. He hesitates between what he considers the obvious misdeeds of the mob and the ambiguous silence of the cardinals who had no reason (fear aside) to keep silent their doubts on the legitimacy and validity of the election. Following Valois, he admits that the validity

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[125] Brandmüller, *Papst und Konzil im Grossen Schisma (1378–1431)*, p. 25.
[126] Smith, *The Great Schism*, pp. 4, and 6.
[127] Smith, *The Great Schism*, p. 5.
[128] Smith, *The Great Schism*, p. 136.

of the election remains an open debate.[129] Hélène Millet, in her recent overview of the Schism in the *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté (The Papacy: An Enclyclopedia)*, concludes that "all or almost all, feared the crowd. However, in the few days that followed the events, none raised voices to question the legitimacy of Urban's election."[130]

These few examples serve to depict the ambiguous historiography of the onset of the Schism. Regardless of their ambivalence, the majority of historians have traditionally exonerated the cardinals from provoking the Schism by accusing the seditious *mobile vulgus*, the Roman mob. The pressures of the latter compelled the former to act against their will. Still, a few historians, such as Bernard Guillemain, have conceded that regardless of fear, the cardinals did not act quickly on their reservations. It took them several weeks to elaborate complaints.[131]

I have argued recently that the narrative of the Schism needs to be recontextualized within the regulations of the *sede vacante* or Empty See and within the usual violence that accompanied ecclesiastical interregna. In debating the legitimacy of the election of Urban VI, the historiography has shadowed the simple fact that in 1378, a pope died and legislations governing the Empty See were initiated. Hence, the narrative of the papal election of April 1378 needs to be framed within its natural context, that of the Empty See.[132] The most detailed Ceremonial books dealing with the papal interregnum originated in large part during the late Middle Ages.[133] The most explicit medieval funerary ceremonial was the *ordo* of François de Conzié, a contemporary of the Schism.[134]

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[129] Prerovsky, *L'elezione di Urbano VI.*

[130] "Tous, ou presque tous, eurent très peur. Mais dans les jours qui suivirent, personne n'éleva de doute sur la validité de l'élection"; *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*, p. 730. Her judgment followed Guillemain, "Cardinaux et société curiale," p. 19, who stated, "L'explication n'est pas à chercher dans l'agitation de la population romaine: les cardinaux ont pu avoir peur; ils n'ont pas émis de réserves néanmoins, sur la validité de leur choix, avant plusieurs semaines."

[131] Guillemain, "Cardinaux et société curiale," p. 19.

[132] This is what I attempted to do in "Looting the Empty See" and *Raiding Saint Peter.*

[133] Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy*, p. 162.

[134] It has been edited and published by Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal: Les textes avignonnais jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme d'Occident.* Dykmans' edition supplements the edition of Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher der römischen Kurie im Mittelalter.* De Conzié complements the late 13th-century, early 14th-century *ordo XIV* (Mabillon's designation) sometimes attributed solely to Jacopo Stefaneschi: Dykmans assigns authorship solely to Stefaneschi, while Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, pp. 62–100, discusses the possibility of various authors and dates based on handwriting. See Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal: De Rome à Avignon ou le cérémonial de Jacques*

I have detailed elsewhere how the *ordo* anticipated and answered to preoccupations with violence so do not need to repeat this here. If we look at the so-called *ordo XIV*, we can see that the camerlengo anticipated political fragmentation in his ceremonial of the Empty See. He

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Stefaneschi, pp. 134–45, for a full discussion of the various copies of *ordo XIV*, *dossier d' Avignon* and others. For the purpose of this study, I used Dykmans's edition of the Avignon version of *ordo XIV*, what he calls the *dossier d' Avignon*. François de Conzié's was the pope's camerlengo (*camerarius*, camerlengo in modern day parlance), that is, the Chamberlain of the Apostolic Chamber, from 1383 until his death on 31 December 1431. The penning of the earliest funerary and Empty See ceremonial coincides with one of the most turbulent Empty Sees in papal history, the one that led to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417); for François de Conzié, see Favier, *Les finances pontificales*, pp. 42–44, 51, 61, 65, 82, 88, 94, 139, 149, 293, 295, 303, 306, 321, 350, 369, 372, 403, 425, 548, 549, 566, 586, 628, 546, 651, 652, 653, 660, 672, 679, 693, and 699. It is highly possible that the preoccupation with the Schism in fact dictated some of de Conzié's *rubrics* and that his ceremonial offers a slightly thwarted view of papal ceremonial because it answered specific situations created by the Schism. De Conzié may have felt that the lack of precedent and procedure was in part responsible for the events of the Schism. He filled the void in the liturgical procedure of the papal death, perhaps to forestall a situation as extreme as the Schism. Fixing protocol may have been a way to prevent a repetition of 1378. One way to verify this suggestion is to compare his *ordines* to earlier versions and to trace the evolution of *ordines* themselves. The task has largely been completed by Marc Dykmans, Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and does not need to be repeated. De Conzié complements in large part the early 14th-century *ordo* of Jacopo Stefaneschi; On the latter, see Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal: De Rome à Avignon ou le cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi*. De Conzié rarely pioneered, however; he just updated and detailed ceremonials when needed, such as for papal funerals and advent. Basically, de Conzié left an itemized catalog of what was customary during his lifetime. Dykmans suggests that de Conzié reflected the practice of the Avignon papacy regardless of the Schism; Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal: Les textes avignonnais jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme d'Occident*, 1:73. It still could be argued that some of his discussion on electoral invalidity for example, reflected issues raised by violence of Urban VI's election in 1378. He cites, for example, Hostiensis (Henry of Susa) and Johannes Andreae's *novella*; Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal: Les textes avignonnais jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme d'Occident*, 1:289–90. At the same time that François de Conzié was penning his ceremonial for the Avignonese obedience, his contemporary, the patriarch Pierre Ameil, was writing for Urban VI's obedience in Rome; see also Bresc, "La genèse du schisme," pp. 45–57. He may have felt a need similar to de Conzié's—a need to prevent future troubles by fixing procedures. Ameil and de Conzié mirrored each other to a certain extent, but de Conzié's meticulousness is unmatched by his Roman contemporary. Ameil's *ordo* also covered the death of the pope, but without the detailed minutiae of de Conzié's. Father Dykmans, once again, edited the document; Marc Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la renaissance: Le retour à Rome ou le cérémonial du patriarche Pierre Ameil* (Brussels, 1985), pp. 216–33, especially for the death of the pope. Ameil encompassed the papal agony, embalming and exposition of the corpse, transport to the chapel, inventory of the papal treasure, funeral, funerary procession, catafalque, novena masses, meals taken at the Vatican, alms, conclave preparation, and the distribution of mourning cloths. Finally, the rubric concerning the conclave ends his ceremonial.

dispersed authority among the three chief contenders: the camerlengo, the cardinals, and the officers of the town in which the pope died and in which the conclave would take place. The emphasis of his *ordo*, on the guard of the city and conclave, suggests that danger and political interference were assumed during a liminal or transitional time.

<div align="center">VII</div>

Historically, a papal election always brought issues of power negotiation. The Empty See was "traditionally" contentious. Regardless of location, the political void left by the death of the pope, usually a papal city's political leader (as in Rome, Viterbo, Carpentras, or Avignon) unleashed a power struggle between camerlengo, cardinals, and municipal officials.[135] The vacuum in leadership caused a factionalization of power, and the political struggle for control had to be resolved. In 1378 Rome, the usual Empty See political agitation was exacerbated by the presence of the papal court in a city that had longed for it for several decades. For the first time in almost eighty years, the Romans had a chance to revisit their old prerogative—the choice of a pope. A certain over-the-top enthusiasm might explain the words, "We want a Roman, or at least an Italian or by the keys of St. Peter we will kill and cut to pieces these French and foreigners, starting first with the cardinals."[136] In any case, the security of the city and conclave was set up as required by the *ordo* of the Empty See, shared between officials of the town and ecclesiastics. We may assume that the cardinals and camerlengo did not feel overtly threatened by the Romans when they handed them the guard of the conclave.

The ambiguity the Romans felt for the pope's return is well delineated by Margaret Harvey. She states,

> The city to which the pope returned was turbulent, and although the citizens wanted the papal court, that did not imply cordiality. In theory, Rome was self-governed with its own elected representatives, and depended no

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[135] Laurie Nussdorfer discusses these political rivalries in Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 228–53, and passim, and "The Vacant See: Ritual and Protest in Early Modern Rome," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 18 (1987), 173–89.

[136] "Romano lo volemo, o almanco italiano; o, per la clavellata di Dio, saronno tutti quanti franchilone ed Ultramontani occisi e tagliati per pezzi, e li cardinali li primi"; Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," p. 361.

longer on a rule by either territorial nobility or by papal imposed officials. Thus, the *popolo* was likely to be uneasy about the return of the pope, if that meant replacement of local authority.[137]

According to Harvey, the largely French court disdained the Romans for their general lack of deference toward higher-ups and for their propensity to walk around armed![138] Regardless of ethnic rivalry, the Romans were well aware that their regained status of Christian capital was economically advantageous.[139] Harassing the French papal court was essentially counter-productive.

A quick rebuttal to the French cardinals' claim of electoral irregularity is obvious. If they were so worried about the electoral process of 7–8 April 1378, why did they crown Urban on the following Easter Sunday (10 April)? Catherine of Siena reminded the college that they legitimized Urban's election when they crowned him.[140] It is important to remember that the coronation ceremony legitimated the plenitude of the power of the pope. For example, the pope could deliver legitimate bulls only after his coronation.[141] Well aware of this, when Clement VII announced his election to Avignon, his letter from Fondi, dated 24 September 1378, read "capitibus apostolorum Petri et Pauli qua utuntur ad apostolatus apicem assumpti *ante sui coronationem* [my italics]."[142] By adding "before his coronation," he was signaling that the said document had only limited effect. If the cardinals worried about the legitimacy of Urban's election, they could have delayed or prevented his coronation; they had available troops close by for their defense. Could it be that, at the time, the cardinals found nothing unusual about the electoral process that had just passed? Or was their fear so overwhelming that they crowned Urban to protect themselves from persecution?

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[137] Margaret Harvey, *The English in Rome, 1362–1420: Portrait of an Expatriate Community* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 31. See also Eugenio Duprè Theseider, *Roma dal comune di popolo alla signoria pontificia, 1252–1377* (Bologna, 1952), pp. 655–91.

[138] Harvey, *The English in Rome*, p. 17.

[139] See Harvey, *The English in Rome*, pp. 23–24, for a quick economic survey of the city at the time.

[140] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," p. 262.

[141] Guillemain, *La cour pontificale*, p. 109.

[142] Archives municipales d'Avignon, Pintat, boîte 76, no. 2512, and Marie Claude Léonelli, *Avignon 1360–1410: Art et histoire: Musée du Petit palais, Avignon, 25 septembre–25 novembre 1978* (Avignon, 1978), p. 27.

One way to counterbalance the partiality of some of the historiography is to investigate how contemporaries visualized the Schism. This quick survey of contemporaries' answers to the start of the events commences with images rather than a text. A colored illustration found on the second folio of Antonio Baldana's *De magno schismate* initiates the discussion. According to Paola Guerrini, who discussed it, *De magno schismate* must have been drafted in the first year of the rule of Martin V. The manuscript, dedicated to Martin, healer of the Schism, represents its history in words and images.[143] Baldana was a jurist who supported imperial and conciliar views.[144] His proximity to the events permits scholars to grasp how he visualized them.[145] The first act of Baldana's *De magno schismate, Primus actus scismatis* depicts, as background, a circular walled city that symbolizes Christianity.[146] For Guerrini, this itself is innovative and unusual; Baldana was the first to illustrate Christianity asunder, as a divided circular city.[147] The walls and its many towers are separated length-wise by an empty path. On each side lays the semi-circular territory of the obediences, anchored by a church in their center. It is in the forefront that the first act of the Schism stands. On the right side, a pope wearing the triple-crown holds the arm of a white-clad nun in a protective gesture. The nun symbolizes the Church, according to Guerrini. On the left side of the frame, three cardinals (recognizable by their red hats and habits) mounted on exquisitely designed steeds are trying to rip the veil away from the nun. One cardinal does not act but simply looks back at the pope and

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[143] See Paola Guerrini, *Propaganda politica e profezie figurate nel tardo Medioevo* (Naples, 1997), pp. 47–96, for the analysis and illustrations of the document. The document is also discussed by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism: 1378–1417* (University Park, 2006), pp. 5 n. 18 and pp. 204–06. The manuscript rests at the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma, Italy, MS 1194. Martin V's popularity was somewhat limited. For example, according to Vespasiano da Bisticci Florentine children and adults heckled the pope during his Florentine stay with calls of "Papa Martino non vale un lupino," or "Papa Martino, papa Martino non vale un quattrino"; Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*, trans. William George and Emily Walters (Toronto, 1997), p. 361.

[144] Guerrini, *Propaganda politica*, p. 62.

[145] Ulrich Richental's chronicle of the Council of Constance had the same effect, but it was not as well illustrated: Ulrich Richental, *Das Konzil zu Konstanz*, ed. Otto Feger (Starnberg, 1964). Also of interest: Charles Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition Byzantine* (Paris, 1970).

[146] See Guerrini, *Propaganda politica*, p. 49 and illustration p. 72, where she only describes the figures without any analysis.

[147] Guerrini, *Propaganda politica*, p. 60.

the nun; another cardinal pulls on the nun's veil; and the last one is robbing the keys of Saint Peter from the pope. Once again, Saint Peter's keys are easily identified—they are the crossed keys encountered so frequently in the iconography of the pope's coat of arms.

The attack is depicted quite realistically. What is remarkable in this image is that Baldana chose the iconography of pillaging to represent the Schism's beginning. The keys rest on top of the pope's head, and they must be pulled away with difficulty. The mounted cardinal has lassoed them to a rope, and he is using the strength of his horse to pull at them and dislodge them from the pope's head. The unveiling of the white nun-church suggests rape; the metaphor is well taken. Pollution is sullying the purity of the Church. The gesture and movement involved in the roping of Saint Peter's keys resembles the movements of "sacking" mercenaries. The realism of the gesture is stunning. One could replace the keys with a coffer laden with goods dragged by a horse. It cannot be ascertained whether or not Baldana chose consciously or represent the double election with the depiction of a pillage perpetrated by cardinals. In any case, he symbolically tied pillaging and cardinals, suggesting that for him the cardinals had "sacked" the Church when they had initiated the Schism.

To remain faithful to contemporaries' arguments, cardinals were often criticized for their antagonistic and authoritative character and for their arrogance. Even if propagandistic in nature, an anonymous writer of the fifteenth century proposed some fifty-eight theses to debate at the Council of Constance. He sharply criticized the cardinals. He proposed to limit their number to 12 because "the more there are of them, the bigger the war they wage," and he also suggested that no cardinals be eligible for papal election![148]

At the same time, Urban's "problematic" behavior raised highbrows, and sometimes his "shortcomings" were found in unexpected places. Dietrich of Niem considered Urban's election canonical and labeled Urban VI true pope (*verus papa*), but he noted that Romans shun Urban for his unassuming behavior. Dietrich stated, "For he was entirely unknown to many of them, and others despised him because of his

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[148] Daniel Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes of Avignon: 1316–1415* (Philadelphia, 1988), p. 37.

poverty."[149] Dietrich's statement clarifies what medieval people looked for and expected in their popes. They wanted a celebrity. Higher-ranking prelates were given publicity and recognition, and they were expected to spend. Cardinals and higher-ranking prelates were the stars of their day, and likewise anybody visiting Rome today knows the kind of following the pope and his curia beget. The crowd awaits their appearance with anticipation and feeds on the latest gossip.

Urban VI took care to refute the description of his election that emanated from the *ultramontains'* camp. His *Factum Urbani* rebutted in eight points the cardinals' arguments as laid out in their declaration from August. Urban found his refutation in the cardinals' physical and liturgical behaviors during and especially after his election. The first "fact" underscored that the college knew that the Church, "for the good of Italy," needed an Italian pope to solve the crisis it was perceived to be in. The second point was that the college recognized a need for an Italian pope when it swore to choose a candidate beneficial to all. The third point indicated that the cardinals agreed on an election regardless of the commotion in the city. The fourth noted that the archbishop of Bari had been forwarded and elevated at the suggestion of the "Gallicans" and, most specifically, the Limousin clan. This is a strong argument because it shows that the "French" liked or approved of Urban. They all voiced clearly during the election that their choice was and had been done freely. The fifth point stated that, during the fake enthronization of the cardinal of St. Peter, the latter bellowed to the crowd that he was not the elected: Bari was. This was evidence that the cardinal of St. Peter knew that Bari had been chosen. The fake enthronization took place at the suggestion of the French, who needed time to hide or evade *after* the election had occurred. The sixth point reiterated that, on 9 April, the college confirmed the election verbally and in writing after it took place. The seventh reminded the Limousins that the formal announcement of Bari's elevation had been done by one of their own, Cardinal Pierre de Vergne, along with the cardinals Jean de Cros, Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille, and that Guy de Malesset and other Limousins had congratulated him. Following his election, the cardinals had acted according to custom. They had petitioned the pope for favors,

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[149] Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, p. 41.

as is usually done after an election; on Palm Sunday they had accepted palms from him; and they had participated as usual in the pope's Easter and coronation liturgies. On the Monday following Easter, they had announced his election to the cardinals who had remained in Avignon. And finally, the eighth point refreshed their memory to the fact that for the past three months they had treated him as true pope.[150]

Urban VI was of course not alone in defending this position. The Roman legal culture of the curia and the supposed irregularity of the election compelled all parties to consult legal experts. The most renowned canon and civil lawyers of the time were queried, and, judging by the significance of their reputations, they ended up heavily on Urban's side, chastising *ultramontains* cardinals.[151] The exposition of facts issued by the Italian cardinals (on 26 July, 1378), and the *ultramontains*' manifesto (dated 2 August 1378), both ended with a legal query regarding the validity and legitimacy of the election, given that it had taken place under duress. Hence both sides, Urbanists and Clementists, consulted experts.

Marc Dykmans has organized the replies chronologically. The first to answer was the Bolognese jurist Giovanni de Legnano; the second was the great Baldo degli Ubaldi (king of both laws Roman and canon law [*monarcha utriusque iuris*]), followed by Cardinal Pierre Flandrin, the Portuguese Pedro Tenorio who was bishop of Coimbra and archbishop of Toledo, the Florentine cardinal Piero Corsini, and lastly the Aragonese Pedro de Luna.[152]

The first legal consultation emanated from the Urbanist Giovanni de Legnano. His treatise was dated in the second week of August. His *Fletus magnus in ecclesia* [*The Great Tears of the Church*] reprimanded the *ultramontains* cardinals for their actions. He turned the cardinals' depositions against them, using a language filled with body metaphors that highlighted the almost biological ties that bind a pope and his college and the aberration of their separation. Giovanni castigated the cardinals for their "passion" and insisted on the election's freedom of choice, regardless of the cardinals' claim.[153] This, incidentally, was the

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[150] Smith, *The Great Schism*, pp. 137–40.

[151] Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, pp. 143–60; Smith, *The Great Schism*, pp. 141–42; and Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," pp. 247–64, discuss referral to the legal expertise of the famous canons of the day.

[152] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," pp. 247–48.

[153] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," pp. 248–49.

defense taken by most Urbanists. The legal expert was a good Thomist, who stressed that, albeit *under* fear, it is acceptable to elect freely *and not by fear*. I italicize his subtlety. Fear did not dictate the cardinals' choice. Legnano published a second treatise in 1380 that answered directly the cardinals' manifesto of 2 August 1378. Cardinals were the head of the pope's body (the body of the Church), and as far as Giovanni was concerned, the *ultramontains* had decapitated their own body, the body of the Church. The gesture was as unnatural as a mother killing her children. Legnano mocked and belittled the insolence of the group, scoffing at their attitude that made them at once the pope's judges, witnesses, defendants, and prosecutors.[154]

The second expert who came forward in defense of Urban was the great Baldo degli Ubaldi. In July 1378, Cardinal Orsini required his expert opinion. Baldo received the cardinal's *Factum* of July 1378 and responded in August. Baldo's defense of Urban comprised three hundred citations of Justinian's codex. The weight of the codex' citations legitimized his position, and he bluntly accused the cardinals of lying. Queried anew in 1380, his defense did not change substantially.[155]

Pierre Flandrin's treatise is the next chronologically, dating roughly from February 1380. Flandrin, an obvious Clementist, used his knowledge of canon law to match the cardinals' wishes with legal theory. His devotion to his cause is unsettling because he created a fictional narrative. He altered facts and dates to fit his present needs of a Clementists' defense.[156]

The Portuguese Pedro Tenorio doubted Flandrin and stated his objections openly. The tone and quality of Pedro's writing is close to a *precieuse's* argument, candy-coated and corrosive. He ironically designated Flandrin as "the fortress of canon law" and reminded the Anagni-Avignonese clan to think twice before speaking.[157] Pedro's Urbanist defense also opposed the other two Clementists treatises, authored by the Florentine cardinal Piero Corsini and the Aragonese Pedro de Luna. The Clementists' defense, labeled traditionally by the French historiography as "formalism," argued principally for electoral irregularity: the mob coerced the choice from the cardinals. The

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[154] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," p. 249.
[155] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," p. 250.
[156] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," p. 251.
[157] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," respectively on pp. 251, and 252.

Urbanists strove to demonstrate that there had been no irregularity, because even if the election had been flawed or tainted and the pope elected illegitimately, the behavior and actions of the cardinals after the election validated it. In short, the cardinals legitimized Urban and the election by their actions and when they enthroned him. They treated him as pope.

Marc Dykmans has also summarized the legal debate surrounding Avignon's key defense. Formalism implied respect and references to "forms," in this case some type of electoral norms, structure, or framework. The *ultramontains* claimed constraints or pressure during the election and a resulting breach of the norms (forms). Dykmans has balanced accurately the irony of the *ultramontains'* defense. Formalism implied that one must observe "forms" or "norms" because they are necessary, but one can ignore them when they oppose survival! Some things are valid even though illicit, and some are licit and valid without forms or norms.[158] Their arguments would make a beguiling lawyer (or the legal teams that were involved in both camps of the 2000 US presidential election) proud. Clementists, by articulating formalism for the occasion, positioned themselves in a no-lose situation.

The great Baldo degli Ubaldi, renowned in his day as the king of lawyers, headed the counter-attack against the Clementis and is the expert most favored by historians of the Schism. Walter Ullmann has highlighted his treatise along with that of Giovanni de Legnano. Baldo wrote Urban's defense, focusing on the issue of the cardinals' fear and the possibility that it was not a solid reason to invalidate Urban's election.[159] Baldo made his point with a straightforward question. If the cardinals' fear was so immediate, why did they not protest immediately? He then gendered the debate and bruised their masculine identity, asking them whether they were of "naturae fragilis et caducae."[160] The statement had a powerful gendered bias and treated the cardinals as mere women, with all the physical weaknesses implied. He more or less taunted them, implying that they were unmanly for having been afraid.

Baldo confronted the cardinals with a form of measurement of masculinity attached to an ecclesiastical definition of "alternate masculinity."

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[158] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," p. 258.
[159] Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, pp. 143–60.
[160] Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, p. 151.

Cardinals were a new race of men, desexed but not "de-testosteroned," so to say. He argued a double-edged thesis that defined cardinals as intellectuals, highly trained on legal issues and simultaneoulsy physically brave and not effeminate: "Cardinals are not effeminate creatures easily intimidated by popular pressure."[161] Maureen C. Miller has addressed early medieval conceptions of masculinity and the dual/rival secular and ecclesiastical constructions, framing them around issues of gender and misogyny. She states, "It was rooted in the clerical construction of an alternative masculinity, one that was envisaged as more powerful and more deserving of power because it was not weakened by association with the weaker sex."[162] The construction eventually failed because physical prowess was a dominant cultural idiom.

Although Baldo granted cardinals an alternate form of masculinity, one not defined by sexuality and gender, he still taunted them with effeminacy. And certain cardinals would not allow this. Baldo framed the cardinals in what was seemingly opposite traits, learned and virile, and then deconstructed their actions in April 1378 as "unnatural" for their traditional male virile condition because they acted as fearful women. He constructed the cardinals' masculinity and then taunted them with femininity.

Baldo did not equate virility with sexuality. His clerical masculinity was not physical; rather his masculine construct was based on intellectual or mental prowess. Masculinity meant knowledge and fearlessness, two qualities that could be wielded physically and mentally, two attributes that graced the best warriors and intellectuals. He purported that cardinals were, or were supposed to be, celibate but that celibacy was not femininity or physical weakness. Still, Baldo's taunt told the cardinals to show that they were "men" in the traditional sense (that is, not afraid and ready to fight) within a Christian construct of nonviolence. He told them to show some "mental muscles." Baldo hit below the belt by playing on the old definition of *virtus* (the quality of manhood). He told them to be the men they could not be, to a certain extent.

Baldo knew that he faced some cardinals who were warriors in the secular, physical sense, and he vexed their old aristocratic mores, which equated physical prowess with mental value. One could infer that when

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[161] Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, p. 151.
[162] Maureen C. Miller, "Masculinity, Reform and Clerical Culture: Narratives of Episcopal Holiness in the Gregorian Era," *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 72 (2003), 49–50.

taunted, a warrior-cardinal like Robert of Geneva, who carried the sobriquet "butcher of Cesena," would have argued that he was a man of the world, well able and equipped to defend himself physically (remember that in Rome he wore armor under his *rochet*).[163] Baldo would then reply, "So, why didn't you in April 1378?" One almost expects Baldo to intereject with a "Stop your whining!" Baldo's arguments were layered between reality and perception. He caught the cardinals between what they were pretending to be and what they were. The cardinals claimed a frailty that was not theirs; and Baldo reminded them of it.

Baldo further detailed the incongruity of the cardinals' statements and behavior. Their supposed fear contrasted with their words and actions. At several stages of the electoral process they named Urban true pope, and they crowned him. Baldo quickly dismissed the issue of nationality, arguing that nationality could not have been a causative factor because God does not differentiate between nations.[164] Baldo reminded the college why they chose Bartolomeo Prignano as pope: he was the ideal candidate of compromise. "The Italians voted for him on account of his Italian extraction, the French because of his manners and habits."[165] The cardinals liked him. Finally, Baldo reminded the cardinals of the *sede vacante* legislation. They had no jurisdictional power over the pope; they had no legal prerogatives.

Both canon law and Baldo denied formalism. A canonical election required consensus: consent was individual, while the election was collegial. According to canon law and especially in the glosses of Innocent IV, a canonical election did not require any norm (form) but resulted instead from the natural consent of electors and elected. Actions following the election also defined consent. Baldo pushed the argument to its limit by stating that even without an election, a pope who had been enthroned and crowned was the true pope. Furthermore, a man

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[163] Dykmans described him as a general in Marc Dykmans, "La conscience de Clément VII," in *Genèse et débuts*, p. 599. There is little doubt that he was an aristocrat and a man of the Church. Regarding the events in 1377 Cesena that led to his epithet, see "Clément VII," p. 373; and Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *Lust for Liberty: The Politics of Social revolt in Medieval Europe, 1200–1425* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 92, 103–04, 144, 148, 226. During Robert of Geneva's legacy in Italy, British mercenaries billeted in Cesena and its environs drained the city and its surroundings of all its resources. The population rebelled out of frustration, attacking the soldiers and killing some 100 Britons. In retaliation, the cardinal-legate called in John Hawkwood, whose troops ransacked the city for some five months and empty it of its inhabitants, alledgely killing thousands.

[164] Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, p. 153.

[165] Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, p. 153.

crowned pope without election or enthronization was still true pope. In the act of coronation resided collegial consent.[166]

Baldo diverged from, yet simultaneously reinforced, Innocent IV, who had claimed that a papal election did not require specific norms/forms if both parties agreed. He was backed by the Hostiensis, who, when discussing Gregory IX's decretals and the text of Innocent IV's *Licet*, established the casualty, as opposed to necessity, of norm and consent. Innocent stated that a pope elected, that is chosen, by two-thirds of the cardinals, even if not enthroned, was considered crowned and confirmed because he had been elected and agreed upon. He was confirmed by the fact and received from it full power.[167]

Baldo only pushed the argument to its logical limit by reversing it. If a man elected and not enthroned was made true pope, then a man enthroned but not elected was in a similar position. Enthroning or crowning demonstrated consent. In April 1378, when the cardinals acted, that is when they enthroned and crowned Urban, they showed consent. With these acts, the cardinals validated the election and legitimized Urban VI.

A short discussion of the Schism's contemporary legal expertise on violence ends with Bartolomeo de Saliceto and his *Consilium pro Urbano VI*.[168] Bartolomeo exploited Cardinal Orsini's *Factum* to examine the four elements that worked against Urban's legitimacy: Bartolomeo Prignano had requested help from the *popolo* in exchange for favors; the conclave had been speedy; the mob had pressured the conclave; and the person elected had been brought in from the outside. Bartolomeo then used canon law to disprove and deny each of the elements. He minimized popular pressure, citing constitutional decrees by Nicolas II, Alexander III (1179), and Gregory X (1274). He argued that cardinals had followed canon law in repeating the election three times, to make sure that they all agreed. They had enthroned and crowned Urban, they had asked for his absolution, they had offered him their homage, and they had sent letters announcing Urban's election to

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[166] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," p. 260.
[167] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," p. 261.
[168] Del Re, Niccolò, ed., *Il "consilium pro Urbano VI" di Bartolomeo de Saliceto* (Milan, 1966).

European governments."[169] Urban had been enthroned, regardless of popular pressure.[170]

Bartolomeo also reminded *ultramontains* that the mob had not pronounced Prignano's name but simply requested an Italian; he did not consider this type of request a pressure. He played on words, asking cardinals to consider their reactions if the crowd had simply solicited a non-*ultramontains*.[171] He also used the cardinals' own words and asked them if they were ready to face the possibility of perjury. Indeed, they had pronounced the required "we elect you in our conscience so that you are true pope," And now they were retracting their own words.[172] They had also consented verbally to the election of an Italian and clearly stated so.[173] The *ultramontains* cardinals showed in their actions and in their statements that they had elected Urban.

In general, legal expertise joined the defense utilized by Bartolomeo de Saliceto. It leaned heavily toward Urban's legitimacy and refuted the element of violence. The cardinals, in their own depositions, showed that they had elected Urban, regardless of their claim that violence had directed their choice.

So, in 1378 the cardinals were familiar with a somewhat customary form of electoral celebratory violence but feigned ignorance as a pretext in order to get out of a previous election that now dissatisfied them. Faced with the erratic behavior of Urban VI, they found a solution in the violence that allowed them to legally petition for a revote. For the majority of cardinals who had participated in the election, the understanding of past events, and the Romans' conduct, shifted from customary although unsavory to unfounded, malicious, and fundamentally disruptive. The course of events had to be corrected.

VIII

Thus, it is left to flush out the forces specific to the election of 1378 that explain the Schism. It was not a clear-cut case but a confluence of

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[169] Del Re, *Il "consilium pro Urbano VI,"* pp. 3, 14–18, and 30.

[170] Del Re, *Il "consilium pro Urbano VI,"* p. 21: "intronizatus quantumcumque populari tumultum."

[171] Del Re, *Il "consilium pro Urbano VI,"* p. 26: "ultramontanum non volumus."

[172] Del Re, *Il "consilium pro Urbano VI,"* p. 27: "eligimus eum eo anima ut sit verus papa."

[173] Del Re, *Il "consilium pro Urbano VI,"* p. 33: "consentimus quod Italicus eligatur."

causes that suddenly amalgamated into a crisis. It should be emphasized that the 1378 Electoral College was divided and included many ambitious personalities. The presence of three factions dominated its politics and impeded a smooth election, but this was not great news and was a rather common feaitre of the papal electoral system. The Limousin party counted cardinals Jean de Cros, Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille, Pierre de Vergne, Guy de Malesset, Géraud du Puy, Pierre de Sortenac, and Guillaume Noëllet.[174] They forwarded the candidacy of Malesset or Sortenac. The French party counted cardinals Bertrand Latgier, Hugues de Montalais, Pierre Flandrin, Robert of Geneva, and the Spaniard Pedro de Luna. They wanted Flandrin. The Italian party counted Piero Corsini, Francesco Tebaldeschi, Simon Borsano, and Jacopo Orsini. They proposed the candidacy of Corsini or Borsano.

The imbalance and dispersion of the votes was bound to create alliances. According to Noël Valois, the French and Italians agreed quickly to join ranks in order to block and defeat the Limousins' vote. Early electoral maneuvers favored the election of an Italian prelate because each choice of a cardinal cancelled itself with each cardinal's vote; in any case, Prignano's name had quickly surfaced in the days preceding the conclave.[175] Valois and others do not debate the evidence pointing to Prignano's value or complicity in receiving the vote, even if he was not a cardinal. He had been with the Avignonese court for many years and had a positive image; he was a good man. The association of Naples with the House of Anjou caused the French to favor him, and his purchase of a house in Rome endeared him to the populace. Roman officials duly noted that his purchase signalled his intention to remain in the city.[176] Margaret Harvey mentions that Prignano had played up to the Romans with his compassion for the city's desolation and plans for reconstruction if he was empowered to do so.[177] Bartolomeo Prignano was the ideal compromise choice.

The many irregularities committed by the guard of the conclave, Guillaume de la Voulte, should be highlighted. His actions emerge as close to self-serving. He may have been overwhelmed by the situation.

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[174] The term *Limousin* refers to the southwestern French city of Limoge and the preponderance the area gained throughout the Avignonese papacy, with the many popes and curialists originating from the region; Guillemain, *La cour pontificale d'Avignon*, discusses the topic in great details.

[175] This is what Valois asserts, in "L'élection d'Urbain VI," pp. 371–76.

[176] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," pp. 380–82.

[177] Harvey, *The English in Rome*, p. 23.

He deserted his post twice and abandoned the privacy and security of the conclave assembly. He constantly reminded cardinals that the crowd was dangerous and would eventually assault the conclave. He sowed fear and nurtured it in words. It is possible to consider also that he was chosen as guard of the conclave because of his deficiency; his weakness assured irregularity of form. Still, the historiography has been generous to him. He is not mentioned as responsible for the abandonment of the conclave's integrity. His behavior could have been brought forward as blameworthy but was not. Instead, another the name of another official, that of the camerlengo Pierre de Cros, surfaced.

The role the camerlengo played in manipulating and resisting the election needs to be singled out. Marc Dykmans, in "La bulle de Grégoire XI à la veille du grand schisme," has laid out pretty clearly the charges against the camerlengo.[178] Dykmans accuses Pierre de Cros of having caused the Schism by not promulgating Gregory XI's regulations that defended any election carried out under duress in the city. Gregory's bull ratified the election of Urban VI and hindered any suspicion over the legitimacy of the election. Noël Valois has suggested that Pierre de Cros did not want an Italian pope and that he despised Prignano and the Romans in general. De Cros encouraged the cardinals to resist and frightened the Romans by receiving them at Castel Sant' Angelo with an ax in his hand.[179] Valois does not push the argument as far as Dykmans, who leans heavily on the camerlengo. Pierre de Cros was the first to criticize the election; after the election he took the crown jewels and tiara in his possession and transferred them first to Sant' Angelo and next to Anagni; finally, he presided over the tribunal that condemned Urban VI on 9 August 1378.[180]

Other historians blame the Schism on the relationship between pope and prelates. The prelates' disappointment with Urban led them to promote rebellion against him. Then, after his election, Urban attacked the prelates for neglecting their benefices while reaping benefits at the court. He criticized them for living in luxury while Christians starved.[181] He attacked the cardinal of Amiens directly, called Orsini a *sotus* (an

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[178] Dykmans, "La bulle de Grégoire XI à la veille du grand schisme," pp. 485–95.

[179] Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," p. 406.

[180] Dykmans, "La bulle de Grégoire XI à la veille du grand schisme," p. 493.

[181] See, for example, Ourliac, "Le schisme et les conciles," p. 92; and also Delaruelle et al., *L'église au temps du Grand Schisme*, pp. 9–13.

idiot), and was physically violent with Jean de Cros and Amiens.[182] It seems that Urban would have actually hit Jean de Cros if Robert of Geneva had not called out "Holy Father—what are you doing?"[183] One can only imagine the reaction of the brother of Jean de Cros, the camerlengo Pierre, when he heard the news!

The candidate who surfaces most often in Urban's diatribes was the cardinal of Amiens, Jean de la Grange. Walter Ullmann has acknowledged the accusations laid on Amiens and gave them some credence by narrating Urban's tirade against the man.[184] Urban went as far as blaming the Schism on Amiens. Urban described him as crafty, a traitor, and amenable to bribery. He also charged him with intensifying the Franco-English conflict. Delegated by Gregory XI to negotiate a peace in the Hundred Years War between France and England, he had, according to Urban, accepted bribes from both sides and maintained tensions between both parties by playing one against the other. According to the pope, his moneybag was never empty. Urban accused him of fomenting discord against the cardinals of Milan and Florence and between the kings of Aragon, Navarre, and Castile. Amiens on one occasion called the pope "Archiepiscopellus Barensis" (the little archbishop), and Urban demoted him.[185] Bernard Guillemain also accused Jean de la Grange of maneuvering the French crown against Urban, aided in this by his close ties with the king.[186]

Of course, the blame imparted on individuals such as the camerlengo and the cardinal of Amiens relieved the college of cardinals as a whole. Marc Dykmans has underscored two reasons for the cardinals' *volte-face*. They were jaded that Gregory's treasury was empty and that Urban did not distribute their customary share of the treasury's gold to the cardinals. Gregory had also promised his college that he would return the papacy to Avignon if he survived until September. He died,

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[182] See, for example, Smith, *The Great Schism*, pp. 140–41.

[183] Smith, *The Great Schism*, p. 141.

[184] Delaruelle, Labande and Ourliac, also proposed Amiens as one of the originator of the Schism, see Delaruelle, *L'église au temps du Grand Schisme*, p. 12.

[185] The various quotes come from Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, pp. 46–48.

[186] Guillemain, "Cardinaux et société curiale aux origines de la double élection," p. 24.

and Urban crushed, early on, any hope of moving the papacy back to Avignon.[187]

Even if the college—really—had no knowledge of Gregory's deathbed wishes to sanction any election, its action demonstrated that it avoided canon law and Gratian's *Decretum*, especially Chapter IX: *De eo, qui pecunia vel populari tumultu, non canonica electione ordinatur*.[188] If the cardinals were so worried about the situation in Rome, why did they not resort to the canons and move quickly out of the city to renew the conclave in a safer location? Their answer was simple; the Romans prevented them from leaving the city.[189]

The camerlengo Pierre de Cros was the first to forward Gratian's "Si quis pecunia" to invalidate the election, but he was quickly rebutted. Canon law does not allow for the nullification of a papal election if the elected received two-thirds of the votes.[190] This option neutralized, the next recourse was to not crown Urban, but the cardinals never opted for that course of action. They confirmed their election with the coronation of Urban VI. Robert-Henri Bautier may have been closer to the truth when he put the burden of the Schism on the whole lot: Jean de la Grange, Pierre de Cros, Charles V, and Urban VI's dream of absolute papal authority when it was at its lowest point.[191]

Walter Ullmann's 1972 history of the papacy grasped the situation in its full extent. It was not the situation during the election that was problematic, but Urban's actions after the election. Ullman posed the question simply, "What was to be done with a pope who proved incapable of governing?"[192] Faced with a pope who seemed to be losing mental control, what action could the college take? The only possible action was inconceivable for the elected pope: resignation or abdication. Ullmann answered clearly, "Since the law offered no other alternative than that of impugning the election itself, they seized upon this possibil-

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[187] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," p. 257; Guillemain, "Cardinaux et société curiale aux origines de la double élection," p. 20, simply stated that the cardinals were unhappy!

[188] *Decretum Gratiani* D. 79 c. 9.

[189] Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," p. 245.

[190] Guillemain, "Cardinaux et société curiale aux origines de la double élection," p. 21.

[191] Bautier, "Aspects politiques du Grand Schisme," pp. 457–81.

[192] Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy*, p. 294.

ity and declared it null and void on the grounds that they had elected under duress and fear."[193]

The resignation of a pontiff, a topic of considerable interest, need not be discussed at great length here.[194] The general irrelevance of a papal abdication was framed in a passage in 1 Cor. 7:20: "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called."[195] The resignation of the pope was approached indirectly through his position as bishop of Rome. Since Pope Innocent III, it had been possible for a bishop to resign if one of the following prevailed: if sickness—physical or mental—impeded his duties; if he behaved questionably, committed a premeditated criminal act, was disliked, obstinate, and irritated people; or, lastly, if he chose to enter cloistered life.[196]

The discussion of papal abdication focuses mainly on the one pope who ever resigned: Pietro de Morrone, Pope Celestine V. His situation, and especially that of his successor, Boniface VIII, offers some similarity to the events of the Schism and issues of legitimacy. If Celestine's abdication was not totally legitimate, neither was Boniface's election.[197] The election of Celestine followed the death of Pope Nicholas IV on 4 April 1292, which had initiated an extremely long interregnum. The Empty See was interspersed with cardinals' dynastic rivalries between Colonna and Orsini and, as a consequence of the Sicilian Vespers, additional rivalry between the Anjou and Aragon dynasties.[198] Charles II of Anjou eventually entered Rome with no results, but on his way back to Provence he visited the holy hermit Pietro de Morrone and suggested that he write a letter castigating the cardinals for their slow resolution. Moronne did so and was successful to the extent that his

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[193] Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy*, p. 294.

[194] See the recent volume by John R. Eastman, *Papal Abdication in Later Medieval Thought* (Lewiston, 1990), which discusses the case of Celestine and canonists and the discussions of scholastics (Ramon Lull, Peter Olivi, Ubertino of Casale, Godfrey of Fontaines, Peter of Auvergne, Nicholas of Nonancour, Giles of Rome, and John of Paris) about papal abdication. Eastman contextualizes his analysis around Boniface VIII and the Spiritual Franciscans views.

[195] See also Eastman, *Papal Abdication*, p. 1.

[196] Eastman, *Papal Abdication*, pp. 3–4.

[197] Born *c.*1209 or 1210, Pietro de Moronne was elevated to the tiara at Perugia on 5 July 1294 and renounced his charge on 13 December 1294. Moronne was a Benedictine monk, and later priest, of peasant stock who decided to lead an eremitic life. His reputation of holiness followed him throughout his entire life.

[198] The 1276 abrogation of Gregory X's *Ubi Periculum* freed the cardinals of conclave rules. They met in Rome *sine clave*, at the Savelli Palace on the Aventine, and later at the monastery Sta. Maria-sopra Minerva with no results.

letter garnered him the papal election on 5 July 1294. Ill equipped for
the task, he was under the sway of Charles of Anjou. Still, he managed
to reintroduce the conclave regulation of Gregory X (10 December
1294), which was to be followed even in the case of a papal abdication.
Residing in Naples in a cell at the Castel Nuovo, Celestine contemplated
resignation, supported by canon lawyers such as Gerardo de Parma,
Jean Lemoine, and Benedetto Caetani, who accepted the canonic legiti-
macy of a papal resignation. Huguccio of Pisa in 1190 had admitted
the resignation of a pope in the presence of a council or of the college
of cardinals. Later canonists allowed it without the cardinals' interven-
tion. On 9 or 10 December 1294, Celestine abdicated in front of his
cardinals, claiming illness, incompetence, and his wish to return to his
eremitic life. He promulgated a canon on pontifical abdication that has
now disappeared but can be traced in his successor Boniface VIII's *Liber
sextus decretalium*, 1: 7,1, which states:

> Whereas some curious persons, arguing on things of no great expediency,
> and rashly seeking, against the teaching of the Apostle, to know more
> than it is meet to know, have seemed, with little forethought, to raise an
> anxious doubt, whether the Roman Pontiff, especially when he recog-
> nizes himself incapable of ruling the Universal Church and of bearing
> the burden of the Supreme Pontificate, can validly renounce the papacy,
> and its burden and honour: Pope Celestine V, Our predecessor, whilst
> still presiding over the government of the aforesaid Church, wishing to
> cut off all the matter for hesitation on the subject, having deliberated
> with his brethren, the Cardinals of the Roman Church, of whom We
> were one, with the concordant counsel and assent of Us and of them all,
> by Apostolic authority established and decreed, that the Roman Pontiff
> may freely resign. We, therefore, lest it should happen that in course of
> time this enactment should fall into oblivion, and the aforesaid doubt
> should revive the discussion, have placed it among other constitutions
> *ad perpetuam rei memoriam* by the advice of our brethren.[199]

In view of canon law, the question was henceforth solved. Boniface VIII
was elected on 24 December 1298, and Moronne died a natural death
on 19 May 1295, while imprisoned by Boniface VIII at the Castle of
Fumone. Boniface's enemies, the Colonna and the partisans of the king
of France, Philip the Fair, pursued the legitimacy of Celestine's abdica-
tion, but the topic needs not be discussed here. Pietro de Moronne (the

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[199] The passage was translated by Loughin in his article on Boniface VIII in the
Catholic Encyclopedia, available online at http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02379b
.htm.

angelic pope) became a key player in understanding the prophecies of Joachim of Fiore, and while Philip the fair literally demonized Boniface VIII, he simultaneously campaigned for the sanctification of Celestine. The first Avignonese pope, Clement V, canonized Pietro de Morrone (the man and not the pope Celestine) on 5 May 1313.[200]

However, Urban VI was no Celestine, and he did not resign. In the end, several factors such as political alignments, personalities, and liminal violence, allowed a confluence of forces that did not redress and correct the crisis but, on the contrary, aggravated it. Urban fought for his title and gained allies. On 18 September 1378, he promoted 25 cardinals to replace the ones that had defected from him.[201] His choice of whom to promote assured him the allegiance of their kin and kith. Most Italian territories obeyed him. Naples was tamed when the newly invested Charles of Durazzo defeated Queen Joan and her husband Otto of Brunswick in the summer of 1381. Charles then fought Louis of Anjou, Joanna's heir, and sometimes Urban too. The kingdom of Naples remained in any case a prize for both papacies and a point of contention between both obediences. Clement VII spent his obedience's fortune trying to fund Louis of Anjou's reconquest, but to little avail. Joan, interned in the castle at Muro, was executed in May 1382. Clement VII's mercenaries were unable to fight their way to a solution of the Schism. Clement's forces besieged Rome but lost to Urban's mercenaries; they found a quick refuge in Naples and than left Naples, to arrive back in Avignon on 20 September 1379.[202]

This survey of violence in the 1378 election ends here with a final, if futile, need to return to the cardinals' claim for electoral invalidity. According to them, in April 1378, Roman officials and the mob had coerced them into electing an Italian by hindering the freedom of the papal electoral process. The key word worth highlighting here is *coercion*. Had fear been instrumental in the cardinals' decision to name Urban VI? Could they appeal to the classical principle that "fear can afflict even a steadfast man" found in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, Dig. 4.2.1: "[ULPIANUS] Ait praetor: 'Quod metus causa gestum erit, ratum non

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[200] See the entire discussion with additional bibliography in Herde, "Célestins V," in *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*, ed. Philippe Levillain (Paris, 1994), pp. 319–22.

[201] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, pp. 23–24. Eubel counts 25, while Smith, *The Great Schism*, p. 144, counts 29.

[202] See, for example, Gregorovius, *Rome and Medieval Culture*, pp. 328–36; and Smith, *The Great Schism*, p. 144.

habebo',"" which allowed fear as a ground for the invalidity of official acts even if and when performed publically?[203] The cardinals claimed that they had acted from fear and that this element of fear voided the legitimacy of Urban's election. If Urban was illegitimate, it was then in the interest of the Church to replace him with a legitimate successor—which they did.

Most historians have concluded that the general atmosphere of violence that marred the 1378 Empty See was a consequence of its special character. The Romans were aggravated by the French papal court and thought that by intimidating the French cardinals they would predispose them into obedience and a choice that pleased them. A high level of violence was justified as a means to achieve the election of an Italian. Noël Valois has already sensed that nationalistic violence (Roman violence against the French court) in itself was not the all-encompassing answer to the events of 1378 and has insisted that the cardinals' fear must not be exaggerated.[204] One could add that, for example, at no point in time did the cardinals show *outward* signs of fear. They were never restricted from communicating with the exterior and could have sent envoys and heralds calling in readily available troops for their protection.

The present review of many contemporary testimonies shows that quite a few curialists—close to the cardinals—were cognizant of some of the violent cultural idiosyncrasies of the papal interregnum. If curialists knew of possible troubles, why not the cardinals? Even Pope Gregory XI, in his bull *Periculis et detrimentis* of 19 March 1378, hinted at the expectation of violence. If the pope expected violence because it was customary, how could others claim it was a cause of illegitimacy?

If fear must be a factor, it must be clearly established that fear hindered the electoral deliberations; fear must have been a factor before and during—but not after—the college decided to choose Bartolomeo Prignano. The most dangerous moment the cardinals could name was the invasion of the conclave, but that event took place *after* their deliberations, after the so-called second election of Urban VI.

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[203] "Metus qui potest cadere in constantem virum."

[204] Hugues de Montalais, for example, who resided in the Borgo, did not hide his goods despite living in a sensitive area traditionally pillaged during papal election. Both the cardinal of Vivier and Pedro de Luna felt reassured by Roman guarantees of their protection and by the several companies of papal mercenaries orbiting Rome; Valois, "L'élection d'Urbain VI," pp. 364–65.

The preceding narrative has shown that even though Rome was "heated" and somewhat looking for trouble, the excess of violence touched the end of the conclave rather than its initiation. Anti-Gallican feelings accompanied the chants of the Roman mob during the novena and first night of the conclave. But actual actions were limited. The plunder of the pope's pantry and cellar during the first night of the conclave did not prevent the so-called first election of Urban VI the following morning. The so-called second election, later in that first day, was still marred by the external chants of a mob, which did not physically penetrate the conclave then. The most violent actions, what I have labeled the "customary" sacking of the conclave, took place *after* the election, after Urban had been named twice. A close chronological reading of the events indicates that the cardinals' arguments are at least tenuous.

In any case, regardless of the level of fear, the cardinals did not act on it promptly. They took weeks before voicing their concerns on the legitimacy of the election. It is this span of time that allows questioning their motives. Were they afraid during the election and afterward, for several weeks? History and historians have not solved that puzzle, and neither will I. This chapter has only posed a few surveyor's staffs to delimitate the boundaries of a complicated terrain.

LUXURY AND EXTRAVAGANCE AT THE PAPAL COURT IN AVIGNON AND THE OUTBREAK OF THE GREAT WESTERN SCHISM

Stefan Weiß
Translated by Charlotte Masemann

The Great Schism was precipitated by cardinals.[1] It was they who first chose Bartolomeo Prignano, namely Urban VI, as pope; it was they who declared Urban VI as an *intrusus* a few months later and elected in his place Robert of Geneva, or Clement VII, as pope. The question of their motivation has been dealt with for a long time; historians have mainly followed the sources which ask, above all, whether the behavior of the cardinals was juridically justified.[2] Nevertheless, it remains

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[1] Amongst the most recent texts for the history of the events of the schism, see Howard Kaminsky, "The Great Schism," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. Michael Jones, 7 vols. (Cambridge, 2000), 6:674–96; see also Karl A. Fink, "Das große Schisma bis zum Konzil von Pisa," in *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 3, ed. Hubert Jedin (Freiburg, 1968), pp. 490–516. Jean Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon* (Paris, 2006), pp. 549–94 offers the newest overview. New approaches are presented in Joëlle Rollo-Koster, "Looting the Empty See: The Great Western Schism Revisited (1378)," *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 59 (2005), 429–74; Rollo-Koster, "Violence électorale coutumière et le début du schisme," in *Der Ausbruch des großen abendländischen Schismas im Jahre 1378: Neue Forschungen*, ed. Andreas Rehberg and Stefan Weiß, forthcoming. See also her work in this volume. Armand Jamme, "Renverser le pape: Droits, complots, et conceptions politiques aux origines du grand schisme d'Occident," in *Coup d'état à la fin du moyen âge? Aux fondements du pouvoir politique en Europe occidentale*, ed. Francois Foronda, Jean-Philippe Genet, and José Manuel Nicto Soria (Madrid, 2005), pp. 433–82.

[2] The most important sources for the outbreak of the Schism are the statements of the cardinals and of other eye witnesses themselves. These statements were for their part occasioned by the competing popes and diverse European rulers, in order to clarify the question of which of the two pretenders was rightfully elected. In total there are about 170 statements, combined in five large collections. Thus far there is no edition of the complete works, and only excerpts have been published. See the introductory study by Michael Seidlmayer, "Die spanischen 'Libri de Schismate' des Vatikanischen Archivs," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 8 (1940), 199–262; see also Andreas Rehberg, "Die Zeugenaussagen zum Ausbruch des Schismas von 1378: Neue Fragen und Zugriffsmöglichkeiten," in *Der Ausbruch des großen abendlänischen Schismas im Jahre 1378: Neue Forschungen*, ed. Andreas Rehberg and Stefan Weiß, forthcoming. Excerpts from the named collections are provided above all by Seidlmayer, *Anfänge*; also Louis Gayet, *Le grand schisme d'Occident d'après les documents contemporains déposés aux auchives secrètes du Vatican* (Florence-Berlin-Paris, 1889); and Franz P.

uncontested that the juridical arguments with which the cardinals justi-
fied their actions were not precisely identical with their motives. Canon
law was called upon when the cardinals noticed that they had, from
their point of view, chosen the wrong man as pope, and they sought a
suitable reason or pretext for letting him go. What, however, was the
reason or motive for the cardinals' change of mind? We can choose
between two interpretations of their behavior that enhance rather than
contradict one another.

One school of thought, represented particularly by Noël Valois,
places the responsibility on the person of Urban VI. According to this
interpretation, Urban did not treat the cardinals well, he did not listen
to their counsel, he refused to return to Avignon, he wished to limit
their luxurious lifestyle, and, indeed, he wanted them to hold to the
simplicity of the apostles. The reproaches made of Urban culminate
in the assertion that he suddenly went insane after being chosen pope
and became ill with imperial insanity, as it were. Let it be understood
that all of these reproaches can be supported with reference to the
sources,[3] and their subjective justification is not questioned here at all.
The question still arises in all this whether we are merely dealing with
personal antipathy between the pope and the cardinals or whether
this antipathy is rather an expression of a fundamental antagonism.
Conflicts between the pope and the college of cardinals had certainly
existed before, without having led to the outbreak of schism; this may
serve as an indicator that the problem involved more than personal
sensitivities.

Bliemetzrieder, *Literarische Polemik zu Beginn des großen abendländischen Schismas:
Ungedruckte Texte und Untersuchungen* (Vienna, Leipzig, 1910). For reports of a
procurator at the papal court, see Arturo Segre, "I dispacci di Cristofero da Piacenza,
procuratore mantovano alla corte pontificia (1371–1383)," *Archivio storico italiano*,
series 5.43 (1909), 27–95. and 44 (1909), 253–326. One of the most important narrative
sources is that of Theodoric of Niem (Dietrich von Nieheim), *De scismate libri tres
(1378–1410)*, ed. Georg Erler (Leipzig, 1890). Theodoric of Niem was one of the few
members of the curia who stood by Urban VI after the outbreak of the Schism. See
especially Hermann Heimpel, *Dietrich von Niem, c. 1340–1418* (Münster, 1932). Further
contemporary historians are collected in Étienne Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*
(1305–1394), ed. Guillaume Mollat (Paris, 1916–22), 4 vols. See also Guillaume Mollat,
Étude critique sur les vitae paparum Avenionensium d'Étienne Baluze (Paris, 1917).
Reference should also be made to Olivier Poncet, *Les entreprises éditoriales liées aux
archives du Saint-Siège: Histoire et bibliographie, 1880–2000* (Rome, 2003), pp. 245–52,
where other editions are listed.
    [3] See Valois, *La France*, 1:67–75; Seidlmayer, *Anfänge*, pp. 8–15; and Jamme,
"Renverser le pape," pp. 441–45.

This observation is the jumping-off point for the second school of thought: this one sees the cause of the conflict in a question of the constitution of the Church. This school of thought was founded by Martin Souchon,[4] and since then has been especially championed by Walter Ullmann.[5] It hinges on the question of whether Catholic Christianity was ruled by the pope alone or whether the cardinals had a legitimate entitlement to have a share in decisions. An argument that the pope, although possessed of great powers, had to consult cardinals about certain issues existed in canon law, especially in the writings of Henricus de Segusio, known as Hostiensis.[6]

Did this question suddenly become acute in 1378? After the outbreak of the Schism—if only to justify their actions—the cardinals indeed demanded such participation in decisions, yet this scarcely indicated that they placed a particular importance on this question immediately before the election of Urban VI.[7] Did something happen in the specific situation of 1378, which allowed the question of the right of the cardinals to participate in decisions to become explosive?

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[4] Martin Souchon, *Die Papstwahlen von Bonifaz VIII. bis Urban VI. und die Entstehung des Schismas 1378* (Braunschweig, 1888); and *Die Papstwahlen in der Zeit des großen Schismas: Entwicklung und Verfassungskämpfe des Kardinalats von 1378 bis 1417* (Braunschweig, 1898–99), 2 vols. (published in one volume, Aalen, 1970); see also Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (Berlin, 1958), vol. 5, 2, 9, unaltered ed. (first published 1920), pp. 679–80 n. 4; and especially Johannes Haller in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* (1900), 869–903.

[5] Walter Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical History* (London, 1948).

[6] Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 149–53; Kenneth Pennington, *The Prince and the Law: Sovereignty and Rights in the Western Legal Tradition* (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 48–75.

[7] In this context, an election capitulation in 1353 is of great importance. After the death of Clement VI, the cardinals demanded that the new pope recognize their rights in a special law. Innocent VI refused, however. See his Constitution *Sollicitudo pastoralis* of 6 July 1353, in *Innocent VI (1352–1362): Lettres secrètes et curiales*, ed. Pierre Gasnault and Marie-Hyacinte Laurent (Paris, 1959–2006), n. 435. On this, see Guillaume Mollat, "Contribution à l'histoire du Sacré Collège de Clément V à Eugène IV," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 46 (1951), 22–112 and 566–94, here p. 100. On the problems of papal election capitulations, see especially Thomas Krüger, "Überlieferung und Relevanz der päpstlichen Wahlkapitulationen: Zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Papsttum und Kardinalat," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 81 (2001), 228–55 (older literature is presented there); Thomas Krüger, "Die zwei Körper des Papstes: Zur politischen Theologie des Renaissancepapsttums," in *Frumento et vino optima: Festschrift für Thomas Zotz*, ed. Heinz Krieg and Alfons Zettler (Osfildern, 2004), pp. 297–316, here p. 313 n. 75. According to him, there was no capitulation at the double election of 1378, but there certainly was in following papal elections and indeed in both obediences.

That this was indeed the case may be laid out as follows: the behavior of the cardinals and the outbreak of the Schism can be largely explained by financial motives. It had to do with whether the pope was entitled to curtail the cardinals' share in the income of the curia and to use the money thus saved for the restoration of the papal finances. In pointing this out, I in no way wish to negate other interpretations of the Schism but, rather, wish to show that the arguments, reproaches, and justifications of both sides had much more of a financial background, which only becomes recognizable with a look at the character of the curial financial administration and the development of papal revenue and expenditures.[8]

Here we must go back a bit. The Schism broke out in 1378 after the unexpected death of Pope Gregory XI; the previous year he had relocated the seat of the pope, after a long absence, from Avignon back to Rome. Many contemporaries, however, among them such luminaries as Francesco Petrarch and Saint Catherine of Siena,[9] had demanded that a move to Rome should not mean simply the wholesale transfer of the Avignonese relationships to Rome; the return should rather be part of a fundamental reform of the Church, a reform from top to bottom. A strong current in this direction also existed in the curia. Gregory XI's predecessor, Urban V, is of particular note;[10] he had tried also to lead the papacy back to Rome.

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[8] See, for example, Joëlle Rollo-Koster's cultural interpretation in *Raiding Saint Peter: Empty Sees, Violence, and the Initiation of the Great Western Schism (1378)* (Leiden, 2008); or Daniel Williman, "Schism within the Curia: The Twin Papal Elections of 1378," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 59 (2008), 29–47 (I thank Andreas Rehberg for this reference). See also Stefan Weiß, *Buchhaltung und Rechnungswesen des Avignoneser Papsttums (1316–1378): Eine Quellenkunde* (Munich, 2003). These general overviews are still useful: Emil Göller, *Die Einnahmen der apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII* (Paderborn, 1910), pp. 20*–140*; Charles Samaran and Guillaume Mollat, *La fiscalité pontificale en France au 14ᵉ siècle: Période d'Avignon et grand schisme d'Occident* (Paris, 1905); and William E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (New York, 1934; repr. 1965). A fundamental edition of sources is *Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte des päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung*, ed. Emil Göller, Karl-Heinrich Schäfer, Ludwig Mohler, and Hermann Hoberg, 8 vols. (Paderborn, 1910–72). It is incomplete; records of the revenues of Urban V and Gregory XI are missing. For the financial administration of the cardinals, see Johann P. Kirsch, *Die Finanzverwaltung des Kardinalkollegiums im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Münster, 1895); and Paul M. Baumgarten, *Untersuchungen und Urkunden über die Camera Collegii Cardinalium für die Zeit von 1295 bis 1437* (Leipzig, 1898).

[9] For the role of Catherine of Siena in the Schism, see Pastor, *Geschichte*, 1:108–10 and 136–37.

[10] See Ludwig Vones, *Urban V. (1362–1370): Kirchenreform zwischen Kardinalkollegium, Kurie und Klientel* (Stuttgart, 1998).

In order to understand the outbreak of the Schism, we must first turn our attention to the Avignonese papacy. Then as now it did not enjoy a good reputation.[11] We can call once more on prominent contemporaries such as Francesco Petrarch, who himself lived for a long time in papal Avignon and thus was an eye witness of the time period. He repeatedly castigated the luxury and extravagance practiced by the pope and cardinals, in order effectively to contrast their lifestyle with that of Christ and the apostles.[12] Along with the accusation of luxury and of extravagance was associated another accusation, namely, that of avarice. In order to finance their dissipated lifestyle, the curia of the Church had to exact the burden of ever more levies.[13]

The question of whether and to what extent these reproaches were justified is by no means easy to answer. It has long been remarked that Petrarch and the other contemporary critics of the curia were anything but original in that they used the usual topoi from the long established arsenal of criticism of the Church and the pope.[14] It is clear that we must differentiate strongly between individual pontificates. The graph at the end of this chapter will give the reader a first impression of how the curial kitchen expenditures were allocated by the various pontificates. They offer an indicator of how lavish or thrifty were the lines on which the individual popes constituted the life of the curial court. It is evident that there were considerable differences between the various papacies. Admittedly, the obvious conclusion that the popes who registered the lowest expenditures were also the most frugal does not hold. Within the entire papal household, expenditures on foodstuffs made up only

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[11] See Vones, *Urban V*, passim. See Daniel P. Waley, "Opinions of the Avignon Papacy: A Historiographical Sketch," in *Storiografia e storia: Studi in onore di Eugenio Dupré Theseider*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1974), pp. 175–88; Thomas M. Martin, "Das avignonesische Papsttum im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen Kritik," *Mitteilungen des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins Giessen*, Neue Folge 77 (1992), pp. 445–77.

[12] See especially Paul Piur, *Petrarcas "Buch ohne Namen" und die päpstliche Kurie: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte der Frührenaissance* (Halle/Saale, 1925). English translation by Norman P. Zacour, *Petrarch's Book without a Name* (Toronto, 1973); on Petrarch, see Vones, *Urban V*, pp. 5–6; and especially Karlheinz Stierle, *Francesco Petrarca: Ein Intellektueller im Europa des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt, 2003), pp. 263–375. My thanks to Werner Paravicini for the reference.

[13] For contemporary criticism of the curia, see Johannes Haller, *Papsttum und Kirchenreform: Vier Kapitel zur Geschichte des ausgehenden Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1903), pp. 3–7; and Pastor, *Geschichte*, 1:78–82.

[14] Thus Haller, *Papsttum und Kirchenreform*, 1:0–11.

a small part of the whole;[15] the offices that spent the most were those
in charge of palace building—Benedict XII and Clement VI are of par-
ticular note—and apart from that, those in charge of expenditures on
the war in Italy. Under John XXII and then again under Innocent VI,
Urban V, and Gregory XI the predominant goal of papal policy was
the conquest of the Papal States, which for its part was the prerequi-
site for the return of the papacy to Rome. This thesis can be attested
down to the last penny, since we can find in the papal account books
the most minute accounting of the relevant expenditures.[16] In the case
of the four popes named above the expenditures for the war in Italy
made up on average 50 to 60 per cent of total expenditures, whereas
the kitchen accounts made up two to four per cent of the total. We can
thus establish that it was precisely those popes—with the exception of
Benedict XII—who were the most frugal whose expenditures on the
war in Italy were the highest. In other words, expenses for luxury and
expenses for the war competed with one another: if one wished to bring
to bear sufficient means for the waging of war, then one had to restrict
expenditures as much as possible on luxuries in the broadest sense,
namely in the first instance on ostentation in the court.

The Avignonese popes concentrated on their emphases very differ-
ently, when one looks at the particulars:[17] John XXII was a bellicose
pope who waged an impressive but ultimately unsuccessful war in Italy.
He was infamous both for his cupidity and avarice but not however
for his extravagance. Benedict XII completely put aside the war in Italy
and was the most peaceable of the Avignonese popes; he was evidently
unable to do anything about the chaos in central Italy. Clement VI
informs our picture of the Avignonese papacy the most; he distributed
money liberally among the populace and left Italy to fend for itself
for the most part.[18] A fundamental change of course occurred under
Innocent VI: by sending Cardinal Albornoz to Italy, he took up again the

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[15] See Stefan Weiß, *Die Versorgung des päpstlichen Hofes in Avignon mit Lebensmitteln
(1316–1378): Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines mittelalterlichen Hofes*
(Berlin, 2002), pp. 193–203.

[16] See especially Yves Renouard, *Les relations des papes d'Avignon et des compa-
gnies commerciales et bancaires de 1316 à 1378* (Paris, 1941); and *Recherches sur les
compagnies commerciales et bancaires utilisées par les papes d'Avignon avant le grand
schisme* (Paris, 1942).

[17] See Weiß, *Versorgung*, passim.

[18] See Ralf Lützelschwab, *Flectat cardinales ad velle suum? Clemens VI. und sein
Kardinalskolleg: Ein Beitrag zur kurialen Politik im 14. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2007).

conquest of the Papal States[19] and at the same time began to scale back expenditures on the court. Urban V consequently followed the same path. With Gregory XI, however, there arose a fundamental change. He was a nephew of Clement VI and obviously wished to imitate his style of court, indeed to outdo it. Clement VI had been able to reach into the well-filled coffers of his predecessors; he had moreover avoided expensive wars in Italy at all costs. Neither was the case for Gregory XI. He substantially and also successfully followed the foreign policy of Innocent VI and Urban V. He was successful in creating a union of diverse northern Italian powers against the Visconti of Milan, the principal opponents of the papacy in Italy. At the end of 1376 it was not only Gregory XI who decamped for Rome; a papal army of mercenaries, led by Cardinal Robert of Geneva, drove over the Alps into Italy; they were able to achieve important successes against Milan and Florence. In 1378 a great peace conference began in Sarzana, which almost all Italian powers attended, and of which there were hopes of concluding a general peace under the chairmanship of a papal legate.[20] Although Gregory XI was a very successful pope, it is clear that this success came at a cost. His chamberlain was certainly successful at raising the income of the curia to hitherto unreached levels, but expenditures rose that much faster. This had consequences. The papacy became increasingly dependent on donations and loans from foreign rulers, and political decisions were formally sold for corresponding payments.[21] All of this brought only temporary relief; Gregory XI's move of the curia from

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[19] See Armand Jamme, "Forteresses, centres urbains et territoire dans l'état pontifical: Logiques et méthodes de la domination à l'áge albornozien," in *Pouvoir et édilité: Les grands chantiers dans l'Italie communale et seigneuriale*, ed. Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan (Rome, 2003), pp. 375–417; Stefan Weiß, "Delegierte Herrschaft: Innozenz VI., Kardinal Albornoz und die Eroberung des Kirchenstaates," in *Aus der Frühzeit europäischer Diplomatie: Zum geistlichen und weltlichen Gesandtschaftswesen vom 12. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Claudia Zey and Claudia Märtl (Zürich, 2008), pp. 67–84.

[20] A good overview is provided by Guillaume Mollat, *Les papes d'Avignon, 1305–1378* (Paris 1965), pp. 258–66. See also Favier, *Les papes*, pp. 487–88; and Stefan Weiß, "Onkel und Neffe: Die Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich unter Kaiser Karl IV. und König Karl V. und der Ausbruch des großen abendländischen Schismas," in *Regnum et Imperium: Die französisch-deutschen Beziehungen im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Stefan Weiß (Munich, 2008), pp. 101–64.

[21] Stefan Weiß, "Kredite europäischer Fürsten für Gregor XI: Zur Finanzierung der Rückkehr des Papsttums von Avignon nach Rom," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 77 (1997), 176–205. The influence of Gregory's financial situation on his policy in Italy is demonstrated by Guillaume Mollat, "Grégoire XI et sa légende," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 49 (1954), 873–77.

Avignon to Rome was enabled only by French subventions, without which the vicar of Peter would not have been able to finance the trip.[22] Thus the papacy found itself in a serious financial crisis after the death of Gregory XI, and finding a way out of it was the first and most difficult task of the new pope.

There were already examples that the new pope could choose to follow. Often in the past, newly elected popes had improved the financial position of the papacy by means of a strict policy of saving, above all by cutting the costs of the court household. For his part, John XXII behaved this way, as did Innocent VI and Urban V. Urban VI also had similar intentions. The choice of his name is telling here. Popes took care not to take on a new name arbitrarily; instead, their choice of names indicated which of their predecessors they particularly wished to emulate.[23] Thus, when Bartolomeo Prignano chose the name Urban he made it clear that he had chosen Urban V as his model;[24] this was the pope who had taken court expenditures almost back to their level under John XXII and Benedict XII. This need not have aroused opposition in the college of cardinals. The financial crisis was no secret to the cardinals, especially because they regarded improvements in papal finances as necessary, and they must have chosen Prignano because he was known to them as a straitlaced man and an experienced administrator.[25]

Urban VI certainly did not want to confine himself to the restoration of papal finances—and here the cardinals began to realize that they had made a mistake—but also wanted to enlist the cardinals, as well as their money, to help in this goal. As if this were not enough, he also wished to reform fundamentally the lifestyle of the cardinals. This was, perhaps surprisingly, considerably better than that of the pope himself. The cardinals had two main sources of income: one was the incomes

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[22] See Weiß, "Kredite," pp. 197–99; and Weiß, *Rechnungswesen*, p. 174.

[23] See Bernd Ulrich Hergemöller, *Die Geschichte der Papstnamen* (Munich, 1980), who ignores, however, the cases of interest here.

[24] The similarity between Urban VI and Urban V was in fact greater than Urban VI knew. It is apparent that some cardinals had intended to unseat Urban V, but this did not come to pass. Compare Vones, *Urban V*, p. 211 n. 5, with the statement of Francesco Uguccione, bishop of Faenza and later cardinal, in Ludwig Pastor, *Ungedruckte Akten zur Geschichte der Päpste vornehmlich im XV., XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904), pp. 10–15 n. 4.

[25] As is well known, Bartolomeo Prignano belonged already before his election to the smaller circle of candidates who were discussed as successors to Gregory XI. It is thus not correct to ascribe his election exclusively to the pressure exerted by an inflamed populace. See Seidlmayer, *Anfänge*, pp. 4–6.

of their benefices and the other was derived from a part of the papal income. Unfortunately, we know almost nothing of the amount of money brought in by their benefices,[26] but we are able to gain at least an approximate knowledge of the amount from the second source of income. Certain methods of raising revenue for the curia—the great *servitia*, the census and visitation tributes as well as revenues from the different provinces of the Church—were each divided into two portions shared equally between the papal *camera* and the *camera* of the college of cardinals.[27] The *camera* of the cardinals then shared out its portion of the monies received equally to all members of the college.[28] The income of the *camera* of the cardinals can be discerned indirectly via the account books of the papal *camera*; one must add the same sum to the corresponding income heading from the papal *camera* in order to obtain the amount that went to the *camera* of the cardinals.[29]

It is scarcely possible to overestimate the importance of this *camera* of cardinals, the *camera collegii cardinalium*. The relevant literature refers to the "college of cardinals," but as an institution this existed exclusively in the form of this *camera*. Apart from that, it was left to the whim of the popes to what extent they treated the cardinals as a unit or as individuals.

We can also comprehend the great importance of this *camera* by looking at its mirror image on the papal side: the most important curial institution was the *camera apostolica*, the papal *camera*; its representative, the chamberlain, is known as the pope's "Prime Minister."[30] One

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[26] See the case study by Andreas Rehberg, *Kirche und Macht im römischen Trecento: Die Colonna und ihre Klientel auf dem kurialen Pfründenmarkt (1278–1378)* (Tübingen, 1999), pp. 101–19.

[27] See the studies by Kirsch and Baumgarten mentioned in n. 8.

[28] In a departure from common practice, the portion of the *servitia* belonging to the cardinals was only shared out among those cardinals who were present at the consistorial session at which the prelate who paid the *servitia* was confirmed. See Jean Favier, *Les finances pontificales à l'époque du grand schisme d'Occident 1378–1409* (Paris, 1966), p. 342.

[29] The third year of the pontificate of Innocent VI (1355) serves as an example. The census and visitation tributes brought in 19,148 fl. (amount in Florentine gold florins), the *servitia* 39,191 fl., and the payments from Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin 2,900 fl. Payments from the Church's Italian provinces do not appear, because they were made directly to Cardinal Albornoz in Italy. In total, therefore, 61,239 fl. were paid to the cardinals in this year. In comparison, the income of the papal *camera* in this year was 172,966 fl. These numbers are derived from Hermann Hoberg, *Die Einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Innozenz VI.* (Paderborn, 1955), Part I, pp. 20*–*21.

[30] Thus Bernard Guillemain, *La cour pontificale d'Avignon: Étude d'une société* (Paris, 1962), p. 278.

example will serve to illustrate the situation: in the papal palace at Avignon, the chamberlain had his bedroom directly under the pope's, and the two rooms were joined by a staircase.[31] The chamberlain was the one advisor to whom the pope was physically closest.

By this measure, when papal income increased, so too did that of the cardinals. In this regard, Gregory XI was, from the point of view of the college, a very good pope, since he was successful in raising revenues to heights hitherto unknown. The college was not a party to the costs of the war in Italy, since the pope had to finance these out of his own revenues alone. He was, however, as mentioned, increasingly less able to do so; several times he had to take out loans from the cardinals. Briefly put: while the curia experienced ever greater financial danger under Gregory XI, the cardinals were able to enjoy their ever-increasing revenues.

It must have been clear to at least the majority of the cardinals that this situation was untenable, or why else would they have elected Urban VI? They obviously could not have reckoned with the fact that Urban VI would try to lay hands on their own revenues. Soon after his election came the first altercation. Usually a newly elected pope took care to make a large gift of money to his electors, namely the cardinals; as a rule this was a sum of 75,000 to 100,000 florins, which was then shared equally among all the cardinals.[32] This was a considerable amount, approximately one quarter to one third of the average annual papal revenues. When Urban, however, made no arrangements for such a gift and the cardinals inquired about it, he replied that there was no money in the treasury so he therefore could not give them any.[33]

The pope also interfered with the lifestyle of the cardinals, although there were precedents for this. John XXII and Innocent VI—both

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[31] See Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Ad maiorem papae gloriam: La fonction des pièces dans le palais des papes d'Avignon, architecture et vie sociale," in *L'organisation intérieure des grandes demeures à la fin du moyen âge et à la Renaissance: Actes du colloque tenu à Tours du 6 au 10 juin 1988*, ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris, 1994), pp. 25–46; or his "Wozu dienten die Räume des Papstpalastes in Avignon?" in *Papsttum und Heilige—kirchliches Recht und Zeremoniell: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. Georg Kreuzer and Stefan Weiß (Neuried, 2005), pp. 292–320, here p. 303.

[32] See Baumgarten, *Untersuchungen*, pp. CLIII–CLIX; and Baumgarten, "Miscellanea Cameralia II, I: Wahlgeschenke der Päpste an das heilige Kollegium," *Römische Quartalschrift* 22 (1908), 36–47. Urban V was the most frugal, sharing out only 40,000 florins, pp. 42–43.

[33] Marc Dykmans, "La troisième élection du pape Urbain VI," *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 15 (1977), 217–64, here p. 257.

thrifty popes who went after lavishness—released constitutions that attempted to limit the luxury that the cardinals enjoyed.[34] The prescripts concerning food are a good example. John XXII had laid down that the cardinals' main meal should consist of only two courses, each with two fish or meat dishes, as well as, if they wished, soup, dessert, side dishes, fruit, sweets, and accompaniments in the broadest sense. Note that this regulation was envisioned as a reduction; one must therefore assume that at least some cardinals had had more sumptuous arrangements. This regulation also was meant to apply only to everyday meals and was expressly put aside when a cardinal was entertaining guests, in which case he was allowed to operate as he wished.

Innocent VI released a similar constitution, and a comparison of both documents shows how the standard of living had evolved in the meantime. While John dealt with only one daily main meal, Innocent discussed two, and the number of courses and dishes was ampler than previously.[35] It is worth noting again that this was a regulation that was viewed as restrictive, and one must assume that there were some cardinals who were enjoying a higher standard.

And now Urban VI: he planned in all seriousness that the cardinals should be satisfied with one single course and one single main dish at lunch and supper![36] One can now understand why some of the cardinals thought he had suddenly gone mad. Whatever this says about the state of his mind, it is evident that his plans for reform in many respects resonated with contemporary demands for reform within the Church. This culminated in the above-mentioned slogan of a "reform from top to bottom." It is certainly correct that Urban VI's predecessors had made attempts to reform the Church,[37] but the difference is that while his predecessors had restricted themselves to reforming the body of the Church, Urban wished to begin at the top, namely the curia itself. His plan was not without logic, especially as it applied to finance: by restricting expenditures on their elaborate lifestyle, the cardinals could put their money to other uses, especially for their churches. In 1377 it was not only the pope who returned to his traditional episcopal See in Rome but also the cardinals who returned to their titular churches.

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[34] Norman P. Zacour, "Papal Regulation of Cardinals' Households in the Fourteenth Century," *Speculum* 50 (1975), 434–55.
[35] See Weiß, *Versorgung*, pp. 277–78.
[36] Seidlmayer, *Anfänge*, p. 10 n. 34 (where the sources are listed).
[37] See especially Vones, *Urban V*, pp. 34–39, who deals with the older literature.

Each cardinal was either a bishop of a suburbicarian diocese or the presbyter or deacon of a church or *diaconia* in the city of Rome. Most cardinals saw their churches for the first time in 1377; prior to this, the churches had been abandoned for decades and had largely fallen into decay.[38] Urban intended to remedy this; complaints against the new pope register that he let it be known that he wanted the cardinals no longer to have their portion of *servitia* (this was the most lucrative of all the types of revenue that were shared out) disbursed but he wished them rather to use their portions to restore their titular churches to use.[39] To the cardinals it must have seemed as though the dam were about to burst; their power to dispose of one of their most important sources of revenue was implicitly being removed.

The reformative fervor of the new pontiff was applied not only to the expenditures but also to the revenues of the cardinals. Urban wanted to forbid the cardinals to have pensions paid by foreign rulers.[40] Under Gregory XI it had not been unusual for the pope to allow himself to be influenced in his decisions by payments from petitioners on both sides, as for example in his approbation of the election of King Wenceslas of Bohemia as king of the Romans. This also held true for the cardinals, who could in this way be made to turn a favorable eye to one's own request.[41]

The pope in no way had reached the end of his unreasonable demands with his ban on pensions. He gave all his passion to his struggle against simony, or the sale of offices. This was also nothing new or menacing, for many previous popes had taken measures against this. Nonetheless, Urban's battle against simony was focused directly at the cardinals' accumulation of benefices. Each cardinal had numerous benefices, or ecclesiastical offices, and drew from them the associated revenues. The burdens of office attached to them, however, were, if at all, carried out by a representative who was less well compensated. Urban wished to abolish this, and when the cardinals asked if they would be excepted from his planned law against simony, the pope answered he would not release his own nephew from the new regulation. Indeed, in this area the

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[38] See Pastor, *Geschichte*, 1:81–82.

[39] Statement of Johannes Remigius (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 11745 fol. 106r; see Seidlmayer, *Anfänge*, pp. 219–20); Baluze edition, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, 2:515 n. 3.

[40] Seidlmayer, *Anfänge*, pp. 10–11 n. 35 as well as pp. 274 and 288.

[41] See examples of this sort of pension in Rehberg, *Kirche*, pp. 152–53.

cardinals were in a very weak position. In general, canon law specifically forbade the accumulation of benefices;[42] that they nevertheless were legally possible and indeed were accumulated by the cardinals is the reason for the fact that the popes had, at least up to this point, granted the necessary dispensation. In other words, the cardinals' second main source of revenue, benefices, was being threatened.[43]

It is evident from Urban VI's behavior after the Schism broke out that he was serious in his concerns; he tried despite everything to maintain his policy. Dietrich of Niem, for example, credits him with never having sullied himself with simony during his entire period of holding office; to the contrary, he gave away all benefices without compensation and—above all—always remembered to whom he awarded which benefice because he did not want to give that person any competitors.[44]

The conflict between Urban and the cardinals became ever more grave until the election of Clement VII. Urban seemingly soon came to the conclusion that he could not count on the support of the cardinals for his proposals. Immediately after his coronation, he began to appoint a number of Neapolitans he had known earlier as trusted advisors in the curia; they spearheaded, as it were, the growing dominance of Neapolitans in the curia, which Urban had to begin to build up after the outbreak of the Schism. These new advisors could rejoice in preferential treatment from Urban, while the cardinals, traditionally the most important papal advisors, were increasingly supplanted in this function.[45] The new pope was of the opinion that they should return

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[42] The constitution of John XXII *Execrabilis* of 19 November 1317 is relevant here: Extravag. Joh. XXII. tit. 3, in Aemilius Friedberg, ed., *Corpus juris canonici*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1879), p. 1207. Urban V released a similar constitution *horribilis et detestabilis* on 1 February 1363. See especially Vones, *Urban V*, pp. 290–96. Urban V, however, rather differently from Urban VI, tellingly excepted the cardinals from its implementation (Vones, *Urban V*, p. 292).

[43] See especially the statement of Fr. Gundisalvus in Seidlmayer, *Anfänge*, p. 298, and p. 10 (with a list of sources).

[44] Theodericus de Niem, *De scismate libri tres*, ed. G. Erler (Leipzig, 1890), p. 58.

[45] See Armand Jamme, *Renverser le pape*, p. 445 (my sincere thanks to Armand Jamme, who most kindly placed his manuscript at my disposal before publication); in contrast to Arnold Esch, "Das Papsttum unter der Herrschaft der Neapolitaner: Die führende Gruppe Neapolitaner Familien an der Kurie während des Schismas 1378–1415," in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel*, vol. 2, (Göttingen, 1971) pp. 713–800, here pp. 719–20, he allows that the invasion of the curia by Neapolitans took place before the beginning of the Schism. See the report of Cristoforo da Piacenza, Pastor, *Geschichte*, 1:806–07; A. Segre, "I dispacci di Cristoforo da Piacenza procuratore mantovano alla corte ponteficia, 1371–1383," *Archivio storico italiano*, series 5.44 (1909), 253–326, here pp. 272–73 n. 31; and Walter Brandmüller, "Zur Frage nach der Gültigkeit der Wahl

to their titular churches and fulfill their duty of residence. However, they had worse things to fear: Urban made no secret of the fact that he wished to name new cardinals and that, of course, they should be those on which he could rely. Once again it was not unusual for a new pope to name new cardinals; what was new, however, was that Urban wished to name an unusually large number and that he did not wish to take the advice or approval of the old cardinals in his naming the new ones.[46] According to the rumors circulating around the curia, 20 to 30 cardinals were to be named; they would have outnumbered the 22 cardinals already in office. It was not only for this reason that the cardinals felt threatened by this proposal; it also would have massive financial consequences! As has already been explained, the shares in papal revenues that the cardinals received were divided in equal parts among them. A doubling of the number of cardinals would result in a halving of the share of an individual cardinal in these revenues.

This—the naming of 29 new cardinals by Urban VI on 18 September—obviously was the straw that broke the camel's back for the old cardinals: two days later, on 20 September 1378, they chose to elect Robert of Geneva as pope, and this was the formal outbreak of the Schism. The fact that Urban was always in conflict with the college that he had newly created and that consisted exclusively of (and this is noteworthy) cardinals named by him is characteristic and proves that a fundamental antagonism existed between Urban and the cardinals. He very shortly noticed a conspiracy among certain cardinals; they wished to unseat him; for his part, he had them tortured and executed.[47] The reason for this lasting conflict arises from the fact that the new cardinals naturally wanted to enjoy the same benefits as the old ones,[48] but this was in opposition to Urban's planned reforms.

Urbans VI.—Quellen und Quellenkritik," *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 6 (1974), 78–120, here p. 119 n. 24, 24 June (1378).

[46] Dieter Girgensohn, "Wie wird man Kardinal? Kuriale und außerkuriale Karrieren an der Wende vom 14. zum 15. Jahrhundert," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 57 (1977), 138–62; Brigide Schwarz, "Über Patronage und Klientel in der spätmittelalterlichen Kirche," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 68 (1988), 284–310.

[47] See Pastor, *Geschichte*, 1:146 n. 3.

[48] Boniface IX, Urban VI's successor, confirmed that he did not allow the portion of *servitia* to be paid out to the cardinals at all but that it was often demanded. See Baumgarten, *Untersuchungen*, p. 256 n. 354; and Gerd Tellenbach, "Beiträge zur kurialen Verwaltungsgeschichte im 14. Jahrhundert," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen*

In summary: immediately after his election, Urban VI planned a fundamental reform of the curia, which the cardinals, his electors, had expected. In contrast to their expectations, however, Urban began his program of reform with them; the cardinals were expected to absorb new duties, shrunken revenues, and limitations to their entire standard of living.[49]

Urban VI also had similar plans for those employed and appointed by the curia. A radical scaling back of expenditures on the household would have affected them immediately. The papal chamberlain, Petrus de Cros, was, tellingly, a principal architect of the Schism.[50] However, the chamberlain was at the same time the representative of the papal household and the one to whom the members of the curia swore an oath of allegiance and from whom their power was derived. In addition he was the head of the curia during a papal vacancy, to the extent that he independently was in charge of financial and court administration as long as no pope was in office. It is evident that he was in agreement with almost all adherents of the papal court from the fact that almost all of them deserted Urban and affiliated themselves with Clement. By the end, Urban stood "alone like a sparrow on the roof," as one contemporary chronicler put it.[51] To this extent, the outbreak of the Schism can be interpreted as a revolt of the curia and the cardinals against the pope.

We now turn to Urban's opponent, Robert of Geneva, or Clement VII.[52] His name also betokened a program.[53] Clement VI, the last pope of this name, had been the pope under whom the Avignonese papacy had become a synonym for luxury and extravagance; he ran the most

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Archiven und Bibliotheken 24 (1932/33), 150–87, here pp. 152–58. The relevant sources for Urban VI are unfortunately not preserved.

[49] A sidebar: the question of money also played a role in Urban VI's relationships with high-ranking laity. The important role played by Onorato Caetani, count of Fondi, in the outbreak of the schism is well known. He protected the cardinals from the wrath of Urban VI; the election of Clement VII took place in his palace. His enmity towards Urban led, among other things, to the latter refusing to repay him a loan of 20,000 florins that Onorato Caetani had lent to his predecessor. See Valois, *La France*, 1:77.

[50] Daniel Williman, "The Camerary and the Schism," in *Genèse et débuts du grand schisme d'Occident: Colloque international tenu à Avignon, 25–28 septembre 1978* (Paris, 1980), pp. 65–71, and more recently in "Schism within the Curia"; see also Jamme, "Renverser le pape," p. 461.

[51] Theodericus de Niem, I cap. 11 and 12, p. 27; see Seidlmayer, *Anfänge*, p. 21.

[52] A new biography of Clement VII is expected from Philippe Genequand.

[53] Yves Renouard, *La papauté à Avignon* (Paris, 1954; repr. 2004), p. 60, pointed this out early on.

costly and impressive court. Most members of the curia could look back
nostalgically at his period of office as the good old days. The question of
whether they should affiliate themselves with Urban or Clement came
down to whether they wished to accept a considerable limitation on the
standard of living they had enjoyed up to that point or whether they
wanted to support a pope who had every prospect of extending their
pleasant way of life. We have already heard which choice the curia made:
almost everyone allied himself with Clement VII. It is characteristic of
Clement VII that he, in stark contrast to Urban VI, made his electors the
usual present of money immediately after his election: 4,000 florins for
each cardinal or 80,000 florins for the entire college.[54] In addition, what
we know of his papacy confirms that he attempted as far as possible to
continue the good old days. This was obviously only partially possible.
With the Schism, a large part of revenues fell away, and according to
the calculations of Favier and Genequand reached only about half their
level under Gregory XI.[55] In contrast the kitchen expenses—again in
comparison to Gregory XI—diminished only negligibly;[56] they were
much higher than those of Urban V and Innocent VI. Let us not for-
get that kitchen expenditures under Gregory XI were absolutely the
highest of the entire Avignonese papacy. Clement VII almost attained
this very high level, evidently in contrast to the intentions of Urban
VI. In addition, what we know of court life under Clement VII tallies
with the tale of the account books. According to Howard Kaminsky,
the style of his pontificate was characterized by "luxury, extravagance,

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[54] Baumgarten, "Miscellanea," pp. 44–45; see Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte* 5, 2, p. 678.

[55] Favier, *Les finances*, pp. 688–89; Philippe Genequand, "Les recettes et les dépenses
de la caisse centrale de la papauté d'Avignon sous Clément VII (1378–1394): Édition
des résultats comptables et analyses," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome—Moyen
âge 114/1* (2002), pp. 391–524, here pp. 455–56. According to them, the average papal
annual revenues were about 190,000 florins under Clement VII. This was somewhat
more than half of what Gregory XI took in.

[56] The average yearly expenditures of the kitchen were about 8 per cent of total
expenditures under Clement VII (Genequand, "Les recettes et les dépenses," pp.
482–93). In round figures, 200,000 florins (Genequand, "Les recettes et les dépenses,"
p. 492) were spent in 16 pontifical years, giving an average yearly amount of 12,500
florins. It is worth noting that under Clement VII, the *camera* reckoned in cameral
florins, whose value was slightly higher than that of the Florentine florin, which to this
point had served as the key currency. See Weiß, *Versorgung*, p. 63. From the point of
view of the *camera* itself, it appeared that the cameral florin had the same value as the
Florentine gold florin. See Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London,
1986), pp. 122–24. For the sake of simplicity I have also assumed the same value for
both currencies.

and easy-going morality";[57] this not only reflected the personal taste of the pope but also emphasized his pretensions as ruler over the whole of Christendom by running a court life commensurate with them.[58] Kaminsky also very correctly points out that Clement could not assert himself directly against his opponent, although he was massively supported by the French court[59]—to a far greater degree than his competitor Urban had been supported by Charles of Durazzo or other rulers. Indeed, the members of the curia had almost all gone over to Clement, and thus he could extend the institutional continuity of the period in Avignon without a break, even though the Roman and Italian populations together stood overwhelmingly on the side of Urban. This was evident immediately after Clement VII's election. The cardinals had made careful preparations and had used their connections and contacts in order to draw numerous Roman nobles and leaders of mercenaries to their side.[60] The cardinals believed that they could count on the nobles and leaders to help them unseat Urban by force, if need be. In the event, as quickly as the curia went over to Clement, so too did he lose his support among the population. Recognition in the Papal States fell into Urban's lap almost without his contrivance. Within a very short time, troops were at his disposal that had proved themselves superior to those of his opponent.[61]

In this way, the population asserted itself from time to time even against its own government. Although Queen Joan of Naples had joined Clement VII's party, Clement could not hold his ground in Naples and had to relinquish Italy and return to Avignon. By the same token, Joan's support of Clement were decisive factors in her downfall and murder. Given these facts, one can interpret the Schism as a revolt of the Italian population against the curia—and against the curia alone, not against the papacy.

Urban VI and Clement VII were polar opposites in terms of the style of their papacies. While we can conclude that Clement VII ran a

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[57] Kaminsky, *Simon*, p. 28; Haller, *Papsttum und Kirchenreform*, 1:123, characterized the papacy of Clement VI in the same words.

[58] Charitable expenditures are reversed; at about 7.1 per cent under John XXII, they sank to almost nothing (0.4 per cent). See Genequand, pp. 483–84 (expenditures on alms and Pignotte) and p. 504.

[59] Kaminsky, *Simon*, pp. 27–28.

[60] See especially Jamme, "Renverser le pape," pp. 453–55.

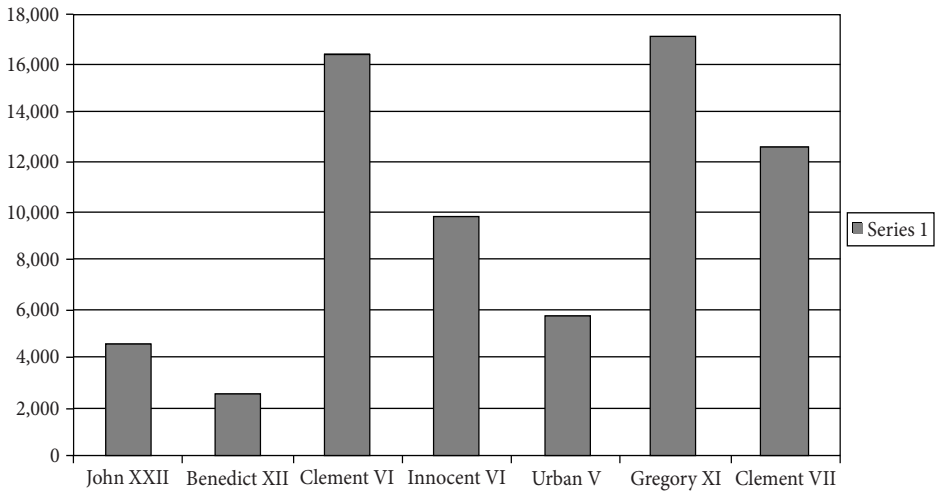[61] See Jamme, "Renverser le pape," pp. 463–64.

Fig. 1: Annual Average Expenditures for the Kitchen under the
Avignonese Popes

magnificent, lavish, and thus very expensive household, Urban seems to
have cut back considerably on the expenditures of the court. Although
the state of the sources regarding him is far worse,[62] it is nevertheless
significant that he, who had about half of Catholic Christendom on
his side, made far fewer financial approaches to its members than did
Gregory XI or indeed Clement VII at the same time. Contemporary
chroniclers also made known his moderate financial demands.[63]
Admittedly, this was due not only to his frugality but also to the fact
that Urban profited from the policy of his predecessors, at least to the
extent that he was in a position to control the Papal States to some
degree. While Clement lived for the most part off the dues of the French
clergy, Urban was able to rule in Rome and central Italy as a territorial
lord and, much more than his rival,[64] could fall back on the resources
of his own realm.[65]

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[62] See Gerd Tellenbach, *Repertorium Germanicum*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1933), pp. 77*–81*;
and Favier, *Les finances pontificales*, p. 5.
[63] Theodericus de Niem, *De scism*. I 69 (ed. Erler, pp. 122–23). See Hauck, *Kirchen-
geschichte*, 5, 2, p. 770.
[64] One should not overlook the fact that Clement could support himself with Avignon
and the Comtat Venaissin.
[65] See especially Jamme, "Renverser le pape," passim.

In conclusion, with the death of Gregory XI, the papacy found itself at a critical juncture. The goal that it sought for decades, namely the return to Rome, had finally become reality, but the curia had paid a high price for it. Not only were there gaping holes in the papal coffers but also the appearance and legitimacy of the papacy had been severely damaged. Upon arrival in Rome, it became apparent that the move had in no way solved the old problems and had in fact created many more new ones. The curia had to reconstitute itself in strange surroundings and had to maintain infrastructure or erect it anew; it had to keep under control a population always inclined to revolt; it had to come to terms with the nobility of the city of Rome; it had to consolidate its precarious lordship over the Papal States; and it had to bring lasting peace to Italy—and these were all endeavours that cost not only effort but also a great deal of money. This necessitated radical cuts in expenditures on the papal household and at the very least suggested the thought that the cardinals should render a contribution commensurate with their wealth to the expenditures that were becoming necessary. This was the critical point at which the curia and the cardinals refused to follow the pope.

The link between exaggerated luxury and the outbreak of the Schism, elaborated upon by contemporaries, has already become apparent. In many respects the elaborate lifestyle of the members of the curia and the cardinals had been an advantage to the papacy for a long time. The members of the curia and the cardinals rendered good service in return for their rich revenues—the Avignonese popes had a capable administration and diplomatic service, as well as a highly developed judicature at their disposal, such that scarcely any other contemporary state could exhibit. This lifestyle had a disintegrating effect on catholic Christianity, however, to the extent that the legitimacy of the papacy, both with the laity and also with the lower and higher clergy, began increasingly to waver. It was certainly the higher clergy who were in the front lines of rendering the dues to the curia and who were in the front lines of the accumulation of offices of the members of the curia. Urban VI attempted to solve this dilemma but failed. He was not without fault in this; he could have avoided the Schism or at least contained it with a more diplomatic approach. The responsibility borne by the cardinals was vastly greater, however.[66] Their concern about the constitution of

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[66] Valois also emphasizes this, *La France*, 1:82–83 and 4:479–81; as does Seidlmayer, *Anfänge*, p. 8: "the strong deficiency (of the college of cardinals at the time) of awareness

the curia was directed less to abstract legal norms than to the changes that Urban VI wished to make to the curial and cardinalistic financial administration. By the same token, the behavior of Urban VI was thus the more difficult to bear, because he cast up the cardinals' lack of willingness to make sacrifices to them. In short, in the final analysis it was concern about their own pocketbooks that guided the behavior of the cardinals. When one removes the ornaments from "the pillars of the governors of Christ"—to quote Catherine of Siena[67]—they turn out to be hollow.

Nevertheless, it should not be denied that there are extenuating circumstances that may partially excuse the behavior of the cardinals. First, we all know that people in general and elites in particular leave themselves to the last when it is a question of economizing. This behavior is widespread and certainly known in the past, so it can hardly be a surprise to find it in the 14th century. In relation to this, a general problem of Church history is worthy of note. The extent of luxury to which a king, duke, or other person of note rank was governed not only by his own desire for extravagance or frugality but also by societal pressures. Even the most frugal popes at Avignon celebrated from time to time on a large scale, built a gorgeous palace, and behaved in a way similar to the ambience of a contemporary court.

This was also true of the cardinals: they were expected to run a great household and have a considerable entourage; both were in fact necessary if they were to be able to fulfill their many duties. In addition, they had to be able to appear with the appropriate splendor, in particular when they met and had dealings with high-ranking laity, princes, and kings who visited the papal court or to whom they were sent as emissaries. All of this cost money and demanded the necessary income; it is certainly understandable that a cardinal would want to lead a lifestyle similar to that of the princes with whom he had dealings. However, and here is the difference between a spiritual and a lay prince, while society in general accepted such consumption for the sake of prestige on the part of kings and princes, this was far less the case for spiritual leaders. I have already mentioned how stereotypically the critics of the curia have argued throughout the centuries; this is because this role

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of their responsibility, of altruism and a willingness to make sacrifices; all are very apparent."
[67] Quoted in Pastor, *Geschichte*, 1:36.

conflict has re-ignited itself anew throughout the centuries. On the one hand, high clerics, especially the pope himself, were expected to have outlays similar in cost to that of kings and princes, whereas on the other hand, there existed the ideal of the poor Church, which especially in the late 14th century resounded more strongly.[68] Before one judges the cardinals, one should consider that this contradiction is found in the person of Christ himself: he is not only the son of God but also a man who suffers, and he thus offers redemption both for the rich church and for the poor church. An ideal pope and an ideal cardinal would therefore have to be at the same time rich and poor, at the same time powerful and powerless. Since, however, that was not possible, the high clerics were forced into a balancing act between the two extremes. A certain awareness that there were social forces at work from which a prince of the Church could not extricate himself can be found even in such a stern critic of the curia as Francesco Petrarch. When Cardinal Elias Tallyrand asked him to lay out which lifestyle he considered to be correct for a religious in his position, Petrarch replied:

> If you cannot appear on the outside as you wish, at least be on the inside the way you should be! Sit in your magnificent palace, but let your spirit wander in the wasteland! In the midst of your wealth, keep in mind the poverty of Lent. Let gold sparkle on your table and on the rings on your fingers, but let contempt for all these things shine the more brightly in your soul![69]

One can hardly expect that such a subtle difference would find general resonance.

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[68] Still worth reading is Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1935; repr. 1970); English translation, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 1996); see also Vones, *Urban V*, pp. 34–37.

[69] Petrarca, *Epistulae de rebus familiaribus* 14,1, translated from the quotation in Piur, *Petrarcas "Buch ohne Namen,"* p. 62. See also Francesco Petrarca, *Letters on Familiar Matters: Rerum familiarum libri IX–XVI*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo (Baltimore, 1982), p. 223: Fam. XIV, 1: "If it is truly impossible to be outwardly what you desire, be inwardly what you must be. Let your good fortune make you display an ostentatious exterior, but conceal your humility within you; you may sit in the court but let your mind wander in a hermitage; love poverty amidst riches and fasting amidst banquets; let gold glitter on your table and gems on your fingers but let contempt for them glitter even more in your mind; let your body be dressed in fancy clothing but your spirit in haircloth."

LOCAL EXPERIENCES OF THE GREAT WESTERN SCHISM

Philip Daileader

I am suspicious of a priori ideas maintaining that the Schism only concerned intellectuals or the authorities, and not the people, the "common crowd." That it was an affair above all of theologians, canon lawyers, and rulers, and that the simple folk cared about other things: this claim would have to agree with the facts reported in the sources. I have even heard it said that the Schism was a "false problem." I do not believe it. To the extent that it touched people at the most profound level of their convictions, namely, their faith, it was a real problem. And in their daily lives as well. The poor priest worried about whether the benefice that he so wanted, and that he had solicited from one pope or the other, had any chance of being given to him, and how soon, and how much it would be worth. So that he could simply make a living.[1]

As long as there were priests, the Schism was a lesser evil. Now we know that, except in cases very limited in time and in space, the continuity of priestly ordinations was assured. No region truly suffered a rupture in religious observance…It is therefore difficult to consider it as a religious event. It was rather an ecclesiastical and political phenomenon. That is how it was experienced…The Schism was an affair of learned clerics, or university scholars and of political elites near to the king and his council.[2]

As few other events did during the 14th and 15th centuries, the Great Western Schism affected the whole of Christian Europe. After 1378, every Catholic individual and community first had to decide whether to accept as pope either of the two (or, after 1409, three) individuals claiming to be the one, true successor of Saint Peter and Vicar of Christ on earth. Then, those who rejected neutrality had to make their choice and join the Roman, the Avignon, or (again after 1409) the Pisan obedience. At issue was the unific leadership of a universal institution; the

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[1] Monique Maillard-Luypaert, "A propos du grand schisme d'Occident (1378–1417): Réflexions et approche méthodologique," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 82 (1987), 549.

[2] Jean Favier, "Le grand schisme dans l'histoire de France," in *Genèse et débuts du grand schisme d'Occident: Colloque international tenu à Avignon, 25–28 septembre 1978* (Paris, 1980), pp. 7–16.

consequences of disagreement could not help but be universal as well. But agreement about the breadth of the crisis is not the same as agreement about its depth. As the opening quotations, taken from the works of Monique Maillard-Luypaert and Jean Favier respectively, suggest, there is no unanimity concerning whether all Catholics experienced the Schism's shockwaves with equal force, or with much force at all. Maillard-Luypaert might be seen as representing the maximalist position, which sees the Schism as generating both severe practical problems and spiritual crises; Favier might be seen as representing the minimalist position, which sees the Schism as an administrative entanglement that, while a nuisance, did not jeopardize anything essential.

The purpose of this essay is not to answer definitively the question of to whom and how much the Schism mattered. Rather, its purposes are 1) to take stock of recent and older work on how the Schism played out in a variety of venues, and 2) to provide some direction for those about to conduct research into the local experiences of the Schism. To assess the Schism's local impact requires one to draw selectively upon other historians' research into the published and archival records of places as distant as Ireland and Cyprus. During the last century, historians have studied experiences of the Schism at a variety of levels, five of which are examined in turn here: the regional level, the diocesan level, the monastic and mendicant level, the urban level, and the university level. Because some of these levels nest within others, historians must always be aware that work relevant to their own might be found in places perhaps not immediately obvious: work on the consequences of the Schism for monastic and mendicant houses often can be found within diocesan studies, for example. Attention is given here to especially important discussions of methodology and source material and (in the notes) to published archival guides or source collections. Granted, the researcher might have no interest in the geographical localities to which these guides, collections, and discussions apply. Yet from them the researcher can still get a sense of the sort of documents that he or she is likely to encounter during research, the collections where these documents typically are housed, and the interpretive problems that these records pose.

I. Regional experiences

Few books, a century after their initial publication, continue to garner the sort of praise that Noël Valois's *La France et le grand schisme*

d'Occident garners even today. The first and last of its four volumes were published in 1896 and 1902 respectively, yet in 1979 R. N. Swanson wrote that "no historian of the schism can fail to be influenced by the ever-present shade of Noël Valois," and in 1991 Hélène Millet described *La France et le grand schisme d'Occident* as "the best study concerning the Schism."[3]

This effusiveness might seem surprising, especially considering how Valois's study of the Schism differs from some more recent work. That the book is the product of the late 19th and early 20th centuries is readily apparent; few academic historians today would feel comfortable recreating the participants' lengthy speeches and exchanges—and placing them within quotation marks—as Valois does in his entertaining, dramatic, and conjectural account of who said what at Pope Urban VI's election. Such vestiges of 19th-century literary history, though, do not detract from those qualities that continue to inspire admiration, engagement, and (to a lesser extent) imitation. Valois was more of a positivist than a romantic. In *La France et le grand schisme*, he presents his sources systematically and uses them transparently, taking pains to let his readers know the source of the material from which he has constructed his narrative of the interactions between the French monarchy and the papacy.[4] This largely diplomatic approach to the Schism would prove influential in the future, and while in some sense it limits the Schism as a historical phenomenon (Valois treats the internal consequences of the Schism for France only insofar as those affected French diplomacy), in another sense it broadens the book's scope beyond what its title would lead one to expect. *La France et le grande schisme d'Occident* deals not just with France but also with other kingdoms and territories that became involved in French diplomatic efforts to win support for the Avignon papacy or to bring the Schism to an end: Savoy, Scotland, Aragon, Castile, Germany, Hungary, and others.

Valois's study extends beyond the description of events and diplomatic dealings. In the late 19th-century tradition, he leavens his narrative with a consideration of cultural issues that would, in the next

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[3] Robert N. Swanson, *Universities, Academics, and the Great Schism* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd series) 12 (Cambridge, Eng., 1979), p. 3; Hélène Millet, "Le grand schisme d'Occident vu par les contemporains: Crise de l'église ou crise de la papauté?" in *Recherches sur l'économie ecclésiale à la fin du moyen âge autour des collégiales de Savoie: Actes de la Table ronde internationale d'Annecy, 26–28 avril 1990* (Annecy, 1991), p. 28 at n. 3.

[4] Noël Valois, *La France et le grand schisme d'Occident*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1896–1902), 1:xi–xxix.

century, constitute important fields of research in their own right: the impact of the Schism at the University of Paris, for example, and how the Schism figured in poetry and visionary literature. Valois has ideas about the Schism's historical significance and about how contemporaries understood the Schism, and even if these ideas appear only at the very end of his monumental narrative, almost as an afterthought, they nonetheless raise and address a question. It is, in fact, the same question to which Maillard-Luypaërt and Favier offered different answers at the beginning of this essay: Was the Schism a matter of faith? Were those who adhered to a pope other than one's own, or who maintained their neutrality, to be regarded as schismatic heretics?

From the outset of the Schism, one could find some individuals who maintained that those adhering to a rival obedience were heretics and ought to be treated as such. Such individuals expressed their belief in the heretical nature of the other observance by burning in public the chrism used by rival clerics in baptism and by pronouncing all baptisms performed by these rival clerics to be null and void. If this idea were to be taken to its logical conclusion, then adherents of a rival obedience had to be shunned in this world because they were going to be damned in the next. Yet, from the outset, there were also those who denied that adherence to a rival pope constituted heresy (Valois, perhaps somewhat chauvinistically, suggests that this "much more charitable idea" appeared quickly, "especially in France").[5] Valois points out that, as early as 1381, the University of Paris tried to ban the use of the terms *schismatic* and *heretic* in treatises written on the Schism; in such a murky and difficult situation; individuals of good will might well come to different conclusions as to which pope was legitimate. Scholars such as Jean Gerson and Pierre d'Ailly also argued that sacraments administered and consecrations performed by clerics of either obedience were valid and that laity acting in good faith need not worry about the validity of these sacraments; they likewise thus argued that those belonging to an obedience other than one's own should not be regarded as schismatics or heretics. According to Valois, as time passed, more and more individuals agreed that the Schism was not an issue of faith and that "this progressive growth toward the most benevolent ideas was the indispensable prelude to religious union."[6] Proving that

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[5] Valois, *La France*, 4:496.
[6] Valois, *La France*, 4:496–97.

this change in sentiment occurred is not central to Valois's project; neither is determining how widely such sentiments were shared in any given part of France at any given moment, nor was he interested in determining whether these sentiments existed and developed outside France. Yet Valois succeeds in pointing out that contemporaries disagreed about the nature and the importance of the Schism, and he assigns significant explanatory importance to the evolution and resolution of that disagreement.

There have been many regional studies of the Schism since Valois published his work.[7] None has been as influential, but together they comprise a substantial body of scholarship that includes contributions

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[7] For Aragón: Henri Bresc, "La Maison d'Aragon et le schisme: Implications de politique internationale," in *Jornades sobre el Cisma d'Occident a Catalunya, les Illes I el país Valencià: Barcelona-Peníscola 19–21 d'Abril de 1979: Ponències i comunicacions*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1986–88), 1:37–53; Antonio Martín Rodríguez, "Benedicto XIII y el reino de Aragón," *Hispania* 19 (1959), 163–91; Esteban Sarasa Sánchez, "Los aragoneses y el Cisma de Occidente en el reinado de Fernando I," in *Jornades sobre el Cisma d'Occident*, 1:233–40. For the Duchy of Athens: Kenneth M. Setton, "The Avignonese Papacy and the Catalan Duchy of Athens," *Byzantion* 17 (1944–45), 281–303. For Germany and the Holy Roman Empire: Heinz Angermeier, "Das Reich und der Konziliarismus," *Historische Zeitschrift* 192 (1961), 529–83; Herman Diener, "Die Anhänger Clemens' VII in Deutschland," in *Genèse et débuts*, pp. 521–31. For Italy: Paolo Brezzi, "Lo scisma d'occidente come problema italiano," *Archivio della Deputazione romana di storia patria* 67 (1944), 391–450; Giovan Bernardino Tafuri, "Riflessi del Grande Scisma d'Occidente in terra d'Otranto," *Archivo storico pugliese* 20 (1967), 82–98. For Mallorca: Álvaro Santamaría Arández and Maria Barceló i Crespí, "Església i l'administració a Mallorca en l'època del Cisma d'Occident," in *Jornades sobre el Cisma d'Occident*, 1:241–81. For the Midi: Matthieu Desachy, "'La damnable schisme ore apaiséz': La fin du Schisme dans le Midi toulousain (1409–1430)," in *Le Midi et le grand schisme d'Occident* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux), 39 (Toulouse, 2004), pp. 353–93; Hugues Labarthe and Laurent Sévègnes, "Le système d'information géographique pour la cartographie des obédiences en Gascogne à l'époque du grand schisme, 1378–v. 1420: Un outil heuristique?" in *Le Midi et le grand schisme d'occident*, pp. 209–67. For Navarre: José Zunzunegui, *El reino de Navarra y su obispado de Pamplona durante la primera época del Cisma de Occidente: Pontificado de Clemente VII de Aviñón (1378–1394)* (San Sebastian, 1942). For the Netherlands: Gerardus Adrianus van Asseldonk, *De nederlanden en het westers schisma tot 1398* (Utrecht, 1955). For Poland: Jerzy Kloczowski, "Avignon et la Pologne à l'époque d'Urbain VI et de Grégoire XI (1362–1378)," in *Genèse et débuts*, pp. 531–40. For Portugal: Júlio César Baptista, "Portugal e o Cisma do Ocidente," *Lusitania sacra* 1 (1956), 65–203. For Sicily: Salvatore Fodale, "Il regno di Trinacria e lo Scisma," in *Genèse et débuts*, pp. 507–19; Nino Torrisi, "I riflessi dello Scisma d'Occidente in Sicilia," *Siculorum Gymansium* n.s. 7 (1954), 129–37. For published sources: *Documents relatifs au grand schisme*, ed. Karl Hanquet et al., 8 vols. (Brussels and Rome, 1924–87), as well as Maillard-Luypaërt's comments on the collection: Monique Maillard-Luypaert, *Papauté, clercs, et laics: Le diocese de Cambrai à l'épreuve du grand schisme d'Occident (1378–1417)* (Brussels, 2001), pp. 164–69. For published Sicilian sources: *Riflessi dello Scisma d'Occidente in Sicilia (documenti)*, ed. Giuseppe Pistorio (Catania, 1969).

from some of the more prolific and influential medievalists of the 20th century—for example, Edouard Perroy and Luis Suárez Fernández, whose works explore the English and Castilian experiences of the Schism respectively.[8] Both authors provide substantial documentary appendices for their works: Suárez Fernández appends nearly 300 pages of transcribed primary sources such as papal bulls, royal charters, and letters to a study that itself runs only about 150 pages; and Perroy provides a brief but useful summary of the various types of English royal records, episcopal records, and chronicles that he uses, together with documents drawn from the Vatican's registers, to flesh out his study. Both authors, like Valois, focus on the Schism's political, administrative, and diplomatic repercussions, as the subheading of Perroy's book ("Study of English Religious Politics under Richard II (1378–1399)") makes clear.

Given the state of war between England and France, England opted for the Roman rather than the Avignon papacy quickly and easily. Cardinals and other clerics loyal to Avignon lost their English benefices, and English ecclesiastical geography had to be reconfigured in light of the complications generated by the Schism. This reconfiguration mostly involved Benedictine monks. English Benedictine houses often had French mother houses at Cluny, Cîteaux, or elsewhere, with many of those French mother houses located, not surprisingly, in Normandy. In such instances, Urban VI allowed English houses to assume the administrative and supervisory roles that their French mother houses had played prior to the Schism. The process of reconfiguring English Benedictine monasticism was messy, especially among England's Cistercians: some houses refused to submit to the oversight of others that not long before had been their equals.

Perroy suggests that the failure to manage properly the complications posed by the Schism could have disastrous consequences. Toward the end of his reign, Richard II grew increasingly sympathetic to French

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[8] Edouard Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme d'Occident: Étude sur la politique religieuse de l'Angleterre sous Richard II* (Paris, 1933); Luis Suárez Fernández, *Castilla, el Cisma y la crisis conciliar (1378–1440)* (Madrid, 1960). For England, see also Margaret Harvey, *Solutions to the Schism: A Study of Some English Attitudes, 1378–1409* (St. Ottilien, 1983); Harvey, "*Ecclesia Anglicana, cui Ecclesiastes noster Christus vos prefecit*: The Power of the Crown in the English Church during the Great Schism," *Studies in Church History* 18 (1982), 229–41; Harvey, "The Case for Urban VI in England to 1390," in *Genèse et débuts*, pp. 541–60; and John J. N. Palmer, "England and the Great Western Schism, 1388–1399," *English Historical Review* 83 (1968), 516–22.

attempts to end the Schism through a subtraction of obedience that in theory would, in turn, lead to papal resignations in Rome and in Avignon. Yet Richard's subjects did not share his sympathy for that policy, and Perroy posits that the subsequent estrangement between Richard II and his subjects contributed to his reign's notoriously bad end: a baronial rebellion that led to the king's imprisonment, abdication, and ultimately death.

> Persuaded that only the backing of the king of France could help him to crush the baronial opposition, he [Richard II] little by little let his religious politics be dictated by the royal court in Paris. Thus the close relationship with Rome, necessary for the control of the clergy, came to be directly opposed to the close relationship with the House of Valois, indispensable for the establishment of autocracy. Thus his enemies could reproach him for having sacrificed the liberties of the English Church in order to please Benedict XIII; but at the same time, they accused him of having shamefully abandoned the legitimate pope by listening to the mistaken promises of Charles VI.[9]

The baronial rebellion certainly originated elsewhere than in the Schism, yet the Schism played a role in setting the stage for dynastic change in England.

Further complicating the English situation were England's territorial possessions outside Great Britain itself, where loyalty to the Roman see came not nearly as readily as in England: Anglo-Norman Ireland, the Channel Islands, Calais, Brittany, and Aquitaine. Especially in Brittany and Aquitaine, the Avignon papacy found itself with strong and vocal supporters willing to challenge the Romanists in their midst. Yet Perroy argues that Clement VII's supporters were ineffectual, even in French-speaking territories under English rule, and England easily imposed and supported Urbanist clergy in these places:

> It is on the continent that difficulties were the most serious, and it is there that repressive measures were the strongest. Yet everywhere, after a few months of fumblings or negligence, which gave supporters of Clement VII time to spread their views, London imposed the same strict order, and the schismatics little by little yielded to the favorites of royal government and of Rome.[10]

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[9] Perroy, *Angleterre et le grand schisme*, p. 390.
[10] Perroy, *Angleterre et le grand schisme*, p. 128.

The same process of reconfiguring ecclesiastical geography that took place in England took place in its possessions as well: Urban VI detached Calais, Jersey, and Guernsey from their former dioceses and attached them to others where the presiding bishop was Urbanist.

Indeed, Perroy argues that continuity rather than change marked the English experience of the Schism, even taking into account the overthrow of Richard II. After 1378, the issue that dominated religious politics was not the Schism but, rather, the same issue that had dominated religious politics in the decades before 1378: papal prerogative as expressed through jurisdiction and taxation. The struggles between Urban VI and Richard II hardly differed from earlier struggles pitting English monarchs against popes: "the same complaints, the same threats, the same bargaining necessarily had to occur and to poison relations between London and Rome, just as they had irritated Avignon."[11] In the early 1370s, on the eve of the Schism, Pope Gregory XI had imposed a levy on the English clergy to finance a war against the Visconti of Milan. Edward III, fearing to see so much money drained from his kingdom while it was at war with France, forbade the English clergy to pay and used the opportunity to protest the papacy's practice of summoning royal officials to Rome for legal proceedings, which took such officials away from their work for long periods of time. The king likewise challenged the papal practice of granting English benefices or the expectation of such benefices, seeing that popes tended to make these grants to clerics who were not English. The result was a compromise—one of many such compromises drawn up in the first three quarters of the 14th century. The English crown yielded on the payment of the papal tax, and the papacy promised to make procedural changes that would make the summoning of English clergy and officials to Rome less common and that would keep English benefices in the hands of English clergy. After 1378, precisely the same problems absorbed the energy not just of Richard II but of the English parliament and English towns as well, in part because Urban VI refused to abide by his predecessor's agreement. During the Schism, Richard II entered into lengthy negotiations like those of his predecessors, used the same pressures and tactics as his predecessors, and reached compromises with Roman popes (most notably in 1398) concerning the election of bishops and the distribution of benefices, just as his predecessors had done.

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[11] Perroy, *Angleterre et le grand schisme*, p. 269.

Suárez Fernández's study of Castile, unlike Perroy's study of England, covers the entire period of the Schism and indeed takes its story all the way to 1440. It shows how the political situation that existed at the outbreak of the Schism governed Castilian reactions—as well as how historical accidents peculiar to each kingdom could shape its experiences. That France would support the Avignon papacy and that England, France's foe in the Hundred Years War, would support the Roman papacy, was expected, but contemporaries regarded Castile as being in play. During the first few months of the Schism, the Roman pope, the Avignon pope, and the king of France all sent ambassadors to Castile seeking to win that kingdom's support. Initially Castile adopted a position of neutrality, a position whose benefits to the Castilian crown were enormous, as kings could then withhold revenues and make appointments that would otherwise have come under papal control. Castilian neutrality lasted only three years, though. For a decade before the outbreak of the Schism, Castile had sided with France in the Hundred Years War, and to break with France over the Schism would have jeopardized that military alliance; in 1381, Castile formally joined the Avignon obedience. Accepting the authority of the Avignon papacy did not substantially lessen the control that the Castilian monarchy had gained over local churches, though, as the Avignon papacy conceded substantial papal revenues to it. The Avignon papacy hoped that kings would use this revenue to finance military expeditions launched against the supporters of the Roman papacy, which, in turn, would enable the Avignon papacy to triumph over its rival. Such expeditions never materialized, and by the early 1390s the popes at Avignon were protesting such royal usurpations. But royal control over papal revenues only grew greater when, in 1398, Castile followed the French lead and withdrew its obedience from the Avignon papacy.

As time went on, Castile came to follow the French lead less and less. The crucial historical accident that altered the Castilian trajectory was the election of the Spaniard Pedro de Luna as Pope Benedict XIII in 1394. Ethnic loyalty led Castile to support the Avignon papacy even more ardently than France; indeed, Castile formally returned to the Avignon obedience in 1403, before France. At the Council of Constance, Castilian representatives (who, together with representatives from other Iberian kingdoms with whom the Castilians sometimes violently disagreed, comprised the "Spanish nation") acted independently and held out against compromise until the last moment. It took years of negotiation before, in 1417, the Castilian ambassadors became formal

participants at the Council of Constance (as opposed to mere observers), just as the council was nearing its end.

This interplay between a pan-European problem and local particularities is, if anything, even more pronounced in the study of kingdoms and regions located on the geographical edges of Catholic Christendom, areas that have attracted increasing attention in recent decades and where religious and ethnic pluralism created especially dynamic and fluid contexts for the Schism. With considerable modesty, Wipertus Rudt de Collenberg calls Cyprus "a country…which was not one of the most important in the 14th century," but such humility notwithstanding, he examines the consequences of the Schism for the island kingdom.[12] At the geographical edge, the sources are not as ample. Valois, Perroy, and Suárez Fernández all could rely on both documents housed in the Vatican's papal registers and documents housed in local collections, but Rudt de Collenberg must make do without the latter. For Cyprus, there are no local archival holdings relevant to the Schism, and Rudt de Collenberg understands well that the documents housed in papal registers tend to reflect what popes wished to happen, rather than what actually transpired. Yet, even if their wishes did not always come true, in making their wishes known, popes often inadvertently revealed invaluable information about what (as best as they understood it) had been transpiring in Cyprus of late.

The general trend at Cyprus is the same as that which Suárez Fernández identifies in Castile, namely, a rise in monarchical power at the expense of papal power. But in Cyprus, the specific forms that this trend took both reflected and altered the ethnic and religious diversity of the island. At the outbreak of the Schism, King Peter II ruled most of Cyprus—he belonged to the famous Lusignan family, known for its involvement in the crusades to the Near East. Genoa, however, had captured the Cypriot town of Famagusta in 1374 and held that town for the duration of the Schism, despite sustained military efforts between 1400 and 1410 by King Janus of Cyprus to wrest it back. As regards its ecclesiastical geography, Cyprus had four episcopal sees at the time of the Schism: Nicosia, Paphos, Limassol, and Famagusta. French clergy (mostly hailing from the south of France, unsurprisingly, as they had

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[12] Wipertus Rudt de Collenberg, "Le Royaume et l'église de Chypre face au grand schisme (1378–1417) d'après les registres des archives du Vatican," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome: Moyen âge, temps modernes* 94.2 (1982), 621–701; the quotation comes from p. 621.

been appointed by popes at Avignon who came from the Midi them-
selves) filled the upper ranks of the Cypriot ecclesiastical hierarchy,
and the nobility of Cyprus, too, retained a sense of French identity
(although that nobility had just suffered severe losses at the hands of
the Genoese). Genoa belonged to the Roman obedience from 1379 to
1396, then to the Avignon obedience from 1396 to 1409 after the French
had taken the city, and then to the Pisan obedience after 1409. The
kings of Cyprus, in contrast, tended to be of the Avignon obedience,
with some exceptions. James I adopted a position of neutrality between
1385, when he became king following a regency, and 1395/96—he had
become king with the backing of the Genoese, and it took him nearly
a decade before his position was secure enough for him to proclaim
his own support for the Avignon papacy. In 1411 the king of Cyprus
switched his allegiance to Pope John XXIII at Pisa.

Both the popes at Rome and the popes at Avignon tried the win over
Cyprus: Urban VI sought to rally the Cypriots to his cause, while Cle-
ment VII ordered the seizure of Urban VI supporters. Little active
struggle took place between the pope's partisans on Cyprus, though.
Instead, the primary results of the Schism were a general loss of papal
power, as well as a decline in French influence and identity on the island.

On Cyprus, the Schism ended papal control over episcopal elec-
tions. During the first half of the 14th century, popes had succeeded
in establishing a right to name Cyprus's bishops, but once the Schism
erupted, local cathedral chapters began to name local individuals as
bishops, while kings of Cyprus steered vacant sees to local individu-
als whom they favored. Popes of Rome and of Avignon protested this
local assertiveness by naming bishops to vacant sees and by naming
individuals to vacant positions in the cathedral chapters, but the local
Cypriot population ignored these papal appointees, who seem never to
have traveled to the island. Popes at Avignon had to accept this situ-
ation because protests might push the kings into the other camp, and
John XXIII of Pisa, for his part, acquiesced in this assertion of royal
and local power in order to secure Cypriot support for himself.

The securing of control over episcopal appointments by local Cypriot
kings and cathedral chapters led to a transformation of the upper ranks
of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, because the Cypriots did not choose as
their bishops clerics from southern France. Instead they chose fellow
Cypriots, thereby weakening the island's ties to France and to the West
more generally. In this way, the Schism contributed to the emergence
of a more distinct Cypriot identity and to a more open demonstration

of the island's Greek culture—at the Council of Constance, some in attendance expressed concern over how Greek Orthodoxy had been expanding in Cyprus at the expense of Latin Christianity, a complaint that Pope Martin V took notice of in 1418 as well.

At the other end of Christendom was another late-medieval colonial society on another island, namely, Ireland, and Katherine Walsh has considered the consequences of the Schism there.[13] Unlike Cyprus, where most of the island was ruled by Lusignan kings descended from French crusaders and where the episcopate at the outbreak of the Schism was thoroughly French, Ireland was split more evenly between the area ruled and settled by the descendants of English Anglo-Normans and the area governed and inhabited entirely by Gaelic Irish natives. English kings sought to use the Schism to increase English colonial power in Ireland. Urban VI, like his counterpart at Avignon, found himself pressured to make concessions by monarchs and others who might, if displeased with the pope's response, withdraw their obedience or perhaps even switch sides entirely. An English embassy asked Urban VI henceforth to appoint bishops in Ireland who knew how to speak English and who were sympathetic to the English Crown (a demand that English kings had voiced earlier in the 14th century during the pontificate of John XXII but which they had subsequently dropped until its revival in the context of the Schism).

Supporters of the Avignon and Roman papacies clashed openly in the Irish archbishoprics of Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam. In Cashel, the death of the strongly pro-Roman bishop Philip Torynton in 1381 occasioned an attempt by Clement VII to mobilize his supporters in the diocese and take control of the see; Clement VII named a Franciscan (Irish Franciscans were seemingly unusually sympathetic to the Avignon papacy) as the new bishop. Urban VI in turn appointed an Anglo-Norman, Peter Hackett, who took effective control of the see thanks to English royal support. During the vacancy following Torynton's death, diocesan property was held by royal officials who would not release it to Clement VII's candidate but did release it to Urban VI's. A year earlier, Clement VII had tried to appoint a bishop (another Franciscan) for the vacant see at Armagh, but there too, Urban VI's own choice prevailed, because royal officials controlled which of two candidates got

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[13] Katherine Walsh, "Ireland, the Papal Curia, and the Schism: A Border Case," in *Genèse et débuts*, pp. 561–74.

the bishopric's temporalities. The victory of Romanist clergy, though, was not guaranteed in Ireland's contested dioceses. In the archbishopric of Tuam, located in Ireland's west, the split lasted longer than elsewhere: between 1383 and 1393, rival archbishops supported by one pope or the other coexisted. The Roman candidate held the diocesan property, but the Avignon candidate enjoyed enough local support and connections to hang on and, indeed, to triumph in the end. When the local chapter elected the bishop of Clonfert, another supporter of the Avignon papacy, as bishop in Tuam, the Urbanist bishop in Tuam surrendered his position, took up a position as bishop of Clonfert, and pledged his allegiance to the pope at Avignon.

These open contestations might seem to suggest that the Schism had more of an impact in Ireland than in Cyprus, but Walsh emphasizes how limited in time and space these disputes were. The archdiocese of Tuam was the exception; conflicts everywhere else were over by 1385. In the archdiocese of Dublin, support for the Roman papacy was immediate and strong, while in the Gaelic north and west (or, at least, for those northern and western areas about which we have any relevant information), support went to the Avignon papacy. Indeed, in the long run, the Schism affected Cyprus more than Ireland. Lusignan royal authority extended throughout nearly the whole of the island, putting Cypriot kings in a better position to take full advantage of the Schism, which they did through their cooperation with local cathedral chapters, a cooperation that satisfied the crown's desire to increase royal power and the chapters' desire to make the episcopate less French and more Greek. In Ireland, in contrast, there were sizable regions where English kings could not similarly shape the course of events and where local chapters obeyed a different pope than did the monarch; the very existence of conflicts between Romanist and Avignon attests to the relative strength of each. The result was something resembling a stalemate and, consequently, no shift in the balance of ethnic power.

II. Diocesan experiences

Studies conducted at the regional level have revealed a multiplicity of experiences, but given the relatively broad scope of those studies, they have focused almost exclusively on the experiences of kings, popes, and bishops, who can be located without much difficulty in the surviving evidence. To see how individuals of more modest social status experienced

the Schism, historians have narrowed the scope of their investigations, thereby giving themselves time to root thoroughly through their sources in search of elusive subjects. The most ambitious attempt to assess the Schism's consequences for those outside the highest levels of the political and ecclesiastical hierarchy is Monique Maillard-Luypaert's *Papauté, clercs, et laics: Le diocese de Cambrai à l'épreuve du grand schisme d'Occident (1378–1417).*[14] Maillard-Luypaert was a student of Léopold Genicot, whose study of the Namurois is one of the great regional *thèses* that dominated French medieval and Annaliste scholarship from the 1950s into the 1980s. These regional *thèses* strove to reconstruct a total history of regional societies through the (often quantitative) analysis of charters; Maillard-Luypaert takes the quantifying methods and the organizing structure of the regional *thèse* and applies them to a source base, to a spatial unit, and to a historical event of the sort that figure relatively little in studies inspired by the Annales. (*Papauté, clercs, et laïcs* is one of the few studies of the Schism to contain tables, and it has no fewer than 18 of them.) Maillard-Luypaert applies her *Annaliste* methods not to local records, which play only a supplementary role in her work, but to papal records. These records include supplications sent to popes, mostly by individuals seeking benefices or the expectation of receiving benefices but sometimes requesting dispensation from the prohibited degrees of kinship, the freedom to choose their own confessors, and so on; they also include letters sent by popes in response to those supplications, as well as papal fiscal records. (Part II of *Papauté, clercs, et laïques* is devoted entirely to a discussion of the source material, and anyone interested in using papal records to study local experiences of the Schism would be well advised to consult its nearly 80 pages of careful source criticism.) To keep the number of documents manageable, Maillard-Luypaert takes samples. She examines all the documents from seven discrete periods, each usually one year long and often corresponding to the year following a papal election. Those were always the years of greatest papal documentary activity, when petitioners inundated new popes with requests for the issuance of new privileges or for the confirmation of old ones.

The bishops and the diocese of Cambrai belonged, by and large, to the Avignon obedience. In the summer of 1378, before the election of

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[14] See also Monique Maillard-Luypaert, "Le schisme d'Occident dans l'ancien diocèse de Cambrai de 1387 à 1417," *Leiegouw* 29.1–2 (1987), 181–87.

Clement VII, the cathedral chapter elected Jean T'Serclaes as bishop. T'Serclaes corresponded with Clement VII but never wholly committed himself to that pope—Clement VII composed but never sent a letter confirming T'Serclaes's election, and T'Serclaes seems not to have paid to Clement VII the sum that he ought to have paid for taking possession of a major benefice. Shortly after his election, Clement VII dispatched the cardinal Gui de Malsec to the diocese of Cambrai in order to shore up his support there and to dispossess of their benefices those clergy who remained loyal to Urban VI, who in turn sent his own legate, Jacques Dardani, to the same diocese. Supporters of Clement VII imprisoned Dardani briefly in 1381 but let him go soon after, while another Roman representative, Guillaume dalla Vigna, was imprisoned and then set free in Ghent in 1390. When T'Serclaes died in 1389, Clement VII overrode the wishes of the cathedral chapter and of the Duke of Burgundy and instead imposed someone with close ties to himself, the 17-year-old archdeacon of Rouen, André de Luxembourg, as bishop. Unlike his predecessor, André de Luxembourg fully committed himself to the Avignon obedience and paid to the Avignon papacy the sum owed by a bishop of Cambrai upon his accession. Upon the death of André de Luxembourg in 1396, the pope at Avignon, now Benedict XIII, again overrode the wishes of the duke of Burgundy and instead transferred Pierre d'Ailly from the see of Puy to that of Cambrai. Yet control of the episcopal office did not translate into complete control of the diocese itself. Romanist officials, including a rival line of bishops of Cambrai (they never set foot in that city, and nearly all of them were foreigners) operated in the northern part of the diocese, and the town of Anvers in 1389–90 abandoned the Avignon and accepted the Roman obedience. The centrally located regions of Brabant and Hainaut were neutral, and neither pope was able to collect papal revenues from these areas. Each pope had partisans residing in territories whose ecclesiastical and secular rulers obeyed the other pope. After the Council of Pisa, the diocese of Cambrai quickly switched its allegiance to the popes at Pisa; Jean de Gavre, the first bishop of Cambrai to be elected in the aftermath of the Council of Pisa, had the Pisan Pope John XXIII confirm his election in July of 1412.

Given the fact that, 14 years before the publication of *Papauté, clercs, et laics*, Maillard-Luypaert had already published the essay from which one of the quotations at the head of this essay was drawn, one would expect her hefty volume to provide support for its contention that the Schism posed serious problems for those outside the political

and religious elite. And, to some extent, it does. Certainly *Papauté, clercs, et laics* brings to light information about the activities of many previously obscure or entirely unknown individuals—the book's index, like its discussion of the sources, is almost 80 pages long—and it does illustrate how the Schism complicated the lives of benefice-seekers and benefice-holders. Some benefice holders were dispossessed because their benefices fell within territory loyal to the other pope, or they found it impossible to take possession of their benefices because they were situated in the territory of the "schismatics." Yet, intentionally or not, Maillard-Luypaërt's book also indicates that the disruptions posed by the Schism were not all that new. Ferocious competition for benefices and confusion over the identity of benefice holders had long been the norm. Papal grants of a right of expectation to benefices whose present holders were still alive, as well as the papal reservation of benefices, often created multiple claims to each benefice—in this regard, the Schism simply added a new wrinkle to an old problem. Correspondence regarding benefices reveals little about how those who neither held nor wanted to hold a benefice—in other words, the great majority of people—experienced the Great Schism.

At present, Maillard-Luypaërt's study of the Schism in the diocese of Cambrai is, as regards its methodology, one of a kind.[15] Studies more traditional than Maillard-Luypaert's are numerous, though.[16]

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[15] Louis Binz, *Vie religieuse et réforme ecclésiastique dans le diocèse de Genève pendant le grand schisme et la crise conciliaire (1378–1450)* (Geneva, 1973), though methodologically similar to Maillard-Luypaert's book, focuses on ecclesiastical reform rather than on the Schism.

[16] Tommaso Pedio, "I vescovi della Basilicata durante lo sisma d'Occidente," *Bollettino storico della Basilicata* 5 (1989), 61–83; Salvatore Fodale, "I vescovi in Sicilia durante lo scisma d'Occidente," in *Vescovi e diocesi in Italia dal XIV alla metà del XVI secolo: Atti del VII convegno di storia della Chiesa in Italia (Brescia, 21–25 settembre 1987)*, ed. Giuseppina de Sandre Gasparini et al., 2 vols. (Rome, 1990), 2:1061–97; Karl Schönenberger, "Das Bistum Basel während des grossen Schismas," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 26 (1927), 73–143, and 27 (1928), 115–89; Karl Schönenberger, "Das Bistum Konstanz während des grossen Schismas, 1378–1415," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 20 (1926), 1–31, 81–110, 185–222, 241–81; Noël Coulet, "Guillaume Fabre et le gouvernement du diocèse d'Aix au temps du grand schisme," *Provence historique* 25 (1975), 207–25. For guides to diocesan archives and documents relevant to the Great Schism, see especially Josep Baucells i Reig, *El fons "Cisma d'Occident" de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Catedral de Barcelona: Catàleg de còdexs i pergamins* (Barcelona, 1985); see also María Milagros Cárcel Ortí and Josep Trenchs Odena, "Regesta de documentos pontificios de la época del Cisma de Occidente del Archivo Diocesano de Valencia (1405–1412)," *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, special issue, *VIè centenari del Cisma d'Occident: El Cisma a les terres valencianes* 56 (1980), 706–29; and Ramon Ordeig i Mata, "Documents dels

Two studies that can be taken as reasonably representative of this body of scholarship are Augusto Quintana Prieto's relatively recent "La diócesis de Astorga durante el Gran Cisma de Occidente" and Jean Rott's older "Le grand schisme d'Occident et le diocèse de Strasbourg (1378–1415)."[17] Quintana Prieto's "Diócesis de Astorga" might be of special interest to scholars contemplating the diocesan approach, because he appends to his lengthy article a substantial selection of documents drawn from the Vatican Archives. Quintana Prieto does not attempt, as Maillard-Luypaert does, to reconstruct the inner workings of the diocese through a quantitative analysis of benefice-seeking and benefice-holding. Rather, Quintana-Prieto focuses on the consequences of the Schism for the bishops of Astorga themselves. Proceeding from one episcopacy to the next in a straight narrative, Quintana Prieto looks at how bishops were elected and how they navigated the complications posed by the Schism.

Located in northwest Spain, Astorga fell under the secular lordship of the kings of Léon and Castille and under the ecclesiastical authority of the archbishop of Braga; Braga was located in the kingdom of Portugal. The kings of Léon and Castile, after abandoning their policy of neutrality in 1381, belonged to the Avignon obedience, but kings of Portugal and the archbishops of Braga sometimes were Romanist. In practice, though, the differing allegiances of their temporal and their spiritual overlords posed few problems for the bishops of Astorga, who simply followed the example of their kings and ignored those of their archbishops. When the kings of Castile espoused neutrality, so did the bishops of Astorga; when the kings of Castile accepted the Avignon papacy, so did the bishops of Astorga; when the kings of Castile withdrew their obedience from the Avignon papacy, so did the bishops of Astorga.

As elsewhere, in northwestern Spain ecclesiastical geography had to be reconfigured so that Romanist clergy did not have jurisdiction over Avignon clergy. Clement VII removed Astorga from the jurisdiction of the Romanist archdiocese of Braga and placed it under the archbishop

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arxius episcopal i capitular del Vic relatius al Cisma d'Occident," in *Jornades sobre el Cisma d'Occident*, 1:135–44.

    [17] Augusto Quintana Prieto, "La diócesis de Astorga durante el Gran Cisma de Occidente," *Anthologica annua* 20 (1975), 11–202; Jean Rott, "Le grand schisme d'Occident et le diocèse de Strasbourg (1378–1415)," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome* 52 (1935), 366–95.

of Compostela, who was loyal to Avignon. The transfer was initially intended to last only until the archbishop of Braga came to accept the Avignon papacy, but it lasted beyond—indeed, the same archbishop of Compostela who had successfully petitioned the Avignon papacy for the removal of Astorga from the Romanist archdiocese of Braga managed to secure confirmation of this transfer from the Roman Pope Boniface IX during a period when the archbishop of Compostela had himself switched allegiance from Avignon to Rome. And as elsewhere, in northwestern Spain the Schism disrupted episcopal elections and gave local cathedral chapters the chance to take control of them. Astorga had competing lines of Roman and Avignon bishops throughout the Schism. The Romanist bishops appear in the surviving historical record only occasionally, and their activities and whereabouts more often than not are unknown today. Actual power was held by the bishops of the Avignon obedience. The popes at Avignon, like their Roman counterparts, claimed the right to appoint bishops of Astorga, but the local cathedral chapter rejected this papal claim. Upon the death of one bishop, the cathedral chapter would race to elect his successor before the pope had time to appoint of a new bishop (or even knew that the office had fallen vacant).

In their struggles with the papacy over the issue of episcopal election, the cathedral chapter at Astorga enjoyed substantial, though not total, success. The first episcopal vacancy during the Schism occurred in 1382, when the cathedral chapter elected its dean, Juan Alfonso de Mayorga, as bishop. Clement VII, though disapproving of the chapter's actions, nonetheless acquiesced in the election, perhaps in response to Juan Alfonso de Mayorga's personal visit to Avignon. When Juan Alfonso de Mayorga died, the cathedral chapter again quickly (within five days) elected its dean, now Pedro Martínez de Teza, as bishop. In this instance, though, Clement VII refused to accept the cathedral's election and instead imposed his own candidate, Pascual García, as bishop, while forgiving the cathedral chapter and people of Astorga for their presumption and returning Pedro Martínez de Teza to his prior office. When Pascual García died, the cathedral chapter, undeterred by what had happened the last time, yet again raced to elect its own candidate, Alfonso Rodríguez, and as had happened with Juan Alfonso de Mayorga, Clement VII deplored the fact that the chapter had conducted an election but ratified the outcome anyway. Upon the death of Alfonso Rodríguez, no bishop immediately succeeded him, for Pope Benedict XIII named one of his own cardinals, Pedro de Fonseca, as administra-

tor of the diocese. Despite this unusual situation, "in Astorga, diocesan business proceeded with all normalcy."[18] Pedro de Fonseca abandoned Benedict XIII in 1418. Martin V allowed Fonseca to continue in his position into 1419, when he stepped down, replaced as bishop by a member of the local clergy, named by Martin V himself.

The diocese of Strasbourg was located within the Holy Roman Empire. At the time of the Schism's outbreak, the bishop of Strasbourg was Fredrick von Blankenheim, "a young prelate who was hardly twenty-five years old, as well versed in canon law as in the art of warfare, without scruples, authoritarian and full of ambitious projects for the future, dreaming of nothing less than becoming one of the three ecclesiastics who participated in imperial elections."[19] He was also a distant relative of the French royal family. Von Blankenheim's ambition and family connection led him to support the Avignon papacy, which seemed the one most likely to accede to his demands—indeed, although the Holy Roman Emperors were of the Roman obedience, Clementine sympathy was strong throughout the southwestern part of the Empire, close to France, and could be found within the cathedral chapter of Strasbourg too. Yet the city of Strasbourg, following the lead of the emperor, recognized Urban VI. It pursued its legal business in Rome rather than Avignon and, indeed, allied with Urbanist clerics such as the archbishop of Cologne. A municipal ordinance of 1380 forbade the acceptance of Clement VII and the publication of that pope's bulls, under threat of a fine and a five-year exile from Strasbourg, although municipal enforcement of this provision seems to have been lax to the point of non-existence.

Over time, the position of Strasbourg's Clementists grew weaker and weaker, as imperial officials blocked Clementist preachers and pushed out Clementist officials throughout the surrounding region. Sensing the change, Bishop Frederick slowly moved throughout the 1380s toward the Roman camp, and cathedral chapters and religious houses in Strasbourg followed suit. To counter Clementist attempts to revive their flagging fortunes, Urban VI dispatched to Strasbourg such preachers as the Prussian John Malkaw, who in 1390 spent a month in the town inveighing against Clementists and against those inhabitants who maintained their neutrality and claimed that adherence to either

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[18] Quintana Prieto, "Diócesis de Astorga," p. 137.
[19] Rott, "grand schisme d'Occident," p. 369.

one of the two competing popes was not necessary for the salvation of
one's soul. Despite Malkaw's pronouncements, from about 1390 until
1408 the Schism was a non-issue at Strasbourg. Only during the meet-
ings of the Councils of Aquilea, Perpignan, and Pisa in 1408 and 1409
did the Schism once again become a divisive issue, even as it finally
began to approach resolution. Strasbourg rallied to the Pisan pope John
XXIII not long after the Council of Pisa.

   The diocesan studies of Astorga and Strasbourg both highlight the
disruptions caused by the Schism and reveal just how limited those
disruptions were. Cathedral chapters and local bishops seized the
moment and tried to turn events to their advantage, and at Strasbourg
threats were made against those who supported the Avignon papacy.
Yet even at Strasbourg, the local bishop who dissented was a careerist
who, once he sensed that his choice was not furthering his ambitions,
easily switched sides; the foreign preacher brought in to convince the
diocesan faithful that adherence to the right pope, or any pope, was a
matter of faith seems to have failed to persuade his listeners. At Astorga,
even the most unconventional episcopal elections and appointments
did not interfere with the functioning of the diocese.

III. Monastic and mendicant experiences

How regular clergy experienced the Schism has been studied on a variety
of levels, from individual houses to entire regions.[20] The Hospitallers

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[20] Yves Esquieu, "Le grand schisme et la crise de l'ordre de Cluny en Bas-Vivarais,"
*Vivarais et Languedoc: Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussil-
lon: Actes du XLIVe Congrès* (Privas, 22–23 mai 1971) (Montpellier, 1972), pp. 131–39;
Salvatore Fodale, "I frati minori in Sicilia tra i Martini e lo scisma (1392–1412)," *Schede
medievali: Rassegna dell'Officina di studi medievali* 12–13 (1987), 79–85; Anthony Lut-
trell, "Intrigue, Schism, and Violence among the Hospitallers of Rhodes, 1377–1384,"
Speculum 49 (1966), 30–48; Anthony Luttrell, "Le schisme dans les prieurés de l'Hôpital
en Catalunya et Aragón," in *Jornades sobre el Cisma d'Occident a Catalunya*, 1:107–13;
Bernard Montagnes, "Le role du Midi dominicain au temps du grand schisme," in *Le
Midi et le grand schisme*, pp. 305–30; Manuel Riu i Riu, "Repercussió del Cisma en
les comunitats religioses del bisbat d'Urgell," in *Jornades sobre el Cisma d'Occident*
1:225–32; Damien Ruiz, "La province des frères mineurs de Provence durant le grand
Schisme," in *Le Midi et le grand schisme*, pp. 331–49; Elena Sánchez Almela, "El mon-
asterio de Valldigna y el Cisma de Occidente," *Boletín de la sociedad castellonense de
cultura* 56 (1980), 667–705; Charles L. Tipton, "The English and Scottish Hospitallers
during the Great Schism," *Catholic Historical Review* 52 (1966), 240–45; Charles L.
Tipton, "The English Hospitallers during the Great Schism," *Studies in Medieval and
Renaissance History* 4 (1967), 91–124. For a calendar of documents relating to the

have attracted a good deal of attention especially, and Charles Tipton's "The Irish Hospitallers during the Great Schism" demonstrates how, even within a military order, the Schism could provide an outlet for the expression of colonial tension and hostility.[21] In the British Isles, the Hospitallers of England and Ireland each belonged to their own priory and answered to a different prior; together, however, the English and Irish priories comprised an administrative unit known as a *langue*. The majority of the Hospitallers in Ireland were Anglo-Irish, descendants of Anglo-Norman conquerors who, by the time of the Schism, had developed a sense of identity that differentiated them from the local Irish population and from the English of England. Until the middle of the 14th century, the Irish Hospitallers' priors had been drawn from the ranks of the Anglo-Irish, but as the Irish Hospitallers grew wealthier (especially in the aftermath of the suppression of Templars), English officials came to covet and then to monopolize the office of prior, which, after the middle of the 14th century, was held mostly by absentee Englishmen. The result was a lack of effective leadership and an economic decline sufficiently serious to warrant royal investigation.

Not until the outbreak of the Schism, though, did the Irish Hospitallers rebel against their English brethren. The Grand Master of the Hospitallers, Juan Fernández de Heredia, belonged to the Avignon obedience, and the Irish and English priories followed the lead of their Grand Master, notwithstanding the fact that the kings of England were Romanists. Pope Urban VI deposed Fernández de Heredia in 1383 and appointed Richard Caracciolo as his replacement, thus giving the Hospitaller Order a second Grand Master. In 1384, Caracciolo attempted to assert his authority within the order by summoning a general chapter to meet in Naples, and the Irish Hospitallers seized the opportunity created by this schism within the order to assert themselves. Following the death of William Tany, who had been prior of Ireland since at least 1372 and who served English interests, the Hospitallers of Ireland elected one of their own, Richard White, as their new prior, and they had the election confirmed by Carraciolo. Grateful that anyone within

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mendicant orders, see Konrad Eubel, *Die avignonesische Obedienz der Mendikanten-Orden: Sowie der Orden der Mercedarier und Trinitarier zur Zeot des grossen Schismas* (Paderborn, 1900).

[21] Charles L. Tipton, "The Irish Hospitallers during the Great Schism," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C, Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, and Literature* 69 (1970), 33–43.

the Hospitaller Order was willing to acknowledge his authority, he ignored the procedural irregularities and confirmed Richard White's election. (The proper procedure would have been for the new election to have been conducted at the Hospitaller headquarters on the island of Rhodes; the office should have been offered first to a member of the English *langue* in residence at Rhodes.)

The Irish successfully defended their newly asserted control of the Irish priory and kept the office of prior in Anglo-Irish hands. By the middle of the 1390s, Robert White, an Anglo-Irish knight and likely kin to his predecessor, had succeeded Richard White as prior of Ireland. Grand Master Fernández de Heredia attempted to remove Robert White from office and to replace him with an Englishman, Peter Holt, but the appointment and deposition of White and the appointment of Holt were dead letters; Holt never seems to have traveled to Ireland. To guarantee the exclusion of the Englishman Holt, in 1399 the Irish Hospitallers once again elected Robert White as their prior, and in the following year they secured Boniface IX's approval for this new election. For good measure, Boniface IX declared Peter Holt to be deposed. The disputed priorship posed a complicated problem for the king of England, who had to choose between Peter Holt and the English Hospitallers, who shared his nationality but not his Romanist papal allegiance, and Robert White and the Irish Hospitallers, who did not share his nationality but did share his Romanist papal allegiance. In this instance, ethnicity trumped religion: the king of England chose to support Peter Holt and the English Hospitallers. Yet even the combined opposition of the king of England and the Grand Master at Rhodes was insufficient to cow the Irish Hospitallers, who chose yet another Anglo-Irishman, Thomas Butler, to succeed Robert White in the first decade of the 15th century. The Council of Pisa ended the broader schism within the Hospitaller Order, which soon confirmed the victory of the Irish Hospitallers. A general chapter held at Aix-en-Provence in 1410 officially recognized Thomas Butler as the Irish prior and, even more significantly, granted Irish Hospitallers the right to elect their own prior and to choose as their new prior an individual who was a resident of the priory itself.

Although the Irish Hospitallers used the disorder of the Schism to liberate themselves from English control, such a development was the exception, rather than the rule. As Tipton puts it:

> Recent research has shown the effect of the Great Schism upon the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem to have been considerably less than earlier historians believed. In those areas recognizing the Roman pope,

Urban VI; namely, England, Germany, and Italy, there was no wholesale withdrawal of obedience from Juan Fernández de Heredia, grand master of the order, who supported the Avignonese pontiff, Clement VII. An anti-grand master set up by Urban attracted no following outside of a handful of Italians, and even in Italy there were those who adhered to Fernández de Heredia. Threats of excommunication, prohibition of contact with "schismatics," the deposition of the Clementine grand master, and promises of advancement were all used as weapons by Roman popes in their efforts to detach Hospitallers in Urbanite states from Fernández de Heredia; all proved valueless. The Knights in Germany, England, and many in Italy, went about their business as if a dual papacy and mastership did not exist.[22]

IV. Urban experiences

One city whose experience of the Schism has been studied in detail is Florence, where Alison Williams Lewin has examined the city's "*Consulte e Pratiche*, notes taken by the chief secretary of the Florentine republic whenever the official heads of state, the priors, decided an issue was weighty enough that the leading citizens, along with speakers for the four quarters of the city, and spokesmen for the main advisory councils should be invited to offer their opinions on the best course of action for the city to pursue."[23] The *Consulte e Pratiche*, therefore, allow historians to eavesdrop on Florence's ruling elite as its members commented publicly on the Schism's consequences for their city, especially insofar as it made it more difficult for Florence to maintain its independence vis-à-vis its neighbors.

Like every city and town, Florence reacted to the Schism in light of its past relationship with the papacy and its own particular problems. Between 1375 and 1378, Florence and the papacy had been at war. This war, the War of the Eight Saints, had been fought as a result of papal attempts to reassert papal power in central Italy. It ended in the July of 1378, despite the uprising and triumph of the *Ciompi*, instigated by the antipapal Salvestro de'Medici, in June 1378; as the price for peace, Florence owed the papacy "a huge indemnity as well as restitution for

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[22] Tipton, "Irish Hospitallers," p. 33.
[23] Alison Williams Lewin, *Negotiating Survival: Florence and the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (Madison and Teaneck, NJ, 2003), p. 12. See also George Holmes, "Florence and the Great Schism," in *Art and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, ed. George Holmes (Oxford, 1993), pp. 19–40; and Edmond-René Labande, "L'attitude de Florence dans la première phase du schisme," in *Genèse et débuts*, pp. 483–92.

clerical property confiscated during the War of the Eight Saints."[24] After
the election of Clement VII, Florence remained loyal, although hardly
devoted, to the Roman pope Urban VI. Clement VII sent ambassa-
dors to Florence, seeking to woo it away from the Roman obedience.
The Avignon pope promised to allow a Church council to decide the
question of the schism and to allow Florence to collect for itself the
incomes generated by all ecclesiastical benefices in the city until that
council had met and settled the issue. Florence, after some hesitation,
agreed to listen to the ambassadors' offer, but formally rejected it in
January 1388. (Urban VI then sought to excommunicate the Floren-
tines for having listened to his rivals' ambassadors in the first place,
but Florence's government blocked the publication of the sentence of
excommunication in the city by telling the bishop that he would be
killed if made the sentence known.) Later, Florence showed a similar
willingness to listen to offers from Avignon and to facilitate reconcili-
ation between the rival papal camps, without abandoning the Roman
obedience. In 1404, Florence again declined a request made by ambas-
sadors from Avignon to change sides. Florence did, however, intercede
so that those ambassadors could travel to Rome itself. And when a
relative of the recently deceased Roman pope arrested and imprisoned
the ambassadors, Florence paid for their release.

With the emergence of threats to Florence such as Giangaleazzo
Visconti of Milan and then Ladislaus of Naples, Florentines became
increasingly interested in seeing the Schism brought to an end, so that
Florence might call upon the assistance of a powerful and (so they
hoped) helpful pope. One Florentine citizen did publicly express his dis-
appointment that the Schism had given rise only to two rival popes—he
would have preferred for there to have been a dozen or so and for the
papacy to have been that much more weakened by internal division. In
general, though, the Schism had the effect of lessening hostility to the
papacy: fewer Florentines gloated over the papacy's misfortunes than
would have been the case before the Schism, if only because they came
to see the papacy's misfortunes as linked to their own.

Even when Florentines embraced conciliarism as the means by which
the Schism could be brought to an end, this support of conciliarism
waxed and waned according to how badly Florentines wished to have

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[24] Lewin, *Negotiating Survival*, p. 26.

a papal alliance. By the end of Urban VI's pontificate, some Florentines had begun to espouse conciliarism openly, and by 1407 the Florentine government actively pursued conciliarist policies, seeking to organize a council to be held in Florence itself to end the Schism. Florence was instrumental in the organization of the Council of Pisa (the city of Pisa was under Florentine control at the time), and Florence threw its support behind the pope elected there, Alexander V, as well as his successor John XXIII. Yet the level of Florentine interest in the Schism continued to be a function of Florentine fear; when Ladislaus of Naples died in 1414, leaving Florence without an immediate threat, Florence disassociated itself from attempts to end the now three-way schism, even declining to send ambassadors to the Council of Constance despite John XXIII's invitation to do so. Instead, Florence relied on the head of the Dominican Order, Leonardo Dati, who happened to be a Florentine citizen, to relay pertinent news back to his home city.

The Schism complicated Florentines' lives in several different ways. Florentine officials feared that it would produce within the city a violent rift between each pope's followers. Florence's merchants were especially vulnerable because they found themselves and their property in cities and territories whose rulers were obedient to the popes at Avignon. During the War of the Eight Saints, popes had authorized European rulers to seize Florentines and their goods when possible, and during the Schism, Florence feared that these seizures might be repeated. When Joan of Naples asked Florence to abandon Urban VI and instead recognize Clement VII, Florence refused; some of those advising the Florentine government recommended that Florentine merchants operating in Naples be forewarned of the refusal, so that they could guard against reprisals. Yet the Schism also generated opportunities for Florence, which asked the Pisan popes Alexander V and John XXIII to raise the city's bishop to the rank of archbishop; as an archbishop, the Florentine prelate would be superior to, and have new opportunities to control, surrounding bishops, thereby indirectly contributing to the city's own ability to influence the places where those bishops had their seats. Florence's efforts met with success just after the end of the Schism, when Martin V granted archiepiscopal rank to Florence in 1419.

Florence, on account of its geographical proximity to the Papal States, might be assumed to have handled the Schism differently than towns and cities outside Italy, and certainly not all towns have left behind records as detailed as Florence's. Yet even in the absence of minutes

recording the deliberations of communal officials, historians have been able to examine how towns dealt the problems posed by the Schism.[25] Working from ecclesiastical records (episcopal and papal letters, episcopal visitation records, and so on) as well laic records such as wills preserved in notarial registers, Jacques Pacquet has studied how the towns of Leuven, Brussels, and Antwerp experienced the Schism.[26] These three Flemish towns fell within different dioceses (Leuven belonged to the diocese of Liège, Brussels and Antwerp to that of Cambrai) and had different secular overlords (at the outset of the Schism, the duchess of Brabant ruled Leuven and Brussels, the count of Flanders ruled Antwerp).

Yet Pacquet has found that all three towns dealt with the Schism similarly. Their approach was pragmatic: "To guarantee the continuity of religious life, to decide the practical questions of daily ecclesiastical administration to the satisfaction of the faithful and in order of priority, such appear to have been the primary goal."[27] Much as they sought to limit the Schism's ability to disrupt religious observance, so too clergy and townspeople worked to prevent the Schism from undermining communal solidarity. Brussels formally proclaimed its neutrality; indeed, the municipal government at Brussels explicitly adopted a policy of allowing individuals to follow their own consciences in the matter of the Schism. This toleration of those belonging to a rival obedience was the de facto policy at Leuven, which supported the Roman popes until the Council of Pisa, and even at Antwerp, where one might have expected to see clashes arising from the Schism. Antwerp's clergy and laypeople were largely of the Roman obedience, but their bishop, the bishop of Cambrai, was of the Avignon obedience. As a result, the people and clergy of Antwerp simply cut off relations with their bishop. After Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, became count of Flanders in 1384, he spent the next several years trying unsuccessfully to convince his subjects to accept

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[25] See, for example, Carme Batlle i Gallart and Ramon Ordeig i Mata, "La ciutat de Barcelona i el Cisma," in *Jornades sobre el Cisma d'Occident*, 2:315–36. On municipal archives and documents relevant to the Great Schism, see José Hinojosa Montalvo, Pedro López Elum, and Mateu Rodrigo Lozindo, "Relaciones de la ciudad de Valencia con el pontificado durante el Cisma de Occidente (1378–1423). Regesta de los fondos del archivo municipal," *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, 56 (1980), 585–645.

[26] Jacques Pacquet, "Le schisme d'Occident à Louvain, Bruxelles et Anvers," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 59 (1964), 401–36.

[27] Pacquet, "schisme d'Occident," p. 431.

the Avignon papacy willingly, and in 1390 he withdrew the county of Flanders from the Roman obedience. All parties involved handled this change with equanimity. The inhabitants of Antwerp dutifully followed suit: wills, estate inventories, and other documents that had carried the name of the reigning Roman pontiff before 1390, no longer carried his name after 1390. At the same time, the local clergy once again entered into contact with the bishop of Cambrai, the same one whom for ten years they had ignored because of his allegiance to the Avignon papacy. A decade's disobedience seems to have left even the bishop with little ill-will: the bishop of Cambrai recognized the neutrality of Antwerp's clergy, and indeed one bishop of Cambrai, André of Luxembourg, in the 1390s forbade preachers in Brussels to mention the Schism in their sermons because of the dissensions to which such sermons might give rise. All three towns and their clergy readily accepted the election of Alexander V at the Council of Pisa.

V. University experiences

The medieval university was a corporation of people, not a place. Indeed, medieval universities were prominent in attempts to end the Schism precisely because "the lingering notion of the international status of the universities as representatives of the supra-national community of learning meant that they could be conceded the authority to debate and pronounce on the means of attaining the reunification of the divided church."[28] Such claims to supra-nationality were not entirely spurious, as the language of instruction in every European university was Latin and as universities granted to graduates the *ius ubique docendi*, which theoretically gave masters trained at any university the right to teach at all universities. Yet the Schism laid bare the extent to which the supra-nationality of the medieval university was illusory, and R. N. Swanson's work has shown the gap that existed between universities' aspirations and their accomplishments vis-à-vis the Schism.

Thanks to its reputation for theological study and to its location in France, the University of Paris was, at least until 1403, in the forefront of academic attempts to end the Schism. Yet when it came to influencing other universities, the University of Paris was largely ineffectual, and

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[28] Swanson, *Universities, Academics, and the Great Schism*, p. 2.

throughout the Schism, kings of France and their officials repeatedly imposed their will on the University of Paris, stifling dissent toward French royal policy. In January of 1379, the University of Paris proclaimed its neutrality, but when a royal letter arrived in May of 1379 that, in effect, ordered the University of Paris to accept Clement VII and the Avignon papacy, the university did so within a week of the letter's arrival. When in 1381 the University of Paris officially supported the summoning of a general Church council to settle the Schism, royal intervention and pressure (which included the imprisonment of several masters) led the university to backpedal and, in 1383, to reiterate its public support once again for Clement VII. Discussion of the *via concilii* was forbidden throughout the entire university after 1383; not until the period 1389–94 did Parisian masters again broach the subject publicly. French royal pressure also contributed to the departure of students and masters (especially foreigners) such as Henry of Langenstein, who supported conciliarism.

Despite occasional flare-ups of royal anger as discussion of the Schism resumed, by 1394 the French Crown no longer intervened directly to stifle debate, as had happened repeatedly in the early 1380s. Instead, the Crown granted the University of Paris more freedom to discuss various possible solutions and more autonomy to try to win academic support for the university's proposals. The University of Paris began to correspond with, among others, the popes at Avignon, the king of Aragon, and other European universities, urging them to embrace the *via cessionis*, the "way of resignation," as the best solution to the schism. The fruit of this Parisian activism was the letter *Quoniam fideles*, published on 25 August 1395, which circulated throughout Europe and became a touchstone in subsequent debate. Representatives from the University of Paris were present at the Council of Paris in 1398, and they supported the policy that the council adopted: the Gallican church broke with the Avignon papacy by withdrawing its obedience and by calling for the resignation of Benedict XIII.

Yet the University of Paris's attempts to end the Schism failed. The University of Paris's letters were received politely at the University of Cologne and the University of Vienna, but other universities were not always receptive to Parisian solutions. In 1396, after having received letters from the University of Paris outlining that school's preferred solution, the University of Oxford rejected the Parisian *via cessionis* and instead supported the summoning of a general council; Oxford reiterated its rejection (this time with the agreement of the University

of Cambridge) in 1399.[29] Even in the Kingdom of France, the University of Toulouse staunchly supported the Avignon papacy and rejected the *via cessionis*. In meridional universities, law faculties predominated, and Henri Gilles has studied the response of the law faculty at the University of Toulouse to the Schism.[30] In 1378, the majority of the teaching members of the law faculty at the University of Toulouse rallied to the Avignon papacy. At the council of 1398 at which the kingdom of France decided to withdraw its obedience to the Avignon papacy, two members of Toulouse's law faculty were among the few academics to oppose this policy, although they specifically stated that their views should be regarded as their own, rather than as reflecting the official opinion of the law faculty or the University of Toulouse more generally. Despite their defeat at the Council of 1398, the law faculty of the University of Toulouse continued to oppose the subtraction of obedience. One member of the faculty wrote the *Epistola Tholosona* of 1401, which laid out the case against the subtraction. Representatives of the university brought the letter to Paris and publicized it there. The letter and its publication incurred royal displeasure; the king's lieutenant-general in Languedoc had the university representatives in Paris arrested. Yet, for all of their opposition to the French subtraction of obedience between 1398 and 1403, most of the law faculty quickly abandoned the Avignon papacy after the election of Alexander V.

Although the Parisian masters were able to steamroll the Toulousan masters at the council of 1398—aside from Toulouse, the representatives of other French universities supported the subtraction of obedience—by 1403, the universities of Orléans, Montpellier, and Angers had joined with Toulouse in its opposition to the policy of subtraction, which by then clearly had not forced the Avignon pope to resign. The University of Paris still supported the subtraction of obedience when the king of France restored his kingdom to the Avignon obedience; and, as had

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[29] On English universities and the Schism generally, see Walter Ullmann, "The University of Cambridge and the Great Schism," *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 9 (1958), 53–77; Margaret Harvey, "The Letter of Oxford University on the Schism, 5 February 1399," *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 6 (1974), 121–34.

[30] Henri Gilles, "La Faculté de Droit de Toulouse et le Schisme," in *Le Midi et le grand schisme*, pp. 291–304. For the University of Montpellier, see "Pedro de Luna/ Benoît XIII et l'université de Montpellier," in *Le Midi et le grand schisme*, pp. 271–89; for the University of Avignon, see Jacques Verger, "L'université d'Avignon au temps de Clément VII," in *Genèse et débuts*, pp. 185–99; for meridional universities more generally, see André Gouron, "A l'origine d'un declin: Les universités méridionales au temps du grand schisme," in *Genèse et débuts*, pp. 175–99.

happened before, the University of Paris followed the royal lead and abandoned the policy that it had championed up to that point. As a result of this defeat, the University of Paris would never again after 1403 play the role that it once had played in trying to end the Schism. Although Jean Gerson and Pierre d'Ailly, both of whom served as chancellors of the University of Paris, became important supporters of the conciliarist movement, and although universities from throughout Europe sent representatives to the Councils of Pisa and of Constance, the university representatives seem to have primarily served as conduits of information back to their home universities rather than as active participants in the decision-making process.

Even as the Schism highlighted the fractiousness, ineffectiveness, and vulnerability of medieval universities, it also served to stimulate an expansion of the university system. The Schism and competition among rival pontiffs resulted in the creation of entirely new universities where few, if any, had existed before; in the revival of defunct universities; and in the growth of existing universities as popes gave them new and more prestigious faculties. At a time when Pope Benedict XIII could no longer count upon the support of the Faculty of Theology at Paris, he allowed the establishment of a Faculty of Theology at the University of Salamanca. Elsewhere within the Hispanic kingdoms, the Schism resulted in the University of Lisbon being put on surer footing and the University of Perpignan being resuscitated. In eastern and central Europe, too, there were revivals of universities at Cracow and Vienna, and new establishments at Cologne, Heidelberg, Erfurt, Buda, and Leipzig (to name only those still in existence when the Schism ended).[31] More and more often, these newly established universities had faculties of theology right from the start.

Swanson's work on the foundation of the University of St. Andrews in Scotland provides an in-depth picture of precisely how the Schism fostered the foundation of new universities.[32] Certainly the Schism was not the sole cause for the foundation of Scotland's first university. The creation of St. Andrews was a response to Scottish nationalist aspirations, so that Scottish scholars no longer had to attend universities on

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[31] Robert N. Swanson, "The University of Cologne and the Great Schism," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 28 (1977), 2; Swanson, *Universities, Academics, and the Great Schism*, pp. 11–2.

[32] Robert N. Swanson. "The University of St. Andrews and the Great Schism, 1410–1419," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 26 (1975), 223–45.

the Continent or in England. Fear of the spread of Lollardy and an unusual concentration of respected scholars (who also happened to be strong supporters of the Avignon papacy) at St. Andrews in the early 15th century also facilitated the university's foundation. Yet the Schism created an environment in which Scottish national aspirations could finally be realized.[33] By 1410, the pope at Avignon, Benedict XIII, could count only on the obedience of Scotland and of the Hispanic kingdoms, and his pontificate seemed unlikely to survive the French subtraction of obedience of 1408. When Henry Wardlaw, the bishop of St. Andrews, petitioned Pope Benedict XIII for recognition of the University of St. Andrews, the bishop claimed that Scottish scholars at other universities were being jailed and persecuted on account of their support for Benedict XIII as pope, and while evidence for such persecution is scant, Benedict XIII granted formal papal recognition of the *studium generale* at St. Andrews in 1413. Following the election of Martin V, the university briefly seems to have hesitated as to whether it should accept the newly elected pope or continue to adhere to Benedict XIII (masters and other officials, just to be safe, communicated with both popes over the question of benefices), but when Scotland formally withdrew from the Avignon obedience at the Council of Perth in October of 1418, the fledgling university did the same, and survived.

Conclusion

The Schism informed and troubled the thinking, writing, and preaching of such influential and well-known figures as Catherine of Siena, Christine de Pizan, Vincent Ferrer, Jean Gerson, Pierre d'Ailly, and many others, some of whom understood the Schism as signaling nothing less than the coming of the apocalypse.[34] Vincent Ferrer was perhaps the foremost popular preacher of his day, a position that would have been

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[33] During the revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr, the Welsh likewise sought from Benedict XIII the establishment of a university in Wales, although without success: Swanson, "University of St. Andrews," p. 230; R. R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 171–72.

[34] On these reactions to the Great Schism, see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, 2006); Laura Ackerman Smoller, *History, Prophecy, and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly, 1350–1420* (Princeton, 1994).

difficult to achieve if his millenarian expectations had not resonated with his audience at some level.

Yet the deeper one digs to find individual or popular reactions to the Schism, the less one finds, and when one encounters this same silence in so many local studies, one begins to suspect that the silence reflects not so much the illiteracy of one's subjects but, rather, their own muted reaction the Schism, their wary pragmatism. That the Schism might tear communities asunder was understood: Florentines discussing their city's next move in the complicated game of late medieval Italian politics, the bishop of Brussels who ordered preachers not to discuss the Schism during church services—all understood the danger. The widespread relief with which the Council of Pisa's election of Alexander V was greeted might well reflect this fear as well. Yet the danger, by and large, never materialized. Priests lost their benefices; clerics and lay people stopped communicating with their bishop for years on end; bishoprics were raised to archiepiscopal status; religious houses were shifted from one diocese to another; university teachers found new positions; existing universities finagled new faculties of theology from popes; new universities were founded—in all these ways, the Schism caused changes from one end of Europe to the other but did not usher in the end of the world.

Adherents of different popes rarely came to blows; more frequently those adherents decided to leave well enough alone and continued to live side by side. Changes in the obedience of one's king, count, or bishop rarely—if ever—occasioned uprisings, and those laic and clerical superiors usually made little effort—if they made any effort at all—to convince those under their authority to change sides as well. The *via facti*, or the "way of force," appealed very little, except to popes themselves. There was only one crusade launched by one pope's followers against another pope's followers: the expedition of 1383 led by the Bishop Henry Despenser of Norwich into Flanders. It fared poorly, brought the crusaders into disrepute, and had no successor.[35] Supporters of one pope might accuse the supporters of their rival of being heretics or might claim that they themselves were regarded as heretics by their opponents; and English commentators claimed that the Schism was

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[35] Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme*, pp. 166–209.

contributing to the emergence of the Lollard heresy.[36] Yet in her survey of the connection between the Schism and Lollardy, Margaret Harvey concludes that "Preoccupation with Lollardy was much more common than preoccupation with the Schism."[37] When leveled against those of a different papal obedience, accusations of heresy were empty insults, as even those who hurled the insults seem to have realized. Kingdoms, dioceses, towns, universities, and monasteries accepted the coexistence, however uneasy at times, of individuals who belonged to rival obediences, or who professed no obedience at all. It would be difficult to find kingdoms, dioceses, towns, universities, and monasteries similarly accepting the open presence of Waldensians, Lollards, Hussites, or other heretics; or instances of individuals professing neutrality in the face of these different heresies. All in all, there was a surprising degree of tolerance, rooted not in any appreciation for tolerance *per se* but, rather, in a distinction well described by Quintana Prieto:

> It is certain that, in reality, the people who lived in those days, who passed through the distress and the anguish of such ill-fated events, admirably agreed to distinguish between some matters that were purely and simply disciplinary and juridical…and the fundamental principles of faith, which at no time did they reach the point of disturbing.[38]

Maillard-Luypaert's statement that the Schism was not purely a problem of political and religious elites finds confirmation in the history of local reactions to the Schism. Yet that same history also leads one to recognize the significance of Jean Favier's insight. As long as masses were said, confessions heard, baptisms administered, and burials conducted as they always had been—as long as the means of salvation remained unchanged and unchallenged—then the Schism's local consequences could only be minimal.

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[36] On the Schism and the Lollards: Margaret Harvey, "Lollardy and the Great Schism: Some Contemporary Perceptions," in *From Ockham to Wyclif*, ed. Anne Hudson and Michael Wilks (Oxford, 1987), pp. 385–96.

[37] Harvey, "Lollardy and the Great Schism," p. 396.

[38] Quintana Prieto, "Diócesis de Astorga," pp. 11–12.

THE CONCEPTUALIZATION AND IMAGERY OF THE GREAT SCHISM

Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski

The Great Schism of the western Church was a deep political and ecclesiological crisis, much written about in texts of many different types and in many different milieux. Countless polemical treatises and learned disquisitions on Church authority and conciliarism originated in clerical circles, but clerics were not the only ones concerned about the Schism. Lay people as well felt anxiety over the lack of a unified papacy, and there are many examples of poets who expressed their dismay over the divided Church and tried to offer solutions for a reconciliation of the different factions. At the same time, we find visionaries, often lay women, whose revelations have a political content relating to the bicephalic papacy. The dramatic images visible in the poetic and visionary productions of non-clerical groups can give us insight into the effects of this ecclesiastical crisis that go beyond the learned realm of the texts most often studied in relation to the Schism.[1] But there is also a considerable overlap in imagery between the learned and the poetic/visionary spheres, pointing to common ways of conceptualizing the Schism. This chapter presents a number of different conceptualizations and images of the Schism that will help us understand how medieval writers, both clerical and lay, thought about the Schism and what they proposed should be done about this problem.

My first section will consider texts that present the Schism as a drama: the endless discussions on the Schism strikingly visualized in a divine revelation; the Schism staged as a beast fable, a tournament, or a battle of tiny armies on a tree; or the Schism portrayed as a conflict encountered during an imaginary journey in the framework of a dream vision. Next, I will look at conceptualizations of the Schism as disgrace or violence resulting in a wound inflicted upon the Church; here notions of gendered violence become especially important. Section three analyzes the concept of the Schism as an illness of the Church

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[1] This is the purpose of my recent study, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, 2006).

and also explores the idea of the Church as monster. Here I will also briefly consider the link of the Schism to natural disasters and the end of times as well as to the coming of the Antichrist.

The schism as drama

In 1398 the University of Paris debated the withdrawal of obedience from the Avignon pope Benedict XIII.[2] The French monarchy as well as the university believed that the *via cessionis*, or the abdication of both popes followed by a new election, would be the best solution for ending the Schism. Benedict XIII, before his election in 1394 when he was still cardinal Pedro de Luna, had indeed promised to step down if necessary, a promise he was never to make good on, however.[3] The withdrawal of obedience caused financial and political difficulties for Benedict but did not lead to his resignation. It was at this moment, just before the third council of Paris voted for the withdrawal on 27 July 1398, that a strange visionary appeared in Paris. She was a simple woman from the Pyrenees named Marie Robine (d. 1399) who had become a kind of spokeswoman for the Avignon papacy.[4] At one point between 1387 and 1389, she had been cured from some kind of paralysis or spasms at the tomb of Pierre de Luxembourg in Avignon in the presence of Pope Clement VII; she was then financially supported by the pope so that she could live as a recluse in the cemetery Saint-Michel. Between

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[2] For details, see Howard Kaminsky, "The Politics of France's Withdrawal of Obedience from Pope Benedict XIII, 27 July 1398," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 115.5 (1971), 366–97.

[3] Benedict hung on to the papacy even after having been deposed by the Council of Constance. He lived in Spain into his mid-nineties and still had a few followers until his death in 1423.

[4] On Marie see Noël Valois, "Jeanne d'Arc et la prophétie de Marie Robine," in *Mélanges Paul Fabre: Études d'histoire du moyen âge* (Paris, 1902), pp. 452–67 which contains all known details about Marie. See also Matthew Tobin, "Une collection de textes prophétiques du XVe siècle: Le manuscrit 520 de la bibliothèque municipale de Tours," in André Vauchez, ed., *Les textes prophétiques et la prophétie en Occident (XIIe–XIVe siècle)* (Rome, 1990), pp. 127–33; Tobin, "Le 'Livre des Révélations' de Marie Robine (+1399): Étude et édition," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome, moyen âge-temps modernes*, 98.1 (1986), 229–64; and Tobin, "Les visions et révélations de Marie Robine d'Avignon dans le contexte prophétique des années 1400," in *Fin du monde et signes des temps: Visionnaires et prophètes en France méridionale (fin XIIIe–début XVe siècle)* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux) 27 (1992), 309–29; and Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, pp. 62–63 and 81–85.

early 1398 and her death in 1399, she was the recipient of a number of dramatic revelations of which I would like to present just one here.

In the spring of 1398, Marie Robine was sent to the French king to dissuade him from withdrawing obedience from Pope Benedict XIII. She arrived in Paris full of hope and ready to present her request along with a program of social reform to King Charles VI. Needless to say, she was not admitted at court or at the council. Nonetheless, given her mission, she was aware of the endless discussions at court and at the university that would finally lead up to the withdrawal of obedience and that continued after the withdrawal did not bring the desired result.

In Revelation Six, dated 9 November 1398, that is, more than three months after the withdrawal of obedience, we find Marie, praying with great bitterness [*in oratione magna amaritudine*] trying to understand why the union of the Church seems impossible.[5] She soon receives a mysterious revelation [*valde obscura*], which one day later God himself interprets for her. She first sees the different groups of Christendom, every one of them filled with idols in the shape of gold and silver human and animal simulacra. Then a luminous star appears, surrounded by men crying desperately. An angel catches the tears wept by these men and then pours them over their heads. And the Lord who shows her these visions explains that there are some who say that they do not need visions or revelations [*quod visiones non sunt eis necessarie vel revelationes*]. I tell you, he continues, that they are idolaters. But the Lord identifies these men even more clearly: they are the masters of theology of the University of Paris! Marie now ponders whether she should contact them orally or in writing [*in verbis vel in scriptis*] to tell them that they are idolaters. The Lord advises her to write a letter threatening them with divine punishment for their idolatry.

There are number of important elements in this revelation that reflect the Church political climate of the summer of 1398 and, more generally, some of the anti-visionary polemic to be found at that time. In fact, as Nancy Caciola observes, "Not coincidentally, three leading thinkers on ecclesiastical politics during the schism produced the most significant treatises on the discernment of spirits."[6] These three were Henry of Langenstein (1325?–97), Pierre d'Ailly (1351–1420), and Jean

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[5] See Tobin, "Le 'Livre des Révélations'," p. 254.
[6] Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2003), p. 286.

Gerson (1363–1429). The latter two, successive chancellors of the University of Paris, were actively involved in French Schism polemics[7] and authored treatises warning against a too facile belief in visions. One of the major concerns in these treatises was the fact that unlearned people, especially women, laid claim to divine revelations that in some cases might spur them on to political action.[8] This concern is dramatized in Marie Robine's revelation, which reprimands those theologians who doubt the utility of visions. They are the same men who turn around the star weeping uselessly—the angels' action of continually pouring their own tears over their heads visualizes these men's lack of useful action and resolution. The French theologians' and politicians' impasse in the face of the recalcitrance of the two popes thus becomes part of a mysterious visual drama at the center of a divine revelation. The Schism is conceptualized as an intractable problem here that no learned discussion, however long it may last, can remove.

Another type of vision, the political dream allegory, was also very popular in the late 14th century.[9] This form was the preferred choice of such writers as Philippe de Mézières (1327–1405), Honoré Bovet (c. 1350–after 1409), or Christine de Pizan (c. 1364–c. 1430) to comment on the political crises of their time. The dream vision provided a measure of security for poets who wanted to express critical opinions and perhaps even reprimands directed at their ecclesiastical or secular rulers. One dramatic example of this genre that is directly concerned with the Great Schism is Bovet's *Somnium super materia scismatis* [*Dream on the Subject of the Schism*].[10] Here the Schism is conceptual-

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[7] Although, as Gerson later stated, he was not directly involved in the withdrawal of obedience of 1398. See Brian Patrick McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation* (University Park, 2005), p. 90.

[8] See Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Constance de Rabastens: Politics and Visionary Experience in the Time of the Great Schism," *Mystics Quarterly* 25.4 (1999), 147–68; and Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004).

[9] See Christiane Marchello-Nizia, "Entre l'histoire et la poétique: Le 'Songe politique'," *Revue des sciences humaines* 55 (July–September 1993), 39–53; and my *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, pp. 97–103.

[10] I analyzed the theatrical aspects of this text in "Dramatic Troubles of *Ecclesia*: Gendered Performances of the Divided Church," in *Cultural Performances in Medieval France: Essays in Honor of Nancy Freeman Regalado*, ed. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Roberta L. Krueger, and E. Jane Burns (Cambridge, Eng., 2007), pp. 181–94; esp. pp. 191–93. See also my *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, pp. 140–47. For a biography of Bovet, see Hélène Millet and Michael Hanly, "Les batailles d'Honorat Bovet: Essai de biographie," *Romania* 114 (1996), 135–81. For a brief overview of Bovet's life and works, see also

ized as an intimate drama involving the author figure and the suffering Ecclesia as well as the rulers of Bovet's time, who appear as theatrical representations of their real selves in a series of meetings, cleverly staged by Bovet in a fictional palace that represents Europe. I will turn to the wounded figure of the Church in section 2 of this chapter and concentrate here on the dramatic enactment of negotiations surrounding the Schism in 1394.

On 16 September 1394, the Avignon pope Clement VII died, and for a brief moment there was only one pope, Boniface IX in Rome. Against the wishes of the French king and the university, an election only ten days later brought Pedro de Luna to the papal throne as Benedict XIII. Bovet wrote his *Somnium* during this period of hope for an end to the Schism. Honoré Bovet (also known as Bouvet or Bonet) was a Benedictine monk and prior of Selonnet near Lyon. Although he liked to portray himself as an unimportant outsider from Provence, we find him at various points attached to the papal court in Avignon and as an official at the court of the French king. He was sent on a number of diplomatic missions, including to Aragon between 1387 and 1392; to Amiens, where in 1392 peace negotiations took place between the French and the English; to Prague as envoy of Charles VI to King Wenceslas; and to the Council of Pisa in 1409 as representative of Provence. A year later he posthumously appeared as a ghost to Christine de Pizan, an encounter she describes movingly at the beginning of part 3 of her *Book of Deeds of Arms and Chivalry*, a work partly inspired by Bovet's *Arbre des batailles*.[11] Some of Bovet's diplomatic activities concerned with ending the Schism are transposed into a dramatic context in the *Somnium*, a Latin text of some wit and much perspicacity. The opening scene shows us the author figure dozing on a miserable bed when the Church appears to him, lacerated to the point of fragmentation, asking for his help. Bovet is urged to depart on a diplomatic mission to a dozen rulers, from Scotland and Spain to Cyprus, Hungary, and France. Conveniently for him, all of these kings and dukes appear to

Philippe Contamine, "Penser la guerre et la paix à la fin du XIVᵉ siècle: Honoré Bouvet (v. 1345–v. 1410)," *Quaestiones medii aevi novae* 4 (1999), 3–19. The *Somnium* was edited in Ivor Arnold, ed., *L'apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun et le Somium super materia scismatis* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 69–110. A new edition is in preparation by Patsy Glatt of the University of Calgary.

[11] See Millet and Hanly, "Les batailles d'Honorat Bovet," pp. 143–47. For Christine's description of Bovet's ghost, see her *Book of Deeds of Arms and Chivalry*, ed. Charity Cannon Willard, trans. Sumner Willard (University Park, 1999), pp. 143–44.

reside in the same edifice, though on different floors. This kind of uto-
pia, uniting under the same roof overt enemies,[12] represents western
Christendom, making the point that unity is possible simply through
the stage-set of the one palace. This kind of spatial representation of
possible unity contrasts with the image of the divided city we find
in Antonio Baldana's 1419 chronicle *De magno schismate*. Here, the
division of Christendom is dramatized by a fissure that runs through
a circular city.[13] Bovet thus constructs an imaginary edifice that would
undo the cruel division of Christian Europe. As Bovet encounters one
ruler after another and summarizes the facts of the double papal elec-
tion, the thorough inquiries, especially by the Spanish kingdoms, into
the legitimacy of the 1378 election of Urban VI (which led them to
adhere to Clement VII), and many other incidents and conflicts of the
years 1378 to 1394,[14] we get a panoramic view of the Schism as a series
of political decisions, made not for reasons of faith or dogma but for
reasons of political expediency.

Similar ideas as well as astonishment about the Schism and its nega-
tive effects on Christendom are expressed in yet another discussion,
staged by Bovet in the garden of the house of Jean de Meun, the famous
13th-century author of the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*. Thus
about four years after the *Somnium*, in the summer of 1398, as the
Schism continues unabated, as Marie Robine arrives on her mission
in Paris, and as the council of Paris gets ready to withdraw obedience
from Benedict XIII, Bovet returns to this problem in a fascinating text,
a kind of "panel discussion" between the ghost of Jean de Meun and a
Jacobin (a Dominican), a Jew, a physician, and a Saracen who debate
the causes of the deplorable state of France.[15] The Saracen, having trav-
eled through many countries and knowing many languages, is quizzed
by Jean de Meun on his experiences and expresses puzzlement as to
why the Romans consider the French "less than nothing" and "hold
them to be schismatics" (p. 85). Is there an error in your religion? he

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[12] On this point, see Millet and Hanly, "Les batailles d'Honorat Bovet," p. 167.

[13] See Paola Guerrini, *Propaganda politica e profezie figurate nel tardo medio evo*
(Naples, 1997), p. 60.

[14] On the timeliness of Bovet's argumentation and the connection to his real-life
activities, see Noël Valois, "Un ouvrage inédit d'Honoré Bonet, Prieur de Salon,"
Annuaire-bulletin de la société d'histoire de France 17 (1890), 193–215.

[15] The term is Michael Hanly's in his new edition, translation, and study of this text,
Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: The Apparicion Maistre Jehan de
Meun *of Honorat Bovet* (Tempe, 2005), p. 15.

wants to know. Of course, a Christian schism is a good thing for the Muslims, since discord weakens the Christian enemy. But it seems that no doctrinal differences appear to explain the hostility of the two papal factions. The Jacobin finally throws up his hands and exclaims that the entire matter of the Schism is "an abyss" (p. 137), a problem as difficult to explain as to solve! Yet, the French are doing what they can to end the Schism. Having decided that the only way is the *voie de cession*, i.e., the abdication of both popes, they try to find a "legitimate conclusion," undoubtedly an allusion to the imminent withdrawal of obedience. But since other kings do not follow suit, the French effort may be futile. Thus in the *Apparicion* Bovet reprises the issue of the Schism as a problem of diplomacy that can be resolved by pressure and negotiations, though at a point when things look more desperate than they did in 1394.

In order to understand how important the problem of the Schism was to Bovet, let us look at a striking visual representation: the tree in Bovet's earlier *Arbre des batailles* (1386–87). Dedicated to Charles VI and inspired by Giovanni de Legnano's *De bello, de represaliis et de duello* [On War, Reprisals, and the Duel], this treatise on the art of warfare was immensely successful. We will look later at the prologue that links the Schism with the Apocalypse. In this section on the drama of the Schism we can contemplate one of a number of representations of the Tree of Battles, which Bovet himself refers to as "arbre de deuil" or tree of mourning.[16]

Above all, Bovet tells the king, he must speak of the tribulations of the Church. "Above all" clearly means that the Schism is the most pressing political problem of the times, and it is therefore placed at the top of the tree. Here the Schism is conceptualized as a violent battle, that is, a problem that may have a military solution. Pedro de Luna's half moon graces one army's standard, a double eagle the other.[17] Benedict's papal cross is correct side up while Boniface's is upside down. Otherwise the popes, the cardinals massed behind them, and the soldiers are indistinguishable. The legitimacy of the Avignon pope is thus declared in only one small visual clue. But at the same time,

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[16] *L'arbre des batailles*, ed. E. Nys (Brussels, 1883), p. 2.

[17] The manuscript thus must have been produced after 1394 when Pedro became Benedict XIII. The eagle is Urban VI's heraldic sign, though he had been replaced by Boniface IX at that point. See Donald Lindsay Galbreath, *Papal Heraldry*, 2nd rev. ed. by Geoffrey Briggs (London, 1972).

the fact that the opponents otherwise appear identical leads the viewer to the conclusion that there is no "other" here, as might be the case for an opposing Muslim army, for instance. As Christians are about to slaughter other Christians—as they do also on the lower branches in various wars and civil wars—no good reason can be found for their hostility. Ten years after the composition of the *Arbre des batailles*, the Saracen in Jean de Meun's garden is still puzzled by this apparently incomprehensible conflict.

Around the same time that Bovet was composing his *Arbre des batailles*, Philippe de Mézières labored at his very long political allegory, the *Songe du Vieil Pelerin* [*The Dream of the Old Pilgrim*]. After a long career as soldier, diplomat, crusade propagandist, and tutor of the dauphin (the future Charles VI), Philippe had retired to the monastery of the Celestins in Paris after the death of Charles V in 1380. He never took monastic vows, however. There he became even more productive than before, authoring a large number of political and spiritual works in both French and Latin.[18] For Philippe, as for many other medieval thinkers, the Schism was one of the most serious crises the Church had ever experienced. He thus devotes large parts of his *Songe du Vieil Pelerin* to this problem, and he does so in a variety of dramatic modes. The text is set up as a dream journey that takes the main character, Ardent Desir (Philippe's alter ego), on a long trip across Europe and other continents. He is accompanied by his sister Bonne Esperance (Good Hope) as well as Reine Verite (Queen Truth) and a large retinue of allegorical figures. The drama of the Schism is enacted in several movements set in Rome, Genoa, and Avignon, three of the many stops our travellers make and that are connected by their importance for the papacy: Rome as the place of the contested 1378 election; Genoa, the current residence of the Roman pope Urban VI; and Avignon, Clement VII's home.

The first act, set in Rome, is played out "as one of the most violent satires in medieval literature" in the form of a beast fable.[19] As the travelers arrive in Rome, they encounter a horde [*une grosse route*] of ill-dressed people carrying a red banner with the inscription S.P.Q.R,

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[18] For his biography, see Nicolas Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières, 1327–1405, et la croisade au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1896). For an analysis of his writings on the Schism, see my *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, pp. 106–21.

[19] See Dora M. Bell, *Étude sur le* Songe du Vieil Pelerin *de Philippe de Mézières (1327–1405)* (Geneva, 1955), p. 42.

Fig. 1: The Tree of Battles with the warring papal armies on top. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. MS M907, folio 2v.

the abbreviation identifying the Roman empire; for the travelers, this means "that these are the people who crucified our Lord" (1:264).[20] On closer inspection, these people turn out to have animals heads. Tigers, lions, wild boars, foxes, and marmots, as well as poisonous beasts and birds, are all represented. It is this unsavory company that assembles before Reine Verite in one of the "consistories" she holds at every stop in her travels. Ysangrin the wolf—his name comes from the 13th-century *Roman de Renart*, a very popular cycle of satirical texts using animals—is selected as a spokesperson and proceeds to tell the story of the election of Urban VI and the violence surrounding it.[21] He admits that he and his followers uttered threats against the conclave if they did not elect the pope the beasts preferred. With this statement, he supports the contemporary anti-Roman propaganda that presented the first papal election as having taken place under the threat of violence. They want someone who will help them to "resurrect the idols of our gods and exalt them" (1:271) and hope that Bartolomeo Prignano, archbishop of Bari, will be that person. They win, but the victory is short-lived; the second election in September 1378 creates another pope, Clement VII. Philippe thus uses the form of a dramatic beast fable here, recalling the *Roman de Renart* and the *Roman de Fauvel*, which also used this kind of animation for political satire.[22] So how can Philippe's audience understand the origins of the Schism in these pages? We should not forget that the *Songe* was dedicated to Charles VI, whose father rather quickly after the second papal election decided to adhere to the Avignon pope Clement VII (who was a close relative). Charles V's son, through the testimony of these beastly characters, thus receives the reassurance that the first election had indeed been effected under duress and was therefore invalid. Other readers as well must now assume that Philippe condemns the Roman pope and will take a clear stance on the Schism. This is not to be, however.

Given the polyphonic nature of medieval allegory, it is extremely hard to pin down the author's opinion.[23] The second act in the Schism

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[20] I translate from George Coopland's two-volume edition of *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin* (Cambridge, 1969). Parenthetical page references are to this edition.

[21] See Joëlle Rollo-Koster's chapter in this volume.

[22] See Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir: Lire la satire médiévale* (Paris, Geneva, 1994).

[23] Still during Philippe's lifetime, the Debate on the *Roman de la Rose*, erupted which dealt with exactly these issues: how can you locate the true meaning and intentions of a text that has multiple speakers and actors? For a recent *mise-au-point* of the Debate,

drama is dominated by even stranger figures than the first. After a brief visit to Genoa where our travelers encounter Urban VI, whose garments and tiara seem to be changing colors and even turn to smoke—thus dramatizing the different views on Urban's legitimacy[24]—they arrive in Avignon, the residence of Clement VII. A battle of the Vices and the Virtues is in full swing here, with three especially hideous figures dominating on the Vices' side: Pride, Avarice, and Lust [*Orgueil*, *Avarice*, and *Luxure*]. Human bodies of old women are crowned by triple animal heads; they lead equally hideous pets on leashes and hold various instruments that signify their characteristics and influence.[25] Philippe now discourses at great length on the power these ladies hold in the Church and shows that all of them, but especially *Luxure*, are responsible for the outbreak of the Schism. Thereupon Reine Verite indicts Clement VII, just as she had previously indicted Pope Urban. But our drama is not over, for suddenly two champions appear in the consistory and get ready for a tournament: "Le Terrible" for Pope Urban and "Le Debonnayre" for Clement (1:364). They had been fighting over the throne of Saint Peter for a long time, but now "sagely, as they said, considering that their battle was not an article of the faith, they agreed to a truce and to submitting their quarrel to the judgment of the Precious Rich one, Verite the queen" (1:365). Each proceeds to make the case for his pope.

The queen then turns to Philippe in the shape of Ardent Desir, who comes to Clement's defense: as far as he is concerned, Clement's election was the only legitimate one (1:371). He mentions various proofs, including the testimony of Marie Robine, the papal messenger and visionary we encountered earlier, whose miraculous cure in Avignon confirms Clement's legitimacy (1:373–74). But Reine Verite is not swayed by Ardent Desir's arguments and offers no judgment. This indeterminate end to a long series of dramatic encounters is followed much later in the book by the call for a general council to resolve the Schism (2:293).

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see my "Jean Gerson and the Debate on the *Romance of the Rose*," in *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 3) (Leiden, 2006), pp. 317–56.

[24] For a more detailed analysis of this encounter and the subsequent judiciary hearing before Reine Verite (including of the anti-Semitic elements), see my *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, pp. 111–13.

[25] For details, see my *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, pp. 114–16.

The use of the dramatic form allows our authors to enact or bring to life the problematics underlying the Schism. The various battles—between miniature armies, Vices and Virtues, or champions in a (rhetorical) tournament—show that there are no doctrinal differences between the two papal factions, that the Vices reign everywhere, and that no amount of rhetorical skill can convince someone with the stature of Reine Verite that one pope is more legitimate than the other. The visionary drama in Marie Robine's revelations showed her audience, in dramatic images, that endless discussions are but an exercise in futility. And Bovet's dream made us live through an exhausting journey with him that, though full of good intentions and excellent ideas on ending the Schism, ended equally futilely.

The schism as wound or violence done to the church

The central image that ties the conceptualizations of the wound and violence together is that of the Church as a body, specifically a female body. The idea of picturing a social system as a body—the body politic—goes back to antiquity, and in the Middle Ages it became especially popular through John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (1159), which assigned each part of society to a part of the body: for example, the prince was seen as the head, the senate as the heart, officials and soldiers as hands, financial officials as stomach and intestines, and the peasants as the feet. The clerics of the Church are the body's soul.[26] Concomitantly, the Church itself was seen as a body. Based on 1 Cor. 12:27 ("Now you are the body of Christ and individually members of it"), the Church was equated with the body of Christ, and for Saint Augustine, for example, the *civitas dei, ecclesia*, and *corpus Christi* were identical.[27] In this conceptualization, the body is a male one, that of Christ. This body could be torn by schism, and Saint Paul cautions against this danger in the same letter: *ut non sit schisma in corpore* (1 Cor. 12:25). Thus already Saint Paul conceptualized a possible schism as a corporeal wound.

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[26] See Kate Langdon Forhan, "Polycracy, Obligation and Revolt: The Body Politic in John of Salisbury and Christine de Pizan," in *Politics, Gender, and Genre: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Margaret Brabant (Boulder, 1992), pp. 33–52; at p. 38.

[27] See Tilman Struve, *Die Entwicklung der organologischen Staatsauffassung im Mittelalter* (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters) 16 (Stuttgart, 1978), p. 87.

Alongside the metaphors of the male *corpus Christi* we find another strand of thought, fueled by exegesis of the Song of Songs, that presents the Church as a female body and the bride of Christ.[28] It is this latter equation which gives rise to some striking images of the Schism as violence directed against a female victim, as well as to images involving legitimate marriage, bigamy, and adultery.

Let us begin with the testimony of Michel Pintoin, the chronicler of Saint-Denis, who paints a vivid portrait of a France in crisis during the reign of Charles VI (1380–1422).[29] In 1381, three years into the Schism, Hungarian and Spanish ambassadors appear at the French court and plead with the king to "restore the unity of the Church and bring her back into the obedience of Urban, her legitimate husband" (1:77). Somewhat later, Pintoin elaborates on this idea when he says that the "Church, the free spouse of Jesus Christ, was thus reduced to her unhappiness to become the slave of two masters" (1:83). For Pintoin, in this particular passage, the Church was Christ's spouse, not the popes'. This issue became crucial for Jean Gerson around the time of the Council of Pisa. In his treatise *De auferibilitate sponsi ab Ecclesia* [*On the Removability of the Spouse from the Church; June/July 1409*], Gerson made it clear that the Church's spouse is Christ, not the pope.[30] Therefore, the removal of one or several popes does not signify the Church's divorce from her legitimate husband.

But the idea of the pope(s) as the Church's spouse(s) was equally current. Eustache Deschamps (*c.* 1340–*c.* 1404), the prolific poet, expresses the same outrage at the Church's coerced bigamy as does Pintoin. In his ballade 985 he tells us, "Saincte Eglise qui muelt se puet doloir/ Quant ii. espoux l'ont si violemment/ prinse, et un seul la deust sainctement gouverner comme amie" (5:231).[31] Indeed, the popes and

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[28] For a brief survey of the image of the Church as body, see Georg Miczka, *Das Bild der Kirche bei Johannes of Salisbury* (Bonner Historische Forschungen) 34 (Bonn, 1970), pp. 81–88. On imagery of the Church generally, see Hugo Rahner, *Symbole der Kirche* (Salzburg, 1964). On the exegesis of the Song of Songs, see E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1990).

[29] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. M. L. Bellaguet, 6 vols. (Paris, 1842). Reprint, with a preface by Bernard Guenée (Paris, 1994).

[30] *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Palémon Glorieux, 10 vols. (Paris, 1960–73), 3:294–313. For an analysis of this text in relation to papal sovereignty and the function of a general council, see McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, pp. 206–07.

[31] "Holy Church is filled with great pain when two husbands took her so violently, while a single one should rule her in a sanctified manner as beloved consort in God's name"; Eustache Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Marquis Queux de Saint-Hilaire

the prelates of both factions force the Church to become an adulteress
and bigamist. As Deschamps tells us in his *Miroir de mariage*, reform
is necessary so that God may grant "Que sa fille n'ait qu'un espoux,/
Qui tant est a declin alee,/ Sique qu'adultere clamée."[32] And the Church
herself calls herself an adulteress in Deschamps's 1393 *Complainte de
l'Eglise*. Advocating a general council to end the Schism, she declares,
"Je n'aye que un seul et vray espoux; et que la trencheure du cisme
qui si detestablement m'a voulu et veult faire adultere, cesse du tout"
(7:309).[33] This *prise de conscience* of the sinfulness inflicted upon her
adds a strong emotional impact to the Church's plaint.

 An anonymous text from the same period, the *Lamentatio Ecclesie*,
has the Church herself voice the same complaint:[34]

> Je di que c'est erreur et contre toute loy
> Et esclandre et erreur en christiane foy
> Qu'ensemble ait .ij. maris une fame par soy.
> Mes, en present, en moy cest esclandre apperçoy.
> Helasse! j'en ay .ij., à mon tres grant contraire:
> L'un se nomme Courtois et l'autre Debonaire.
> Je ne voy mie bien que tous les .ij. parfaire
> Ce qu'il ont entrepris puissent sans elx meffaire.
> …
> Lasse, cent mille foys! tant ay le cuer plain d'yre!
> L'un dit que sienne suy: je ne l'ose desdire.
> L'autre me veult avoir: je ne li sçay que dire,
> N'il n'est mie à mon chois le quel je doie eslire.[35]

This legitimate complaint is countered by the voice of someone who thinks that it is all right to have two popes: did not Jacob have two wives? Cannot the soul have two husbands in the mystical sense [*selon le sens mystique*; 1:390]? These two husbands are the two popes who both adhere to the Catholic faith. So the Schism is neither an error nor heresy. And anyway, one pope could not possibly reign everywhere: in Europe, Asia, Africa, and China! Now the speaker reveals himself: "we who are from Greece" [*Nous qui summes de Grece*; 1:391]. Thus he is a Greek Orthodox person, embodying—and thus justifying—the much earlier schism between the eastern and western churches. This partisan of the Schism is followed by an advocate of Pope Clement, who calls Urban "false pope" [*falz pape*] and "antichrist" (1:392), and by a pro-Urban character, who claims "hearts beat for Urban" [*Les cuers sont ad Urbain*]. The Church's reaction is one of perplexity, and she decides that only a general council can provide a solution.

Thus the Church sees herself as a coerced bigamist here who is claimed by two different husbands. The justification for maintaining the Schism, voiced by the Greek schismatic, also draws on marriage imagery, citing the perhaps not entirely apposite example of Jacob, Leah, and Rachel: Jacob had two wives not two husbands! Nonetheless, the case for bigamy and thus for two popes is made.

We now have the images of the bigamous spouse and that of the slave of two masters. The next step is that of depicting the Church as a prostitute, victimized by her pimps, and a rape victim. Here we return to Michel Pintoin, who declares (still for the year 1381):

> These scandals [conflicts with the duke of Anjou] had their origin in the execrable schism, and the two rivals, devoured by the fire of ambition, tore at the Church as at a prostitute that they had found in a place of debauchery. Therefore everywhere satires about them sprang up. (1:91)

A similar idea can be found in the writings of the Aragonese inquisitor Nicolas Eymerich, who, at the beginning of the Schism, branded Pope Urban VI as the rapist or violent invader of the Church [*invasor sponse Domini*].[36]

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one I should choose". Note that Philippe de Mézières gave the name Debonaire to the champion of Pope Clement VII in the *Songe du Vieil Pelerin*.

[36] This term is just one of a long list of accusations. Eymerich calls Urban *invasor sponse Domini sui, raptor eiusdem peculii, ... dislapidor illius thesauri, incendarius sanctuarii, violator monasterii, homicida populi* etc. See Michael Seidlmayer, *Die Anfänge des*

Another metaphoric field of interest here is that of the family. The Church was often seen as the mother of all Christians. In fact, *mater Ecclesia* was one of the most enduring images of the Church. The Schism thus represented the unnatural breaking of family ties, children attacking the being that had given birth to them and nurtured them.[37] Catherine of Siena (1347–80) makes a dramatic appeal to Queen Joan of Naples early on in the Schism, using this imagery. In late 1378 or early 1379, Catherine addresses a forceful letter to this queen, whose initial support of Urban VI had quickly transferred to Clement VII. Catherine tries to persuade Joan to adhere to Urban by appealing to her sense of family.[38] Here Catherine calls Joan a weak female who

> being the legitimate daughter, loved tenderly by her father, the vicar of Christ on earth, pope Urban VI, the one who is truly pope and the highest pontiff, you have left the breast of your mother, Holy Church, where you had been nourished for such a long time.[39]

For this rupture of familial obligation and the fact that she has now given herself over to men who are "incarnate demons" [*dimonii incarnati* = Clement's cardinals; p. 443] Catherine threatens queen Joan with the death of her body and soul.

Also in the fall of 1378, Catherine wrote to the three Italian cardinals (the Roman Orsini, the Milanese di Borsano, and the Florentine Corsini) who, in her eyes, had betrayed Urban VI by voting for Clement VII only a few months after Urban's election. This is an extremely forceful and eloquent letter,[40] drawing on many metaphoric fields, such as light and darkness, gardens that need tending, and ships that are about to sink.

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grossen abendländsichen Schismas: Studien zur Kirchenpolitik insbesondere der spanischen Staaten und zu den geistigen Kämpfen der Zeit (Münster, 1940), p. 161.

[37] Just as for Mary there is also a connection between the maternity and the virginity of the Church. For example, in John of Salisbury's *Policracticus* (1159), unworthy papal contenders are depicted as attackers of the Church's [*innocens mater Ecclesia*] virtue. See Miczka, *Das Bild der Kirche*, p. 96.

[38] Since Joan was assassinated on the order of Charles of Durazzo, her niece's husband, this may not have been the most useful rhetorical strategy! Joan adhered to Urban again for a brief moment in 1379.

[39] "Figliuola legittima amata teneramente dal padre, vicario di Cristo in terra papa Urbano VI, il quale è veramente papa sommo pontefice, partite vi siete dal petto della madre vostra della santa chiesa, dove tanto tempo vi siete nutricata"; *Lettere di Santa Caterina*, ed. Niccolò Tommaseo, presentazione de Gabriella Anodal (Rome, 1973), p. 442.

[40] Noële Denis-Boulet calls this letter "ce terrible morceau d'éloquence." See *La carrière politique de Sainte Catherine de Sienne: Étude historique* (Paris, 1939), p. 169.

Catherine also uses a strong familial image here: the three cardinals had fed at the breasts of Holy Church [*al petto della santa Chiesa*; p. 419]. This would make the Church their mother; but Catherine continues: "you owe gratitude to this Spouse who nourished you at her breasts" [*questa Sposa che v'ha nutricati al petto suo*; p. 419]. The Church thus is simultaneously the mother and the spouse of these three cardinals. But for Catherine this is not an incestuous dilemma: she draws on the two most powerful family relationships that in medieval theology define a Christian's relation to the Church: *mater Ecclesia* is at the same time mother and spouse, and in many images illustrating the exegesis of the Song of Songs, Christ and the Church hug and kiss like lovers.

One of the most powerful indictments of the Schism as an attack on the mother can be found in Philippe de Mézières's *Epistre au roy Richart* [Letter to King Richard II] of 1395. Philippe composed this letter on the order of Charles VI as a plea for reconciliation between the French and the English in anticipation of the marriage of the 29-year-old English king Richard II and Charles' daughter Isabelle (six years old at the time). In this letter he also addresses the "mortel scisme" that has divided the Church as well as Clementist France and Urbanist England.[41] Here the Church is presented as the mother of the two sons of Saint Louis, Charles and Richard, who lies on her sickbed, torn in two (pp. 93–94).[42] Each king has taken half of this mother and thrown the rest away to the dogs and birds so that she should be devoured and never healed. Appealing to the Scriptures that exhort us to honor father and mother, Philippe reprimands the kings for this mistreatment of their mother. What is the value of all your power, Philippe asks,

> quant vostre mere, ainsi divisee et malade gist en chartre en languissant et attendant l'ayde de ses enfans, les roys catholiques qu'elle a sacrez et enoint de son saint oille de misericorde, et allaitie de ses mamelles; et par especial suspirant l'ayde des roys qui sont les premiers nez en l'eglise quant a puissance et a dignite reputee par toute la crestiente (p. 22)[43]

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[42] On the use of the familial imagery and of the emotions in this text see Daisy Delogu, "Public Displays of Affection: Love and Kinship in the *Epistre au Roi Richart*," *New Medieval Literatures* 8 (2006), 99–123. Intermingled with the maternal imagery we find the metaphorics of wounds, disease, and healing as well as images of the Church as monster all of which we will consider below.

[43] "When your mother, sick and torn apart, languishes in captivity, awaiting help from her children, the Catholic kings whom she has consecrated and anointed with her

Daisy Delogu has shown how skillfully Philippe highlights the "exclusive fraternity" of the two kings here: they are "frères de lait," nourished by the same breasts of mother Church; they are her first-born and thus have a special obligation to her.[44] As for the effects of the Schism, they appear dramatically as the Church's illness and captivity. In this particular passage, Philippe does not mention the popes, thus stressing the kings' responsibility for ending the Schism, something that could only happen once the Hundred Years War had come to an end as well. We find the same idea in Bovet's *Somnium* in the pronouncement of the duke of Lancaster, who tells the author figure that when the French-English peace has been concluded, "then we shall have one pope, not before" [*haberemus unicum papam, ante non*].[45]

Rejoining our section on the dramatic depictions of the Schism, we can take a look at texts which feature the personified Church as a mother figure speaking directly to the author and the audience. Both Eustache Deschamps and Honoré Bovet stage an appearance of the mutilated *mater Ecclesia* in the *Complainte de l'Eglise* and the *Somnium super materia scismatis*. The mother figure in Bovet seems to rot from within, and I will say more about her in the next section. As for Deschamps's *Complainte*, in the opening scene of the *Complainte* the Church appears as "la povre mere tresdolente, desolée et desconfortée, de laquelle les entrailles sont tranchées et divisées en deux parties pour le pechié et abhominacion de ses enfans forlignans la voie de justice…"[46]

This tragic appearance preludes the indictment of the Church's children, the French nation, whose pride and greed maintain her painful division. Toward the end of her complaint, she calls for a remedy: organizing a crusade that would unify Christians in the face of the Muslim threat and calling a general council to end the Schism.[47] Appealing once more to her children, she insists that children are naturally inclined

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holy oil of mercy, and fed from her breasts; and longing especially for help from those kings, whose power and dignity, as firstborn of the Church, are renowned throughout Christendom?"; de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, p. 94.

[44] Delogu, "Public Displays," p. 111.

[45] *Somnium super materia scismatis*, p. 92.

[46] "The poor suffering mother, desolate and without comfort, whose entrails are cut into pieces and divided into two parts by the sin and abomination of her children, led astray from the path of justice…"; Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes*, 7:293.

[47] A crusade was a popular theme in anti-Schism polemic. Catherine of Siena and Philippe de Mézières were two important proponents of the idea that a crusade would put an end to the Schism.

to avenge the injury and violence done to the only mother they have (7:309). Here Deschamps draws on the idea of the "naturalness" of family bonds that require certain actions from the family members. The term *natural* was much used in the political discourse of the time to designate obligations and positions that derived their validity from a "natural" fact, such as one's birthplace, language, or family tree.[48] Thus the Church makes the strongest case she can for unification by evoking the image of a united family; restoring the dysfunctional family of Christianity to its natural harmony is the foremost duty of every Christian.

Deschamps also offers us a striking example of the Church lamenting her wounds, using the vocabulary of the metaphors for the body politic as well as medical terms. In ballade 978 (5:219–20), the Church speaks to us in a plaintive tone:

> De toutes pars est mon chief assailli,
> Qui cause estoit a mon corps de sa vie;
> A mes bras sont vaines et nerfs failli,
> Les mains, les doiz gardans ma seignourie;
> 5   Fievre m'assault et mes cuers se varie
> Pour les membres qui se dueillent du chief,
> Et mes membres soustiennent le meschief
> De tout le corps, qui ja tremblent et finent,
> Ne je ne sçay de mes maulx le plus grief:
> 10   Toutes vertus au jour d'ui se declinent.
> Qui est ce chief taint, malade et pali,
> Qui au jour d'ui pour sa grant doleur crie?
> L'eglise Dieu, quant elle voit en li
> Division, et que n'est pas unie,
> 15   Mais de deux pars est trop fort assaillie;
> Braz, vaines, nerfs, pour declarer au brief,
> justice et loy signifient, qu'en brief
> Avec raison tindrent les roys, or clinent:
> Mains et doys sont des juges le dechief:
> 20   Toutes vertus au jour d'ui se declinent.
> Convoitise a comme fievre envahy
> Les cuers des gens et le chief en partie;

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[48] See Jacques Krynen, "'Naturel': Essai sur l'argument de la nature dans la pensée politique française à la fin du moyen âge," *Journal des savants* (April–June 1982), 169–90.

> S'en est le corps et le monde esbahy:
> Par les jambes le peuple signifie
> 25   Qui soustenir ne puet plus l'envaye[49]
> …

In this powerful ballade, Deschamps conceptualizes the Schism as an illness of the body's head: the papacy. The body stands for the Church, the community of the faithful [*les membres* of l. 7] who have to deal with the illness that has invaded them because of the head's division. The Schism's effect on the people is dramatized through the image of the trembling and failing body whose very substance [*vaines et nerfs*] is being destroyed by the two warring popes. But the people are not completely innocent: it is their greed that has invaded their hearts like a fever and has contributed to the splitting of the head (ll. 21–22). The simple people, traditionally the legs and feet of the body politic, can no longer live with the invasion of this vice. In the rest of the ballade, they cry out for relief and God's vengeance on those who live well while they themselves starve.[50] The *Envoy* calls on the princes to prevent the body's destruction and death by healing the divided head. This ballade dramatizes the destructiveness of the Schism on all levels of society by showing a disintegrating body whose very veins and nerves are torn apart. As did a number of other writers, Deschamps also links the Schism to a general decline of virtues, thus calling for a reform of both head and members.

Translating the imagery of the above examples into the reality of the Schism shows us that these writers apportioned blame for this division of the Church in different ways. Some blamed the two popes and their cardinals, others the kings and secular princes, yet others

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[49] "1–10: My head, which sustains the life of my body is being attacked from all sides. In my arms veins and nerves are failing the hands and the fingers that maintain my lordship. I am attacked by fever and my heart falters because of the members that mourn for the head. And my members, which tremble and faint, have to endure the awful condition of the entire body. I do not know which is the most grievous of the evils that befall me: at present all virtues are in decline. 11–20: Who is this head that is yellowish, sickly, and pale and who cries out today because of its great pain? God's Church when she sees in herself division and is not united, but rather attacked violently from two sides. Arms, veins, and nerves, to be brief, signify justice and law which until recently were maintained by the kings, but no longer. Hands and fingers signify the bad administration of justice by the judges: at present all virtues are in decline. 21–25: Greed has invaded the hearts of people like a fever and the head is split by this. The body and the world are stunned by this: the legs signify the people who can no longer tolerate the invasion…"

[50] There is a lacuna in this stanza in the manuscript.

the French nation as a whole. The popes' transgressions are likened to rape and bigamy, while the kings and the French people are guilty of mutilating their mother. In Deschamps's ballade 978, the body of the Church and the body politic appear to be one, and both cause and effect extend to many parts of society. In the rape scenario, the Schism can only be ended if the popes are reprimanded, reined in through a general council, and made to desist from their crimes, that is, abdicate. In the bigamy or adultery scenario, the responsibility also squarely lies with the popes: they have forced the Church into an illegal and shameful situation. The dysfunctional family evoked by Catherine of Siena needs therapy in the form of Queen Joan of Naples's adherence to her legitimate father, Pope Urban VI. And Deschamps's ailing mother needs help from her children, the French nation. Many of the texts we looked at in this section call for a general council, an event that would disempower the popes and instead empower a mixture of ecclesiastical and secular figures to negotiate and effect the election of a new pope. This, of course, is what finally happened at Constance—but several decades later.

Illness, monsters, and the end of times

If the Church is a body she is susceptible not only to violence and wounds inflicted from the outside but also to illness and corruption from the inside—afflictions that can transform the Church into a monster. In Bovet's *Somnium*, just as in Deschamps's *Complainte*, the Church makes a dramatic entrance in the opening scene. As we saw above, at the opening of this text the author figure lies on his miserable bed meditating on the damage the Schism has done; he is filled with anxiety and confusion. When a splendid woman appears to him, he questions her, and she identifies herself as *mater Ecclesia*. He is impressed by her beauty and majesty, but when she invites him to look at her back, it turns out to be filled with worms [*vidi dorsum vermibus plenum*; p. 69]. This sign of decay was also a motif in many medieval sculptures. For example, at the cathedral in Worms we see Lady World placed next to the figure of the synagogue,[51] while at the Strasbourg cathedral the

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[51] On the association of the divided Church with the figure of the Synagogue, see my "Dramatic Troubles of *Ecclesia*." On the question of gender and the defiled female body of the Synagogue, see also Sara Lipton, "The Temple is My Body: Gender, Carnality, and Synagoga in the *bibles moralisées*," in *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other:*

figure is male (Prinz der Welt) and is associated with *Luxuria*, as are also some of the female figures.

Thus the symbolic value of the worm-eaten back is complex. On the one hand, the Church's decay is presented as part of her body: her rotting flesh presumably brought forth the worms. On the other hand, she depicts herself, like the fallen Jerusalem, as a suffering widow [*facta sum vidua*] whose *sponsus* seems to be still alive, however, since he and her sons despise her although once she had been the queen of many peoples (p. 70). While she once gloried in her admirable family, she now has become impure. The Church thus claims multiple identities here: abandoned wife, widow, mother, and impure woman. But her body speaks for her as well: she is decaying from the inside out.

Bovet thus constructs a multi-layered image of the Church and the effects the Schism has on her. He suggests that the former purity of the Church has been transformed into rot, but at the same time he seems to apportion blame to the culprits named by *mater Ecclesia* herself: her sons and her spouse. Her sons are, of course, all Christians, but the question of the spouse is more thorny: both Jesus Christ and the pope could function as the Church's spouse in the Christian tradition. Has Christ abandoned the Church? Has the pope—or both popes— turned her into an impure decaying figure? Both could be true, and I believe that Bovet encourages his audience to interpret this figure in a soul-searching way. Keeping in mind that Bovet sent copies of his *Somnium* to King Charles VI, to the duke of Berry, and then to the newly elected pope Benedict XIII, we can understand the ambiguity of this opening scene better: each reader, whether a secular prince or a pontiff, could find plenty to blame himself for in this pitiful portrait of the Church.

Let us now explore some more the idea of the Schism as an internal illness, that is, not as a wound inflicted from without. If the state or the Church is conceptualized as a body, various crises in these institu-tions can of course be seen as illnesses, illnesses that can be cured by a skilled physician. As a starting point for these concepts, we can take a passage from Aegidio Colonna's (1243–1316) *De regimine principum* [*On the Government of Princes*], an extremely popular mirror of princes

dedicated to the French king Philippe le Bel and translated into French by Henri de Gauchy in 1282: "Just as the physician principally aims to establish the health of the body, so the prince must aim principally that the people receives justice and that which is for its benefit."[52] This illness of the body politic can take various forms. For example, for Nicole Oresme (*c.* 1322–82), the great theologian and scientist who among many other achievements translated Aristotle's *Politics*, tyranny is one of the major illnesses that can afflict the *corps politique*: "Et donques il s'ensuit que tele policie est aussi comme un corps qui est en maladie incurable."[53] Here it is tyrannical society itself that is a mortally ill body. Thus an illness can transform a healthy body into a sick one, and this sickness in itself can then be interpreted as a corruption from within. This complex mechanism also appears in depictions of the Church as suffering from the Schism.

Faced with a mortal illness, the physician must step back and evaluate its origins and find the appropriate cure. At first sight, one could argue that an illness is an involuntary affliction. Thus Judith Schlanger argues in her study, *Les Métaphores de l'organisme*: "Une maladie est posée comme involontaire, même et surtout quand on lui reconnaît une étiologie intellectuelle. Décrire un phénomène comme une maladie n'est pas le fait d'un partisan: l'emploi même de cette notion implique une distanciation réprobatrice."[54] The remedy consists in the expulsion of the harmful element; thus, societal ills are often referred to as tumors, for example, that need to be excised through surgery, a therapeutic approach that Schlanger rightly calls "active, offensive, autoritaire et volontiers coercitive" [active, offensive, authoritarian, and happily coercive] (p. 185). Its goal is the re-establishment of the body's harmony, "la reconstitution interne de la synthèse ou union naturelle, à travers

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[52] "Tout aussi comme li phisicien entent principaument a fere la sannté du corps, tout aussi le prince doit entendre principaument que li pueples ait sa droiture et ce que li est profitable"; *Li Livres du gouvernement des rois: A XIIIth Century French Version of Egidio Colonna's Treatise De regimine principum*, ed. Samuel P. Molenaer (New York, 1899), pp. 299–300.

[53] "And therefore it follows that such a policy [= tyranny] is like a body that has an incurable illness"; *Maistre Nicole Oresmes: Le livre de politiques d'Aristote*, ed. Albert D. Menut in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 60.6 (1970), 1–392, at p. 252.

[54] "An illness is understood as involuntary, even and most of all when its etiology is intellectual. A partisan does not describe the phenomenon of illness. The notion itself implies reprobatory distancing"; Judith Schlanger, *Les métaphores de l'organisme* (Paris, 1971), p. 175.

les vertus de patience, de modération, de mesure et de calme" [the internal reshaping of synthesis or natural union, through the virtues of patience, moderation, regularity, and calm] (p. 185). These reflections provide a useful theoretical and philosophical background for the idea of the Schism as illness. In terms of our authors' attitude: for the most part they step back from the conflict and adopt the disapproving and often non-partisan stance analyzed by Schlanger. The call for a general council, which is the most frequently proposed solution, is in fact proactive and certainly became coercive when we think of the Council of Pisa (1409) and the later Council of Constance (1415–17), which finally forced all three popes to abdicate. As for the therapeutic goal: healing the Schism meant reunifying the Church and the entire Christian community.

An especially dramatic example of this concept is Philippe de Mézières's *Epistre au roy Richart*. We already examined this letter in the context of the familial imagery Philippe uses in order to persuade the French and English kings to make peace and end the Schism. Philippe also had a great interest in medicine and was very knowledgeable about late 14th-century therapeutic practices and their vocabulary.[55] In fact, throughout his lengthy treatise on spiritual marriage (the *Livre de la vertu du sacrement de mariage*), he slips into the character of the Vieil Solitaire and poses as the wise physician who can cure women's ailments brought on by marriage. Illness and cure thus are important elements of Philippe's metaphorics.

Philippe entitles his chapter on the Schism "La seconde matere de ceste presente espistre, c'est assavoir du mortel sisme de l'esglise et du remede d'iceluy par le moien de la paix des ii. Roys."[56] The chapter then opens with an analysis of the treatment of wounds and only slowly approaches the fact of the Schism:

> Selonc l'art de medecine, qui sur une grande plaie ouverte et toute pourrie metroit tousjours l'oingnement qui est apele popilion, jamais la plaie ne se reclorroit, mais tousjours crestroit. Il est expedient d'user souvent es plaies perilleuses, et a present, de l'oingnement qui est apeles *unguentum apostolorum*, c'est l'oingnement des apostres, qui est ou premier degree corrosif et ou secont degree mondificatif. Et tres excellent roy de la Grant

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[55] See Jean-Louis G. Picherit, *La métaphore pathologique et thérapeutique à la fin du moyen âge* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 260) (Tübingen, 1994), esp. pp. 37–59.

[56] "The second subject matter of this letter, namely the mortal Schism of the Church and its remedy by way of the peace between the two kings"; ed. Coopland, p. 93.

> Bretaingne, il a une plaie ouverte en la crestiente, de laquele le venim
> qui ensault a envenime toutes les parties de la crestiente…Ceste plaie
> malditte, sans parabole ou figure aleguier, est le mortel sisme de nostre
> mere sainte eglise (p. 93).[57]

Philippe diagnoses the Schism as a wound here, although he does not
say who inflicted it. And unlike the wound in the body of the Church
that identified the Church as victim, the wound here is poisonous and
thus has wide-ranging effects. In fact, the Schism is an epidemic [*ceste
perilleuse epydemie*; p. 96]; it is an abyss dividing Christians as well
as a mortal wound [*plaie mortelle*; p. 96]. The idea of the abyss leads
Philippe to tell the Roman legend of the noble Curtius, who, in order
to end an epidemic in his city, leapt into an abyss as instructed by the
gods. In the same way, Philippe urges, the French and English kings
should close "this fatal gaping wound" of the Schism by agreeing on
a truce and then abolish the division of the Church. The mixing of
metaphors is one of the hallmarks of Philippe's style, and here we find
medical metaphors mingled with Roman legend and, at the end of the
chapter, with an allegorical battle of the virtues (the kings should arm
themselves with humility and other virtues…; p. 96). Thus the remedy
Philippe proposes belongs to the metaphoric realm of the gaping wound
and the abyss, not so much to the idea of the Schism as an epidemic.
Once the wound has been closed, peace for all of Christendom will
ensue. The spreading poison will presumably be eradicated by the clos-
ing of the wound as well.

Throughout the late Middle Ages, Europe was periodically ravaged
by the plague, and it is not surprising to find the Schism compared to
that scourge. Christine de Pizan, for example, in her 1404 biography of
the late Charles V, laments the Schism in the following terms:

> Ce doloreux sisme, et envenimée plante contagieuse, fichée par instiga-
> cion de l'Anemi ou giron sainte Eglise. O quel flayel! O quant dolou-
> reux meschief, qui encore dure et a duré l'espace .xxvi. ans, ne taillée

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[57] "According to the art of medicine, if the ointment called popilion is continuously
applied to a wound which is wide and festering, the wound will never close, but will,
rather become worse. It is better on serious wounds to make frequent and immediate
use of the ointment which is called the *unguentum apostolorum*, that is the Apostles'
ointment, which to begin with is corrosive and then, afterwards, soothing. O excel-
lent King of Great Britain, there is an open wound in Christendom today, and this
wound has spread its poison throughout the Christian world…This accursed wound,
leaving aside all parables and figures, is the mortal schism in Holy Church"; p. 21.
This passage is followed by the quote cited above p. 00 about the Church as mother
lying sick in bed.

n'est ceste pestillence[58] de cesser, se Dieux, de sa sainte misericorde n'y remedie, car ja est celle detestable playe comme apostumée et tournée en acoustumance…; si est grant peril que mort soubdaine s'en ensuive quelque jour en la religion crestienne, c'est assavoir une si mortel de Dieu vengence que à celle heure faille tous crier: "Miserere mei, Deus!"] (Part 3, chap. 61; 2:155–56).[59]

Christine often uses the term *pestilence*, playing with its different meanings ['mal,' 'vilenie,' 'péché,' 'calamité,' 'peste']. In the *Avision* of 1405, she also refers specifically to "boces," or plague buboes, to designate the vices that are bringing down France.[60] Going back to the passage in the *Charles V*, we note that Christine does not identify exactly who thrust this poisonous plant into the bosom of the Church. Since this lament follows upon many soberly historical chapters recounting the early years of the Schism and the role of Charles V in quickly accepting the Avignon pope Clement VII, one wonders whether she is not indirectly indicting the ultimately destructive policies of the French monarchy here. In any case, she like others sees the Schism as a festering wound, and writing almost ten years after Philippe's *Epistre au roy Richart*, she can now call this purulent wound something to which people have become accustomed, although this seeming acceptance does not make the wound any less painful. Unlike Philippe, Christine does not propose any remedy here.

Between the texts of Philippe and Christine we find another famous churchman who testifies to the harm the Schism has done by using striking metaphors of illness and monstrosity. Nicolas de Clamanges (*c.* 1363–1437) was a papal secretary in Avignon for many years, though he left the city during the French withdrawal of obedience (1398–1403),

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[58] When the Schism finally ended, at the Council of Constance Jean Gerson "thanked God for having 'freed the Church from the pestiferous and pernicious doctrine'—which had nourished the Schism—that the pope was superior to a council and not bound by its decisions" (McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, p. 267; my emphasis).

[59] "This painful schism and poisonous, contagious plant that was thrust into the bosom of Holy Church at the instigation of the devil. Oh, what a scourge! What a painful calamity, which now has lasted twenty-six years; this pestilence is not close to being extinguished unless God in His holy compassion brings a remedy, for this wound has become purulent and one has become accustomed to it…; there is a danger that sudden death will result from this one day in the Christian faith, that is, such a deadly divine vengeance that at that moment we will all have to cry: 'Miserere mei, Deus!'" Christine de Pizan, *Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, ed. Suzanne Solente, 2 vols. (Paris, 1936–40).

[60] Picherit, *La métaphore pathologique*, p. 63.

supposedly because of a serious illness, probably the plague.[61] In 1408, when the French monarchy broke with Pope Benedict XIII, so did Clamanges. But long before that date he bemoaned the situation of the troubled Church by painting it as a battered ship and as a sick body. In the *De ruina et reparacione Ecclesie* [*On the Ruin and Healing of the Church; 1400–01*], he portrays the languishing Church in dramatic terms: "Ex illo si quidem fluere, informari, languescere, retro sublapsa referri cepit Ecclesia, quippe que vernanti exuta decore pallidam et obscurantam, in terra dejectam faciem gerebat…"[62]

It would be difficult to find a more vivid image of the Church's death throes, dejection, and moral bankruptcy. The Church in fact is to blame for her own mortal illness because greed and simony have corrupted her from within and caused the outwardly visible wound through which she now bleeds to death. Only God can be the physician who may heal her.[63]

Eight years later, around the time of the Council of Pisa, Clamanges uses equally dramatic language to denounce what seems to be an everlasting Schism. In his *Traité contre l'institution des fêtes nouvelles* [*Treatise Against the Introduction of New Feast Days*], Clamanges argues against the institution of new feast days in the current situation of the Church.[64] Innovations, he posits, could aggravate the wound of the "abominable Schism" that is already too sharp and painful. Indeed, new feast days would be as food to the horrible hydra [*cette mortelle hydre*] the Schism has become (p. 26). Clamanges here depicts the Schism itself as a multi-headed monster, a hydra. Equally picturesque and even apocalyptic is the view of the Schism we find in a letter by the Florentine chancellor, Coluccio Salutati, to Giuliano Zonarini, chancellor of Bologna.[65] Salutati equates the two-headed Church with

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[61] See Christopher Bellitto, *Nicolas de Clamanges: Spirituality, Personal Reform, and Pastoral Renewal on the Eve of the Reformation* (Washington DC, 2001), p. 20.

[62] "For from this time on, the languishing and ill Church had not stopped bleeding out drop by drop and to fade away, in fact, since losing her greening honor she had a pale and darkened face, turned toward the ground"; Nicolas de Clamanges, *Le traité de la ruine de l'Eglise et la traduction française de 1564*, ed. A. Coville (Paris, 1936), p. 153. Note the similarity of this description to Deschamps' ballade 978 analyzed above.

[63] See Bellitto, *Nicolas de Clamanges*, pp. 34 and 43.

[64] Ed. Palémon Glorieux, "Moeurs de chrétienté au temps de Jeanne d'Arc: Le traité *contre l'institution des fêtes nouvelles* de Nicolas de Clémenges," *Mélanges de science religieuse* 23 (1966), 15–29.

[65] See Roberto Rusconi, *L'attesa della fine: Crisi della società, profezia ed Apocalisse in Italia al tempo del grande scisma d'occidente* (Rome, 1979), p. 95.

the two-horned beast of the Apocalypse: "Then I saw another beast which rose out of the earth: it had two horns like a lamb and it spoke like a dragon" (Rev. 13:11).

Frequently the Church was seen both as a victim and as a monster, and sometimes the two concepts can be found together. Philippe de Mézières's *Epistre au roy Richart*, for example, paints the transition from the ailing *mater Ecclesia* on her sick bed to monster by insisting on the culpability of all Christians in this horrible transformation, "les crestiens catholiques, faisans un monstre de leur mere a .ii. testes."[66]

Pursuing the idea of monstrosity, we can turn once again to Eustache Deschamps as an outstanding witness. The most striking examples of the Church as a full-blown monster can be found in ballades 950 (5:168–69) and 955 (5:176–78), which present the Church as a two-backed and two-headed monster and as the Minotaur.[67] Ballade 955 creates both continuity and contrast between a mythological past and the troubled present. The Minotaur, who would be well known to a learned audience of the time through such texts as the early 14th-century *Ovide moralisé*, was monstrous because he sheltered two natures, human and animal, in one and the same body. The *Ovide moralisé* poet allegorized the Minotaur as corrupted human nature, which led him to a long discourse on sins against nature. Deschamps elaborates this theme of the unnatural when he tells us that nowadays there is a monster that is even more horrible than the Minotaur: it is a monster with two heads that presumes to rule over "reasonable animals" [*raisonnables bestes*; l. 7]; its members fight against each other. Who is this perverse body? It is the Church, two-headed because of discord and greed (ll. 11–15). Any creature, human or animal, born with two heads would be considered monstrous. And Deschamps goes on to spell out the effects of this unnatural state: schism and war. Only repentance can save us, but in truth it is the secular princes, cast in the role of Theseus, who must "throw this monster out" [*mett[re] defors/Ce monstre ci*; ll. 42–43]. The *Envoy* addresses the king, who is implored—in a tautology—to abolish the Schism by finding "the truth of the true opinion" [*la verité du vray opinion*; l. 53]. This two-fold use of *truth* and *true* seems to indicate

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[66] "Catholic Christians turning their mother into a two-headed monster"; p. 94.

[67] For a longer treatment of these two ballades see Hélène Millet, "Le grand schisme d'Occident selon Eustache Deschamps: Un monstre prodigieux," in *Miracles, prodiges et merveilles au moyen âge: XXVe congrès de la S.H.M.E.S* (Paris, 1995), pp. 215–26. This passage is adapted from my *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, pp. 125–27.

that Deschamps believed at this time that the truth of the double papal election could still be retrieved—Clement VII was still alive—and used to resolve the Schism.

This hope is no longer evident in ballade 950, probably written after the subtraction of obedience in July 1398. Neither of the popes originally elected in 1378 is alive at this point. Neither Boniface IX in Italy nor Benedict XIII in Avignon has any intention of stepping down. But not much can be done by the French about Boniface, so the French ire is directed against Benedict and culminates in the subtraction of obedience. Apocalyptic imagery is prevalent in ballade 950. The bi-cephalic monster here has a double tongue; it is a poisonous snake, a precursor of the Antichrist; it corrupts the world around it. Most interesting is the origin of this monster that Hélène Millet traces back to the 15th and last prophecy in the *Ascende calve* series of the *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus* [*Prophecies of the Last Popes*], used by Bernard Alamant, bishop of Condom, in his treatise (finished in February 1399) supporting the French subtraction of obedience.[68] Alamant had played an important role in the Second Paris Council (May 1398), at which the subtraction of obedience was discussed and was finally decided on. Deschamps's ballade, then, is a poetic rendering of the striking images that emerged from the Pope Prophecies and entered the learned discourse of Bernard Alamant in the service of anti-Benedict XIII propaganda.

So far we have seen the Schism itself and the Church portrayed as monsters. The last manifestation of monstrosity in this section will be one of the popes himself: Urban VI often appears as the dragon of the Apocalypse. This is, of course, a partisan conceptualization of the Schism and the guilty party in its creation. It occurred frequently in manuscripts of the Pope Prophecies that were produced during the Great Schism. Plate XV of the Prophecies showed the *bestia terribilis*, reminiscent of the monster described in Revelation 12:3–4, who sports seven heads and

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[68] See Orit Schwartz and Robert E. Lerner, "Illuminated Propaganda: The Origins of the *Ascende calve* Pope Prophecies," *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994), 157–91; and Hélène Millet and Dominique Rigaux, "*Ascende calve*: Quand l'historien joue au prophète," *Studi medievali*, ser. 3.33 (1992), 695–719. They show that Alamant read the last of the Pope Prophecies as predicting the Great Schism. The Pope Prophecies, one of the most popular set of text in the Middle Ages, originated in the late 13th and first quarter of the 14th century. For a comprehensive study and a listing of the nearly 100 manuscripts still extant, see Hélène Millet, *"Il libro delle immagini dei papi": Storia di un testo profetico medievale* (Rome, 2002). For a study of the Pope Prophecies as they were interpreted in relation to the Great Schism, see my *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, pp. 166–78.

Fig. 2: The two-headed monster from the *Ascende calve*. Bildarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. MS 13648, folio 2v.

Fig. 3: The "terrible beast" often depicting Pope Urban VI. Plate XV from the Pope Prophecies, ed. Pasquilino. Venice: H. Porrus, 1589 (author's collection).

ten horns and with his tail "drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth." In a number of manuscripts and later printed editions, Urban is shown as a big, often red, dragon, although instead of the seven reptile heads he has a bearded human one. His tail ends in a serpent's head holding a sword, while his tail surrounds several stars.[69] Thus, although Urban died in 1389, these later images place Urban at the origin of the apocalyptic events of the Schism and thereby indict the Roman papacy as the perpetrator.

Urban's identity as the dragon of the Apocalypse fits in well with the final conceptualization of the Schism I would like to consider briefly in this chapter: the Schism in its relation to the end of times and as a marker of the period preceding the arrival of the Antichrist. Honoré Bovet places Pope Urban squarely into an apocalyptic scheme at the beginning of his *Arbre des batailles*. Speaking of Saint John's visions in the book of Revelation, Bovet explains:

> Saint Jehan vit une estoile laquelle fut tombée du ciel à la terre. Si vous declaire que ceste estoile fut Barthelemy archevesque de Bari…A ceste estoile fut donné la clef du puys d'abysme…la clef du puys d'abysme est avarice…[70]

Avarice, for Bovet, lay at the origin of Urban's usurpation of the papal throne. The opening of the pit equals Urban's creation of his college of cardinals, whose red hats signify the blood of schism and sacrilege. The cardinals' preaching becomes the smoke rising from the hellish abyss, sending dark clouds over all of Christendom. Thus the Schism signals the proximity of the end of times, and many people believed that this crisis presaged the arrival of the Antichrist.[71]

Eustache Deschamps also shows that the division of the Church could be seen as the ultimate natural and even cosmological disorder that could upset the very structure of heaven and earth. In a Latin *dictié* (no. 1260, 6:281–82) composed at the moment of the French withdrawal of obedience in 1398, he accuses Benedict XIII of desiring

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[69] For more background and context of this monster as well as the significance of the stars, see my *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, pp. 170–74.

[70] "Saint John saw a star that had fallen from the heavens to the earth. And I tell you that this star was Bartolomeo, archbishop of Bari (i.e., Pope Urban VI). To this star was given the key of the abyss…the key of the abyss is avarice"; *L'arbre des batailles*, ed. Nys, pp. 26–27.

[71] For an extended analysis of the nexus of the Great Schism, the end of times, and the Antichrist, see chapter 6 ("Prophets of the Great Schism") of my *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries.*

the reign of Antichrist. Playing on the pope's original name of Pedro de Luna, Deschamps describes the frigid domination of the moon [*luna*], which is cruel and contrary to charity [*frigidissimum,/Pessimumque contra caritatem*; ll. 11–12]. Body and soul are divided, and those who participate in the reign of the moon will burn in the fires of hell. In the following *dictié* (no. 1261, 6:282–83), Deschamps evokes earthquakes, corrupted air, infertility, and other natural disasters as the result of *divisio…, non unitas* (l. 18). The sun is one, he claims, not several. Saint Peter obtained one papal seat from God, not two; God made one pastor, not two. Thus it is the duty of every cleric to help abolish the Schism (l. 29). By placing the Great Schism into the context of the Apocalypse, poets such as Deschamps became prophets of the end of times. The division of the Church was the harbinger of the ultimate disaster, and only its quick abolition could save humanity.

Pierre d'Ailly, the most powerful and influential of the authors considered in this section,[72] spent a good part of his life thinking about the Schism in demonic and apocalyptic terms. In 1381, Pierre d'Ailly used the imaginative framework of a devilish letter to conceptualize the Great Schism as a kind of wish fulfillment of an evil personage, the devil, called here Leviathan. The *Epistola diaboli Leviathan ad pseudoprelates Ecclesie pro scismate confirmando* [*Letter From the Devil Leviathan to the Church's Pseudo-Prelates in Order to Preserve the Schism*] "seems to have enjoyed wide publicity."[73] In this satirical text, d'Ailly has the devil rejoice that the city of Jerusalem—representing Christendom, whose inhabitants had always been hostile to him—was now divided between different factions: "I am of Urban, I instead of Clement, and I am for the future general council" (p. 186). Other groups argue for an "agreement by arbitration" or for "the resignation of each" pope. This "city torn asunder," an image we encountered already several times, is for Leviathan a cause for great rejoicing (p. 186). The devil fears that a solution may be in the offing:

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[72] For a biography of d'Ailly, chancellor of the University of Paris (1389–95), bishop of Cambrai, a cardinal (1411–20), and one of the movers and shakers at the Council of Constance, see Bernard Guenée, *Between Church and State: The Lives of Four French Prelates in the Late Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1991), chapter 3.

[73] See Irvin W. Raymond, "D'Ailly's *Epistola Diaboli Leviathan*," *Church History* 22.3 (1953), 181–91. Parenthetical page references will be to Raymond's translation.

> Oh would that the frogs were satisfied with their own bogs! But they are not; on the contrary they cease not to croak with raucous voices from the depths of their mud "General Council! General Council!" What is to you, oh, sordid men, full of turmoil, loathsome creatures what is a general council to you? (p. 187)

In answer to that question, they answer that they want to repair the seamless tunic of the Church, torn asunder by the Schism. Leviathan's "frogs" or "sordid men" must of course be understood by antiphrasis as the good and wise councilors who, like Pierre d'Ailly himself, began to agitate early on for a general council, thus contravening the French king's strong support for Clement VII. Only a kingdom—or a Church—divided against itself can make Leviathan happy. This is why he calls upon his "soldiers and faithful ministers" to take up arms against the "profane persons" who cry out for a general council (p. 187).

Leviathan also tells his own story as one "who was once wealthy in the delights of paradise" but was exiled "from the mountain of the Lord" because of his insubordination and pride (p. 189). He founded for himself the city of Babylon, together with the "apostatic Church" (p. 185), and just when he was enjoying his possessions in peace and quiet, Jesus of Nazareth came to invade his kingdom and built a city for himself "that was the very opposite of mine, and hostile to it. I mean Jerusalem, the New City in which he began His Apostolic Church" (p. 185). Given the opposition between these two cities, we can see that the destruction of one of them, Jerusalem, that is being brought about by the Great Schism will ensure the total domination of the other, Leviathan's Babylon.

In this letter, d'Ailly thus conceptualizes the Schism as part of salvation history: nothing less than the future of Christianity is at stake. The devil is waiting and hoping for further missteps of the ecclesiastical leaders so that his victory will be complete. We find here the same ideas that animate d'Ailly's apocalyptic views in regard to the Schism, namely, that this crisis represents one of the many persecutions the Church has been subjected to over centuries and that it may even announce the coming of the Antichrist. The biting satire of Leviathan's letter was thus one variation of the connections between the Great Schism and the end of times d'Ailly developed over many decades.[74] As Louis Pascoe points out, in a sermon on Saint Francis, preached at the University of Paris

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[74] See Louis B. Pascoe, *Church and Reform: Bishops, Theologians, and Canon Lawyers in the Thought of Pierre d'Ailly (1351–1420)* (Leiden, 2005), chapter 1.

in October 1380, d'Ailly identifies the fifth persecution of the Church that follows "upon the pronouncement of the first woe by the eagle in Revelation 8:13 ... with the Great Western Schism" (Pascoe, p. 15). This persecution, in a parallel construction to the wounds and illness of the Church we analyzed above, is seen as a "persecution inflicted upon the Church not by external enemies but by the internal forces of moral decline" (Pascoe, p. 14).[75] D'Ailly's and other scholars' belief that the end of times was linked to the Schism found support in their exegesis of 2 Thessalonians 2:3, where Paul tells the Thessalonians that the "Son of Perdition," that is, the Antichrist, will not arrive until a big dissension or division has occurred in the Church. It took no great leap of the imagination to equate this dissension with the Great Schism.

In a later period, the Book of Revelation provided a dramatic image for d'Ailly's retrospective conceptualization of the Great Schism: the whore of Babylon. In his *De persecutionibus ecclesie*, written after the resolution of the Schism in 1418, d'Ailly looks back to this crisis and likens it to the woman astride a scarlet beast depicted in Revelation 17:3. The women is "drunk with the blood of the saints and of the martyrs and has a sign on her forehead, identifying the city of Babylon as the "mother of harlots and the earth's abominations" (Rev. 17:5–6). This image encapsulates the ideas of moral decline leading to the Schism, as well as the bloody confrontations that marked this conflict. But this vision ends with the binding of Satan in Revelation 20, which led d'Ailly to foresee "a period of peace and reformation for the church."[76] Thus, toward the end of his life, d'Ailly offers a rather positive outlook for the Church's immediate future.

While Louis Pascoe sees an ever-increasing preoccupation with the arrival of the Antichrist in d'Ailly's thought, Laura Ackerman Smoller argues for a diminishing anxiety on d'Ailly's part regarding the end of times. By 1414, she states, "the Schism was only one of a series of persecutions foretold by Revelation. After its conclusion there would be a reformation of the church and then the final onslaught of Antichrist, predicted once again for the astrologically significant year of 1789."[77] From the eve of the Council of Constance, d'Ailly thus points all the way to the French Revolution as the endpoint of history.

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[75] In *De falsis prophetis II* (before 1397), however, d'Ailly presents the Great Schism as the fourth persecution. See Pascoe, *Church and Reform*, p. 20.

[76] Laura Ackerman Smoller, *History, Prophecy, and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly (1350–1420)* (Princeton, 1994), p. 112.

[77] Smoller, *History, Prophecy, and the Stars*, p. 110.

Conclusion

The writers, both religious and lay, we encountered in this chapter clearly felt that they could make a difference with their works. A number of them addressed themselves directly to those rulers and churchmen whom they considered powerful enough to end the Schism. But were the solutions they proposed related to the conceptualizations and images they presented in their writings? Interestingly, most of the solutions can be grouped into only two categories: the call for a general council or for the *via cessionis*, the abdication of all popes, followed by a new election. If this is so, why did these thinkers use dramatic images of the wounded Church or the Church as adulteress and bigamist; of the Schism as corrupting illness, monster, and harbinger of the Apocalypse; of the popes as rapists or slave masters? Why did they construct dramas and complicated allegorical dream journeys? The answer must lie within the realm of emotion.

Each conceptualization of the Schism we have explored in this chapter assigns blame to various guilty parties. Rather than pointing a dry didactic finger at the culprits, our writers chose to engage the audience and have them live the horror of the Schism by eliciting emotional responses. By depicting the Church as a suffering mother or violated wife, poets could appeal to their audience's sense of outrage and urge them to seek justice for this suffering female figure. By showing the Schism as a mortal illness, poets used imagery with which most of their readers would be familiar. To seek the origin and cure for an epidemic would thus become a moral imperative that all readers should pursue. The use of monstrous images tapped into the medieval *imaginaire* of courageous knights fighting dragons as well as of pure virgin saints defeating these evil monsters. And who would not want to put off the coming Apocalypse and prevent the arrival of the Antichrist? That all this could be achieved by ending the Schism is the message our writers hoped to send.

WITNESS TO THE SCHISM:
THE WRITINGS OF HONORAT BOVET

Michael Hanly

The Great Schism stirred the ambition and ingenuity of the European clergy and nobility as it defied solution over almost 40 years. Scholars have documented the crucial contributions of major ecclesiastics such as Simon de Cramaud, Pierre d'Ailly, and Jean Gerson, as well as those of aristocrats on both sides of the Channel: the royal dukes Philip of Burgundy, Jean of Berry, Louis of Orléans, and John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.[1] Outside this circle labored hundreds of lesser-known figures, charged with tasks ranging from diplomatic missions to legistic research, who provided essential support to the major players and even tried their hand occasionally at influencing policy themselves. Such a one was Honorat Bovet, a Benedictine monk and prior of Selonnet in Provence, legist, diplomat, and author. Bovet's earliest work, the *Arbre des batailles* of 1389, earned him posthumous renown; in this work and

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[1] I wish to acknowledge Hélène Millet, distinguished colleague and generous collaborator, for many insights crucial to the arguments made here. Translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

Simon de Cramaud, Patriarch of Alexandria, was the major French ecclesiastical figure in the controversy over the obedience of the Gallican Church to the popes of Avignon. For the definitive study on his contributions, see Howard Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud and the Great Schism* (New Brunswick, 1983). On Pierre d'Ailly, see Louis B. Pascoe, *Church and Reform: Bishops, Theologians, and Canon Lawyers in the Thought of Pierre d'Ailly, 1351–1420* (Leiden, 2005); Bernard Guenée, *Between Church and State*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago and London, 1987), pp. 102–258; and Christopher Bellitto, "The Early Development of Pierre d'Ailly's Conciliarism," *Catholic Historical Review* 83 (1997), 217–32. On Gerson, see G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson, Apostle of Unity: His Church Politics and Ecclesiology*, trans. J. C. Grayson (Leiden, 1999); John B. Morrall, *Gerson and the Great Schism* (Manchester, 1960); and Gilbert Ouy, "Gerson et l'Angleterre, à propos d'un texte polémique retrouvé du Chancelier de Paris contre l'Université d'Oxford, 1396," in *Humanism in France*, ed. A. H. T. Levi (Manchester, 1970), pp. 43–81. On Burgundy, see Richard Vaughan, *Philip The Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State* (Cambridge, MA, 1962). On Berry, see René Lacour, *Le gouvernement de l'apanage de Jean, duc de Berry (1360–1416)* (Paris, 1934); and Françoise Lehoux, *Jean de France, Duc de Berri, sa vie, son action politique (1340–1416)*, 4 vols. (Paris: Picard), 1966–1968. On Orléans, see Eugene Jarry, *La vie politique de Louis de France, duc d'Orléans (1372–1407)* (Orléans, 1889). On John of Gaunt, see Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (New York, 1992).

in two other literary texts, he offers trenchant commentary on the the Schism at crucial moments in the last decade of the 14th century, as the court of France and the Gallican church struggled with the recalcitrance of popes in Avignon and Rome. Every episode in Bovet's adult life was shaped, usually for the worse, by some event inspired by the divide in the papacy, and his career itself indeed parallels the course of the Schism. His extant works, sincere attempts to steer western policy at a crucial moment, engage the central issues of the day with admirable rigor and courage. This chapter will concern itself with Bovet's role in Schism-related issues, especially those concerning the role of the French crown and the University of Paris in the three Paris councils that led to the French church's withdrawal of obedience in the summer of 1398.

The career of Honorat Bovet has been well detailed elsewhere.[2] He was born about 1350 in the viscounty of Valernes near Sisteron in the modern department of Alpes de Haute-Provence. His family was of the lesser nobility and was able to cover the costs of his education. One of the first documentary references to him occurs in a papal letter of 1368 sent from Rome: he may well have accompanied Pope Urban V, a fellow Benedictine and a great benefactor of the University of Montpellier where Bovet first studied, on his abortive journey there.[3] Bovet had most likely entered the order not long before this time and by 1371 had been appointed prior at Selonnet in the diocese of Embrun. By this time he was already "bachelier en décret" and would in time add a *license* and a doctorate in decrees to his credentials. Bovet's experience with the law is the most significant element in his intellectual background: it provided him with several important political opportunities and is pervasive both as theme and method in his literary productions.

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[2] See Michael Hanly and Hélène Millet, "Les batailles d'Honorat Bovet: Essai de biographie," *Romania* 114 (1996), 135–81; and a more concise treatment in the introduction to Hanly, ed. and trans., *Medieval Muslims, Jews, and Christians in Dialogue: The Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun of Honorat Bovet: A Critical Edition and English Translation* (Tempe, 2005), pp. 4–15.

[3] The letter is dated 20 February 1368; Michel and Anne-Marie Hayez, *Urbain V (1362–1370): Lettres communes (analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican)*, vol. 7 (Rome, 1981), n° 22864. Urban reached Rome on 16 October 1367; under pressure from the Italians and from the French cardinals, he returned to Avignon on 24 September 1370, dying three months later. He was succeeded, of course, by Gregory XI, whose death after his own return to Rome eight years later triggered the Schism.

In his *Somnium super materia scismatis* of 1394, Bovet's narrator claims to have been in Rome during Urban V's brief sojourn there (Ivor Arnold, ed., *L'apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun et le somnium super materia scismatis* (Paris: 1926), p. 76).

There is no record of Bovet's involvement in the events that initiated the Schism, but his early experience shows he would inevitably have been witness to many key incidents as the conflict in the Church expanded. In 1382, as a priest and *licensie en decrets*, Bovet was studying at the University of Avignon; over the next few years he participated in political affairs, first on behalf of the Provençals at the university and later on behalf of the Angevin dynasty in Provence.[4] In an episode described by Howard Kaminsky as "the first avatar of the *via facti*,"[5] Duke Louis I of Anjou, count of Provence, was adopted by Queen Joan as heir to her throne of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem in 1380, a move fomented by the French court's efforts to support Clement and remove Urban by force. The immediate result of this adoption, however, was the disinheritment of Giovanna's closest relative, Charles of Durazzo, who sided at once with the pope in Rome. The stage was set for decades of bloodshed and intrigue that began with the disastrous invasion of Italy by Louis I and was continued by his son Louis II and his widow Marie. In April of 1382, Bovet was chosen to present the case of the Provençal students at the University of Avignon to Duke Louis, and he apparently impressed the Angevins enough to earn placement on Louis's list of supplications to Clement one month later. Louis I died in Italy in September 1384, but Bovet continued to work for his son and widow: in 1385, he delivered another oration confirming the university's loyalty to the house of Anjou, and in the following year, he was sent by Marie to encourage support for her regime among communities in his native region. In October 1386, Bovet was awarded the doctorate in decrees from the University of Avignon by Jean le Fèvre, chancellor of Anjou and a principal of the Clementist party, and a brilliant career defending the Avignon papacy and its political allies seemed assured. However, the ever-widening implications of the Schism threw those prospects into uncertainty even as he was attracting the attention of the king of France, whose prerogatives and prestige would hereafter

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[4] Noël Valois, "Honoré Bonet, prieur de Salon," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 52 (1891), p. 3, presents an excerpt from list of supplicants presented to Pope Clement by Duke Louis I of Anjou (14 May 1382) that includes Bovet's name and titles: "Item Honorato Bonet, licenciato in decretis, presbitero…"

[5] Howard Kaminsky, "The Great Schism," in Michael Jones, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, 7 vols. (Cambridge and New York, 2000), 6:681. On 17 April 1379, Clement had granted Louis the right to conquer the "Kingdom of Adria," an area made up of much of the Papal States.

dominate Bovet's worldview and would form the centerpiece of his political writings.

Around this time, Bovet likely began writing the *Arbre des batailles*, which he dedicated to Charles VI; his reading of apocalyptic prophecy had convinced Bovet that the survival of Christianity depended on the young king. As Charles stopped at Avignon in the fall of 1389 during his royal progress toward Languedoc, it is likely that he was presented with a deluxe copy of Bovet's work. The *Arbre*, a treatise on the laws of war drawn largely from a treatise by the celebrated legal scholar Giovanni da Legnano, deals with the Schism briefly but harshly. In his opinion, it is not only England and France but also the Church itself that is at war, with itself; he finds this division to be even more dangerous than the wars between secular powers.[6] Bovet shows himself to be a staunch Clementist, condemning the Avignon pope's Roman rival for a variety of heinous offenses. In the first of his four sections, Bovet reviews Christian history as framed by the seven angels with seven trumpets from Revelation 8–9. He begins the 11th chapter of section one with the declaration that the 5th angel was Pope Urban V, a righteous leader who strove to keep the papal court free from simony. The star falling from heaven to earth in John's vision (Revelation 9:1–2), however, is Urban VI, Bartolomeo Prignano:

> Si vous declaire que ceste estoile fut Barthelemy archevesque de Bari et bien le vous monstreray clerement, car au ciel de l'Eglise le pape est le soleil comme celui qui enlumine toute la chrestienté se il est homme de sainte vie, vertueux et bon clerc comme il doit estre…En oultre dist icelle vision comment à ceste estoile fut donnée la clef du pays d'abysme. Or, voyons ce que ce veult dire. Je vous declaire que la clef du puys d'abysme est avarice, car ainsi comme en abysme est abondance de tous maulx ainsi de avarice viennent tous maulx et tous pechiez comme l'Escripture le tesmoigne: "*Avaritia radix omnium malorum*." Et par especial toute rapine et usurpation de seignorie non deuement conquise si comme d'un

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antipate lequel pour acquerir l'honneur du siecle veult maintenir celle dignité ce qui pas ne lui appartient…Et pour ce dont fault il consentir selon raison comment à ceste estoile, c'est à sçavoir celui Barthelemy lequel est tombé du ciel de l'Eglise a esté donnée la clef du puys d'abysme c'est à entendre d'avarice. En apres dist la vision comment il ouvrit le puys c'est à sçavoir d'avarice. Certes bien le demonstra clerement quant il fist cardinaulx lesquels pour acquerir l'honneur de cestui povre monde ne refuserent mie le chapel rouge, voire mais de quoy rouge, du sang du scisme et de sacrilege. Et pour icelui scisme renforcer il encommença de donner benefices et dignitez à toutes gens qui prendre en vouloient."[7]

This "Barthelemy," therefore, distributed offices so freely that the smoke of the abyss began to rise and spread. Bovet interprets this smoke (Revelation 9:2) as the preaching of Urban's followers, who accept all manner of ecclesiastical offices from him and then support his claim to the papacy in order to hold on to them. A great part of the Christian world has been infected by their greedy scheming: "Et si ont tant trouvé de mensonges et de cautelles et de faulx instrumens et de sceaulx contrefais que ils ont corrompu une grande partie du pays et des royaulmes de la sainte chrestienté."[8]

Bovet returns to the matter of the Schism at the end of his part 2. This section assembles a series of illustrative anecdotes from ancient history; the last is a brief mention of the foundation of Rome, in which Romulus and Remus are dismissed as tyrants. Turning from the Romans, he delineates the distinctions between *prince* and *tyrant*, and

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[7] "I say that this star was Bartholomew, Archbishop of Bari. And I will demonstrate this clearly, for in the sky of the Church the Pope is the sun, as being he who illuminates all Christendom—if he be a man of holy life, virtuous and a good clerk, as he should be…Further this vision says that to this star was given the key of the well of the abyss. Now let us see what this means. I say to you that the key of the well of the abyss is avarice, for, just as in the abyss there is abundance of all evils, so from avarice come all evils and all sins, as the Scripture witnesses: '*Avaritia radix omnium malorum*,' and especially all rapine and usurpation of lordship not duly acquired, as in the case of an antipope, who, to obtain worldly honor, wishes to preserve a dignity which does not belong to him…Hence we must agree, according to reason, that to this star, that is to say, to this Bartholomew, who fell from the sky of the Church, has been given the key of the well of the abyss, that is to say, avarice. Afterwards the vision tells us that he opened the well, that is, of avarice. He certainly showed us this clearly when he created cardinals, who, to acquire the honor of the world, did not refuse the red hat, and red with what?—with the blood of schism and sacrifice [*sic*—read *sacrilege*]. To strengthen the schism he began to bestow benefices and dignities on all those who wished to receive them"; *Arbre des batailles*, ed. Nys, p. 27, trans. Coopland, pp. 92–93.

[8] "They have invented so many lies and tricks and false instruments and counterfeit seals, that they have corrupted a great part of the countries and kingdoms of Holy Christendom"; *Arbre des batailles*, ed. Nys, p. 27, trans. Coopland, p. 93.

without referring to Urban by name, denounces the "antipope" and his followers once again for their tyranny and greed, and for the division these practices have brought to Christ's church:

> Et se vous voulez sçavoir quelle différence il y a entre prince et tyran monseigneur Jehan Andrieu le nous demonstre en une glose là où il dist ainsi: "Celui est vray prince qui toujours travaille pour le bien et commune utilité de son peuple et de tout son pays, mais celui qui est tyran regarde toujours au profict de sa bourse tant seulement et est toute son entente de penser dont et comment il puist emplir ses coffres sans lui challoir dont il vienne." Tout ainsi n'ont pas vraye jurisdiction nuls antipapes ne nuls antiprelats desquels plusieurs en a aujourd'huy en sainte Eglise dont est pitié, lesquels font plus le scisme pour avoir l'honneur de ce mechant monde et les dignitez de sainte Eglise que ne font les seculiers, car par leurs preschemens il sement le scisme, lequel ils ont tellement enraciné depuis qu'ils sont parvenus aux grandes dignitez de l'antipape que je ne voy chemin ne voye sans l'ayde de nostre Seigneur comment ils en puissent venir à aucune bonne fin à leur salut et de toute la chrestienté…Si ay tant de dueil de ce dire et de veoir l'estat en quoy et chrestienté et aussi la division en quoy est la sainte foy que quant il m'en souvient je ne sçay que je doye escripre.[9]

The final section of the *Arbre* opens with comments on the origins and the legality of war; it goes on, in 132 chapters, to consider various legal aspects of military and diplomatic practice. Chapter 83 poses the following question: "How can we maintain that the king of France is not subject to the emperor?" The topic allows Bovet to return to the matter of the Schism and to make his first claim of primacy for the French monarchy. Having just invoked Innocent III's bull *Per venerabilem*, the indispensable statement of the French king's independence from

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[9] "If you wish to know the difference between a prince and a tyrant, Master John Andrew informs us, in a gloss, saying: 'He is a good prince who works continually for the good and the common utility of his people and of his whole country; but he is a tyrant who regards only the profit of his purse, and whose whole thought is of how and with what he can fill his coffers without troubling as to whence his gain comes.' Thus no antipope and no antiprelate have true jurisdiction; and of these there are so many to-day in the Holy Church that it is pitiable. They, more than do the seculars, increase schism to obtain the honor of this wicked world and the dignities of Holy Church, for by their preaching they sow schism which they have rooted so deep since they arrived at the dignities of the antipope, that I see neither road nor way, without the aid of our Lord, by which they can come to any good for their salvation and for that of all Christendom…I have so much grief in saying this, and in seeing the state of Christendom and the division into which Holy Church has come, that when I remember it I do not know what to write"; *Arbre des batailles*, ed. Nys, p. 69, trans. Coopland, pp. 115–16.

imperial authority, Bovet now extols the monarchy as defender of the faith, and contrasts France's record with that of the Empire, reproached for its past support of schism:

> Je dy encore plus fort, car je ne croy pas que il soit expedient à la sainte Eglise ne à la chrestienté que le roy de France soit subget à l'empereur. Et veci la raison, car nous avons eu plusieurs scismes en l'Eglise qui est nostre mere et si ont desja esté vingt et ung antipapes et bien peu a esté de ceulx que l'empereur ne ait soustenu le scisme contre le vray pape et que tous les vrais papes ne s'en soient fuis en France à refuge et là le roy et le royaulme les a soustenus jusques à ce que ils fussent restablis en leur droit siege et estat deu. Pourquoy se le roy de France eust esté subget à l'empereur et le subget eust ainsi mal faict comme le seigneur, je vous demande en quel estat peust estre la foy de l'Eglise.[10]

The Empire, therefore, has been a breeding-ground for schism, while the realm of France remains the sanctuary for righteousness. Bovet continues his defense of the French crown by noting that the only Emperors who wrested French territories back from the Saracens had been of the blood of France, Charlemagne and his successors. He concludes the chapter by returning to the initial question of whether the kingdom of France ought to be subject to the Emperor, and ringingly reasserts the negative:

> En verité, nennil, car il a tousjours gardé et garde toute Chrestienté, la sainte Eglise et la foy de nostre seigneur Jhesucrist maintient en son estat. Dont il est par excellence de tous aultres rois catholiques nommé le roy tres chrestien et à bonne cause, car aussi il ne declina onques de la voye droite…Mais se j'ay sceu entendre les escriptures, je afferme de bonne foy avoir veu les histoires de plus de douze empereurs qui ont esté herites et scismatiques.[11]

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[10] "I say something stronger still, for I do not believe that it is expedient for the Holy Church, or for Christendom, that the King of France be subject to the Emperor. The reason is this: we have had many schisms in the Church which is our mother, and there have already been twenty-one antipopes, and in the case of but few of them can we say that the Emperor has not sustained the schism against the true Pope, and that the true popes have not been obliged to flee into France for refuge. There the King and the kingdom succoured them until they were re-established in their right seat and due estate. So if the King of France had been subject to the Emperor, and the subject had behaved as ill as the lord, I ask you what would be the condition of the Faith of the Church?"; *Arbre des batailles*, ed. Nys, pp. 188–89, trans. Coopland, pp. 177–78.

[11] "In truth, no, for it has always protected and still protects all Christendom, and maintains the Holy Church and the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ in their estate. Hence the King of France is, par excellence, named among all Catholic kings, the Very Christian King, and with good reason, for he has never left the right way…But if I have

Bovet here firmly establishes his belief in the French monarchy as "most Christian," a position that will organize his ordering of speakers in the *Somnium super materia scismatis* five years later (see below). This stance was bound to make him friends at the court of Paris, and in Avignon as well, since the king was still committed at this point to defending Clement and deposing Urban. He does indeed seem to have gained the support of Charles VI, which took the form of a royal pension[12] and a commission to join Pierre de Chevreuse, Ferry Cassinel, and the other royal *réformateurs* who would accompany the king to Languedoc.[13]

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well understood the histories, I affirm in good faith that I have seen the histories of more than twelve emperors who have been heretic and schismatic; and that it should be considered expedient to submit such a kingdom, and such a king, to an emperor of that sort, God forbid"; *Arbre des batailles*, ed. Nys, p. 189, trans. Coopland, p. 178. Jacques Krynen, *L'empire du roi: Idées et croyances politiques en France XIIIe–XVe siècle* (Paris, 1993), pp. 354–55 cites these same passages and comments that "cette utilisation anti-impériale de l'histoire et de la symbolique très chrétiennes ne peut être considérée comme un simple ornement du discours doctrinal. Elle traduit au contraire l'intensité d'une conscience indissociablement nationale et monarchique prompte à surélever la dignité du royaume et de son roi."

[12] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France [hereafter BNF] fonds français 21145, fol. 93, a 17th-century copy of an original that has probably been lost, dated 8 May 1398: "Je, Honore Bouvet, prieur de Salon, conseiller du Roy nostre sire, confesse avoir receu de Michiel Du Sablon, receveur general des aides ordonnees pour la guerre, 100 F à nous donnez pour un de gages ou pension que le Roy part lettres de 3 avril 1392 m'a donnez pour soutenir mon etat." The document is edited in Gilbert Ouy, "Honoré Bouvet (appelé à tort Bonet), prieur de Selonnet," *Romania* 85 (1959), 256.

[13] Bovet describes his role in this mission in the *Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun* of 1398: "Mais…ay je veu tant de choses en la commission qui fu jadis donnée au sire de Chevreuse es parties de Languedoc et de Guyenne, an laquelle je fuz par la voulenté du roy, sur lesquelles choses je desire veoir aucuns bons remedes, que je ne m'en tairay d'escripre ent aucune chosette en la fin de la fin de cestuy livre"; Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, Prose lines 249–54. The high-ranking participants in the mission are listed in *Histoire générale de Languedoc (avec des notes et les pièces justificatives)*, ed. [Dom] Claude Devic and [Dom] Joseph Vaissete, vol. 10 (Toulouse, 1840), col. 1791, "Ordonnance du roi Charles VI pour la réformation de Languedoc" (source: Compte du domaine de la sénéchaussée de Beaucaire de l'an 1389): "Confians à plain de sens, loyauté & diligence de nos amez & feaulz conseillers l'archevesque de Rheims, Pierre, seigneur de Chevreuse, & Jehan d'Estouteville, iceulx nos conseillers avons establis & ordenez & par la teneur de ces presentes lettres ordenons & etablissons, eux trois ensembles & les deux, reformateurs generaux pour tous nos pais de de Languedoc & duchie de Guienne…Donné à Avignon, le XXVII jour de janvier, l'an de grace MCCCLXXXIX & le X de nostre regne." As I have argued elsewhere (Michael Hanly, "Courtiers and Poets: An International Network of Literary Exchange," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 28 (1997), 305–32, here 318–20 and n. 82), Bovet's writings provide the only documentation for his participation in this and other events (see n. 18 below); nevertheless, there is no compelling reason to doubt him. Françoise Lehoux, for one, accepts at face value his claim to have served on the reform commission: "Le prieur de Selonnet, Honoré Bonet, qui a accompagné en Languedoc, après le 28 janvier

Their charge was to respond to reports of corruption and abuse committed by the government of Duke Jean of Berry, uncle of the king. Given his attachment to Provence, his affinities to its nobility, and his familiarity with political issues and figures, it is possible that, despite the prospect of advancement in the royal service, Bovet would have returned to Avignon after this first mission, seeing that the papal city at the time was quite a desirable location for someone with his talents and qualifications. It is clear, however, that his subsequent zeal for governmental reform derives from this experience in Languedoc, so even under more favorable circumstances this impulse might have driven him into the sphere of Paris. But in the end, he did not get to make the decision himself. His departure from Provence at this moment was necessitated by a political upheaval that was, like most things, a result of the "domino effect" started by the Schism in the papacy. Raymond Roger of Beaufort, the viscount of Turenne, was cousin to the lords who held the region of Bovet's birth and benefice. Turenne had been dispossessed of several territories given by Clement VII to the house of Anjou, so in 1389 this nobleman began to make war against pope and duke. He pillaged widely over a large area of Provence, doing so much damage that a visiting Italian merchant said that he "kept the whole region in darkness."[14] Bovet did not feel it was safe to return to Provence until after 1400, and he complained bitterly during his absence about Turenne's depradations. He might have had some cause to resent Clement as well, for it could be argued that his discomfiture had been caused by the pope's rather cavalier appropriation of Turenne's ancestral lands. Nevertheless, as a devoted servant of the king of France and apologist for royal policy, the prior of Selonnet continued to represent Clement's interests for several years to come.

His mission to Languedoc complete, Bovet was sent in the fall of 1391 to the southwest of France[15] and by March of the next year was

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1390, la commission de réformateurs dirigée par Pierre de Chevreuse, a signalé dans l'*Apparicion Jehan de Meun* un certain nombre d'abus qui'il avait pu constater de ses yeux…" *Jean de France, Duc de Berri*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1966), p. 249.

[14] Maurice Agulhon and Noël Coulet, *Histoire de Provence* (Paris, 1987), pp. 43–44. For more on Turenne, see Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, p. 226 n. 139; and for a full acount, see Noël Valois, "Raymond de Turenne et les papes d'Avignon (1386–1408)," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de France* 26 (1889), 215–76.

[15] BNF, P.O. 2626 Sanglier, dossier 58,417 n⁰ 7, 23 October 1391, is a receipt for the sum of 100 francs provided to Pierre Sanglier for "un voyage que le roi notre dit seigneur et son conseil lui font faire hastivement en compaignie de messire Honoré Bongnet, docteur en decrez, prieur de Sallon, ou pais de Gascongne, devers le comte

living in Paris. The division in the papacy had become a crucial sticking point in the relations between warring England and France, the two most powerful nations representing the opposing papal obediences. A peace conference took place at Amiens in the spring of 1392, and various strategies for dealing with the Schism came to the fore.[16] Charles VI sent his envoy Guillaume de Tignonville to Avignon before the conferences began to warn Clement VII that a date had been set for the meetings. Françoise Lehoux argues that Clement, irritated at this development, sent Bovet to Amiens on his behalf.[17] Bovet, a doctor of decrees and an expert in papal politics, was entrusted with defending the Clementist position before an English delegation led by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. Despite this important charge, Bovet's name—as was the case with his work in the Languedoc commission—does not appear along with those of the nobles and prelates in extant documents. His claim of participation, nevertheless, seems indisputable.[18] Bovet's arguments are recorded in a Latin dream vision, the *Somnium super materia scismatis*. Composed between late August and early October 1394, the text reflects the realities of the struggle during that summer, not during the early months of 1392.[19]

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d'Armignac…"; cited by Eugène Jarry, *La vie politique de Louis de France, duc d'Orléans (1372–1407)* (Orléans, 1889), p. 80 n. 1.

  [16] See Henri Moranvillé, "Conférences entre la France et l'Angleterre (1388–1393)," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 49 (1889), 371–72. Moranvillé emphasizes the opportunity the parties had to air religious grievances at Amiens, even if the conference did not succeed in settling anything politically.

  [17] Lehoux, *Jean de France, Duc de Berri*, 2:285–286, citing BNF Pièces originales 2828, Thignonville 4. Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, pp. 48–52, examines Clement's politics of obstruction.

  [18] This position is shared by both Noël Valois, *La France et le grand schisme d'Occident*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1896–1902), 2:320–22; and Edouard Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme d'Occident: Étude sur la politique religieuse de l'Angleterre sous Richard II (1378–1399)* (Paris, 1933), pp. 358–59. Neither doubts that Bovet's mission at Amiens took place; their only difference arises over an interpretation of the duke of Lancaster's arguments.

  [19] The text of the *Somnium* is transcribed, without notes, in *L'apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*, ed. Arnold, pp. 69–110. Patsy D. Glatt is preparing a critical edition and English translation of the work.

  Dating the *Somnium*: The political matters mentioned in the text indicate that the university's letter of 6 June 1394 (see n. 31 below) had already been delivered. Bovet begins the dream vision by saying he lay down on the Feast of St. Augustine, 28 August, and repeats that the dream takes place on this feast twice subsequently; it could be that this was the day he began writing. Pope Clement VII died on 24 September 1394; Paris learned of his death on 9 October; Bovet had finished about two thirds of the piece before he knew of Clement's death. Finally, four letters included with a copy of the text he sent to Avignon (see n. 65 below) are dated 2 November.

As the *Somnium*'s narrator lies contemplating the damage wrought by the ongoing schism, he has a vision of a sorrowful lady. She claims she once was shining and proud but now is woebegone, her garments rent and shredded, her back befouled with worms. The denunciation of schism expressed here is even more vehement than that in the *Arbre des batailles*: Bovet's Lady Ecclesia laments that she is widowed, rejected by her sons as well as former friends and acquaintances, all of whom have stood by and done nothing while the division endures. The dreamer asks how he can help; the lady points the way to a multi-storeyed palace, the dwelling place of these feckless friends and acquaintances, all scions of royal houses. The narrator is terrified at first that he will have to speak truth to great power.[20]

But he soon begins a journey through this great palace of the world, on a mission to find a solution to the Schism among the current rulers of Christian kingdoms. He interviews the kings of Navarre, Portugal, Scotland, Aragon, Spain (Léon-Castile), and Cyprus; none can help, and all bid him "ascend higher."[21] Next is the king of Hungary,[22] who defends Boniface IX (Urban having died in 1389) and dismisses his interlocutor as a schismatic. The dreamer objects, exhorting the king to engage in dialogue. He points out that Pope Clement has prevailed in every formal investigation that has been conducted; the king retorts that many distinguished churchmen, including Giovanni da Legnano, supported the pope in Rome. The narrator parries, claiming that the cardinals who abandoned Urban were even greater churchmen and that their election of Urban had been coerced by the Roman mob. The king, in his reply, marvels that Legnano, in his magisterial *De fletu ecclesie* of 1378, would not have arrived at this same conclusion. Bovet's narrator, finally, contends that Legnano's argumentation was incomplete and therefore in error because the jurist neglected to seek the testimony of the cardinals who had participated in Urban's election.[23] The king is

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[20] Arnold, ed., pp. 69–71.
[21] Arnold, ed., pp. 71–78.
[22] Arnold, ed., pp. 78–86.
[23] Arnold, ed., p. 86: "Et ego ad regem: 'Domine mi Rex, corrumpit affectio quandoque intellectum, et quandoque mala vel corrupta casus posicio, sed nec visum est michi quod in presenti materia affectio possit bene corrumpere bonum virum ubi agitur de statu Ecclesie matris nostre, sed mala posicio casus potissimum est in causa. Et ecce quare est ista. Ut opinor, vere nullo modo michi videtur quod casus possit haberi perfecte, antiquis dominis cardinalibus non auditis, quia ab illis panduntur et revelantur secreta que electionem primam infirmant, roborando secundam. Nam sicut ea que fiunt a monachis in suo capitulo nisi per eos sciri non possent, sic nec ea que

impressed with this point and allows the narrator to describe his vision of the sorrowing Ecclesia; nevertheless, due to the determination of his people to support Boniface and his obligation to defend them against the Turks, he dares not take up Clement's cause and asks the dreamer to proceed higher.

A brief interview with the young king of Jerusalem and Sicily (Louis II of Anjou) ensues, during which the narrator recalls his speech before him and his mother, Duchess Marie. Louis protests that he is too young and awaits the decision of the king of France.[24] The dreamer then arrives in the court of the king of England, in whose presence a lengthy debate over the opposing papal obediences is underway. An "ancient" English cleric argues fervently that the election of Urban was legal and binding—like a marriage—and should never have been abrogated. An "intrepid" French bishop counters that Urban came to the throne not through election but through intimidation, so that even the cardinals' letters proclaiming Urban's legitimacy soon afterward were to be discounted; the only legal election was the one they made at Fondi when not under duress, that of Clement. When the disputations are finished, the narrator humbly approaches the king, who welcomes him but asks him to return in the morning, having had enough of this topic for one day.[25]

The narrator returns to the palace the next day and asks the king of England if he may convey the message from Lady Ecclesia. The king consents but requires that the story be told in public and before the

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in electione summi pontificis evenerint non nisi per electores patefiunt, et quicunque, eis non auditis, judicare contendunt, usurpant Dei judicia que tantum judicant de occultis'" [And I said to the king, "My Lord King, sometimes one's feelings can distort understanding, and sometimes a bad or distorted presentation of a case can do it, but it seems to me that in the present matter, feelings could not distort a good man when it concerns the state of our mother the Church, but it is much more likely that a bad presentation of the case is at fault. And this is why it is so, as I think. Truly it seems to me that there is no way in which the case can be perfectly presented without first hearing the old Lord Cardinals, because from them are opened and revealed the secret things that make the first election invalid, thereby strengthening the second. For just as those things that are done by monks in their chapter could not be known except through them, so too the things that might have happened in the election of the supreme pontiff are not made known except through the electors, and all those who try to judge without hearing them are usurping the judgments of God, who alone judges secret things"]; *L'apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*, ed. Arnold, p. 86.

   [24]   Arnold, ed., pp. 86–87.
   [25]   Arnold, ed., pp. 87–90.

duke of Lancaster. Before the two preeminent Englishmen, the prior
recounts his vision of the sickly Ecclesia and pleads for assistance. The
king immediately defends the Urbanist stance, claiming that the English,
"for their honor,"[26] will never abandon their support of the pope of
Rome. The dreamer begins his reply by urging the king to reconsider
this position, because the continued inflexibility of both England could
make the Schism last forever. This division, in his eyes, is a scandal, a
threat to salvation, and an encouragement to the infidels. Christ offered
his life for us, he declares, and yet will our kings not give up the slightest
bit of their temporal honor for Christ or for his spouse, Ecclesia? Recall-
ing his arguments regarding France's historical resistance to schism in
his *Arbre des Batailles*, the prior claims that the Church now suffers
adversity because the king of England and the king of France—who
in the past always stood together against scandals of the faith, and
against the Saracen—are now divided.[27] The king's reply succinctly delin-
eates the main Urbanist objections: the French showed contempt for
other nations in declaring for Clement without consultation; the French
continue to dominate the possession and distribution of benefices; and
the Avignon court, surpassing all in its splendor and ostentation, has
incurred the envy of other clerics. He concludes by saying that one of
the factions represented here has to be wrong and that he suspects the
pomp and simony of ecclesiastics on both sides is responsible for the
difficulty in deciding on which is the righteous party.[28]

The duke of Lancaster begins to speak to the dreamer at this point,
asking if this is the prior who discussed these matters with him recently
at Amiens; the dreamer confirms that it is he. The prior then reminds
the duke of a concession he had made at Amiens: that the pope in
Rome, given the violence of the people, was not properly elected.[29] The
duke replies that this is so but that this was not all he had said there.
He had made the point that peace must be made between the two

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[26] Arnold, ed., p. 90: "pro honore nostro."
[27] Arnold, ed., p. 90.
[28] Arnold, ed., p. 90.
[29] Arnold, ed., pp. 91–92: "…dux incepit Lancastrie loqui, dicens: 'Nonne tu es ille
prior qui dudum Ambianis de hac materia fuisti michi loqutus?' Et ego: 'Utique, dom-
ine, quando eratis cum domino meo rege Francie pro tractatu, et prout scitis, postea
quod per raciones vestre Dominacioni monstravi qualiter per tumultum popularem
fuerat facta nominacio prima, vos in fine michi concessistis quod re vera non erat
bene electus ille de Roma.'"

kings before the problem with the two popes could be resolved, and he has asserted that Clement's election was bogus, too; he had argues that both of them should step down and make way for another pope.[30] Furthermore, says the duke, the king of England would never stand by and let Clement remain pope once Urban had been condemned. The conflict between England and France, he concludes, makes necessary the annulment of both elections. This dual abdication, he concludes, is what the University of Paris is recommending, after all, on the grounds that it is the safest and easiest solution to the problem.[31]

The dreaming narrator, betraying Bovet's actual distaste for the violence inherent in the *via cessionis*, then poses the following question: how can the duke, who agrees that the pope of Rome is a usurper, suggest that Clement, who has been chosen by the sacred college, be compelled to resign? Pope Clement's decision must be freely taken, just as the election of the Roman popes must be free from coercion. The prior resists, as well, the *via compromissi*, despite Clement's actual gravitation toward it as the lesser of several evils;[32] we already have the true pope, he argues, one who is championed by the university.[33] The pope may choose to submit himself to the judgment of others, but no

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[30] Arnold, ed., p. 92: "Tunc dux respondit: 'Carissime, verum dicis, sed multa alia subadjunxi. Tibi enim dixi quod quando inter reges pax esset, statim etiam haberemus unicum papam, ante non. Item quod ille de Roma non erat papa, sed nec Clemens fuerat bene electus, et quod ambo recederunt et fieret unus alter.'" As Kaminsky (*Simon de Cramaud*, p. 37) argues, "Other evidence supports Bovet's: while Gaunt [at the Leulinghen conference, 1393] told Cardinal Pedro de Luna [the future Benedict XIII] that peace between France and England would bring peace in the church more or less inevitably by forcing the Avignon cardinals to end the Schism (or be exterminated), this partisan formulation, due no doubt to the circumstances of the conversation, was replaced on other occasions by support for double abdication as Bouvet indicates: 'both should resign.'" In his note 24, Kaminsky (citing Martène & Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* [Paris, 1717] 2:124) adds that "Simon de Cramaud wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury ca. 1401 that he heard from 'many worth of belief' that the late duke of Lancaster 'always praised and approved' the *via cessionis*."

[31] Arnold, ed., p. 92: "Et hoc est, dixit dux, quod prosequitur potissime opinio Universitatis Parisiensis quod ambo renuntient, quia levior est et tutior illa via." See also Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, pp. 36–37 and n. 22. The text of the university's crucial letter of 6 June 1394, which laid out three "ways" to end the Schism, is printed in Bulaeus (C. E. du Boulay), *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1668), 4:687–96.

[32] Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, pp. 62–63, describes Clement's machinations in summer 1394.

[33] Arnold, ed., p. 92: "…presuppono nos verum papam habere quem etiam Universitatis talem coluit, colit et predicat."

mortal man may compel him, "because he, judging all men, is judged by no one, unless and only to the extent that he would be found a heretic."[34] He proclaims his firm belief in Clement's rights, and, conceding the logistical difficulties attendant upon such a course, provides for only one option: the calling of a general council, if such were deemed necessary.[35] In a statement that provides the precise date of this text's composition, the narrator observes that the calling of a council at this point might be less difficult than in previous times, because the death of Clement VII (16 September 1394) has just been confirmed. The case regarding the nomination or election of the surviving pope will proceed much more smoothly in the absence of his opponent, and even the *via compromissi*, he concedes, might be more easily implemented—as long as the Avignon cardinals do not elect a successor to Clement.[36] Bovet here adumbrates a number of papal-supremacist perspectives taken up three years later by his fellow jurist Raoul d'Oulmont, in a tract addressed to Charles VI.[37] What is more, his concession regarding the general council is one taken up at the time of the Third Paris Council in 1398, Simon de Cramaud's addition of the *via concilii generalis* to

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[34] Arnold, ed., p. 93: "Si autem papa hoc nolit, videtur clare quod nullus eum mortalium possit compellere, quia ipse cunctos homines judicans, a nullo est judicandus, nisi solum et dumtaxat si hereticus apareret." The statement paraphrases Gratian, *Decretum* D. 40 c. 6 *Si papa* (*Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Emil Friedberg, 2 vols. [Lipsiae, 1879–81], 1:146), which established the principle of papal immunity except in cases of heresy: "Huius culpas istic redarguere presumit mortalium nullus, quia cunctos ipse iudicaturus a nemine est iudicandus, nisi deprehendatur a fide devius" [No mortal shall presume to rebuke [the pope's] faults, for he who is to judge all is to be judged by non one, unless he is found straying from the faith]. The above translation is from Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050–1300* (Englewood Cliffs, 1964), p. 124; see his brief discussion of the influence of this canon on policy dealing with a heretic pope at pp. 119, 124–25, and for a more thorough analysis, his *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contributions of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 8–9, 60–67, 214–15. Four years later, Bovet would return to this theme, and this canon, in a note attached to his *Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun* (see n. 87 below).

[35] Arnold, ed., p. 93: "…nisi per generale consilium aliter ordinaretur."

[36] Arnold, ed., p. 95: "Sed qui totus mundus est jam attediatus de ista scisura, et omnes christiani desiderant unitatem, quia ista scribendo de morte domini Clementis facta est certitudo, levius potest consilium congregari, nam citius de electione sive nominatione superviventis terminabitur causa, quam causa fuisset terminata duorum, vel facilius sine odio renunciare poterit superstes quam si viveret concertator. Est etiam secunda levior, dum tamen non eligant domini cardinales, via, de qua superius, compromissi."

[37] Robert N. Swanson, *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism* (Cambridge and New York, 1979), pp. 116–19.

the *practica cessionis* in his ballot during the voting over the Substaction of Obedience.[38]

   After exhorting the English king once more to join with his French counterpart in terminating the Schism, the dreamer ascends to the court of the duke of Berry, so opulent it seems a king's residence, where the duke is just emerging from hearing mass on the Feast of St. Augustine. The prior tells the duke the story of Lady Ecclesia and expresses his wish that the Schism be resolved quickly. The duke, however, vigorously defends both the departed Clement and his brother Charles V's early protection of that pope. Berry, indeed, for a number of political reasons, was the strongest opponent at this time of the university's efforts to coerce the Avignon pope—the Monk of St.-Denis says, "he was heretofore Clement's foremost champion."[39] In this fictional interview, Berry argues that he feared that any repudiation of Clement would amount to a condemnation of his late brother, who had certainly been justified in providing shelter for Clement in his time of greatest danger; indeed, as we have seen above in passages from his *Arbre des Batailles*, it has been this defense of true popes that elevates the policy of French kings above the flawed practice of the emperors.[40] The duke refers to a copy of the *Arbre des batailles* that the prior had recently given him and, citing the story of a French bishop who had destroyed an antipope, reiterates his ardent motivation to end the Schism.[41] In

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[38] Kaminsky, "The Great Schism," p. 691: "Its function at first limited to the sphere of public relations, the scheme would ten years later become the programme of the Council of Pisa: the politics of the *via cessionis* were in fact the medium through which the conciliar idea had to pass before it could animate an actual council."

[39] Louis Bellaguet, ed. and trans., *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1840) 2:98 [hereafter RSD]: "hucusque pugil pro papa Clemente extitisset precipuus." For an account of Berry's various motivations and strategies regarding this phase of the Schism, see Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, pp. 32–64, notably pp. 42, 56–57, and 59; and Valois, *La France*, 2:413–15.

[40] Arnold, ed., pp. 97–98: "Nonne honorem nostri protegere oportuit devoti fratris, progenitoris regis, quem multi detractores elacerant, quia se sic subito pro collegio declaravit, non advertentes quo ivisset Romanus pontifex neque sanctum collegium fugatum ab omni lingua latina, nisi rex Carolus ipsos quam citius receptasset…Et rex, attento quod nisi ipse protegeret verum pontificem, sanctum collegium, et totam Romanam curiam cum omni eorum sequela, possent ab inimicis leviter conculcari, eidem vertitati adhesit, non carnis affectione, sed officio pietatis." For the cited passages from the *Arbre des batailles*, see above n. 10.

[41] Arnold, ed., p. 98; the episode, involving a Bishop Hilarius and a Pope Leo, does not appear in Nys's edition of the *Arbre des batailles*. The only Pope Leo, in any case, who could even vaguely be termed an "antipope" would have been Leo VIII (963–65), and no Hilarius figures in his story (Charles G. Herbermann, et al., eds., *The Catholic*

a outburst greatly at odds with the duke's actual behavior—earlier in that summer, he had told the university delegation he would have them killed and thrown in the river if they continued their agitations—Berry bristles at those who would question his dedication to union in the papacy: "Woe to them who disparage us, saying that we obstructed the unity for which we yearn with all our heart!"[42] Since this literary portrait presents Berry, at least on the face of it, in a flattering light, Bovet is either more optimistic about the duke's sincerity than his behavior would warrant or is merely taking a prudent course here with a major player. Whatever the case, Berry's protestations indicate what was then the consensus at the court of Paris: that the duke, at least at this point in the early autumn of 1394, was as much interested in profiting from the Schism as he was in terminating it.

Berry directs the dreamer to consult his brother, the duke of Burgundy. Finding him coming from a dinner, the prior exhorts the Burgundy to greater action on behalf of suffering Ecclesia, so that there might be one pope and so that Jews and Saracens might no longer deride the Christians.[43] But despite the restraint evident in his address to Berry, Bovet here drops any semblance of discretion: after the narrator briefly describes Burgundy as a true friend of the Church, the duke—who unlike the elder prince had a reputation as a staunch proponent of

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Encyclopedia, vol. 9 [New York, 1913], p. 160). Berry indeed did possess a copy of the *Arbre des batailles* (Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits*, 3 vols. [Paris, 1881], 3:193). A copy of the *Somnium* also appeared in a catalogue of his library; see n. 58 below. Noël Valois, who discovered this text and wrote the first article about it ("Un ouvrage inédit d'Honoré Bonet, Prieur de Salon," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* 27 (1890), 193–228; here, pp. 202–03), observes that the portraits of the royal dukes are plausible: consider such details as Berry emerging from a mass, or Burgundy from a banquet. The praise he offers them, furthermore, transgresses neither by exaggeration nor by uniformity. I would offer only one qualification. He observes (p. 203 n. 1) that Bovet's critical portrait of Burgundy must mean they were not friends, especially since Bovet later dedicated the *Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun* to his enemy Louis of Orléans. This comment overlooks the fact that Bovet also dedicated a copy to Burgundy (Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, p. 8). The portrait here clearly would not have improved Bovet's standing with Burgundy, but his dedication of a copy of the *Apparicion* to the duke shows that Bovet, perhaps unrealistically, still sought favor with Philip, a fact that makes his *Somnium* portrait all the more curious for its temerity.

[42] RSD 2:132: "…addidit quod, nisi resipiscerent ab inceptis, huius temeritatis consiliarios principales destrui faceret et submergi." *L'apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*, ed. Arnold, p. 98: "Ve etiam eis qui nobis detrahunt quod impediverimus unitatem quam totis visceribus peroptamus!" Cited in Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, p. 57 n. 102.

[43] Arnold, ed., p. 100: "…ut sit inter christianos unus pastor unaque fides, ne ultro de nobis rideant Ebreus et Macometicus Sarrasenus."

union—describes himself in the dream vision as a sybarite.[44] It is not clear what caused Bovet to develop this impression of Philip the Bold, nor why he would wish to censure him, unless it was to magnify by comparison his brother's importance at court and, more to the point, in the matter of the Schism; Berry was, after all, a more significant force in the contest between Paris and Avignon at the time.[45] The narrator takes care, at least, to close the portrait on a positive note: Bovet's Burgundy expresses his own determination to overcome the lukewarmness of the clergy and work ardently to end the Schism before asking the dreamer to ascend to his final interlocutor.[46]

At last in the court of the "most Christian king," the prior, one last time, recounts his vision of Ecclesia and then charges his lord to bestir himself to put an end at once to this disastrous division in the Church.[47] Since the prior has thought about these issues a great deal, the young king asks him to offer his opinion on the Schism. The jubilant dreamer launches into a detailed refutation of the arguments for the *via facti*, reprising some of the points he made to the duke of Lancaster earlier and adding his personal objection: clerics, who do not bear arms, should not be in the business of causing others to do so.[48] He revisits the "three ways" propagated by the University of Paris and recapitulates

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[44] Arnold, ed., p. 99: "…ipsumque amicum experimentum probaverat Ecclesie fuisse…"; p. 100: "Venacio nobis hactenus placuit; gaudebamus mimos et ystriones audire; non respuebamus aliquando pompas et delicias corporales." See Hanly, "Courtiers and Poets," pp. 320–21. Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, p. 42 n. 42, finds it extraordinary that Bovet, in this passage, "does *not* present the figure of Burgundy as having been active for union up to August 1394, but rather the reverse…"

[45] Valois, *La France*, 2:412–13: Burgundy was in Artois and Flanders, trying to turn his subjects away from Boniface and thus leaving the field open for the obstructive policies of Louis of Orléans (who sought a renewal of the *via facti*) and Berry. See Kaminsky, Simon de Cramaud, p. 59 n. 108, for a skeptical take on this reading of Burgundy, for which the Monk of St.-Denis is the only contemporary source.

[46] Arnold, ed., p. 100: "Sed ex quo nunc videmus quod in unitatem Ecclesie clerus est et fuit sic diu tepidus, et parte ex alia crevimus quod rex studet in hac unitate ardenti cum desiderio, certus esto quod nos in hoc actu erimus vigiles et facti hec evidencia demonstrabit."

[47] Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, p. 118 and n. 25, describes the particular use of the "most Christian king" theme in discussions of the Schism (*L'apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*, ed. Arnold, p. 102) and mentions Bovet's *Somnium* as a noteworthy example.

[48] Arnold, ed., p. 103: "Ego vero semper fui hic opinioni contrarius, sed nec michi videtur posse hoc scisma tolli per arma…clericus inexpertus cito produxit innumerabiles exercitus qui, cum armorum labores et remotam viam non recogitat, ipse vero non vellet ibi assistere."

the transgressions committed by Clement and his cardinals that the king of England saw as instigating the Schism.[49] Finally, he exhorts Charles to write a series of letters: first to the cardinals in Avignon, hoping that they will not have elected a successor yet, which he feels would not be the will of God;[50] another to the pope in Rome;[51] then others to the other Christian kings, bewailing once again the mockery that our faith is suffering at the hands of Jews and Saracens;[52] and a final one to the people of Rome, extolling their glorious history and begging their advice on approaches to ending this Schism.[53]

Bovet's literary embassy, the *Somnium*, was intended to function in the same way as the letters his narrator encourages King Charles to dispatch. If he was to have any chance of swaying opinion at this crucial juncture, he would need to move very quickly to get copies of this text into the hands of the movers and shakers in Paris and in Avignon. After hearing a plea from the university—with whose positions Bovet's text largely coincides—the king, for his part, did in fact write to the cardinals exhorting them not to proceed with an election.[54] Despite these urgent entreaties, the cardinals, as expected, on 28 September 1394 elected a new pope who, along with the college, swore a conclave oath to end the Schism by any method necessary.[55] It is into this turbulent state of affairs that Bovet attempts to insinuate his hortatory text. His strategies for disseminating the ideas he recorded in the *Somnium* can

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[49] See n. 27 above.

[50] Arnold, ed., p. 104: "Est igitur ista opinio mea ut primo vos scribatis sancto collegio cardinalium, nunc sede vacante, vel casu qui elegerint, quod opinione mea nolit Deus, electo et eis, qualiter ipsi velint inter se de viis et remediis huius pestis perquirere et vobis quam poterunt citius nunciare."

[51] Arnold, ed., pp. 105–06.

[52] Arnold, ed., pp. 106–07.

[53] Arnold, ed., pp. 107–09.

[54] RSD 2:192–96. The university asked that the king request the Avignon cardinals to delay their election, that he advocate the *via cessionis*, that a council (drawn from the clergy, the university, and the merchant class) be called to consider the best way of proceeding, that the king write to "the usurper Boniface" and his adherents in Rome, and that the clergy pray for the healing of the Schism. For its part, the university promised to write to other universities and to receive opinions on this matter. Bovet at this point was still generally resistant to forced abdication, but he would agree on the council and clearly desired a delay of the Avignon election.

[55] The new pope's coronation took place on 11 October. The events surrounding the election of Benedict XIII are recorded by the Monk of St.-Denis (RSD 2:198–202) and analyzed by Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, pp. 111–13, and Swanson, *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism*, pp. 90–91.

be gleaned from a few scraps of evidence surrounding the manuscripts of the text, both extant and lost. Two rough copies on paper have survived, embedded in collections of texts and documents dealing with the Schism: Paris, BNF lat. 14643 fols. 285 r–289r, and Vatican City, ASV Armarium 54, vol. 21, fols. 73 r–90 r. Bovet certainly intended for one copy to go to Benedict, and indeed a catalogue of the pontifical library at Avignon mentions "[Item…inti]tulatus Sompnium prioris de Sallone super materia scismatis…" It is described as being bound in red leather,[56] and therefore it could be neither the untidy paper Vatican copy nor the Paris exemplar, which is patently incomplete.[57] It would stand to reason that Bovet would also want to garner the support of Jean of Berry, who was Clement's strongest defender and remained the most powerful member of the French aristocracy. Another lost copy is recorded in an inventory of Berry's library: "un livre du songe du prieur d'Asalon sur le fait du Scisme de l'Eglise."[58] Two of the principals

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[56] Maurice Faucon, *La librairie des papes d'Avignon*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1887), 2:35: "[Item…inti]tulatus Sompnium prioris de Sallone super materia scismatis [nunc cur]rentis, coopertus de rubeo." Cited in Gilbert Ouy, "Une maquette de manuscrit à peintures (Paris, BN lat. 14643, fols. 269–283v, Honoré Bouvet, *Somnium prioris de Sallono super materia Scismatis*, 1394)," *Mélanges d'histoire du livre et des bibliothèques offers à Monsieur Frantz Calot* (Paris, 1960), pp. 43–51, here pp. 48–49. Valois, "Un ouvrage inédit," p. 212 n. 1, points out that this entry proves the catalogue cited here was executed under Benedict XIII, not Clement VII, as Faucon (1:59) had concluded.

[57] Ouy, "Une maquette de manuscrit à peintures," provides a brilliant study of this remarkable text: it is a true "maquette," a rare example of a mock-up executed for the scribe and illustrator, as opposed to an almost-complete manuscript in which the atelier has neglected to erase the instructions for illustrations. The comments here, in square spaces indicating the position for the later pictures, gives all the information for the *mise-en-page*. The manuscript in which it appears is a gathering of documents regarding decisions made by the University of Paris regarding the Schism from 1394–95. Ouy also offers the theory, based on his paleographical study, that Jean Gerson assembled the documents for lat. 14643 and even provided the marginal directions in the text of the *Somnium*; this finding is contested by Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, p. 175 n. 90. The manuscript is also described, with illustration, by Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven, 1992), p. 165 n. 29.

[58] Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907), 2:259, #225. Part 2 of Delisle's study includes books owned by Charles's brother, Jean of Berry. It is tantalizing to think that this manuscript, which was ornamented with Berry's ducal arms on the first folio, might have been the illuminated copy whose maquette survives as BNF lat. 14643, but as Ouy (p. 48) observes, such a deluxe copy would have cost more than the 2 livres, 10 sous recorded for the book in the Berry inventory. Ouy notes, finally, that another Berry manuscript could have been a *Somnium* redone in French: "un livre en francois, de lettre de court, que fit le prieur d'Asalon, de l'union de l'Eglise" (Delisle, *Recherches* 2:259, #224).

in the struggle over the papacy, therefore, actually received copies of this work.

But the fate of the other rough copy is also illustrative of Bovet's designs. On 9 October Paris heard the news of Benedict's election and his oath to end the Schism. Charles VI did not doubt the new pope's good intentions, and on 23 October the king and the university wrote to Benedict, praising the cardinals' choice, and exhorting him to waste no time in putting an end to this division in the Church.[59] It was during this brief "honeymoon" period, before Paris became convinced of his intransigence and seemed to be giving Benedict the benefit of the doubt, that Bovet sent his chaplain to Avignon with two copies of the *Somnium super materia scismatis*. While the presentation copy ended up in the pontifical library, the more humble one was likely offered to Benedict's fellow Spaniard and steadfast ally, Martin de Zalba, "cardinal" of Pamplona and a member of the Avignon conclave.[60] It is now conserved in the indispensable *Libri de Schismate* in the Vatican Archives, a compilation undertaken by Zalba himself.[61] In the years and months to come, the cardinal would be the most powerful voice of resistance to Benedict's forced acceptance of the *voie de cession*.[62]

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[59] Swanson, *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism*, pp. 90–91, citing RSD 2:206–219.

[60] Zalba had been bishop of Pamplona since 16 December 1377 (Bull "Aposolatus officium," Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano Registra avenionensia 202, fol. 89v; cited in José Goñi Gaztambide, *Los obispos de Pamplona del Siglo XIV* (Pamplona, 1962), p. 313 and n. 34. He was not named named cardinal, however, until 23 July 1390 (ASV *Oblationes et Solutiones* vol. 43, fol. 133v; Gaztambide, *Los obispos de Pamplona*, p. 337 n. 172).

[61] Leslie Macfarlane, "An English Account of the Election of Urban VI (1378)," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 26 (1953), 75–85, notes that the contents of Armarium 54 "are of fundamental importance for the history of the Great Schism 1378–1417. Vols. 14–39 are the chancery copies of the actual depositions taken down from the supporters of both Urban VI and Clement VII for the Spanish kings within the first few years of the outbreak of the Schism, and many of them are vivid eyewitness accounts of the disputed election of April 8, 1378." Cited in Francis X. Blouin, Jr., ed, *Vatican Archives: An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See* (Oxford, 1998), p. 338. The contents of these *Libri de Schismate* (vols. 14–48) have been described by Michael Seidlmayer "Die spanischen 'Libri de Schismate' des Vatikanischen Archivs," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* (Spanischen Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, Reihe I) Band 8 (Münster, 1940), pp. 199–262. Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, p. 109 n. 1, cites another work by Seidlmayer (*Die Anfänge des grossen abendländischen Schismas* [Münster, 1940], pp. 195–228), which characterizes the *Libri de Schismate* as "the great documentary working tool" assembled by Martin de Zalba, mostly in the 1390s, to assist Benedict in his fight to retain the papacy.

[62] Valois, *La France*, 3:62, describes the final audience in the papal palace (8 July 1395) during which, in the presence of the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Orléans,

There are some curious aspects to the presence of this manuscript in the Vatican collection. Bovet's chaplain having simply turned the book over to Zalba would represent a fairly substantial faux-pas, given that it contains copies of four personal letters and is so far from presentation-copy quality that a note, likely in Bovet's own hand, appears on the last folio: "Opus male scriptum et incorrectum."[63] The only plausible explanation would be that Zalba was the intended recipient. As Hélène Millet and I have shown,[64] one of four personal letters copied on to the back of the first folio of the Vatican manuscript is addressed to a prelate who is able to approach Pope Benedict regularly in his chambers and whom Bovet had believed to be in Spain.[65] Zalba had indeed returned from Navarre in June 1393,[66] an arrival that Bovet, in Paris, could easily have missed. Bovet insists that he would have had a proper copy made for the cardinal had he known of his presence in Avignon; what little he has been able to write since the king's illness, he has sent to the pope, which writing Zalba will be able to see in his chambers. We have no record of a reply from Zalba, and his tireless defense of the Avignon papacy right up until the time of his death in 1403 shows that he was as little impressed with the unionist arguments presented in the *Somnium* as the pope was. But Benedict had sworn to end the Schism, and the Cardinal had been one of the authors of the *cedula*

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the assembled cardinals called upon Benedict to accept, among other conditions, the *voie de cession*—all except Zalba. Kaminsky (*Simon de Cramaud*, p. 140), describing the venality of the Avignon cardinalate, notes that only Zalba would remain faithful to Benedict when faced with the choice between him and the Valois. Finally, Kaminsky (*Simon de Cramaud*, p. 142, citing Gaztambide, *Los obispos de Pamplona*, pp. 311–16 and passim) shows that while Zalba's independence "may have been reinforced by the fact that most of his benefices, including the bishopric of Pamplona, lay in Navarre [and thus out of reach of Gallican/Valois retaliation], it was actually a personal trait; even before he had been made cardinal, he had had the courage to stand up to Urban VI in 1378 on two occasions, telling that pope to his face that he was no pope and should step down." Zalba expected the cardinals to act as a college, not as individuals along with the royal dukes; and for him, the best way to unify the papacy was not the way of cession—which would disgrace all those who support or who had supported the pope of Avignon—but, rather, by driving out Boniface by force.

[63] ASV Arm. 54, vol. 21, fol. 90 vº.

[64] Hanly and Millet, pp. 168–69.

[65] ASV Arm. 54, vol. 21, fol. 90 vº: "Et si scivicem [*sic*] vos esse in curia, misissem copiam Vestre Paternitati; sed esse in Ispania vos credebam. Verum, Pater Reverende, post Regis infirmitatem nichil hic perfeci; et cetera nunc tacenda: sed illa que pauca scribo Domino nostro, credo, videbitis, ex quo estis in Camera sua, de quo Deum benignum exoro." Edited in Valois, "Un ouvrage inédit," p. 216.

[66] Gaztambide, *Los obispos de Pamplona*, p. 344.

containing that conclave oath,[67] so Bovet's optimism was not as naïve as it might seem on the face of it. In any case, he was certainly not the only person misled and disappointed by Benedict and company in the aftermath of this election. Over the next four years, Paris would move from disillusionment to outright anger, and the tepid calls for dual abdication would become a clamor for stronger measures.

The university convoked a formal assembly on this matter in 1395 and another in 1396; these first two Paris Councils accomplished nothing of substance and led the way to the third, in the summer of 1398, during which a decision would be reached to withdraw obedience from Benedict.[68] Bovet, as a Provençal, clearly had no standing to participate in these deliberations, but he remained in Paris and very closely observed the political scene. He had become involved with the circle of Charles's younger brother, Louis of Orléans, and his wife Valentina Visconti, rather a hazardous alliance for one of his low rank at this juncture, given that Louis did not yet have the power base to contend with his uncles: he not only wanted to increase his riches as they had but also stood to gain much from an implementation of the *via facti*, which Berry and Burgundy opposed. Louis and his reformist "Marmousets" had been quite influential at court after Charles VI attained his majority in 1388. Bovet had served with one of their number during their royal commission to Languedoc in 1390, Pierre de Chevreuse.[69] Led by Olivier de Clisson, the constable of France, they were able to effect the removal of the royal uncles in 1388; however, once Pierre de Craon had made an attempt on Clisson, resulting in Charles VI's punitive mission and the onset of his mental illness, the uncles were able to chase Clisson from court permanently and thus end the influence of the Marmousets, some of whose bourgeois members were imprisoned.[70] In his last known work, the *Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*, Bovet shows his engagement with the most signficant persons and events and makes evident as well the evolution of his stance regarding the Avignon papacy. Once more adopting the popular dream-vision form, he presents a debate between four figures drawn

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[67] Valois, *La France*, 3:50 and n. 2.
[68] Kaminsky, "The Great Schism," p. 689: "The *via cessionis* would now be extended to "subtracion of obedience," with obedience understood primarily in its reified sense as the rights and revenues that the pope enjoyed in the French Church."
[69] See discussion above and n. 13.
[70] See John Bell Henneman, "Who Were the Marmousets?" *Medieval Prosopography* 5 (1984), 19–63.

from contemporary Parisian society, moderated by the spirit of Jean de Meun, in whose former house, the Hôtel de Tournelle, Bovet was currently residing. The narrator is once again "The Prior," who joins the speakers in offering sometimes trenchant criticisms about western society. The poem is a fervent and urgent call for Christianity, led by France, to reform itself and thereby heal the various divisions an angry God has visited upon the West, most notably militant Islam (seen as a schismatic Christian group), and the Schism. As the ghost of Jean de Meun proclaims in the opening of the vision, the approach of the year 1400 evokes apocalyptic prophecies which bode ill indeed given the contemporary state of affairs:

> Les premisses n'en sont pas belles,
> Quant l'eglise est ainsy noire
> Et les Sarrazins ont victoire…[71]

The Battle of Nicopolis, a degrading defeat and massacre of western forces at the hands of the Turks in September 1396, is a sign of imminent disaster; it is positioned alongside another grave danger, the Western Schism, which has blackened the reputation of Christ's Church. Throughout the poem, and oftimes through a series of Latin marginalia which he attached as learned commentary on the narrative, Bovet returns to his central theme: Christianity must undergo a painstaking internal reform if it is to survive. Reform had to begin with the Church, and this meant ending the Schism, which had been going on now for 20 years. Once this atonement had been completed, the danger lurking at the borders of Christendom—Islam—would disappear.

The most significant speeches in the poem are delivered by a Dominican friar called "le Jacobin" and by "le Sarrazin," an aristocratic Muslim emissary. The Sarrazin speaks first, and reports that during his reconnaissance mission through the Christian West, he visited Rome, where people think the French are schismatics; he marvels that there can be this much divergence in one faith:

> Sire, je suy passés par Romme,
> Celle qui fut jadiz en somme
> La plus puissant cité du monde.
> Or meschante gent le revironde,

[71] "The omens are not good,
   When the Church is so sullied,
   And the Saracens are victorious…"; Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, ll. 32–34.

> Ou j'ay ouy par pluiseurs foys
> Parler aux Rommains des Françoys.
> Mais c'estoit bien vilainemant;
> llz les prisent moins que neant,
> Car ilz les ont pour scysmatiques.
> C'est dont erreur sur les articles
> Que vous tenez en vostre foy.
> N'estes vous dont tous d'une loy
> Entre vous et les dis Rommains?
> Par Mahommet, je suy certains
> Que quant nostre gent bien saura
> Ce descord qui entre vous va,
> Ilz n'auront doubte ne paour
> De Crestienté mettre en cremour…[72]

The Sarrazin's criticisms are comprehensive, covering abuses by jail-ers, married couples, royal officers, merchants, and including a very entertaining excursus (ll. 412–591) on the decadence of the French military. But he returns to the matter of the Schism near the end of his discourse, presenting a devastating report on the ostentation of the papal court in Rome. He witnessed astonishing luxury there, the most expensive clothes, the most extravagant meals (ll. 840–65). But it is not Boniface himself who supports this lifestyle, he finds, but rather the wealthy cardinals themselves:

> Ilz sont, se je n'ay mal compté,
> Treize portans chappeaulx rouges
> Qui tiennent l'estat, sans mensonges,
> Plus curieux que roys du monde,
> Plus net servy, hostel plus blonde,
> Et fors que bien pou chevauchier
> Ilz n'ont paine ne grant dangier.

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[72] "My lord, I went through Rome,
Which was in years gone by
The most powerful city on earth.
But now wicked people congregate there,
And I heard them many times,
These Romans, speaking about the French.
But it was always quite contemptously;
They consider the French to be less than nothing,
Because they hold them to be schismatic.
There is, then, an error in the beliefs
Held by your religion.
Are you not all held under one law,
You and the Romans?"

Et sy vouldroye bien savoir[73]
Dont leur vient tant qu'ilz ont d'avoir,
Car tout un monde seroit las
De soustenir tant grans estas.
Encor vouldroye bien savoirs
S'ilz sont emperieres ou roys,
Car s'ilz estoient hommez d'eglise,
Ce seroit une pompe nice…[74]

The Sarrazin concludes by asking (ll. 893–94) how these cardinals came to be so rich and powerful. The Jacobin first presents a thorough defense of his order, whose members were barred from University of Paris at the time Bovet was composing the *Apparicion*: the Aragonese Dominican Juan de Monzon had publicly denied the doctrine of the Blessed Virgin Mary's Immaculate Conception, leading to his own excommunication and flight, as well as to subsequent sanctions against

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[73] "By Mohammed, I am sure
That when our people find out
What discord there exists between you,
They will not doubt or fear
That they can strike terror in Christianity…"; Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*,
ll. 354–71.
Bovet appends a marginal gloss to l. 373, at the word *erreur*. The Sarrazin here insinuates that the existence of two popes and the resulting antagonism between their followers must signify an essential error in Christian doctrine. Bovet replies by citing a canon and its gloss: the law is one and unblemished even if contemporary prelates defy it, and mutual abdication can be the solution to the papal schism: "Pro tanto est error, quia etiam ex causa necessitatis duo pape esse non possunt" [This error is so great, because even in case of necessity there cannot be two popes]; Gratian, *Decretum* C. 7 q. 1 c. 12 *Non autem* (*Corpus juris canonici*, ed. Friedberg, 1:571). The gloss accompanying this canon adds that the pope could renounce his office, a timely notion given the strength of support for the *via cessionis* at the time. See Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, pp. 196–97 n. 55.
[74] "There are, if my count is not mistaken,
Thirteen wearing red cardinal's hats
Who maintain this estate, and that's no lie;
More greedy than worldly kings,
More pampered, and with such spotless residences,
And except for the few times they have to mount a horse,
They know neither discomfort nor great danger.
And I would really like to know
From whence comes all their wealth,
Because it would make the whole world tired
To maintain such extravagant lifestyles.
And I would also like to know
If they be emperors or kings,
Because if they are clergymen,
It would be a rather silly practice…" Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, ll. 874–88.

his order which would persist until 1403.[75] He then gives a brief history of prelates at the papal court, showing how they at one time could live within their means, up to the time the cardinals gained the right to elect the pope:

> Et sy furent bien longuement
> En cel humble istement,
> Tant que par tort des faulx Romains
> Fut ostee hors de leurs mains
> L'eleccion, vaquant la chaere,
> Laquel Romains avoient entiere.
> Lors l'eleccion nostre saint pere
> Sy fut mise, pour elle fere,
> Aux cardinaulx pour pape nommer,
> Dont comencerent eulx d'essaucer,
> Tant que d'eulx evesques seigneurs
> Ont depuis fait leurs serviteurs.
> Sy dirent a nostre saint pere
> Qu'il pouoit toutes choses fere
> Quant prindrent le rouge chappel.[76]

By invoking an 11th-century episode in the struggle between papacy and empire, Bovet's speaker obliquely reproaches a more recent generation

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[75] See Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, p. 210 n. 95.

[76] "And so for a very long time they were
In this humble state of affairs,
Until the dishonest Romans, as a result of their own evil,
Had the right of election—
The papal throne being vacant—taken from their hands,
Which heretofore had belonged to the Romans exclusively.
Then, the election of our Holy Father
Was given over
To the cardinals, who would choose the new pope;
Because of this, they began to exalt themselves,
To such an extent that, for them, our lords the bishops
Since then have been their servants.
Indeed, they told our Holy Father
That they could do anything
When they put on the red hat"; Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, ll. 1073–87.
See Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, p. 214 n. 91. The Jacobin is referring to the reform of papal elections undertaken by Pope Nicholas II in 1059. The Holy Roman Emperor, with the consultation of the Roman people and clergy, had up to this time possessed the power to elect the new pope; the Lateran Synod produced a document (Gratian, *Decretum* D. 23 c. *In nomine Domini*, *Corpus juris canonici*, ed. Friedberg, 1:77–79) that Brian Tierney calls "a declaration of independence by the reformed papacy directed against both the imperial power and the factions of the Roman nobility that had often manipulated papal elections in the past" (*Crisis*, p. 36). The Jacobin concerns himself only with the actions of the Roman nobles here.

of Romans for their role in the events of 1378. But Bovet's censure is not restricted to Rome. For if the Sarrazin has not been to Avignon, the Jacobin has, and whereas the Sarrazin was asked specifically to describe conditions at Boniface's court in Rome, the Jacobin speaks generally of the corruption in the cardinalate and evinces Bovet's more aggressive stance toward prelates of both obediences whose intransigence is perpetuating the Schism. The Jacobin presents the cardinals' fraud in a transhistorical context, at once describing this vice as contemporary, and as responsible for past catastrophes: institutional greed and the "tyranny" that rises from attachment to riches caused the Schism with the eastern Church (ll. 1134–52), and even for the rise of Islam, which is termed both heresy and schism (ll. 1153–92). But in this section, he presents a scathing review of prelatical practices that calls to mind the condemnations offered by John of Gaunt and others in the *Somnium*:

> Sy firent reserver dignités
> …………………
> Et trestout quanque vient aprés.
> Ly pappes le fist voulentiers
> Pour estre seigneur par entiers.
> Les cardinaulx trouverent l'art
> Pour ce qu'en eussent leur part,
> Et pour eulx et pour leurs amis
> Avoir l'Eglise a leur devis.
> S'en ont tant pris a toutes mains
> Que par le monde les plus grans
> Ont ilz euz pour leurs amis
> Ou pour eulx, tout a leur devis.
> N'alasses en court riens querir,
> Se ce ne fust a leur plaisir;
> Ne dy pas, fussent courratiers
> Pour aucuns en prenant deniers.[77]

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[77] "Indeed, they have benefices reserved for them
……………………
And everything that comes after.
The pope does this willingly
So he can have dominion over everyone.
The cardinals invented the art
Of always getting their share of the goods,
Both for them and their friends,
Of having the Church at their disposal.
Indeed, they have taken so much, with both hands,
That they have the most powerful people in the world

Although taking care to air these shocking criticisms through the intermediary of a literary character, Bovet still is not bold enough to name names, his reference to "les plus grans," those who befriend the cardinals so as to benefit from their largesse, surely calls to mind the French royal dukes and their opposite numbers in Boniface's entourage. All of Christianity is responsible for its current depravity, as the speakers have shown in their criticisms of everyone from presumptuous bourgeois to grasping popes. But Bovet realized that reform has to start at the top, and so chose to dedicate the presentation copies of this poem to four of the most powerful people in the court of Paris: Duke Louis of Orléans; his wife, Duchess Valentina; Louis's chief councillor, the Marmouset Jean de Montaigu; and Duke Philip of Burgundy.[78] In the introductions, these nobles are personally exhorted to do whatever is necessary to reform Christianity. Their complicity in the prolongation of the Schism is here discreetly raised, with the expectation that they will humbly turn away from the fraudulent practices that have brought on the rebuke.

The Jacobin, still responding to the Sarrazin, tells him he has recounted these anecdotes as evidence that the popes and cardinals are richer than his leader, Bayezid ("votre Bazat," l. 1203),[79] and are despoiling all of Christianity. The Jacobin declares that moment has arrived to put and end to this evil:

> Mais je croy, le temps est venus
> Qu'ilz ne en seront plus creuz,
> Car ly mondes voit par exprez
> Leurs oultrages et leurs excez,
> Sy feront tant princes et clers
> Que, puis qu'ilz ont fait droit envers,

As their friends,
Or on their side—everything their hearts desire.
Do not go to court to ask for anything
Unless it be something that would please them;
Do not tell them that accepting bribes
Makes them brokers to those who give them"; Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, ll. 1093, 1096–1110.

[78] The copies offered to Louis and Philip are lost, but the introduction to Louis is preserved in the Montaigu manuscript, that to Burgundy in a mid-15th-century redaction. See Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, pp. 25–30.

[79] Bayezid I (Bajazet) led the victorious Turkish force at Nicopolis, so the mention of his name barely 15 months after the battle would be quite provocative to Bovet's audience. His success, incidentally, was short-lived: in July 1402, his army was destroyed by the Mongol horde of Timur (Tamerlane), and Bayezid died in captivity.

llz retourneront l'envers droit,
Pour ce que chascun aye droit
…………………
Tel avarice tient l'abisme
D'enfer et sy engendre scisme.
Avarice tous biens decline
Et de tout mal est la racine.[80]

Bovet still blames Urban, not Clement, for instigating the Schism; indeed, this reference to "l'abisme" recalls his description of Urban ("Barthelemy"), the star who fell from the skies and was given the key to the abyss.[81] As he concludes his response to the Sarrazin's observations on the disunity in the Church, he describes the Schism itself as an "abyss" and makes very clear how much traction the *via cessionis* has gained among thoughtful and moderate theologians such as Bovet:

il a tout premierement
Parlé largement de la scysme:
La matiere est un abisme
A mon adviz, sur cestuy fet,
Car il est cler a tout discret
Qu'il n'y a que une seule voye,
De cession; mais pas non l'ottroye
L'un ne l'autre des debatans.
Dont est difficulté sy grans
Que, se Dieux les roys n'enlumine
Et la Vierge de grace pleine,
De les laissier com maulx Crestiens,

---

[80] "But I believe that the time has come
When they will no longer be believed,
For the world sees very clearly
Their misdeeds and their luxuriance,
And since Rome has turned the law upside down,
Many princes and clergy
Will turn the law back the proper way
So that everyone will have rights again
…………………………
Such greed comes from the abyss
Of hell, and thus began the schism.
Greed degrades all things good,
And is the root of all evil"; Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, ll. 1236–1243, 1248–1251.

[81] See discussion above and n. 7. Compare as well ll. 1250–51 with a passage in the *Arbre des batailles* (ed. Nys, p. 27, l. 11) shortly after the mention of Barthelemy: "De avarice viennent tous maulx et tous pechiez, comme l'Escripture le tesmoigne: *Avaritia radix omnium malorum.*"

Cest scisme durera long temps.
France a commencié de faire
Son devoir pour le fait atraire
A la vraye conclusion.
Or fault, pour avoir union,
Les autres roys faire ainsy
Le cas pareil, ou je vous dy
Qu'il fauldra par voye de fait
Les Rommains, com jadiz fut fait,
Mettre en tel melancolie
Qu'ilz recongnoissent leur folie.[82]

The other two "ways" have been discarded, except for the reference to the *via facti* (l. 1332) as a last resort for dealing with the Romans if they resist dual abdication.[83] However, in what seems an echo of the outrage and frustration suffered by the University of Paris since before the death of Clement, the Jacobin complains that neither pope will agree to this

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[82] "Firstly, he has
Spoken broadly about the schism.
The matter is an abyss,
In my judgment, surrounding this matter,
Because it is clear to any reasonable person
That there is only one way,
That of concession; but this course is not authorized
By either one of the rival popes.
The difficulty, therefore, is so great
That if the kings receive no enlightenment from God
And from the Virgin, too, who is full of grace,
To discard those popes as bad Christians,
This schism will last a long time.
France has begun to do
Her duty to bring this matter
To a legitimate conclusion.
What is missing now, if we are to have union,
Is for the other kings to do, in this matter,
The same thing, or I tell you
That it will become necessary, by the way of force,
To put the Romans—as was done in the past—
Into such desolation
That they will become aware of their madness"; Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, ll. 1313–35.

[83] In the long prose passage spoken by the "prior" character, which closes the *Apparicion*, Bovet lets on that he fears he might be too hard on Benedict's court: "By my faith, my lord, I have heard much of what was said, but the criticisms are weighty and I fear that they could be taken to be more severe than they really are, and that some people…might take them as being written with the intention of harming other people, especially the cardinals in the court of Rome." Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, Prose lines 151–55.

logical course. Appealing once again for action by the nobility, Bovet's
speaker insists that European kings must recognize that these popes are
malefactors, "maulx Crestiens," and expel them, lest the Schism go on
forever. To amplify the point, the author attaches a marginal note to
line 1328, citing a canon from a section in Gratian's *Decretum* dealing
with the removal of those who mislead the flock of Christ and foment
division in the Church.[84] The Jacobin here gives voice to the impatience
of the French clergy and shows their resolve: France has now begun
to do her duty and has taken measures to put a legitimate end to the
Schism, a direct reference to General Assembly of the French clergy,
which voted on 23 July 1398 to withdraw the French Church's obedi-
ence from Benedict XIII. The realm of France, it seems, would once
again take the lead in combatting division in the Church. Bovet, for
his part, would not have been able to join in the casting of ballots in
July 1398, but he had been collaborating nevertheless with one of the
major figures in the drive toward union and the leader of the conciliar
movement in the next decade: Simon de Cramaud.

   After the dedications in the manuscript he presented to Jean de
Montaigu, Bovet inserts a Latin disquisition that covers two full folio
sides.[85] Bovet claims to have covered the topic at length elsewhere, in
the lost manuscript presented to Louis d'Orléans.[86] The note begins,

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   [84] Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, p. 219 n. 123: Gratian, *Decretum* C. 24. q. 1 c. 25
Quoniam vetus (*Corpus juris canonici*, ed. Friedberg, 1:975). The language of the cited
phrase recalls the description of "Barthelemy" in the *Arbre des batailles*: "Videtur imple-
tum quod scriptum est: 'Nunc in occidente sol justicie oritur, in oriente autem Lucifer
ille, qui secidit [ceciderat], supra sidera posuit tronum suum.'" [What was written seems
to be fulfilled: "Now in the West the sun of justice rises, while in the East that Lucifer
(Morning Star) who fell has placed his throne above the stars"]. On the Withdrawal
of Obedience, see Hélène Millet and Emmanuel Poulle, eds., *Le vote de la soustraction
d'obédience en 1398*, vol. 1: *Introduction, édition et facsimiles des bulletins de vote* (Paris,
1988); Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, esp. chapters 6 and 7; and Kaminsky, *Simon de
Cramaud's "De substractione obediencie"* (Cambridge, MA, 1984).
   [85] Paris, BNF 810, fols. 2 v°–3 r°. The entire note is published in Hanly, ed. and
trans., *Apparicion*, Appendix Seven, pp. 250–58.
   [86] Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, p. 215 n. 111: "In libro domini mei Aurelian-
ensis tractavi materiam istam plenissime, et idcirco in isto, causa brevitatis, omitto" [I
dealt fully with this material in the book of my lord of Orléans, and therefore, for the
sake of brevity, I omit it in this book]. Given Bovet's current and future connection
with Louis (see below, note 96), one wonders exactly what aspects of papal authority
Bovet treated so fully in the lost manuscript. As Howard Kaminsky shows (*Simon de
Cramaud*, chapters 5–7), Louis's defense of Benedict was not terribly strong before the
Third Paris Council (1398); he was, after all, only 26 years old at the point; but over
time he became known as one of Benedict's most vocal proponents, and even led the
charge for the restoration of obedience by the French clergy in 1403. Therefore, Bovet

"For examining the materials to be treated in this book, and also because I was requested not long ago by the Lord Patriarch, it seems necessary to discuss the following questions."[87] He thus claims to have been consulted by Cramaud, titular Latin patriarch of Alexandria and leader of French bishops, on a delicate legal problem that arose during the Third Paris Council in 1398. The French delegates were charged with deciding whether or not to continue their allegiance to Benedict XIII, and among the matters under discussion would have been the one raised here by Bovet: could the French church appeal a decision by the pope? University clerics were apprehensive that Benedict could pronounce some harsh sentence on the kingdom of France in retaliation for their withdrawal of obedience, and this, perhaps, is the eventuality that Cramaud wished Bovet to prepare him for. How can one, then, appeal a decision by a sovereign pontiff whom no mortal may question? Bovet himself had considered similar arguments in defending Clement, in his *Somnium* four years earlier: "If…the pope does not wish this, it seems obvious that nothing mortal can force him, because he, judging all men, is judged by no one, unless and only in so much as he is found a heretic."[88] Mustering, in Kaminsky's felicitous phrase, "the ponderous apparatus of a star canonist,"[89] Bovet assembles 40 citations from canon and civil law and their commentaries in an ingenious response covering 67 long lines, and he decides in the affirmative.

The centerpiece of this *casus* is Bovet's clever example—reinforced with a citation from Gregory IX's *Decretals*—that involves the pope, the bishopric of Paris, and the king of England's nephew:

> For if we posit that the see of Paris is vacant and the war of England against France continues, and that the pope creates the nephew of the king of England as bishop of Paris, by common law the prince can recuse

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seems once again to be swimming upstream: his text includes an argument proving the right to appeal a pope's decision, and is presented to an ambitious aristocrat who would not welcome the information. It may be a token of Louis's broad-mindedness, or even of his sincere affection for this lowly prior, finally, that the duke continued to be associated with Bovet even after receiving this potentially inflammatory Latin note, embedded in a poem crowded with criticisms of an avaricious chivalric class.

[87] "Pro evidencia materiarum in hoc libello tractatarum et etiam pro eo quia per dominum patriarcham super eis scribere fui, diu non est, requisitus, videntur necessario disputande questiones subsequentes."

[88] Once again, Bovet's language parallels that of Gratian, *Decretum* D. 40 c. 6 *Si papa* (*Corpus juris canonici*, ed. Friedberg, 1:146). See discussion above and n. 34.

[89] Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, p. 128, in reference to Pierre Leroy, a canonist and speaker at the First Paris Council of 1395.

him as a notorious enemy. If he says this to the pope, and the pope does not wish to hear it, the question is: can an appeal be properly made from him? It is clearly proved that it can: the pope is subject to the Gospel and the law of Christ, from which none of the faithful is exempt…[90]

Citing the Gospel rather than canon law for once, Bovet goes on to argue that such behavior would go against common charity, and earn the pontiff a brotherly rebuke:

Therefore, he is subject to the teaching of his superior: "If thy brother shall offend against thee, go and rebuke him," etc. [Matt. 18:15]. Because to say that the pope is out of the bounds of the faithful would be absurd. If therefore he is unwilling to listen to kings when there is a complaint against him, the king should say it to the Church [Matt. 18.17]. And what will that church be, except a "college," that is, the Gallican church along with the English church?…And if the pope refuses to hear the Gallican church, should not the king hold him "as the heathen and publican" [Matt. 18:17]? Certainly, yes. For though the pope holds the key of power, it should be ruled and wielded through the key of discretion; otherwise, if he were to bind a king without discretion, his sentence would be null; if, for instance, he excommunicated a king for giving alms or for visiting the sick in a hospital.[91]

Here is the synthesis of Bovet's argumentation on the Schism in the summer of 1398: the pope is not outside the law of Christ, and the application of the law, even in a case not concerning the evil of heresy, is the shared business of Christian kings and clergy. Bovet blazed the

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[90] "Pone enim quod, vacante sede Parisiensi, currente guerra Anglie contra Franciam, nepotem regis Anglie creat episcopum Parisiensem, jure communi princeps potest episcopum recusare ut notorium hostem; et dicit hoc pape; papa non vult hec audire. Queritur an debite appelletur ab eo et clare probatur quod sic. Papa subest evangelio et legi Christi, a qua nullus fidelis est exemptus…"; Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, Appendix Seven, p. 255.

[91] "Igitur subest doctrine superioris sui: 'Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, corripe eum,' etc. [Matt. 18:15]. Quia dicere quod papa esset extra finitatem fidelium esset absurdus. Si ergo non vult reges audire cum de ipso conqueritur, debet dicere rex istud ecclesie [Matt. 18:17]. Et que erit ista ecclesia, nisi collegium, vel ecclesia gallicana cum ecclesia anglicana? ([si] istam ad monicionem canonicam non audiret…). Et si audire recusat papa ecclesiam gallicanam, numquid rex papam habebit 'sicut ethnicus et publicanus' [Matt. 18:17]? Certe, sic. Quia licet papa habeant clavem potestatis, illa tantum debet regi et gubernari per clavem discrecionis; alias si indiscrete regem ligaret sua sententia nichil esset, sicut si regem excommunicaret quia elemosinam facit vel quia visitat in hospitali infirmos"; Hanly, ed. and trans., *Apparicion*, Appendix Seven, pp. 255–56. On the concept of *denuntiatio evangelica* as a remedy for correction of faults (*ratione peccati*), see Stephan Kuttner, *Harmony from Dissonance: An Interpretation of Medieval Canon Law* (Latrobe, 1960), pp. 44–45.

trail here for an appeal that, in fact, was never made,[92] but he had nevertheless established his *bona fides* as a proponent of the new policy of withdrawal. And like many others who had once defended the claims of the Avignon papacy, he soon found himself on a mission to a foreign court, in an attempt to bring that king into the substractionist fold.[93] Perhaps ironically, this was one of the few rulers not visited by Bovet in his *Somnium* of 1394.

His destination was Prague and the court of Wenceslas IV, king of the Romans. Bovet's speech, entitled "Da nobis auxilium de tribulatione," was delivered in summer 1400, a clear defense of the French church's decision to withdraw obedience from Benedict XIII.[94] Bovet clearly outlined the policies determined by the Third Paris Council and concluded by refuting the three main objections he had heard raised in Wenceslas's court: that the king should not persist, like his father, in perpetuating the Schism; that obstinate popes were not above the law, and obedience could indeed be withdrawn from them; and that the French had not left the obedience of Avignon to join that of Rome.[95] But however well Bovet might have argued, his work was all for nought, since Wenceslas was deposed in August of the same year. And the several months spent waiting in Prague for the propitious moment to deliver his address turned out to be quite costly for him personally: in his absence, he had been elected abbot of the important Benedictine abbey of Ile-Barbe near Lyon, but failing to return there in time to take possession of the job, he found himself replaced, a victim of internal politics.[96]

If Bovet turned his hand to literature once more in the service of Church unity, that text has not survived. He persisted both in working to solve the Schism, however, and in the service of Louis of Orléans.

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[92] Hanly and Millet, "Les batailles d'Honorat Bovet," p. 171.

[93] Bovet himself had called for this kind of diplomacy in the *Apparicion*, l. 1330; see above n. 81.

[94] This discourse was published by K. Höfler, ed., *Geschichtsschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung in Böhmen* (Fontes rerum Austriacarum: Österreichische Geschichts-Quellen, Erste Abteilung [Scriptores]) 6. 2 (Vienna, 1865), pp. 174–87; and more recently by F. M. Bartos, *Autograf M. J. Husi* (Bibliothecae Clementinae Analecta) 4 (Prague, 1954). Incidentally, the young secretary who transcribed the speech was none other than Jan Hus.

[95] Hanly and Millet, "Les batailles d'Honorat Bovet," p. 173, citing Höfler, *Discours*, p. 186.

[96] N. A. R. Wright, "Honoré Bouvet and the Abbey of Ile-Barbe," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 39 (1972), 113–26.

He is next seen in December 1401, returning from Avignon with a letter intended for Louis from Benedict XIII, who is once again showing the influence of Cardinal Martin de Zalba by resolutely resisting the calling of a council.[97] In 1406, Bovet appears on a list of royal councillors,[98] and he ends his career at the Council of Pisa in the summer of 1409, a representative of Provence and procuror of the abbey that elected and then rejected him (Ile-Barbe), voting to depose Benedict and Gregory XII.[99] No later documents record his activities, and in her *Livre d'armes et de chevalerie* of 1410, Christine de Pizan has a vision of the departed Bovet, who offers his *Arbre des batailles* as support for her own composition.[100]

Had Honorat Bovet lived another eight years, as an old man he would likely have served at the Council of Constance and witnessed the final reunion of the Church in Martin V. It would have been fitting that he live to see this resolution and share in that fulfillment. After all, his professional career was continually jolted by events leading up to or themselves spawned by Schism: his first service in the company of Urban V in the time of the futile journey to Rome, Louis of Anjou's assault on "Adria," Raymond of Turenne's depredations in Provence, the conference at Amiens, the illness of King Charles and the fall of the Marmousets, the three Paris Councils, his mission to Prague and simultaneous deposition at Ile-Barbe, and finally the chaos of Pisa. Throughout this tumultuous life, Bovet clung to his beliefs in monarchy and union, and he wielded his talents as canonist and theologian in composing original responses to the pressing issues of his time. These were offered to Church and governmental leaders in a sincere attempt

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[97] Valois, *La France* 3:254, publishes this letter of 15 December 1401: "venit ad me prior Sellionis cum pulcerrimis litteris vestris…"; ASV Armarium C, fascicle 79.

[98] Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches du Rhône, B9, fol. 138.

[99] Hélène Millet, "Les français du royaume au Concile de Pise (1409)," *Crises et réformes dans l'Église de la réforme grégorienne à la préréforme*, 115e Congrès national des sociétés savantes (Avignon, 1990), pp. 259–285, here p. 280.

[100] Christine describes her vision of Bovet: "un tres sollempnel homme d'abit, de chiere et de maintien d'un pesant ancien sage auttorisié juge…" This figure claims he has come to assist her in the writing of the book: "Chiere amie Christine…suis cy venu pour estre en ton ayde…Et…est bon que tu cueilles sur l'arbre des batailles qui est en mon jardin aucuns fruiz et que d'iceulx tu uses" (BNF MS français 603, fol. 49 rº). One manuscript of the *Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 9009–9011, fol. 181 vº) contains a miniature depicting the tonsured, black-cloaked Bovet appearing to Christine as she lies in her bed. The illumination is reproduced in Lucie Schaefer, "Die Illustrationen zu den Handschriften der Christine de Pisan," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 10 (1937), 119–208.

to bring Christianity back from the brink of the abyss. His appeals did not succeed at any point in changing the direction of events, except perhaps in incurring the displeasure of the powerful. Nevertheless, the engagement with theories and policies regarding the Great Schism recorded in his extant writings offer vivid testimony about the participation of mid-level diplomats in its resolution, and a priceless witness to the era's most consequential events.

BYZANTIUM, ISLAM, AND THE GREAT WESTERN SCHISM

Michael A. Ryan

In 1398, as the Great Western Schism ravaged the theological landscape of western Christendom, the French author Honoré Bovet (*c.* 1345–*c.* 1410), wrote a most intriguing work. In his *L'apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun*, dedicated to Valentina Visconti, the duchess of Orléans, Bonet penned an allegory in which four "outsiders" from French society—a physician, a Jew, a Muslim, and a Jacobin (a Dominican friar)—address an anonymous sleeping prior. In his dream, the prior, a character who represented Bovet, listened to the other characters' perceptions and criticisms of the present state of affairs of western Christendom.[1] The work, a 14th-century French vernacular combination of prose and rhyming poetry, is both a literary account of the political events that shaped late medieval Europe and a telling criticism of the forces that allowed the situation of the Great Western Schism to continue. The Great Western Schism was a crisis of enormous magnitude in an era characterized by other profound crises. Indeed, Laura Ackerman Smoller has described the crisis of the Schism as being the most salient crisis to afflict late medieval Christendom, and Hélène Millet has demonstrated that some medieval Europeans reckoned it as a truly monstrous event.[2]

Bovet's dream allegory, which I discuss further below, illustrates well the central theme of this present chapter: that of the view of the Great Western Schism by those who lived "outside" of western Christendom. Specifically, I discuss the perception of the Schism by individuals

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[1] Michael Hanly, ed. and trans., *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: The Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun of Honorat Bovet* (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 283) (Tempe, 2005) [hereafter Hanly, *The Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*]. For the original French publication, see Ivor Arnold, ed., *L'Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun et le Somnium super materia scismatis* (Paris, 1926). Two other copies of this manuscript were dedicated, respectively, to Louis de Orléans and Jean de Montaigu, counselor to Charles V and Charles VI. See Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, 2006), p. 147.

[2] Laura Ackerman Smoller, *History, Prophecy, and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly, 1350–1420* (Princeton, 1994), p. 4. Hélène Millet, "Le grand schisme d'occident selon Eustache Deschamps: Un monstre prodigieux," in *Miracles, prodiges et merveilles au moyen âge: Actes du XXVe congrès de la société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public Orleáns, juin 1994* (Paris, 1995), pp. 215–26.

from the Byzantine and Muslim worlds. Some people in these regions certainly noticed the crisis of the Schism, which wrought considerable effects upon western Christian society, culture, and politics. Most scholars of the Schism understandably have focused their energies on the effects of this rupture upon western Europe, as its events and consequences primarily and profoundly affected that specific region, as discussed by the other authors who have contributed to this present volume.[3] Yet there are telling glimpses in the historical record that evidence the Byzantines' and Muslims' perceptions of the Great Western Schism. Therefore, what constituted primarily a western Christian affair nonetheless had significant ramifications both for and within the Byzantine and Muslim domains.

My goal in this present chapter is to discuss briefly the perceptions of the Schism by those individuals supposedly "outside" of western Christendom. I do so by dividing my study into three parts. In the first section, I will discuss the history and historiography surrounding the Byzantines' reaction to the events of the Schism. For them, the Great Western Schism was a significant event that they saw as having important consequences for their own survival. In the second section, I address the relationship between Islam and the Great Western Schism. Some Christians, such as Honoré Bovet, used Muslim literary characters to offer biting critiques of Christendom. Bovet did so by depicting a strengthing Muslim presence as another schism that had been empowered by existing divisions within Christendom. In Bovet's specific reckoning, the Islam of the Ottoman Turks was a threat to a society whose inefficiency in rectifying the Great Western Schism made it powerless to confront that threat. In the final, and most substantial, section of this chapter, I investigate the life and prophetic writing of one specific individual, Anselm Turmeda/'Abdallah al-Taryuman, a Franciscan friar from Majorca who converted to Islam. While a Muslim, Turmeda wrote an astrologically themed prophetic poem criticizing the state of religious and political affairs in the West. The trauma of the Great Western Schism provides the context for Turmeda's prophecy and the convert referred to it throughout his piece. Turmeda offers an especially intriguing case study, and I spend the bulk of this chapter

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[3] For an introduction to the history and historiographies of the Great Western Schism, see Joëlle Rollo-Koster, "Civil Violence and the Initiation of the Schism," in this volume.

on a close reading of his prophetic text, in the hopes of inspiring other scholars to investigate further the life and writings of this captivating, and polarizing, figure.

Byzantium and the great western schism

The Byzantine emperors regarded the situation of the Great Western Schism as a dire event. They viewed the impasse as a disorder that could mean life or death for not only their empire but also all of Christendom. For the Byzantines, the Schism that rent western Christendom gave succor to those whom they perceived as a fearsome enemy: a growing force of Ottoman Turks that threatened the survival of both Byzantium and the entire Christian world.[4] There is a lacuna, however, within traditional histories of the Great Western Schism, which have given the Byzantines relatively short shrift. Regarding the situation as depicted in those accounts, the Byzantines had minimal interactions with the leaders of western Christendom. In one of the earliest narratives of the Great Western Schism, Louis Salembier sought to prove whether the Avignonese or Romans could truly claim their vicar as "the real Pope, the rightful successor of St Peter."[5] As professor at the Catholic University of Lille, Salembier depicted the history of the Schism as a religious drama. Writing in sweeping, overly emotional, terms, Salembier exhibited disdain for those individuals in the rival factions that permitted the Schism to endure. Concerning the Byzantines in particular, whom he barely mentioned, Salembier implied that the distancing of the leaders of western Christendom from Byzantium during the period of the Schism was because of the supposedly wicked character of the Byzantines themeselves. He portrayed the Byzantines in an exceedingly hostile manner, accusing them of "casuistical subtleties and ritual puerilities," which allowed them to be led by an impotent emperor, "assisted by a degenerate patriarchate."[6]

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[4] For introductions to the general history of Byzantium, see George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey (New Brunswick, 1969); A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 2 vols. (Madison, 1952); Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, 1997); and Cyril Mango, ed., *The Oxford History of Byzantium* (Oxford, 2002).

[5] Louis Salembier, *The Great Schism of the West* (London, 1907), p. 1.

[6] Salembier, *The Great Schism of the West*, pp. 6–7.

Regarding the Byzantines' interaction with western powers during the Schism, more enduring and established histories of the Great Western Schism are more objective and do a somewhat better job of investigating that relationship, up to a point. Noël Valois has provided historians of the Schism with an immense and meticulously researched narrative history of France's role in the events of the Schism.[7] Yet even in his massive study, the Byzantines receive scant treatment. In one of the few references to the Byzantine Empire, Valois remarked that in 1400 Honoré Bovet, in his capacity as ambassador for the French king, Charles VI, to the Holy Roman Emperor, Wenceslas IV, dismissed the Byzantine Empire as but a "second village" in comparison with Wenceslas' domain.[8] In another classic survey on the initiation of the Schism, Walter Ullmann only twice mentions the presence of Makarios, the patriarch of Constantinople, in the affairs surrounding the Roman curia. First, in Ullmann's extensive citation of the 1378 document *Factum Urbani*, the papal memorandum drawn up by Bartolomeo Prignano, the archbishop of Bari, upon his ascendancy to the papal throne in Rome as Urban VI, Ullmann writes that the gathered cardinals had summoned Prignano, various Church prelates and dignitaries, and the patriarch of Constantinople "to come to the palace to discuss important business concerning the Church," foreshadowing the election of Urban.[9] The second time Ullmann mentions the patriarch of Constantinople is when he references the thunderous sermon of Makarios, whom Ullmann names as Cardinal Itro, in which Makarios blasted Urban VI and called his election invalid.[10] Finally, for all its strength in its fastidious research

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[7] Noël Valois, *La France et le grand schisme d'Occident*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1896–1902).

[8] Valois, *La France*, 3:295. However, Valois did publish the source that depicted a discussion between the Knight of Saint John, Aymard Broutin, also known as Talebart, with King Richard II of England. In the source, Talebart refers to the crisis that Constantinople faced and argued for a unified front to save it: "Premierement quant je o parlé au roy d'Angleterre de pluseurs matieres touchans le fait du secours de Costentinople et de la crestienté par delà, et de ce me ot fait bonne response, je luy touchay du fait de l'Eglise, en lui suppliant que l'Eglise il voulsist avoir pour recommandée, en le loant coment il estoit tenu un des plus sages roys du monde, et que luy et le roy de France, son pere, se deveroyen[t] bien emploier ou fait de l'Eglise," in Ibid., 3:620.

[9] Walter Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical History* (1948; repr. Hamden, 1967), p. 19.

[10] See Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism*, p. 84. Makarios' sermon, "Sermo Factus Per Dominum Patriarchum Constantinopolitanum Ad Depositionem Urbani Quondam Barrensis Archiepiscopi," is found in Edmund Martène and Ursin Durand, eds., *Thesaurum novus anecdotorum*, 5 vols. (New York, 1968), 2:1075–81. Makarios

and painstaking attention to detail, Étienne Delaruelle's magisterial two-volume discussion, in which he sought to expand Valois' study by discussing the effects of the Great Western Schism on other European powers besides France, also unfortunately gives little recognition to Constantinople's interaction with western Europe during and after the Schism. The exception appears in regards to Pope Eugene IV's decision to hold a general council in Constantinople in 1434, at the behest of the ruling Palaeologi, in order to provide a unified front against the threat of the Ottoman Turks.[11]

Joseph Gill has authored a political history in which he focused on the ecclesiastical interaction between Byzantium and the rival western papacies, demonstrating effectively why the Byzantines viewed this particularly western religious crisis as a matter for their survival. Gill argued that the Avignonese popes did little to help the Byzantines, with the sole exception of permitting the Hospitallers to use ecclesiastical revenue collected in Greece towards defending the city of Smyrna against the Turks. Instead, he believes, the Roman See contributed far more to the defense of Byzantium.[12] The recent scholarship of Christine Delacroix-Besnier, however, has shown that the ties between the French kingdom and Avignonese papacy and the eastern Church were indeed considerable and that the repercussions of the Schism were felt keenly among Dominican communities established in the Latin East,

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made clear his displeasure regarding the election of Urban VI to the papal throne: "Iste enim intrusus Bartholomaeus elevans se inaniter super se, & partes ejus qui non nisi uni inimicitiarum & suscitantium peccatum, hoc est populus & magistratus Urbis vere suscitantes peccatum detestabile impressionis stilo adamantino in mentibus hominum exaratum. Convertamus ergo oculos nostrae mentis ad reginam nostram Virginem gloriosam, ut coram Rege filio causam nostram dignetur proponere, & quomodo a rege post vocatae oves & pascua ejus per invia & devia vagare incipiunt velut greges non habentes pastorem: qui enim nomen pastoris usurpat, pastor non est, quia per ostium non introivit, cujus cum non sint oves propriae, curae non est custodire eas a lupis invadentibus, & leonibus rugientibus praeparatis ad escam…Dicet aliquis Domini nostril de collegio elegerunt Bartholomaeum, inthronizaverunt, coronaverunt, & ei ut summo pontifici reverentiam exhibuereunt: tenuit iste, & quasi possedit papatum & cathedram pastoralem; & quo ad consistoria & alia pro papa se gessit…Respondeo quod non sit canonica ipso jure, nec aliqua, sed nulla multis rationibus," 2:1075–76.

[11] Étienne Delaruelle, *L'église au temps du grand schisme et de la crise conciliaire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1962), 1:266–69.

[12] Joseph Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy 1198–1400* (New Brunswick, 1979), p. 228. See Gill's preface, pp. vii–x, for a brief historiographic sketch regarding the interaction between the western churches and Byzantium.

as seen especially in the increase of general absenteeism of the clergy resident there.[13]

Moreover, the Byzantines did indeed face a perilous situation, at least from their perspective. After the Serbs' 1389 defeat by the Ottoman forces at the Battle of Kossovo Polje, Sultan Bajazet (Bāyezīd) I turned his gaze towards the Greeks' shrinking presence on Anatolia and the Golden Horn. Turkish forces besieged the city of Constantinople from 1394 to 1402, and Manuel II Palaeologus, the former vassal of Bajazet, pleaded for assistance from various European powers, including the Venetians, the Roman pope, the emperor of Germany, and the kings of England and France.[14] Although a force of some 10,000 soldiers, largely comprised of Hungarian troops but with French, English, and German soldiers in tow, came to the assistance of the Byzantines, they were defeated resoundingly by Bajazet's army at Nicopolis on 25 September 1396. The Christian army was crushed, and some 3,000 captives were reported executed.[15] It was an event that sent ripples throughout the Christian world and which encouraged further criticism against Christian ineptitude in the West. The defeat of the European forces at Nicopolis also permitted Bajazet to continue his assault against Constantinople.[16]

Additionally, the Battle of Nicopolis inspired the Roman pope Boniface IX to redouble his efforts in defending Constantinople, a process that also would become mired in the situation of the Schism. In his attempts to raise men and matériel for the defense of Constantinople, Boniface urged Paul, the titular bishop of Chalcedon and an apostolic legate, to preach throughout Europe the call to crusade. The Byzantine emperor Manuel, on his part, sent his own representative, Hilario Doria, to explain the calamitous situation in which the Byzantines found themselves. However, a personal rupture between Paul and Boniface caused the former to be replaced by a Benedictine cleric, Augustine de Undinis, and Doria went instead to Genoese territories to collect money owed to the curia.[17] The French kings, who were closely allied with the Avignonese pope Benedict XIII (r. 1394–1417), sent both money

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[13] Christine Delacroix-Besnier, *Les dominicains et la chrétienté grecque aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Rome, 1997), p. 83.
[14] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 229.
[15] Hanly, *The Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*, p. 36.
[16] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 230.
[17] Ibid., p. 231.

and men to aid the emperor of Byzantium. To seek further assistance, Manuel, for his part, left Constantinople to visit the European courts, and Gill argues that nothing in the historical record shows that he visited Boniface in Rome. It thus appears that the relationship between Roman pope and Byzantine emperor had cooled considerably.[18]

At the Council of Constance (1414–18), the Byzantines demonstrated that they were no less desperate for western Christian aid than they had been earlier. Louise Ropes Loomis has translated extensive narrative chronicles that depict the events of the Council of Constance, in which factions drawn along nationalist and ecclesiastical lines, as well as rivalries between Church prelates and the lesser clergy, had affected the conciliar movement as a whole.[19] This would play out later in the 15th century, during the Council of Basel in 1439, when the conflict between the ranks of the clergy came to a head over the matter of deciding where to meet the Byzantine delegation, whether in Avignon or Italy.[20]

However, one of the more influential sources available to investigators concerning Byzantine and western Christian relations during the time of the Schism is the diary of the jurist, Guillaume Fillastre, which sketches the events of Constance and evidences the Byzantines' keen desire for ecclesiastical reconciliation. An unapologetic supporter of both the French king and Benedict XIII, Fillastre's language in his diary is straightforward, as befits his training as a lawyer.[21] For Fillastre, the Council of Constance, which he described as "more difficult to assemble than any other general council that preceded it, more strange, surprising, and hazardous in its course, and [which] lasted a longer time," was nonetheless a monumental occasion, even though it was marred by considerable factionalism and threats of violence.[22]

Fillastre dates his first entry on the Byzantine desire for reconciliation as 17 February 1418. Fillastre reports that Gregory, "a Ruthenian archbishop…said to be the metropolitan of all Russia, at the head of fifty cathedral churches of the Greek faith" was the principal instigator

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[18] Ibid., p. 232.
[19] Louise Ropes Loomis, *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church*, ed. John Hine Mundy and Kennerly M. Woody (New York, 1961). See also John Hine Mundy's historical introduction, "The Conciliar Movement and the Council of Constance," pp. 3–51.
[20] Mundy, "The Conciliar Movement and the Council of Constance," p. 26.
[21] Louise Ropes Loomis, *The Council of Constance*, pp. 200–465.
[22] Ibid., p. 446.

of the union between the Latin and Greek churches and traveled to
Constance for that specific purpose.[23] A few days later, Pope Martin V,
the conciliar pope whose election ended the immediate trauma of the
Schism, received Gregory and his delegation with all due ceremony.
Fillastre reports that Gregory expressed his great joy at the resolution
of the Schism and said to Martin, "through your authority all recent
obstacles to human salvation have been overthrown and removed from
the Catholic faith, and the Ship of Peter, so long tempest-tossed, now
rides in safety, restored to its ancient majesty…The Schism…wrought
great havoc in the minds of us outside nations. In deep grief we longed
for this sacred union, and when we heard that peace and tranquility
were restored…all we who inhabit the regions of Russia were filled
with indescribable joy and gladness."[24] Fillastre continues to remark
that Gregory was so moved by the resolution of the Great Western
Schism that he sought to set in motion the process towards an eventual
unification between the Latin and Greek churches. Moreover, according
to Gregory, he was not the sole person to feel this way:

> My serene lord, the lord Emperor of Constantinople, son of Your Holi-
> ness, desires this sacred union…as do also the Patriarch of that city and
> the other Christian people of those regions, as I have ascertained. The
> legate of the same most serene lord Emperor has already spoken of this
> matter before Your Holiness and in accordance with his commission will
> pursue it here further. The country whence I have come hither to Your
> Holiness, is for the most part subject to the dominion and dictation of
> the above named most serene King and prince, sons of Your Holiness.
> Its inhabitants adhere to the worship and ritual of the Greek Church, but
> our most glorious princes in this as in other respects are working for the
> spread and increase of the Christian religion.[25]

Fillastre depicts Gregory as a supplicant to Martin, whose goal was to
assure the pope that the Greek peoples indeed wanted this unification
between the churches. Gregory made one request before the unification
process, however, in which "that the right and honorable and custom-
ary way be followed, that is, that a council be convoked and learned
scholars in the law be assembled from both sides to pass judgement
on questions of faith and heal the difference between our people and

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[23] Ibid., p. 434.
[24] Ibid., p. 435.
[25] Ibid., p. 436.

the Holy Roman Church."[26] Gregory ended his plea with a clarion call to action for the pope: "I implore you, Most Holy Father, to seiz the opportunity which the present offers!…Let not the glorious enterprise be longer postponed to the future but let all delayings cease at once and fit persons be dispatched to those regions."[27] Fillastre recalls that Martin, on his part, told Gregory that he would begin deliberations on how to begin this process.[28]

Thus the Byzantines clearly had a stake in the immediate resolution of the Schism within western Christendom, and the possibility of union between the Latin and Greek Churches was the hinge upon which their survival rested, according to contemporary histories. It is therefore somewhat surprising to see such little discussion concerning the Byzantines in some of the traditional histories of the Great Western Schism. With the exception of works by Walter Norden and Jules Gay, most scholarship in the early 20th century has traditionally viewed the Great Western Schism as primarily a western affair, a position that continues even today.[29] Thomas Hofmann, for instance, has argued that the Greek Church resident in southern Italy had had no representation at the papal curia during the Schism.[30] However, the scholarship of the premier scholar on relations between western Christendom and Byzantium during the later Middle Ages, Oskar Halecki, has filled these significant gaps within the historiography of the Schism.

Oskar Halecki has conducted the most significant work on diplomatic and ecclesiastical relations between the Papal See at Rome and the imperial court and patriarchate of Constantinople and has demonstrated to what great extent the Latin Orient was involved with the situation of the Great Western Schism. Halecki has written numerous pieces on this relationship, starting with his magisterial 1930 monograph on the

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[26] Ibid., p. 436.
[27] Ibid., p. 436.
[28] Ibid., p. 437.
[29] Walter Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz: Die Trennung der beiden Mächte und das Problem ihrer Wiedervereinigung bis zum Untergange des Byzantinischen Reichs (1453)* (Berlin, 1903); and Jules Gay, *Le pape Clément VI et les affaires d'orient* (Paris, 1904).
[30] Thomas Hofmann, "Päpstliche und gegen päpstliche Klosterpolitik während des großen abendländischen Schismas an Beispeil griechischer Klöster in Süditalien," in *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst-, und Landesgeschichte: Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen dargebracht*, ed. Karl Borchardt and Enno Bünz, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1998), 2:699–722.

Byzantines' struggle to unify the churches of Rome with Avignon in order to defend itself.[31] For his point of departure, Haleckin investigated the 1369 voyage of Manuel's father, Emperor John V Palaelogus, who had converted to Catholicism, to the courts of western Christendom.[32] In this and his other scholarly works, Halecki focused his scholarship on a particular understanding of the relationship between the Roman curia and the Byzantine emperors: that any assistance from Rome whatsoever was designed to help the adherents to the Latin Christian faith resident in the East rather than to assist the schismatic Greek subjects or the Byzantine ruling elite and patriarch of Constantinople. In another article from 1932, Halecki elaborated upon the relationship between Poland-Lithuania, one of the most powerful Christian states in the later Middle Ages, and the Byzantine emperors.[33] And in 1937, Halecki published an essay, based on those documents contained within the pontifical registers, in which he delved further into this specific relationship between Rome and Byzantium that hinged on the faithful Greek adherents to the Latin Church.[34] Although Warren Treadgold has stated that Halecki's scholarship has been superseded by that of D. M. Nicol, Halecki's legacy has nonetheless endured.[35]

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[31] Oskar Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome: Vingt ans de travail pour l'union des églises et pour la défense de l'empire d'orient 1355–1375* (Warsaw, 1930). In the preface to the 1972 Variorum edition of this work, which also includes his 1937 article "Rome et Byzance au temps du grand schisme d'Occident," Halecki offers a brief but informative essay concerning the *status quaestionis* regarding the ecclesiastical relationship between Christendom and Byzantium. Oskar Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome: Réimpression de l'édition originale et étude annexe* (London, 1972), pp. i–vi.

[32] See also Alexander A. Vasiliev, "Il viaggio dell'imperatore bizantino Giovanni V Paleologo in Italia (1369–1371) e l'Unione di Roma del 1369," *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 3 (1931), 105–93.

[33] Oskar Halecki, "La Pologne et l'empire byzantin," *Byzantion* 7 (1932), 41–67.

[34] Oskar Halecki, "Rome et Byzance au temps du grand schisme d'Occident," *Collectanea theologica (Lwów)* 18 (1937), 477–532. Deno Geanakoplos has discussed the history of the tendentious topic of rectifying the schism between eastern and western Christendom throughout the course of the Middle Ages, first engendered when Michael Cerularios and Leo IX formally broke the relationship between the churches in 1054. For more on this, see Deno J. Geanakoplos, "The Council of Florence (1438–1439) and the Problem of Union between the Greek and Latin Churches," *Church History* (1955), 324–46.

[35] Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, p. 918; and D. M. Nicol, *Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1979).

Islam and the great western schism

Scholarly works that analyze medieval Muslims' perception of the Great Western Schism are far fewer than those that focus on the Byzantines' reactions to the crisis. To my knowledge, with the exception of Anselm Turmeda, whom I discuss below at length, there are no contemporary discussions from the Muslim world regarding the Great Western Schism. The Christians' perception that there existed a unified Muslim threat, as demonstrated in the Turkish military victories at Kossovo Polje and Nicopolis, however, speaks volumes about the extent to which Christians believed the Schism afflicted Christendom. For some authors, these defeats of Christian knights provided an arena ripe for generating withering criticism against Christian ineptitude.

Christians such as Juan de Segovia, who urged dialogue between the Christian and Muslim worlds rather than armed conflict, were relatively rare in the 15th century.[36] Yet although Honoré Bovet, in his writing, demonstrated how some Christians perceived the threat posed by the Muslims, he nonetheless urged a very different strategy for Christians in the West: a pacifist, non-rancorous resolution to the Schism, which would ultimately have a positive effect on relations between the Christian and Muslim worlds. Bovet used the voices of literary characters to his advantage both in leveling his critiques against Christendom and in calling for this peaceful resolution to the Schism. Bovet's dream allegory *L'apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun* functioned as a vehicle through which he could analyze the situation regarding Christendom in the aftermath of Nicopolis and in which he argued that the menace posed by the Turks and Islam was a direct result of Christian division and internal strife.[37] Using the same language that other medieval Christians employed in regards to the other crises plaguing Europe

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[36] See, most recently, the dissertation by Anne Marie Wolf, "Juan de Segovia and Western Perspectives on Islam in the Fifteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 2003). See also Antony Black, *Council and Commune: The Conciliar Movement and the Fifteenth-Century Heritage* (London, 1979); Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico* (Madrid, 1952); and James E. Biechler, "A New Face Toward Islam: Nicholas of Cusa and John of Segovia," in *Nicholas of Cusa in Search of God and Wisdom: Essays in Honor of Morimichi Watanabe by the American Cusanus Society*, ed. Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki (Leiden, 1991), pp. 185–202.

[37] See Michael Hanly, "'Et prendre nom de Sarrazin': Islam as the symptom of Western iniquity in Honorat Bovet's *L'apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun*," *Multilingua* 18.2–3 (1999), 227–50; and idem, *The Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*, pp. 1–56.

during the 14th century—including the Great Famine, the Hundred
Years' War, and, most especially, the Black Death—Bovet argued that
both the Turkish threat to Christendom and the Great Western Schism
were clear manifestations of God's wrath. What was different about
Bovet's work was that it was a "rare example of medieval Christian
pacifist narrative," in which the author argued that God's wrath could
be averted if the European nobility put aside their differences, laid
down their arms, and began a series of reforms of Christian society
and the Church.[38] The use of the outsider to criticize society was, in
effect, a significant rhetorical strategy on Bovet's part, one that other
contemporary medieval authors, such as William Durant the Younger,
employed.[39] By having the character of the *Sarrazin* "outsider" voice the
criticisms echoed in contemporary European courts, Bovet essentially
attempted to shame the members of the western Christian elite into
both improving themselves and into resolving the crisis of the Great
Western Schism.

There are few biographies that deal specifically with Bovet.[40] Michael
Hanly has suggested that Bovet was born in Provence between 1345
and 1350 and studied law in Montpellier after becoming a member of
the Benedictine Order. In 1371, he became prior at Selonnet, a posi-
tion that he held until the end of his life, around 1410, and he was a
player in the political and ecclesiastical worlds that were tied to the
events of the Great Western Schism. Most of his political transactions
centered on the court of Anjou until 1386, when Bovet entered the
world and the court of the French kings. Drawing upon prophecies
that circulated at the time, in which it was predicted that a person of
royal lineage would end the Schism and usher in an age of peace, Bovet
identified Charles VI as the possible incarnation of this prophecy.[41]

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[38] Hanly, "'Et prendre nom de Sarrazin,'" p. 229; and Hanly, The *Apparicion Maistre
Jehan de Meun*, pp. 34–39.

[39] Constantin Fasolt, *Council and Hierarchy: The Political Thought of William Durant
the Younger* (Cambridge, 1991); and idem, "William Durant the Younger and Conciliar
Theory," *Journal of the History of Ideas* (July 1997), 385–402.

[40] See Michael Hanly and Hélène Millet, "Les batailles d'Honorat Bovet: Essai de
biographie," *Romania* 114 (1996), 135–81; and Gilbert Ouy, "Honoré Bovet (appelé
à tort Bonet), prieur de Selonnet," *Romania* 85 (1959), 255–59. See also, Hanly, *The
Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*, pp. 4–5, n. 9. For this section of this chapter, I
draw heavily upon Hanly, pp. 4–9.

[41] This was not restricted to the French sources. Anselm Turmeda, whom I discuss
below, also prophecizes that a specifically Catalan royal figure will end the turmoil
afflicting Christendom.

Bovet's major literary piece, *L'arbre des Batailles*, a treatise on warfare and military matters, was completed around this time, a work by which Bovet earned King Charles' favor. By dint of this royal recognition, Bovet was sent by Charles to tour the regions of Languedoc in 1390 and Armagnac in 1391. In 1392, Bovet returned to Paris, to take part in a peace summit between the English and the French at Amiens. For all of Bovet's status and power, however, Hanly argues that Bovet was extraordinarily insecure about both his position and his finances and that at least after 1393, in his *Somnium super materia scismatis*, Bovet frequently mentioned being short on funds. The Benedictine found himself in a tough situation. As Hanly has written about Bovet, "[he] found himself…being entrusted with diplomatic tasks and yet [had] neither a stable position nor a steady income."[42] The historical record peters out soon afterwards and, at the waning of the 14th century, Bovet left Paris and died around 1410.

Hanly has stated that comparatively few studies, with the exception of that of Jean Batany, have focused on this specific literary source, *L'apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun*. Hanly has most recently offered the scholarly community a critical edition of Bovet's work with an accompanying English translation. This work is an invaluable contribution towards reckoning medieval Europeans' perceptions of the Muslim "outsider." According to Hanly, Batany viewed the dialogue between the *Sarrazin* and sleeping prior as essentially a discussion between "a people with a bad conscience as regards their 'consumer' civilization and a 'primitive' adversary who presents himself as a *modèle irréductible*, and an image of the past of civilized peoples."[43] Yet as Hanly has shown, the character of the Turkish *Sarrazin* is no mere "savage." Along with the character of the Jacobin, Bovet dedicated the most lines to the dialogue between the sleeping prior with the character of the *Sarrazin*, thus demonstrating his importance to the allegory.[44] The choice of the *Sarrazin* as a figure to level criticism against western Christendom is especially telling and would have immediately resonated with medieval Europeans, undoubtedly causing a visceral reaction in at least some of

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[42] Hanly, *The Apparicion Jehan de Meun*, pp. 8–9.

[43] Ibid., pp. 38–39. On p. 39 n. 83, Hanly cites Jean Batany, "Un Usbek au XIVᵉ siècle: Le sarrasin juge des français dans *l'Apparicion Jehan de Meun*," in *Images et signes de l'Orient dans l'Occident médiéval: Littérature et civilization*, ed. Jean Arrouye (Actes du colloque du CUER MA, février 1981, Sénéfiance 11) (Aix-en-Provence, 1982), pp. 41–88.

[44] Hanly, *The Apparicion Jehan de Meun*, p. 36.

them. As Michael Hanly put it, "Superficially, the black Sarrazin is the
ultimate cultural outsider, an Orientalized figure from [Edward] Said's
'imaginative geography,' a stock character one would expect to revile
Christian faith and culture from a stereotypical pagan perspective."[45]
However, the language that the emissary uses is far from stereotypical.
In criticizing the state of affairs, the *Sarrazin* instead uses language
and themes that would have circulated, and would have been readily
recognizable, within the courts of western Christendom.

The Muslim envoy in Bovet's allegory is impressive. He offers a
remarkable pedigree and demonstrates his profound erudition, stat-
ing, "I know all languages; / I am of high birth, / And I am a good
theologian, too; / I understand something about all things, / And I can
write poems, as well / And can turn the law inside out."[46] The *Sarrazin*
explains to the character of the prior, who was the unnamed Bovet, that
he had been sent by Bajazet to report on all that he had seen in his
travels throughout western Christendom. The Muslim traveler reports
that, upon his journeys through Rome, "Which was in years gone by /
the most powerful city on earth / …now wicked people congregate
there / …they consider the French to be less than nothing, / Because
they hold them to be schismatic."[47] Such news, once he reported back
to Bajazet, would cheer the Turks: "When our people find out / What
discord there exists between you, / They will not doubt or fear / That
they can strike terror in Christianity, / Because people divided in belief /
Will never unite for combat, / And they will never be victorious / Unless
they obey one law."[48]

Through the mouth of the *Sarrazin*, Bovet gives a glimpse of western
Christians' perceptions regarding the besieged Byzantines:

> Now, take the people of Greece, for example: / Because they chose
> divergent beliefs, / They allowed Christianity / To become oppressed,
> and there is no pity for it. / The Saracens overcame them: / Almost all
> the Greeks are their subjects. / It is a great, iniquitous struggle / When
> there is neither law nor fidelity.[49]

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[45] Ibid., pp. 37–38.
[46] Hanly, *The Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*, p. 83.
[47] Ibid., p. 85.
[48] Ibid., p. 87.
[49] Ibid., p. 87.

The Muslim emissary goes on to state that throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, the fighting elite prefer comfort to discipline, fine food and luxurious clothes to military prowess and victory on the battlefield.[50] After Jean listens to this depiction, he requests the Muslim to continue discussing his perceptions of the Christians. The messenger states that Christians are, overall, feckless, blasphemous, reject marriage, and greedy.[51] The prior requests that the *Sarrazin* discuss conditions at the Roman court of Boniface IX, since he had passed through there recently. The *Sarrazin* paints a picture in which opulence and sumptuousness cake the walls of the court:

> So many great robes, / so many gorgeous capes, / so many horses and so many chargers, / so many chaplains, so many squires, / so many valets and servants, / so many beautiful halls, such fine headdresses, / so many dishes, so much ornamentation, / That it can only be a dream, really, / Of magnificence and earthly glory.[52]

The food is grand, the pomp unmistakable. The emissary finishes his exposition on the conditions at the Roman curia by calling the inhabitants there

> More greedy than worldly kings, / More pampered, and with such spotless residences… / I would also like to know / If they be emperors or kings, / Because if they are clergymen, / It would be a rather silly practice / To worship Pride in such a way, / To inspire the world / To love pleasures and voluptuous living, / Magnificence, grandeur, power."[53]

The prior requests the Jacobin to refute the criticisms of the *Sarrazin*, which he does, but the damage was done. Honoré Bovet used this character of the *Sarrazin* to level his own criticisms of Christian indifference and ineptitude in resolving the Great Western Schism. By doing so through this "outsider" character, he tapped into a wellspring of frustration and voiced the discontent that had been circulating in the royal courts of western Christendom.

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[50] Ibid., pp. 89–97.
[51] Ibid., pp. 105–11.
[52] Ibid., p. 111.
[53] Ibid., p. 113.

ANSELM TURMEDA/ʿABDALLAH AL-TARYUMAN AND THE
GREAT WESTERN SCHISM

It is the history of the convert Fray Anselm Turmeda/ʿAbdallah al-Taryuman (born 1352; died *c.* 1432) that provides the modern scholar of the Schism with a most powerful and intriguing case for studying the perceptions of an "outsider" of this religious turmoil of the later Middle Ages. Turmeda transcended the boundaries of his cultural and societal expectations, and his personal experiences and his prophecy, which I discuss at length, both reflected the fluidity that existed between the medieval worlds of Christendom and Islam and provided his unique position to criticize the Great Western Schism. Since Turmeda wrote his Christian-themed prophecies in the Catalan vernacular—all the while living in Tunis as a Muslim convert and working in a visible, respectable profession in service to the Tunisian sultanate—he is an especially captivating and layered figure. Moreover, there is comparatively little scholarship solely concerning Turmeda's prophecies. Frequently mentioned in relation to his larger literary output, they are in need of modern analysis.[54]

Standing at the intersection of two different faiths, the Christian and the Muslim, Turmeda evidenced first-hand the mechanisms that drove medieval encounter and exchange within the cosmopolitan Mediterranean Basin. Turmeda's large corpus of writings—which included a collection of aphorisms from 1396 entitled the *Llibre de bons amonestaments*; a literary lamentation written in 1398 in honor of his natal island of Majorca, the *Cobles de la divisió del regne de Mallorques*; his 1417 "disputation" between a man and various representatives from the animal kingdom, *La disputa de l'Ase*; and, most important for the purposes of this chapter, a series of prophetic writings about the Great Western Schism that use astrological tropes to legitimize his prophetic insight—are unique lenses through which to view the history of medieval cultural exchange.[55] Turmeda's writings were intended for two audiences. The

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[54] For an introduction to Turmeda's prophecies, see Ramón d'Alos, "Les profecies de Turmeda," *Revue Hispanique* 24 (1911), 480–96; and Pere Bohigas i Balaguer, "Profecies de fra Anselm Turmeda (1406)," *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 9 (1915–16), 173–81. Though d'Alos has published this specific prophecy with which I am working, I cite it from the original document, located at the Biblioteca de Catalunya, which I had the opportunity to work with first-hand extensively during my research sojourn in 2003.

[55] For additional biographical and historical information concerning Turmeda and his works, see Agustí Calvet, *Fray Anselmo Turmeda: Heterodoxo español* (Barcelona,

works listed above appealed to his Christian, and specifically Catalan, audience. For his Muslim readers, Turmeda provided a substantial anti-Christian polemic work with his Arabic-language autobiography, written in 1420, the *Tuhfat al-adīb fī al-radd ʿalà ahl al-salīb* [*The Gift of the Learned One to Refute the Supporters of the Cross*].[56] This work was designed to be both an anti-Christian polemical work and a guide for Muslims to refute the preachings of Dominican and Franciscan friars. Turmeda occupies a particularly special place as the author of this piece. As one with "insider" knowledge of the Christian faith, he was well equipped to point out its faults. As a result, his conversion to Islam takes on a singular significance for his Muslim audience. As he states in his *Tuhfat*, Turmeda converted to Islam because he came to know that it was the correct path for him to follow.

As Lourdes Maria Alvarez recently and accurately has commented, "These two bodies of texts—those directed to Muslims and those for Christians—offer the reader a fascinating glimpse of life on the border between cultures, languages, and religions."[57] The experiences of Turmeda, who straddled the border between the Muslim and the Christian worlds, illustrate the porosity of the membrane that separated the cultures and societies of medieval Christendom and the Dar al-Islam, especially in the Mediterranean Basin. In addition, the fact that his prophetic poetry, which formed part of a much larger tradition of

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1914); Joaquín Miret i Sans, "Vida de fray Anselmo Turmeda," *Revue Hispanique* 24 (1911), 261–96; Míkel de Epalza, "Nuevas aportaciones a la biografía de fray Anselmo Turmeda (Abdallah al-Tarchuman)," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconesia* 38 (1965), 87–158; idem, *Anselm Turmeda* (Palma de Mallorca, 1983); and Robert Beier, *Anselm Turmeda: Eine Studie zur interkulturellen Literatur* (Bonn, 1996); Joan Lluís Marfany, *Ideari d'Anselm Turmeda*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona, 1980).

[56] Míquel de Epalza, ed. and trans., *Fray Anselm Turmeda ('Abdallah al-Taryuman) y su polémica islamo-cristiana: Edición, traducción y estudio de la Tuhfa* (Madrid, 1994). For a study on Christian notions and expectations of Islamic conversion in the Middle Ages, see Benjamin Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches to the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984); and Robert Ignatius Burns, s.j., "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," *American Historical Review* 76 (1971), 1386–1434. For a more recent study, see the massive and excellent work by Ryan Szpiech, "From *Testimonia* to Testimony: Thirteenth-century anti-Jewish polemic and the 'Teacher of Righteousness' of Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid" (Ph.D. diss., Yale Univeristy, 2006).

[57] Lourdes Maria Alvarez, "Anselm Turmeda: The Visionary Humanism of a Muslim Convert and Catalan Prophet," in Albrecht Classen ed., *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, (New York and London, 2002), pp. 172–91. This quote is found on p. 173.

Mediterranean prophetic writings,[58] reflected Christian concerns and used particularly Christian symbols and language, even as he established himself within Muslim society and culture, gives insight into the history of medieval religiosity as well as into prophecy and conversion.

Born the sole son of a Majorcan merchant in 1352 and later becoming a member of the Franciscan order, Turmeda underwent a profound personal and spiritual conversion midway through his adult life.[59] He left Christendom for Tunis and there converted to Islam, changing his name to ʿAbdallah, Arabic for "servant of God." He ensconced himself in Tunis and assimilated quickly to Muslim life. He became a favorite of the sultan, married a Muslim woman, named his son Muhammad, and lived, according to his autobiographical account, a full and happy life as a Muslim. He also wielded no small amount of influence within the economic and cultural spheres of the late medieval western Mediterranean Basin, as I address further below. ʿAbdallah al-Taryuman was thus able to work and to live within the Muslim cultural and social sphere while simultaneously disseminating his writings and his thoughts into another cultural and social sphere, the Christian. A person who abandoned one belief system for another that was perceived as a rival one and who seemingly was rewarded for this decision was a fact that horrified both his Christian contemporaries as well as later scholars.

Anselm Turmeda's conversion to Islam was the defining moment in his life. It also has been the centerpiece to studies devoted to him. Discussions of his conversion and spiritual change have been a sometimes-heated subject for modern scholars. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, for example, in his *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, published in 1880, attacked Turmeda outright, calling him, "a corrupt friar and a vicious apostate, whose conscience fluctuates among the Mohammedan law that he professes and defends on the outside; Christianity, which he never renounced within his soul; and certain bursts of Italian and Averroist-influenced incredulity."[60] Five years later, Estanislao Aguiló,

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[58] See, for just one example of many others, MS 170, ff. 1–24r., located in the Rare Book Department of Memorial Library at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. It is a prophetic poem from the 15th century, possibly of Venetian origin, written in an Italian vernacular. I plan to analyze this poem and contextualize it within a larger pan-Mediterranean prophetic system for a future research project.

[59] D. Estanislao K. Aguiló, *Fra Anselm Turmeda: Apuntes bio-bibliográficos* (Palma, 1885); Calvet, *Fray Anselmo Turmeda*, pp. 56–95.

[60] Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1880–81), 3:408, 414–20; see also Calvet, *Fray Anselmo Turmeda*, p. 7. "fraile

while he did not attack Turmeda as viciously as Menéndez y Pelayo, nonetheless showed no love for religious conversion. Aguiló analyzed a selection of Turmeda's that comes from the *Llibre de bons ensenyaments*. Written in 1397 or 1398, when Turmeda was already a Muslim convert and living in Tunis, the writings with which Aguiló took umbrage are those in which Turmeda explained the nature of the Trinity and certain basic points of Christian belief:

> Firstly, when you are baptized, you will believe that the Divinity is a Trinity, one being of three different persons. And also that Jesus Christ lived as son of God and as son of David. That is true, as it is said in the Holy Scriptures.[61]

What horrified Aguiló was the audacity of an individual whom he saw as an apostate to dare continue using Christian metaphors and orthodoxy, to even celebrate them at points, even though he was no longer Christian:

> To apostatize from a religion on account of the impulses of a bastard passion and then to continue speaking, without remorse about its excellencies, and to preach its maxims and its morals…this is a wickedness so great that it barely can be understood by human reason.[62]

Yet the aspects of Turmeda's works that mortified Aguiló were actually their strengths. The new Muslim convert, now refered to as ʿAbdallah bin ʿAbdallah al-Taryuman, though for all intents and purposes a Muslim, nonetheless used a Christian vernacular language and symbolism so that his writings would appeal to a wider Mediterranean audience and have greater impact within Christendom, as they criticized the contemporary religious turmoil afflicting Christendom, the Great Western Schism.

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corrompido y apóstata viciosa, cuya conciencia fluctúa entre la ley mahometana que exteriormente profesa y defiende; el cristianismo, al cual en el fondo de su alma no renunció nunca, y ciertas ráfagas de incredulidad italiana o averroísta."

  [61] Aguiló, *Fra Anselm Turmeda*, p. 6. "Primerament quant serás bateját/creurás que la Divinitát/es un esser en Trinitát/de las persones. Y que Jesu-Christ fill de Deu viu/es Deu fill de Davit/assó es ver, y aixi ho diu/la Santa Escriptura."

  [62] Aguiló, *Fra Anselm Turmeda*, p. 7. "Apostatar de una religión á impulsos de bastardas pasiones y seguir luego hablando sin remordimiento de sus excelencias, y predicar sus máximas y su moral…es una iniquidad tan grande que apenas basta á comprenderla la razón humana."

Prophetic discourse had been increasing in Europe since the time of the quintessential medieval prophet, Joachim de Fiore. His conceptualization of history as comprising three ages, with the age of the Holy Spirit representing the fulfillment of history and characterized by crises and traumas of all stripes, was influential upon other medieval prophets. The ordeal of the Great Western Schism contributed powerfully to this Joachite conception of the fulfillment of history, and it became in prophetic texts a dramatic precursor to the Apocalypse.[63]

The early 20th century saw a continuation of studies about Turmeda and his writings. In 1914, Augustín Calvet published a biography devoted to Turmeda and his life. His analysis of Turmeda's life is thorough, considered by many scholars as the most comprehensive biography of Turmeda to date. Another early 20th-century scholar, Pere Bohigas i Balaguer, wrote a brief study on medieval Catalan-language prophetic and visionary texts, among which Turmeda's writings figure significantly.[64] In 1930, José María Pou i Martí devoted the last chapter of his lengthy work to Turmeda, in which he saw the convert not so much as an apocalyptic prophet but, rather, as a visionary, a distinction that I discuss later. The Spanish Civil War, waged from 1936 to 1939, seems to have interrupted the flow of Turmedan studies for a bit, but interest in the medieval apostate never waned completely. Works by Miguel Asín Palacios[65] and Manuel de Montoliu[66] kept scholarly interest in Turmeda alive during the 1940s and the 1950s, respectively. Recently, the investigator who has conducted the most significant and important research on Turmeda has been the Catalan scholar Míquel de Epalza,

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[63] Alvarez, "Anselm Turmeda," p. 177. See also Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*. For Joachim di Fiore, see, among others Bernard McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York, 1985); Delno C. West and Sandra Zimdars-Swartz, *Joachim of Fiore: A Study in Spiritual Perception and History* (Bloomington, 1983); and Harold Lee, Marjorie Reeves, and Giulio Silano, *Western Mediterranean Prophecy: The school of Joachim of Fiore and the fourteenth-century Breviloquium* (Toronto, 1989). See also the many works of Marjorie Reeves, including *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969); Marjorie Reeves and Beatrice Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of 'Joachim' of Fiore* (Oxford, 1972); and Marjorie Reeves, *The Prophetic Sense of History in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Brookfield, 1999).

[64] Bohigas i Balaguer, "Profecies catalanes dels segles xiv i xv," *Bulletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya* 6.9 (1920–22), 24–49.

[65] Miguel Asín Palacios, *Huellas del Islam: Sto. Tomás de Aquino, Turmeda, Pascal, S. Juan de la Cruz* (Madrid, 1941).

[66] Manuel de Montoliu, *Eiximenis: Turmeda i l'inici de l'humanisme a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1959).

who studied 'Abdallah al-Taryuman's *Tuhfa*, written in Arabic in 1420 and primarily intended for a Muslim audience.

It is important to discuss Turmeda's life before we turn to his prophecy composed in response to the Schism, for his life leading to, and including, his conversion to Islam provided him a unique framework within which he composed his prophetic poem. In the first part of the *Tuhfa*, Turmeda relates the events that led him to become a devout Muslim. Throughout his work, Turmeda offered his readers an orthodox view of Islam and made sure that he voiced his opinions within traditional Muslim thought.[67] For Turmeda, Islam was the "best of the religions," the "right way," and the perfect religion that "cancels all the rest of religions"[68] and will last until the day of the Final Judgment.[69] He designed his autobiography as an instruction manual for his readers. Coming from a Christian background, Turmeda provided the attentive Muslim reader access to a body of first-hand, privileged knowledge that would allow the reader to refute the ideas and the teachings of Christian missionaries.[70] His prior life as a Christian served as an additional point of validation to the importance of his work, because, like other accounts of medieval converts, "the persuasive power of the theological argument was bolstered by…[his] 'insider' knowledge of his former religion and the personal account of his conversion, the confession of his earlier sin and error."[71]

Born on the island of Majorca, Turmeda was raised within an inherently cosmopolitan and pluralist environment. The transfer and exchange of various languages, cultures, and religions filled the Mediterranean Basin as merchant ships and missionaries traveled to and from different entrepôts.[72] The earliest historical evidence that we have of Anselm Turmeda comes from a testament of 1376. It tells us that his godfather, Pere Silvester, a member of the weavers' guild of Palma de Majorca, left a sum of money "to my dear godson, Fray

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[67] Epalza, *Tuhfa*, p. 79.

[68] Ibid., p. 193.

[69] Ibid., pp. 192–93 and 276.

[70] There are four fundamental ideas behind the *Tuhfa* that Turmeda espoused. First, Islam is the best of all the religions; second, the Christian Scriptures were forged; third, Jesus was not God, but a man and a prophet; and, finally, all things Christian are false and absurd.

[71] Alvarez, "Anselm Turmeda," p. 172.

[72] See the collection of articles from David Abulafia, *Mediterranean Encounters: Economic, Religious, Political, 1100–1550* (Burlington, 2000).

Anselm Turmeda, of the Order of the Friars Minor, so that he prays for my soul."[73] Although Turmeda had not yet been ordained, we read in the *Tuhfa* that his religious education began at an early age. In his autobiography, Turmeda declared, "when I was six years old, my father sent me to a priest from whom I learned more than half the Gospels by heart within two years."[74] Two years later, Turmeda began his basic curriculum of studies.

At the age of 14, Turmeda traveled to Lérida, the first university founded in the Crown of Aragon, which he described as "a city of studies."[75] While at the University of Lérida, Turmeda remarked that he "learned the natural sciences and astrology during six years."[76] Although he made it clear to his reader that he studied astrology, most likely it also incorporated astronomy, which comprised one of the four parts of the medieval *quadrivium*. His emphasis on his study of, and affinity for, astrology is significant, for it would give additional legitimacy and authority to his later divinatory and prophetic writings. The medieval disciplines of astronomy and astrology, after all, were more than the study of celestial movements; people used the discipline to attempt to predict disasters both natural and, as in the case of the Great Western Schism, human. The French cardinal Pierre d'Ailly (d. 1420), for instance, used astrology to assure himself that the end of the world was not imminent and that a Church council could convene to end the Great Schism and heal Christendom.[77]

After his stint in Lérida, Turmeda continued his peripatetic existence and moved to the university city of Bologna, where he spent ten years studying theology.[78] At this point in his life, Turmeda was 35 years old. It was during his sojourn in Bologna that Turmeda ultimately discovered why he should convert to Islam. In Bologna, he lived in

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[73] Turmeda, *Tuhfa*, p. 11. "a mi querido ahijado, Fray Anselmo Turmeda, de la Orden de los Friales Menores, para que rece por mi alma."

[74] Ibid., pp. 204–05. "Cuando tuve seis años, me envió a un profesor, que era sacerdote. Aprendí de él el Evangelio hasta saber de memoria más de la mitad en dos años."

[75] Ibid., pp. 204–05. "en tierras de Cataluña. Es una ciudad de estudios…"

[76] Ibid., pp. 206–207. "Allí aprendí las ciencias de Naturalium y la astología durante seis años."

[77] This is the principal argument behind Smoller's *History, Prophecy and the Stars*. For more on d'Ailly's apocalyptic understandings, see also Louis B. Pascoe, *Church and Reform: Bishops, Theologians, and Canon Lawyers in the Thought of Pierre d'Ailly, 1351–1420* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 11–51.

[78] Turmeda, *Tuhfa*, p. 210.

"a church of a priest of great age and of great authority among the Christians, called Nicolas Myrtle,"[79] who, according to Turmeda, was a much-respected individual:

> His dignity was very high among them because of his knowledge, his piety, and his austere life. For these, in his time, he had no par in all of Christendom. All types of eminent people, kings and others, consulted him about religious matters. These consultations were accompanied by lucrative presents. They all wanted to obtain his blessing and that he accept their presents, by which action they were very honored.[80]

Turmeda had a close personal relationship with Nicolas and was able to lead his class' studies when Nicolas fell ill one day. Turmeda and his colleagues spoke about Jesus' words in a passage from the Gospel of John where Jesus said, "After me, a prophet called the Paraclete will come."[81] This led to a discussion during which "each student spoke in order about what he knew or thought…they separated without arriving at a defined result to this matter."[82] Turmeda went to see his professor, who asked him about what transpired in class during his absence and who eventually chastized his pupil for leading such facile discussions on the Paraclete.[83] Nicolas told him, "Certainly, the knowledge of this illustrious name is very useful, but I fear for you. If it is divulged by you, the Christian people will kill you instantly."[84] Turmeda promised to guard the secret knowledge that his adviser would give him. Nicolas told Anselm that the name of this mysterious prophet of whom Jesus foretold was none other than Muhammad and that Islam was the true

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[79] Ibid., p. 210.

[80] Ibid., pp. 208–10. "viví en una iglesia de un sacerdote de mucha edad y gran autoridad entre ellos, llamado Nicoláu Fratello. Su dignidad era muy alta entre ellos por su ciencia, su piedad y su vida austera. Por esto no tenía par, en su tiempo, en toda la Cristiandad. Le consultaban sobre temas religiosos toda clase de personas eminentes, hasta reyes y otros. Las consultas iban acompañadas de pingues regalos. Todos deseaban obtener su bendición y que aceptara sus regalos, con lo que quedaban muy honrados."

[81] Ibid., p. 212. This passage is based on John 14:16, "et ego rogabo Patrem et alium paracletum dabit vobis ut maneat vobiscum in aeternum" and 16:7, "sed ego veritatem dico vobis expedit vobis ut ego vadam si enim non abiero paracletus non veniet ad vos si autem abiero mittam eum ad vos," where the Paraclete is linked with the Holy Spirit.

[82] Ibid., p. 212. "Cada uno dijo por orden lo que sabía y opinaba, y se originó una gran discusión entre ellos sobre este punto. Después se separaron sin llegar a un resultado definitivo del problema."

[83] Ibid., p. 214.

[84] Ibid., p. 214. "Ciertamente el conocimiento de este nombre es muy útil, pero temo por ti. Si esto es divulgado por ti, el pueblo cristiano te matará al instante."

religion. The connection between Muhammad and the Paraclete, in which Muhammad was believed to be this foretold prophet, was common within Islamic religious discourse as the Paraclete became linked to Ahmad, one of Muhammad's names as cited in the Koran:

> And of Jesus son of Mary, who said to the Israelites: 'I am sent forth to you from God to confirm the Torah already revealed, and to give news of an apostle that will come after me whose name is Ahmad.[85]

Turmeda's teacher commanded him: "My son, enter into the true faith of Islam."[86] When Turmeda asked him why he himself had not converted, Nicolas responded,

> My son, God, may he be praised, taught me the truth about what I have said concerning the religion of Islam and the greatness of his prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him, when I was already quite old and my body quite weak…if God had directed me to this when I was your age, I would have left everything without doubt.[87]

It is clear that Turmeda wanted his Muslim audience to know that his widely admired and legitimized Christian mentor revealed a precious gem of wisdom to him in urging him to convert. Turmeda, however, does not portray Nicolas as honorable. At one point, he simultaneously warned and threatened his student:

> If you reveal anything of this, the people will obtain your death and I will be unable to do anything for you. And it will do you no good if you attribute your idea to me. I will deny it and my word will have weight against you, whereas your word will have no weight against me. I will be innocent of your blood and nobody will think that I advised you of any of this.[88]

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[85] *The Koran*, Al Saff 61:6. See also W. Montgomery Watt, "His Name is Ahmad," *The Muslim World* 43.2 (April, 1953), 110–17; and, more recently, Walter Wagner, "Toward a Christian-Islamic Ecumenic Encounter," *Dialog: A Journal of Theology* 43.3 (Fall 2004), 238–43.

[86] Turmeda, *Tuhfa*, p. 218.

[87] Turmeda, *Tuhfa*, p. 218. "Hijo mío, Dios—ensalzado sea—me enseñó la verdad de lo que te he dicho sobre la religión del Islam y la grandeza de su profeta—la bendición y la paz de Dios sean con él—cuano ya tenía muchos años de edad y mi cuerpo estaba ya muy débil…Si Dios me hubiera dirigido a esto cuando tenía tu edad lo hubiera dejado todo sin dudar."

[88] Turmeda, *Tuhfa*, p. 220. "Si revelas algo de esto, el pueblo obtendrá tu muerte y yo no podré hacer nada por ti. De nada te servirá que me atribuyas la idea a mí. Yo lo negaré y mi palabra valdrá contra ti mientras que tu palabra no valdrá nada contra mí. Yo seré inocente de tu sangre y nadie pensará que he opinado nada de esto."

Alvarez has leveled an additional criticism against Turmeda's former adviser. The depiction of Myrtle as a coward was, as Alvarez has written, "a curiously inverted form of *taqiyya* [a form of concealing one's Islamic faith], in which the dissimulation consists in the *failure* [emphasis hers] to publicly convert, the refusal to openly acknowledge the beliefs that he privately claims."[89]

Nonetheless, after Myrtle's ominous threat, Turmeda wrote that his teacher blessed him for his decision, gave him fifty gold dinars, and instructed him to return to Majorca, with the ultimate goal of going on to Muslim lands to begin his new life. He briefly stayed in Majorca and then departed for Sicily, where he stayed an additional five months. From there, Turmeda booked passage for a boat bound for Tunis and left Christendom. Upon his arrival in Tunis in 1387, Christian soldiers had already heard of Turmeda, though he did not elaborate in his biography how or why, and thye greeted him at the port. In addition, "some merchants that also lived in Tunis"[90] accompanied the soldiers, and this expatriate Christian community in Tunis made Turmeda their "honored and well-treated guest for four months."[91] Although the Franciscan kept his true intentions secret from the group, he asked if there were individuals who could function as a translator for him, if he were to request an audience from the sultan of Tunis, Abu al-Abbas Ahmed. They told him about a certain physician, Yusuf, and Turmeda went to meet him, to ask him to arrange a meeting with the sultan, and to be his interpreter.[92]

During their meeting, the sultan listened to Turmeda's story and made the cleric stand aside as he called in Turmeda's companions, the European soldiers and merchants. The sultan asked them their opinion of Turmeda, and they purportedly responded that, "our sages have agreed that they have not seen a higher authority of knowledge and religion in all of Christendom."[93] The sultan then presented Turmeda,

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[89] Alvarez, "Anselm Turmeda," pp. 183–84.

[90] Turmeda, *Tuhfa*, p. 222. "Les acompañaran algunos comerciantes que vivían también en Túnez."

[91] Ibid., p. 222. "honrado y muy bien tratado."

[92] Ibid., p. 224. "Después de esto les pregunté si había en la casa del sultán alguien que supiera bien la lengua de los cristianos…Los cristianos me dijeron que había en el palacio del mencionado sultán un hombre, que era uno de los más altos dignatatios de su servidumbre, llamado Yúsuf el Médico."

[93] Ibid., p. 226. "Nuestros doctores llegan a decir que no han visto una autoridad más alta en ciencia y en religión en toda la cristiandad."

and the former Franciscan uttered the Muslim profession of faith. His Christian companions became upset about this turn of events and could offer only one reason why Turmeda had renounced his faith, the "bastard impulse" to which Estanislao Aguiló had referred: "What has brought him to this is the desire to marry, because our priests do not marry."[94] Turmeda ended the account of his conversion with the final, short sentence: "They left afflicted and saddened."[95] According to de Epalza, other manuscript versions of the *Tuhfa* add "and weeping."[96]

The rest of the biographical section of the *Tuhfa* narrates the progressive rise of Turmeda's fortunes because of his conversion. Adopting the name 'Abdallah bin 'Abdallah, he quickly became a favorite of the sultan. Five months after his conversion he became chief of customs at the *Dar al-Mujtass*, the "Monopoly House," which was an entity that regulated Tunisian economic monopolies of such products as salt or soap. It was also the administrative entity charged with selling licenses to merchants and charging the corresponding taxes. Turmeda would later become the director of this administration, a post with more responsibility and honor than being a mere chief of customs.[97] One reason why Turmeda was promoted was his fluency in Catalan, a language useful for commercial transactions in the late medieval Mediterranean.

There were Catalan consulates in every major port in the Mediterranean and the Levant, modeled after Barcelona's own Consulat de Mar, which ensured a thorough Catalan presence in the Mediterranean. These consulates frequently fulfilled diplomatic functions, and the law they brought with them came to define international maritime law. Catalan merchants sailed in great numbers around the Mediterranean, and Tunis was one of the most important and lucrative centers of trade and diplomacy. Thus, it made perfect sense to put someone like Turmeda in charge of maritime customs for Tunis. Indeed, his sobriquet, *al-Taryuman* [the translator], attests to his skill in navigating between the Catalan and the Arabic linguistic spheres. Moreover, the fact that cosmopolitan Catalan merchants who plied the waters of various trading posts in the Mediterranean had their own distinct interests in prophecy

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[94] Ibid., p. 228. "Lo que le ha llevado a esto es el deseo de casarse, porque el sacerdote entre nosotros no se casa."

[95] Ibid., p. 228. "Salieron aflijidos y tristes."

[96] Ibid., p. 228.

[97] Ibid., p. 232.

and the unfolding of history could provide a potential audience for Turmeda's Catalan vernacular prophecies.[98]

This leads me to discuss his prophecy that dealt with the events of the Great Western Schism. There are at least four variants of the same prophetic poem that he wrote, from between the years 1405 to 1407, though Epalza believes that there may be more that have not yet been discovered.[99] For the purposes of this investigation, I will discuss a prophecy that I have analyzed closely, located at the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona and part of a larger collection of documents entitled manuscript number 485, folios 259v–261v. Its Catalan title is simple and straightforward: *Prophecies that Brother Anselm Turmeda made in the year 1405. In Tunis, in Barbary, concerning some future events.*[100] Only two folia long, this brief prophecy is bound with other 15th-century documents, including other medieval prophecies, copies of legal customs, and historic varia. Turmeda's prophecy is located toward the end of the collection.[101]

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[98] Martin Aurell, "Messianisme royal de la couronne d'Aragon," *Annales: Histoire, sciences sociales* 52.1 (January 1997), 119–155.

[99] Epalza, *Tuhfa*, p. 21. It would be fruitful if scholars with a facility with the Arabic language could investigate the possibilities of the existence of any translations of Turmeda's divinatory writings.

[100] Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 485, fols. 259v–261v [hereafter BC]. "P[ro]fecies q[ue] frare encelm turmeda feu en el añy mccccv. En tuñis de barberia/ço es de algunes cosses esdeuenidores."

[101] The full modern reference from the guide at the Biblioteca de Catalunya that describes the contents of MS 485 reads as follows: "Recopilatio deiversarum antiquitatem. Comité entre altres. Recognoverunt Proceres.—Diverses constituciones d'Alfons II, Jaume II, Alfons III, Pere IV, i les Corts de Montsó, Barcelona, Lleida, Montblanc, Girona, Perpinyà i—Miscellània Cervera.—de dret català, la major part en llatí. Usatici Barchinonae.—Consuetudines Cathaloniae inter dominos et vasallos. Commemorationes de Pere Albert.—Confirmatio Domini Regis Jacobi facta de ordinationibus factis per Jacobum Grunni…super navibus et lignis et barchis. Diverses notes historiques en llatí. Castra et civitates quas tenet Soldanus, dels reis feudataris de l'Església; de las províncies de que es compenen algun estats, de Niner, primer rei dels assiris, etc.—Estat general de l'Església; títols de cardenals, diòcesi de la cristiandad, indulgències als visitants de les esglésies de Roma.—Annals d'història eclesiàstica i civil que acaben en el regnat de Martí I d'Aragó. En llatí. Dietari de Guillem Mascaró-Anselm Turmeda, Profecies que frare Encelm Turmeda feu en l'any 1405 en Tunis de Berberia i altres profecies de 1406 i 1407. Fragment de profecia llatina sobre l'època de Ferran I.—Profecia treta del apocalipsy per los fils de don Ferrando Rey de Arago. A 1415-Revelació la qual Nostre Senyor Deu demostra al çaserdot Esodre, per ço que ensenyas als fills d'Israel la calitat del any per la entrada de Janer. Fragment de la Crònica de Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, en llatí, que sembla ésser la traduida al català per Pere Ribera de Perpinyà. Fragment dels Gesta Comitum Barchinonesium. En Català. S. XV." See also Pere Bohigas i Balaguer, "Profecies catalanes dels segles XIV i XV," *Buttletí de la Biblioteca*

Turmeda wrote this prophecy as a series of rhyming couplets in the Catalan vernacular, after his conversion to Islam. This divination poem reflects his interests both in astrology and in the state of the current religious and political problems that troubled Christendom as he directed his prophecy to a Christian audience. The overarching theme of this prophecy is the Great Western Schism that rent Christendom, and Turmeda demonstrates, like Bovet, his criticism of the indifference of the leaders of Christendom to the situation.

What is immediately confounding about Turmeda's prophecy is why the new Muslim convert concerned himself with the "sin of the…Schism."[102] On one level, the prophecy represents his criticism against the hypocrisy that engendered the Schism and caused the contemporary turmoil. As a self-imposed exile, writing in the comfort and stability provided by the Tunisian sultanate, Turmeda had the opportunity to expound upon, and to criticize safely, the events of the Schism. He observed first-hand the effects of the Schism within the understanding of contemporary Europeans. Many believed it was, in accordance with the prophecy established in the Pauline epistles, the presaged *discessio*, the cutting away from, the Church. Moreover, as Alvarez has written, "Turmeda had a clear view of a Europe devastated by religious division and endless wars, and gripped by the apocalyptic fear of the Antichrist."[103] The language the convert uses throughout this prophecy-poem was confrontational against the leaders of Christendom. At multiple points, he describes the existence of the Schism to be "an offense"[104] and a situation that was nothing more than "hypocrisy."[105]

In addition, as a convert to Islam, Turmeda did not need to fear the consequences of dabbling with divination in his prophecies about the Schism, which might not have been the case had he remained a Christian writing in Europe. For instance, the histories of the visionary friars Pere of Aragon and the Aquitainian Franciscan, John of Rupescissa—respectively an individual related to the ruling family of the Crown of Aragon and a preacher imprisoned in Avignon for his support of the heretical Spiritual Franciscans—demonstrate how visionaries

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de Catalunya 6 (1920–22), 38–39, 46–47. Unfortunately, I do not know who compiled and bound these various medieval documents.

[102] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "pecat d[e]l cisma."
[103] Alvarez, "Anselm Turmeda," p. 185.
[104] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "e la offenssa…"
[105] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "de hipocresia…"

could, and did, receive significant scorn from secular and ecclesiastical authorities alike.[106] In both Pere's and Rupescissa's cases, the visions that they had in relation to the overarching religious turmoil were criticized profoundly. Pere was rebuked by members of his own family, and Rupescissa's vision—an elaborate text named the *Liber Secretorum Eventuum* which he wrote as his defense against heresy—earned him the appellation of *fantasticus*, an imaginative fool.[107] Thus, prophesying about the future during this time of great religious turmoil could be seen as a problematic act.

Nonetheless, in this text Turmeda makes sure to stress that the events that he foresaw were thanks to a God-given ability to divine future events, invoking the phrase "Dear is the knowledge that God gave unto me."[108] Unlike other medieval prophets, however, Turmeda does not support his vision with passages from authoritative biblical prophets. At points throughout the work, he constructs phrases that rooted his success in divination within a base of authoritative astrological knowledge. He often describes this body of hidden knowledge in an unclear manner, possibly to maintain the cohesiveness of the rhythm of the poetry: *Que axi no sia/ si astrologia/ no me engana.*[109] The message that Turmeda seeks to bring forth is that he could divine the future by charting the movements of the stars. Somewhat surprisingly, he sometimes boasts of his skills, at one point writing, "Thus will be the

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[106] For more on the mass of prophets and visionaries during the time of the Great Western Schism, whose bulk of writings regarding the political and theological issues surrounding the Schism were especially powerful vehicles for both criticism and support, see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski's *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, as well as her chapter in this current volume. For an introduction to the life and writings of Pere of Aragon, see José María Pou i Martí, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes (siglos XIII–XV)* (Madrid, 1991), pp. 308–96. For more on John of Rupescissa, see Jeanne Bignami-Odier, *Études sur Jean de Roquetaillade* (Paris, 1952); idem, "Jean de Roquetaillade (de Rupescissa)," *Histoire littéraire de La France* 41 (1981), 75–240; André Vauchez, "Jean de Roquetaillade (†*c.* 1366): Bilan de recherches et état de la question," in *Eschatologie und Hussitismus: Internationales Kolloquium Prag 1.–4. September 1993* (Prague, 1996); and Colette Beaune and André Vauchez, "Recherches sur prophétisme en Occident," in *Genèse de l'état moderne: Bilans et perspectives*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genêt (Paris, 1990), pp. 201–06. See also the critical edition of the *Liber secretorum eventuum: Édition critique, traduction et introduction historique*, ed. Robert Lerner and Christine Morerod-Fattebert (Fribourg, 1994).

[107] For Pere's dismissal, see Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, pp. 58–59; and for the translation of *fantasticus* as "imaginative fool," see Daniel Hobbins, "The Schoolman as Public Intellectual: Jean Gerson and the Late Medieval Tract," *The American Historical Review* (December 2003), 1328.

[108] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "Car la sciença/ qu[e] deus ma dada."

[109] B.C., 485, fol. 259v.

land if my flawless divination does not err,"[110] a phrase that he repeats again at the end of the prophecy.

The manuscript of the prophecy, although brief in folio count, is nonetheless a substantial text. Depending on the page of the folio, there are three to four long columns of legible, albeit miniscule, Catalan on the page, offering a total of 16 columns of prophetic writing. The first few lines are straightforward enough: "The promises and heavy sentences which were revealed as brought forth through the great prophets and the tempests that draw near."[111] Turmeda then mentions that an outside force, the "pagan peoples, brandishing a lance, have hopes of causing damage to the great [ruling] lineage."[112] Yet Turmeda soon segues into a criticism of the leaders of Church and State in Christendom, intimating that whatever damages the "pagan peoples" might unleash upon western Christendom would be richly deserved. For the Muslim convert, the allegorical Church in his prophecy is made distraught over its current state: "Those who bear the holy oil, the sin of the Schism produces such evil; those who bear the [papal] crown falsely…on account of them, the Holy Church weeps."[113]

Turmeda launches into a blistering attack against the clergy who "deceive the world under the skin of a sheep and order us to be abstinent" and who "undo the world through their evil." Turmeda calls them nothing more than hypocrites and simoniacs.[114] And like Bovet's

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[110] B.C., 485, fols. 260v. and 261v. "sera la terra/ si ia no erra/ la meu sciencia/ sense fallenca."

[111] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "Les prometençes/e greus sentencies/qui reuelades/fforen posadse/pels grants profetes/E les tempestes/veyg ques acosten."

[112] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "E ia desbosquen/ley propina/ la gent pagana/brandint la lanca/han esperanca/de fer dampnage/al grant linatge."

[113] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "qui porta crisma/pecat d[e]l cisma/ tal mal los dona/ Cels qui corona/ falssame[n]t portan/veyg ques deportan/en fer malea/fran/e falssia/en els demora/sobre ells plora/ santa esglesia."

[114] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "sots pell de ovella/lo mon eganen/e a nos manen/ffer abstinencia/e la ofensa/que an comessa/Ia lan tramessa/p[er]vent afora/juncta es la hora/que la clerecia/p[er] llur malia/lo mon desfaca/Tel semblanza/qui dels se fia/de hipocresía/portan bandera/e de sent pere/la uia lesban [lexan?]/e tots se fexan/ab symonia." I am unsure who exactly copied this manuscript of Turmeda's prophecy, but the comment about abstinence raises an intriguing point. One of the themes that carried through studies about Turmeda's conversion is whether or not he turned away from Christianity to be married, as mentioned above. Though there are no readily available ways to prove this assertion, it would be very intriguing to see if the comment about abstinence was a medieval copyist's attempt to insert a popular lore surrounding Turmeda as another avenue for criticism against the clergy.

character of the *Sarrazin*, Turmeda writes that the Roman curia prefers pomp and celebration to healing the Schism.[115] Moreover, it is not just the Church in Rome that drags its feet in resolving the spiritual crisis, making the Mediterranean a bitter sea.[116] Turmeda argues that "the [European] kings do not care…because they want the Schism to endure, to make a sophism and place a gloss on everything."[117]

The descriptions about the trials and tribulations that accompany the Great Western Schism and plague the land, which Turmeda launches into soon after discussing the inaction of both temporal and spiritual authorities, brings to mind images associated with the Apocalypse.[118] José María Pou i Martí has criticized Turmeda on this point, arguing that because the Antichrist does not make a personal appearance whatsoever in Turmeda's prophecy, it cannot be characterized as truly apocalyptic and therefore Turmeda was instead a visionary, rather than an apocalyptic prophet, a statement that Alvarez has mirrored in her own study.[119] This is a criticism with which I respectfully disagree. Although one does not see the direct presence of the Antichrist or the hosts of Gog and Magog in Turmeda's prophecy, the *topoi* of apocalyptic tribulations that arise in other contemporary prophetic texts regarding the Schism nonetheless repeatedly materialize throughout the work. Turmeda's prophecy is therefore ontologically an apocalyptic prophecy; the images he depicts would most likely have invoked in a medieval reader's mind the advent of the Antichrist. The son of perdition need not have had a direct presence in these texts, for all the wickedness and tribulations in the world would point to his certain coming.

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[115] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "He qui uol ballia/en cort de roma/syno ha lana/debades trompa/la lur pompa/e grant usfana."

[116] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "Ley xpi[sti]ana/passa p[re]ssura/o cansa dura/e molt amargua/que nostra mare/dos maritsaje."

[117] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "De tal dampnage/los Reys no curen/e ells messuren/co q[ue] no molen/p[er] ço ells volen/que dur los cisme/p[er] fer sofisma/e metre glossa/en tota cossa qui p[er] ells faca."

[118] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "/Infern abraçe/les gents p[er]dudes/qui son caygudes/sota lo cisme/deu del altisme/pudor sen dona/p[er] ço ordona/que les agrestes/e Graus tempestes/qui la scriptura/sota figura/hauia closses/ab lurs glosses/vinguer entera/."

[119] Pou i Martí, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes*; Alvarez, "Anselm Turmeda," p. 178. "While the *Profecies* invoke many of the common elements of apocalyptic discourse—cataclysmic wars, the stench of rotting corpses, pestilence and famine, sons turning against their fathers, and the vision of an era of peace and unity following the 'tempesta'—the texts lack any mention of the Antichrist or of the beasts and iconography typically associated with the Christian apocalypse."

Since Christendom, both in this prophecy and its contemporary reality, is fractured both physically and spiritually, general disorder and widespread devastation will result. Turmeda prophesizes that the attentive reader "will see famine and war, with pestilence in tow; already it begins."[120] He continues this apocalyptic theme throughout his prophecy. Later on, for instance, he argues that the result of this pestilence and famine would be catastrophic. Death will pervade the land and the stench of rotting corpses will pollute the air: "Throughout the whole of the land, on account of the dead, the air will reek."[121]

Turmeda hints that his prophecy will not be welcome news to everyone's ears, and he adopts a somewhat secretive tone. Through his "God-given knowledge," he knows of "a hidden people who do not want the prophecy to fail."[122] Such cryptic phrases were common in medieval prophetic texts. For instance, Turmeda segues into an enigmatic reference to a woman named Eve, "abandoned [and] scorned," who might stand as an allegorical representation of the Church.[123] Such elusive, unclear references are some of the methodological difficulties in working with medieval prophetic texts, for prophets were intentionally ambiguous in their prognostications. As Robert Lerner has observed:

> Medieval prophecies are rife with obscure allusions. The meaning of some of these may have been clearer to contemporaries than to us, but there is good reason to believe that many prophets invented fully incomprehensible obscurities because they thought them appropriate: had a prophet been forced to say what he meant by a certain line, he would have had to answer that he could not tell. This makes matters extremely difficult for the modern commentator who not only can easily be mistaken in interpreting what was once intelligible, but also has no touchstone for distinguishing the originally intelligible from the eternally unintelligible. Hypotheses in such areas are unavoidable.[124]

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[120] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "Veus fam e guerra/ ab pestilenca/ Que ja comenta/e que sa ajusten/ay cell…qui resten/huuy en lauia/he gren nous sia/lamena loquença/."

[121] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "p[er] tota lorta/ de la ge[n]t morta/ pudira la ayre."

[122] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "car la sciença/qu de[us] ma dada/gens amagada/ne vull q[ue] sia/la p[ro]ffecia/es espaxada/."

[123] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "per ço lexada/la longa via/ab maestria/sia acurcuda/e breu posada/abandonada/vituperada/sera la spossa/qui blanca/vossa/Eva nomenada/he pus priuada/de sa corona/la gra[n]t colona/sera p[ro]uenca/ab sa potenca/metra en cassa/de colp despassa/glauie lanca/sera gra[n]t danca/en cort romana/bruta vilana."

[124] Robert Lerner, *The Powers of Prophecy: The Cedar of Lebanon Vision From the Mongol Onslaught to the Dawn of the Enlightenment* (Berkeley, 1983), p. 8.

Although in Turmeda's prophecy his language is opaque, the clear skies reveal to him the future. He begins a new section of his prophecy with a reference to an astronomical phenomenon ("When by fortune, a final eclipse outside the moon") and then switches briefly to Latin to enjoin his reader to "Behold what I wrote," as being correct, "if astrology doesn't deceive me."[125] This section of the prophecy appears to be concerned with issues of politics and class. The result of this predicted final eclipse will see the rise of a lower class of people assuming command, "by a false way…in that hour," and waging war against members of the elite, an inversion of the social order engendered by the Great Western Schism.[126]

The prophecy then segues into a long discussion of political and diplomatic conflicts among various European powers. Although the main theme of Turmeda's prophecy was the resolution of the Great Schism, like other medieval authors of prophetic texts, he adds ample discussion concerning the political world of late medieval Europe. He predicts attacks against the kingdom of France, because of its support of the Schism, that will result in the kingdom's defeat; various troubles in Lombardy and the Empire, no doubt a reference to the warring between the Ghibellines and the Guelphs; and, addressing Rome directly as "You, vile whore, or German," Turmeda predicts that "with a foreign people, coming into Rome after the coma [a cloudlike mass that surrounds the nucleus and makes up a comet's head], you [Rome] will be conquered, hardly recognizable…on that day."[127]

War among the various European powers will be, in Turmeda's prophecy, pervasive: "By your colonists, they will put your crowns into

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[125] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "Qua[n]t p[er] fortuna/fora la luna/final eclipssi/ecce q[uo]d scripssi/No es luny gayre/Nis pot strayre/Que axi no sia/si astrologia/no me engana."

[126] B.C., 485, fol. 259v. "E cell qui jahia/en p[er]ssonia/p[er] falssa via/exira de fora/en cella hora/lo poch linatge/al gra[n]t pavatge/metra p[en] terra/Ab ta[n]t lur guerra/sera finida/E la sposada/ab gra[n]t bandanca/tindra balanca/de la pretura/met en messura/en sos [con]ctes/hauran tals actes/poca durada/jaque nos moga/lalta corona/en el p[er]sona/sota cuberta/faent offerta/d[e]l sant babtista/coma sophista/sera [con]trarii/al gra[n]t vicarii."

[127] B.C., 485, fol. 260r. "E asa spossa/da gra[n]t nostra/la flor derrera/q[ue] la p[r]imera/sera pus mala/cells d[e]l scala/dins lombardia/en aycell dia/ab lur potenca/faran valenca/al rey de franca/de puys bona[n]ça/vendra fortuna/ap[re]s la luna/a la gra[n]t barcha/ço p[er] la marcha/ancomitana/Tu vil putanya/o alamanya/ab ge[n]t stranya/vine[n]t en roma/ap[r]es la coma/seras vencuda/desconeguda/has la teu mare/qui a ton pare/dona potenca/per tal offenssa/gra[n]t uituperii/rebra limperii/par clerecia/car en cell dia."

the earth and they will wage war until the gates and the dead will cor-
rupt the air."[128] Turmeda suggests that most of the forces and supporters
of the Holy Roman Empire will leave Rome for a period: "You will be
deprived, divorced, from the empire, twenty-two months."[129] He then
prophesizes that after that stretch of time, the French king will "admit
his fault" in prolonging the crisis of the Schism and will immediately
seek to rectify the situation. The ascension of the "true pope" to the
Holy See, "in that hour, the aforesaid great Sire will repair without
delay, from the high seat, [the state of affairs]…making friendship
and pardon…taking up the crown of lordship," will "resuscitate" the
Church.[130] Rome, earlier decried by Turmeda as nothing more than a
vile whore, will then become "like a queen."[131]

    After the restoration of Rome's glory, Turmeda then writes about
the "great enterprise" of a crusade waged agasint the Barbary Coast,
a part of the prophecy that may perhaps reflect the unease felt by
Christians against the growing Muslim strength.[132] He predicts that "in
Barbary there will be a voyage, a great outrage," that will be checked by
a unified Muslim presence, "an infinite people, well settled, black and
white…like a rushing water around the tower…the pagan people, by
the great show, by a great battle, the red cross of the Genoese [will be
swamped]."[133] Turmeda then switches to a patriotic, almost providential,

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[128] B.C., 485, fol. 260r. "Ab les colones/les teus corones/metran p[er] terra/e faran
guerra/fins a les portes/e les gents mortes/corronpran layre."
[129] B.C., 485, fol. 260r. "Del enperayre/seras priuada/desmaridada/vint e dos mes-
sos."
[130] B.C., 485, fol. 260r. "Ab lums encestes/ap[r]es tal danca/lo rey de franca/sense
bandanca/dins en set pera/dira sa culpa/Cell qui sen volpa/d[e]lla gra[n]t capa/vertader
papa/en cella hora/sensse demora/dalta cadira/et dit gra[n]t sira/dara repayre/sens cor
uayre/faena amistanca/e perdonanca/dara conplida/e beneyda/la ge[n]t stranya/darlas
romanya/p[er] lur soldada/pres tal jornada/la mala testa/fara gra[n]t festa/dins encona/
prene[n]t corona/de sensoria."
[131] B.C., 485, fol. 260r. "En aycell dia/sera la sglesia/qui morta iahyia/resuscitada/e
gint ornada/com a regina/per la marina/fara gra[n]t danca."
[132] B.C., 485, fol. 260r. "Alcant la lanca/d[e] la croada/Espaxada/la gra[n]t empressa/
ne sera pressa/gens presuria."
[133] B.C., 485, fol. 260r. "En barbaria/fara viatge/per lo ultrage/comes per ella/mas
la nouella/sera sentida/Ans d[e] la partida/d[e] la gra[n]t flota/Cell quis asseta/lo seu
linatge/hauta la plage/be stablida/gent infinida/negra/e blanca/pres la palanca/hon
laygua corre/sobre la torre/pres la ue[r]desqua/sera la tresca/de la batalla/la donchs
sens falla/ap[r]es la costa/sera desbasta/la gent pagana/ab gra[n]t uffana/ab gra[n]t
peleya/la creu ve[r]mella/de genouessos/auent sotsmessos/cells de bugia/ffaran lauja/de
la mu[n]tanya."

tone within his prophecy. The Catalan nation, he argues, will take up the enterprise of the crusade:

> The great company, lost in the woods, will get a road, but will be conquered by a torrent, crying "Help!" and you the Catalan people, by the plan, with great power [and] courage, raising the flag [and] breaking the block of paganism, will make a point of making conquest, [glory to] God in the highest.[134]

After its successful crusading campaign, the Crown of Aragon will see a great punishment unleashed upon it. After the feast of Saint John the Baptist, "there will be a storm in Catalonia," and it appears that dynastic squabbling, perpetrated by the House of Luna, might rip the kingdom apart. A Valencian noble family whose luminaries included Maria, the contemporary queen of the Crown of Aragon, and her relative, the Avignonese pope Benedict XIII, the Lunas will take advantage of the assassination of a member of the House of Aragon.[135] Additional apocalyptic horrors then will be unleashed upon the land. Plague will strike the city of Barcelona, and the Crown of Aragon will draw upon the population of Majorca for its needs, requesting 20,000 people, with such a request depopulating that island in turn.[136] On the day that "a great goat, hanging in the tree" is seen, "horrible famine" will plague the kingdom.[137] Within this climate of endemic warfare and starvation, "in such a tempest, in such a sinister development, the aforesaid most apt, for deeds of war, will provision themselves," resulting in widespread food hoarding.[138]

Turmeda also criticizes other prophets and visionaries of the Schism. He rails against the Beguins, Franciscan tertiaries, and supporters of the Spiritual Franciscans, using pejorative terms against them: "O whorish

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[134] B.C., 485, fol. 260r. "Ab gra[n]t companya/per lo boscaje/sense guiatge/p[r]enent carrera/per la riera sera ue[n]guda/cridant ajuda/i us per la plana/gent catalana/ab gra[n]t potenca/faena ualenca/alcant bandera/ronpant la squerra/d[e]l paganismo/deu d[e]l altisme/dara puxanca/de fer conq[ue]sta."

[135] B.C., 485, fol. 260r. "E del babtista/passant la festa/sera tenpesta/en catalunya/e cell quis lunya/de la seu cassa/a colp de spassa/voldra la entrada/."

[136] B.C., 485, fol. 260r. "E sosterrada raval/la alta corona/ve[us] barcelona/ i us p[er] la plaga/ma[n]dar missatge/a la gra[n]t illa/o vinti milla/den te confona/car la corona/p[er] lo teu acte/fahent contracte/sera torbada/deshabitada/sera la terra/al mig la guerra."

[137] B.C., 485, fol. 260r. "E tu ve[r]dura/sera pastura/dia gra[n]t cabra/pengant en larbre/veuran ta polpa/p[er] la gra[n]t colpa/q[ue] auras comessa/ssera entessa/orrible fama."

[138] B.C., 485, fol. 260r. "En tal tempesta/en tal sinistre/dara recapte/lo dit molt apte/en fet de guerra."

dog, o you wretch, Beguine, what are you doing by your way, you hide the hand throwing the stone!"[139] After haranguing the Beguines, Turmeda prophesizes that "the right lineage will be hurt, made derelict, by three great plagues [and] the lesser lineage will retake the land, if the course of the planet does not err."[140] Foreign peoples from the wild lands, from the fields and the mountains, will overrun the Crown of Aragon and wage a "great war," on the kingdom, one that was "of long duration and on sea and on land."[141] After the feast of St. John the Baptist, the prophecies of the biblical prophet Daniel will happen, and "the tree of the great goat will flower, demonstrating its nature, from the foreign people, the smoke of Spain, the green branch will become flame."[142]

Turmeda's home island of Majorca will be devastated during this time of unending warfare. Stripped of all its goods and resources, the island will suffer a crisis for about 30 years.[143] Due to the endurance of the Schism and the warring of foreign armies on Catalan soil, social inversion will result; "there will be uproar of the people against the nobles."[144] This revolution of the people will come "all at the instance

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[139] B.C., 485, fol. 260r. "O puta perra/o tu mescina/qui t fas beguina/p[er] ta mane[r]a/gitant la pedra/la ma amagues."

[140] B.C., 485, fol. 260v. "de tres gre[us] plagues/seras ferida/e derelinquida/d[e]l bon paratge/lo pech linatge/retra la t[e]rra/sil cors no erra d[e] la planeta."

[141] B.C., 485, fol. 260v. "sera costreta/gent stranya/ven de canpana/p[er] tota terra/en ta[n]t grant guerra/sera hoyda/lo poble crida/en cella hora/vaga de fora/la gent stranya/d[e] la mu[n]tanya/faran repayre/trista la mayre/q[ue] fill hi age/lo crur herbatge/sera uianda/fins ques spanda/lur sanch p[er] te[r]ra/tant cruel guerra/in tal p[r]essura/en scriptura/no he may lesta/semblant tenpesta/haura cerdenya/lo cel me enseñilla/noua carrera/Alca bandera/brandint tal anca/car sens dubtança/a tu sa costa/nova amposta/de longa guerra/p[er] mar/e p[er] terra/pendras pensanca/si perdonanca/not de fortuna/sota la luna/seua tempesta/ap[r]es la festa/d[e]l sant babtista."

[142] B.C., 485, fol. 260v. "lo gra[n]t legista/daniel possa/lo fet sens glossa/day cell delyre/p[er] ço suspire/la falssa trancha/car molt li mancha/humanal vida/e esmortida/crida e plora/vehent la hora/vellant sompnia/la malaltia/de mariano/tal aura da[m]pno/qui no ha colpa/e la seu polpa/sera uianda/axi ho coma[n]da/la p[ro]fecia/en aycell dia/florira larbre/d[e] la gra[n]t cabra/faent mestura/de sa natura/ab gent stranya/lo fum despanya/en uerde rama/tounara flama/en cella hora/dins e defora/molt bell stage/sera saluatge/en ay tal guerra/cell danglaterra/faena contine[n]ca/de fer ualenca/sota guiatge/fara dampnage/en serrania/En aytal malya/cell de cardona/p[er] la corona/dara recapte/e disapte/sera la rota/hira de sota."

[143] B.C., 485, fol. 260v. "la gent stranya/pres la mu[n]tanya/en la tempesta/pres tal sinistre/ffa la mostra/la illa nostra/ço es mallorqua/de tots bens exorqua/sos fills malignes/si com son dignes/p[er] lur malura/soferran p[r]essura/trenta anyades/e pux pasadse/coue se espanda/Al pug deranda/la sanch beneyta."

[144] B.C., 485, fol. 260v. "p[er] la maleyta/ ffuror d[e]l poble/ contra la noble."

of a Friar Minor who…will be your bishop."[145] In a commentary on the state of urban affairs in the Crown of Aragon during the Schism, Turmeda predicts that the kingdom will be assailed from internal enemies, as the inhabitants of Zaragoza will stage a commune revolt:

> by your fortune, you will be a commune and no queen. Making a league with your neighbor, you will be a friend, soon uncovered and more deserted by a bad affair, from a bad affair, your fortune under the moon will be set and annulled.[146]

Turmeda predicts that Barcelona will become a regal city, in accordance with its providential destiny. I quote the passage here at length, to elucidate why it would be of obvious interest for members of the mercantile and political elite of Barcelona:

> You, Barcelona, who is the crown of the great display, at the sound of the trumpet, you hold a dancing party, bearing a gay garland upon your head, as the prophecy commands your happiness, now beginning. By your power, people will be in awe of you. You will help the crown when Pamplona will become a nuisance for the spouse of our sire, the wheel turns, making mundane subjection in lordship of the dance. You will hold the mace, the pursuit of providence, your agreement under the moon, making fortune, returning abundance, you will lead the dance of the great nobility, taking up the enterprise of the holy passage, you will be the guide of the army, bearing the sword, the great vengeance under your lance will be the earth. If my science does not err, for more than twenty years you will reign as a queen.[147]

Though the ruling elite of the Crown of Aragon would suffer a dynastic setback, Barcelona will still see a time of joy and glory, albeit one that is short-lived. The Zaragozans will break their alliance with the Crown of

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[145] B.C., 485, fol. 260v. "alta corona/pendran azcona/de rebellanca/tot a instancia/dun menor frayre/qui sots pel vayre/sera lur bisbe."

[146] B.C., 485, fol. 260v. "En tu saraguoça/la plena i bossa/pendra la buyda/e cell quis cuyda/hau[r]e ballia/la sensoria/li seua tolva/en cella volta/per ta fortuna/seras comuna/e no regina/ab ta vehina/fahent la liga/seras amiga/tost descuberta/e puys deserta/p[er] mal afayre/d[e]l mal afayre/la teu fortuna/sota la luna/sera posada/e annullada."

[147] B.C., 485, fol. 260v. "Tu barcelona/qui est corona/de la gra[n]t pompa/a son de trompa/ballant fas festa/portant en testa/de joy garlanda/seguons coma[n]da/la p[ro]precia/ta alegria/ara comenca/p[er] ta potença/seras temuda/faras ajuda/a la corona/qua[n]t Pamplona/li fara nossa/p[er] la spossa/d[e]l nostre ssira/la roda sgira/ffaent mudanza/de subjuganca/en sensoria/de la ballia/tindras la maca/lo cell percata/ab p[ro]uidença/ta auinença/sota la luna/fahent fortuna/tornar bonanza/menaras danca/de gra[n]t nobleza/p[r]ene[n]t la emp[r]essa/d[e]l sant passatge/seras guiatge/de la armada/espaxada/la grant ve[n]gança/sota ta lanca/sera la terra/si ia no erra/la meu ciencia/sense fallenca/puy vint anyades/sien pasadse/com a regina/seras possada."

Aragon and the Navarrese will invade the kingdom, resulting in war.[148] Because of the rebellion of the Aragonese and Navarrese against the Crown of Aragon, the crown will move to Zaragoza, and "the French people" will take advantage of Barcelona's misfortune and "will break the alliance" with the Crown of Aragon.[149] It appears that the Crown of Aragon, beset on all sides by the treacherous Aragonese, the Navarrese, and the French, will suffer further still: "Three [people] from the mountain, imprisoned on that day, will lose their head" and the new lordship "will come from Spain," an allusion to the fall of the House of Aragon during this tumultuous period.[150] The situation would be so dire that, as Turmeda writes, the days of plenty will be over, and "the prophecy clearly shows the horrible famine of Catalunya."[151] What was worse for the kingdom was that the influence of the cold, malevolent, and melancholic planet Saturn would cause the lance of Barcelona to become weak and impotent.[152] Ultimately, so predicted Turmeda, the Crown of Aragon will be conquered because of all this turmoil on its soil.[153] The Christians of the kingdom will not be the only people to suffer. The Muslims in the kingdom will be imprisoned and be forced to

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[148] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "gint coronada/sobra la roda/coue q[ue] rode/ta [con]ciencia/ en tal potenca/lo seu gra[n]t verme/no fahent sperme/d[e]l poch linatge/sobre tu raga/la gra[n]t stela/qui a tu vela/da uent en popa/e de la gropa/sobre la sella/gaya e bella/tu cavalcada/p[er] tuyt honrada/sota la luna/de dues una/seras nomenada/aura durada/ta alegria/en tal puxanca/una semana/puys ta uffana/atras lexada/com a p[r]ivada/de ta nobleza/seras sotmessa/a çaraguoça/p[er] mal volenca/faran ofensa/a la teu lanca/e sera foança/en sa ajuda/la donchs moguda/la cruel g[u]erra/sera la te[r]ra/tota turbada/p[er] la entrada/dels nauarressos/qui faran liga/contra qui digna/no deu madrina/may p[er] regina/esser jurada."

[149] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "E come[n]çada/la rebellanca/ta esperanca/sera p[er]duda/e asseguda/en la gra[n]t cadira/p[er] la gra[n]t squira/la real maça/dins çaraguoça/pendra corona/lo cal ordona/dins lo quart signe/feula indigne de sensoria/En aycell dia/la ge[n]t francessa/a ta de spessa/rompra la liga/Not fug sit triga/esta tempesta."

[150] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "perdran la testa/tres de muntada/pres tal jornada/vendra de espanta/qqui pertanga/la senyoria."

[151] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "la p[ro]phecia/clarame[n]t possa/la horrible fama/de cata- lunya."

[152] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "Coue q[ue] gru[n]nya/en tal tenpesta/faent d[e] la festa/longa semana/Ia veys q[ue] mana/la gra[n]t planeta/saturn[us] dita/q[ue] desconfita/sias de lanca/e tal puxanca/tornara en flaquea/puy(s)ta noblea/sera p[er]duda/la donchs cayguda." Saturn was an especially inauspicious planet within medieval astrology. The conjunction of Saturn with Jupiter, however, could result in monumental changes for the course of human history. Pierre d'Ailly believed that Saturn-Jupiter conjunctions meant "changes in empires and kingdoms, fiery impressions in the air, floods, earthquakes and the supply of crops," and could also result in the emergence of new kingdoms and new faiths, as mentioned in Smoller, *History, Prophecy, and the Stars*, p. 22.

[153] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "d[e]la scala/la dreta ala/te sera rota/hiras de sota/de dol vestida/de tuyt jaquita/seras rondalla/de senblant playa/seras ferida/sense mentida/

undergo baptism.[154] Throughout the kingdom, the lower noble families will overturn the higher noble families, and in Valencia, sons will kill their fathers. All along the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula, the "malevolent furor of the people" will rage.[155]

That fury will rage, that is, until one man will appear, a savior king from a presaged lineage, "the most noble, the most noble king, King Pere."[156] This king will rectify the situation by immediately resolving the situation of the Great Western Schism, routing the invading armies, and restoring the social order, albeit through somewhat brutal means: "After great penalties, thirty dozen men will be hanged and gutted."[157] The punishment would be so severe and the punishment meted out so widespread that "throughout the whole of the *horta*, on account of the dead people the air will become corrupt."[158] King Pere will not be the only one to exact justice: "Because of this affair, the nobles will have the right to press vengeance upon the baser people."[159]

The Muslims forced to undergo baptism will have their honor restored by King Pere: "After such a dance, a Friar Minor will be a messenger to the Great Holy Father [the pope] on account of such a great outrage done to the Muslims. That for the chrism applied and [the baptism rite] recited by force…the said baptism will have no worth."[160] King Pere will punish those who forced baptism upon the Muslims, and the kingdom will return to complete glory.[161]

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coronada/car subyugada/la catalunya/coue ques mu[n]ya/la seu mamella/ia que pun-cella/e sens let sia."

[154] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "En aycell dia/sera suclada/ta[n]t q[ue] gastada/coue p[er] let sa[n]chnisqua/la ge[n]t morisqua/pres tal jornada/pendra babtisme/ de gra[n]t cisme/cert si engenre."

[155] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "En cella terra/pel poch linatge/lo gra[n]t ~~linatge~~p[er]atge /rebra offenssa/dins en valencia/alcant bandera/o causa fera/e molt mara/quel fill lo pare/la donchs hauria/Ast[ro]logia/clarame[n]t possa/esta gra[n]t nossa/q[ue] pells fills bares/la mort als pare/sera donada/e la maluada/furor d[e]l poble."

[156] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "p[er]lo molt noble/ lo rey molt noble/ lo Rey en pere."

[157] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "pres la riera/sera sotsmessa/d[e] la gent p[r]essa/ Ap[r]es grants penes/ trenta dotzenes/ seran penjades/ /e axilexades."

[158] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "p[er] tota lorta/de la ge[n]t morta/pudira la ayre/."

[159] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "per tal affayre/hauran los nobles/dels menuts pobles/presa uenjanca."

[160] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "Ap[r]es tal danca/un menor frayre/al gra[n]t sa[n]t payre/sera misatge/pel gra[n]t ultrage/fet al morisme/ço p[er] la crisma/p[er] forca dada/e recitada/ la uera causa/sense fer pausa/auer reposta/q[ue] p[er] la amposta/de tal sefisme/lo dit babtisme/ualor no age/sots tal guiatge/lo moreria/en aycell dia/sera reffeyta/."

[161] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "p[er] la gra[n]t peyta/p[er] ells pagada/e castiguada/la gent menuda/sera temuda/la senyoria/En aycell dia/mala fortuna/sota la luna/sera posada/e reformada/la alta corona/sota ssa ~~as~~ azcona."

"Thus will be the land, if my error-free science does not mistake me," Turmeda begins the end to his prophecy.[162] King Pere would be a true savior-king who would expel both the French and the rebellious Aragonese, whose deeds encouraged the Great Western Schism to continue, and Pere would offer a utopian peace that would descend upon the land: "the land will see a peace without war, a united people."[163] The Great Western Schism will finally be resolved and both the Crown of Aragon and Christendom will be made whole once again.

Turmeda's prophetic works were influential and traveled within powerful circles in the Crown of Aragon, undoubtedly because of the political prognostications that he made. This helped contribute to his popularity as a prophet, for medieval prophecies that dealt with the political climate of medieval Europe made for popular reading material among members of the elite. There is another factor, however, that makes Turmeda's prophecies intriguing. He was someone who rejected Christendom but was nonetheless interested in the political and religious doings of his former home. The countess Margaret, the mother of the last count of Urgell, Jaume el Dissortat (d. 1413), the unlucky claimant to the throne of the House of Aragon after King Martí's death, "gave stock to some vaticinations and prophecies from a certain brother Anselm of Turmeda" and lent her son copies of Turmeda's prophecies, in addition to other prophecies attributed to historical figures, including John of Rupescissa, and literary ones, such as Merlin and Cassandra.[164] In addition to the knowledge of, and belief in, Turmeda's prophecies,

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[162] B.C., 485, fol. 261r. "sera la terra/si ia no erra/la meu sciencia/sense fallenza."

[163] B.C., 485, fol. 261v. "en tal jornada/sera seruada/pel Rey en pere/noua manera/de sancta vida/pres la exida/dels francessos/Aragonessos/ab gra[n]t puxanca/tindran balanca/de la dretura/la donchs segura/viura la terra/ ab pau sens guerra/ la gent unida/de tras jaquida/la mal uolenca/e la offenssa/exoblidada/sera passada/la lur tenpesta/puys faran festa/bella/e gaya/ffins a de[us] playa/q[ue] alrre sia/Amen/any ~1405~."

[164] Calvet, *Fray Anselmo Turmeda*, p. 11. "Valíase la condesa, para más animar al hijo, de unos vaticinios y profecias de un fray anselmo de turmeda, que se había pasado a Tunez y renegado de la fé." My thanks also go to Ronald Surtz for this reference. For more on the last count of Urgell, see Àngels Masià de Ros, *El dissortat Comte d'Urgell* (Barcelona, 1960). The prophecies of Merlin were also extremely popular in the Crown of Aragon. See Pere Bohigas i Balaguer, "La 'visión' de Alfonso X y las 'profecías de Merlín'," *Revista de Filología Española* 25 (1941), 383–98; idem, "Profícies de Merlí: Altres profecies contingudes en manuscrits catalans," *Butlletí de la biblioteca de Catalunya* 8 (1928–32), 253–79; Sylvia Roubaud, "La prophétie merlinienne en Espagne: Des rois de Grande-Bretagne aux rois de Castille," in *La prophétie comme arme de guerre des pouvoirs, XVᵉ–XVIIᵉ siècles*, ed. Augustin Redondo (Paris, 2000), pp. 159–73; and José Tarré, "Las profecías del sabio Merlín y sus imitaciones," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 16 (1943), 135–71.

there was also widespread knowledge of his conversion. Pope Benedict XIII, of the aforementioned House of Luna that Turmeda maligned, wrote to the convert in 1412, offering him full forgiveness and all the privileges associated with it, if he renounced Islam and entered into the Catholic fold once more.[165] Turmeda declined the pope's offer and decided to remain the rest of his life in Tunis. Though we do not have a fixed year of death for Turmeda, Calvet has postulated that it could have been between 1424 and 1432: "given the ordinary duration of human life, it is probable that Turmeda did not live past eighty years old."[166] Turmeda's *Tuhfa* gained him the most renown, for devout Muslims referred to him as the *Zaydi-Tuhfa*, the "Lord of the *Tuhfa*," and his tomb in Tunis became an object of great veneration. In addition, it was a popular pilgrimage site, and visits to it continued well into the 20th century.[167]

Turmeda might have meant to circulate his prophetic vision with its attendant social criticisms against the Church and providential destiny for the kingdom within a wide venue, because he wrote the poem in relation to the events of the Schism and in Catalan, the *lingua franca* of the late medieval Mediterranean. Those who read Turmeda's prophecy-poem might use its language to understand and make sense of their surrounding world, especially when the events of the Great Western Schism contributed to widespread unease. I believe that Turmeda wrote his prophecy to appeal to the members of the political, cultural, and mercantile elite of the Crown of Aragon, because of his position in Tunis. It is difficult to prove that he sent copies of his prophecy via the Catalan merchants who plied their goods in the markets of Tunis, for we do not have written sources from those merchants that declare outright that they read his works . Nonetheless, it is nonetheless an intriguing possibility. In his position at the *Dar al-Mujtass*, Turmeda would have come into contact most readily with representatives or members of the

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[165] Pou i Martí, *Visionarios, beguinos, and fraticelos catalanes*, pp. 457–58, publishes the entire letter. The supposed supplication by Turmeda that Benedict mentions is most likely false: "Cum autem, sicut eadem petitio subjungebat, tu ad cor reuersus, errorem tuum cognoscens, cupias onus inolitae uetustatis abjicere et ad uiam ueritatis redire, fuit nobis pro parte tua humiliter supplicatum, ut te hujusmodi reatum apostasiae ejusque culpam et poenam corporalem aliasque juris et hominis poenas et sententias supradictas, quas, ut praemittitur, incurrisse dinosceris, remittere ac plenarie indulgere, teque ab eisdem, etiam quo ad forum judicialem seu rem publicam, absoluere et alias contra praemissa tecum misericorditer agere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur."

[166] Calvet, *Fray Anselmo Turmeda*, p. 80.

[167] Ibid., p. 38. Pictures of Turmeda's tomb are on pp. 47 and 49.

Catalan mercantile elite, who might be a ready audience to whom he could transmit his works. Although Turmeda was a Muslim convert, this prophecy might appeal to these Catalan merchants because the providential and patriotic tone of this work might resonate with those merchants who built their stately palaces along the Carrer Montcada in Barcelona and who were very much aware of their own sense of civic importance in the establishment of Barcelona as a mercantile power. This avenue of thought admittedly requires further research, however. Interested scholars must travel to other archives within the Mediterranean, to see if there are additional Catalan-language copies of this prophecy, as well as additional historical references about this fascinating convert to Islam.

In this brief study, I have attempted to show how the Great Western Schism, a crisis that had profound effects upon religion, thought, politics, and society in western Christendom, was not ignored by people in the Byzantine and Muslim worlds. For the Byzantine Christians, the Great Western Schism represented a potentially fatal impasse among western Christian leaders, as Turkish troops gathered their forces in their final push against Constantinople and Europe. Christian authors, such as Honoré Bovet, used the voices of outsider literary characters, most notably the character of the Sarrazin in his *L'Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*, to level criticisms against Christian leaders for prolonging the Schism. And for Anselm Turmeda/ʿAbdallah al-Taryuman, a convert to Islam who wrote against the Great Western Schism via the powerful words of prophetic texts, his own criticism of the state of Christian affairs was especially significant. Turmeda, who reported in his biography that he willingly embraced Islam because of the urgings of his mentor, approached the situation of the Great Western Schism from a unique position. Although Turmeda never depicted the Schism as a directly contributing factor in his decision to convert to Islam, his Schism-themed prophecy poem demonstrated his perception of the turpitude and inefficiency that plagued western Christendom, granting further legitimacy towards his choice to convert. Each one of these sections in this present chapter can easily merit its own extensive discussion, and more research should be conducted on all of these themes. I therefore trust that this present introductory survey will inspire future scholars to delve further into these realms, as they follow the gazes of these Byzantine and Muslim "outside" observers of this profound western Christian crisis.

SEEKING LEGITIMACY: ART AND MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE POPES IN AVIGNON FROM 1378 TO 1417

Cathleen A. Fleck

Pressured by the French king and Roman politics, the 14th-century popes shifted the Church's capital from Rome, their long-established center of power, to Avignon by 1309.[1] After the papacy returned to Rome in 1377, an opposition papacy established itself back in Avignon. This move caused the Great or Western Schism in the Catholic Church (1378–1417), the longest span in which more than one individual claimed to be pope. This paper will discuss how each pontiff in Avignon during the Schism left his mark on the city, on the palace, and on the papal art and book collections.[2]

To grasp the place of art in relation to the popes in Avignon from 1378, an introduction to their papal predecessors is necessary. Clement V (1305–14) instigated the move of the papacy to Provence.[3] His decision to remain in Avignon created a chain reaction of alterations to the city, not least of them the influx of people to form and serve his court. John XXII (1316–34), former Neapolitan courtier and Avignon bishop, established a large bureaucracy to support his court.[4] He took over the Avignon episcopal palace as the pope, redecorating and building around it.[5] He also began actively to replace the papal library that

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[1] For basic references on the popes at Avignon, see Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305–1378*, trans. Janet Love, 9th ed. (London, 1949); Bernard Guillemain, *La cour pontificale d'Avignon (1309–1376): Étude d'une société* (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome) 201 (Paris, 1962); and Bernard Guillemain, *Les papes d'Avignon (1309–1376)* (Paris, 1998).

[2] For Rome and its art during this same period, see Loren Partridge, *The Art of Renaissance Rome* (London, 1996); Meredith Gill, "The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Rome*, ed. Marcia B. Hall (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 27–106; Diega Giunta, "La 'Navicella di Pietro' e gli eventi del soggiorno romano di Caterina da Siena nell'arte figurativa," in *La Roma di santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Maria Grazia Bianco (Rome, 2001), pp. 119–47; and Léon Homo, *Rome médiévale 476–1420: Histoires—civilisazion—vestiges* (Paris, 1956), pp. 263, 269, 279.

[3] See Sophie Menache, *Clement V* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 23–30; and Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, pp. 3–8.

[4] See Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, pp. 9–25.

[5] John XXII used a French painter from Toulouse, Jean Dupouy, to decorate his chapel and audience hall; see Dominique Vingtain and Claude Sauvageot (photography),

never arrived in Avignon. Benedict XII (1334–42) and his successor Clement VI (1342–52) firmly settled in the city on the Rhône River.[6] They constructed a new papal palace to replace the bishop's manor in two segments: Benedict XII's massive fortress and Clement VI's elegant chateau.[7] This large palace and the art and books within it played an integral role in establishing the popes' presence, manifesting their power and wealth, and affirming their authority in the new papal capital.[8] The next pope, Innocent VI (1352–62), was a legal scholar who used his time trying to cleanse the papal court of luxury and corruption and, through his legate, trying to regain papal authority in his states in Italy.[9] Despite his austerity, he too spent money to decorate the existing palace and to procure books. (Blessed) Urban V (1362–70) came to the papal throne as a devout Benedictine, a respected canon law professor, and a skilled diplomat.[10] He attempted to use all of those skills towards garnering peace in many parts of Europe, not least in Rome. He did manage to return to the Eternal City from 1367–70, but the instability of the Papal States forced him back to Avignon. Despite his interest in leaving

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Avignon: Le palais des papes (Le ciel et la pierre) 2 (Saint-Léger-Vauban, 1998), pp. 99–101, 119–20. He used a French architect as well; see Enrico Castelnuovo, *Un peintre italien à la cour d'Avignon: Matteo Giovannetti et la peinture en Provence en XIVe siècle*, trans. Simone Darses and Sylvie Girard (Paris, 1996), p. 45. On John's role in establishing a bureaucracy, see Castelnuovo, *Un peintre Italien*, pp. 25–26. He also constructed a papal palace outside of Avignon at Pont-de-Sorgues; see Valérie Theis, "La figure du pape bâtisseur d'après les chroniques de Baluze," in *Monument de l'histoire: Construire, reconstruire le Palais des Papes, XIVe–XXe siècle*, ed. Dominique Vingtain (Avignon, 2002), p. 30.

  [6] See Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, pp. 26–36, 37–43. On Clement VI, see Diana Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate and Ideas of an Avignon Pope* (Cambridge, 1989).

  [7] For the most recent and thorough publications on the palace's construction, decoration, and history, see *Monument de l'histoire*, ed. Vingtain; and Vingtain and Sauvageot, *Avignon*. On the pre-history of papal palaces, see Enrico Castelnuovo and Alessio Monciatti, "Préhistoire du Palais des Papes," in *Monument de l'histoire*, ed. Vingtain, pp. 116–21. For the most thorough early publication on the palace, see Léon Honoré Labande, *Le Palais des papes et les monuments d'Avignon au XIVe siècle*, 2 vols. (Marseille, 1925).

  [8] Radke discussed this aspect of the physical and symbolic in 13th-century papal palaces; see Gary Radke, "Form and Function in Thirteenth-Century Papal Palaces," in *Architecture et vie sociale: L'organisation intérieure des grandes demeures à la fin du moyen âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Guillaume (De Architectura/Colloque) 6 (Paris, 1994), pp. 11–24. Regarding the attitudes of contemporary papal chroniclers to the building of the palace, see Theis, "La figure du pape bâtisseur," pp. 30–34.

  [9] See Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, pp. 44–51.

  [10] See Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, pp. 52–58.

Avignon, he constructed the last large addition to the papal palace. His successor, Gregory XI (1370–78), returned the papacy to Rome and died soon after his arrival.[11] Urban VI (1378–89), a Neapolitan and the archbishop of Bari, was elected to follow him in Rome (April 1378). A contingent of the cardinalate quickly deemed him unworthy of the pontificate (by July 1378).[12] In September 1378 the opposition met at Fondi and proposed a counter-candidate, Robert of Geneva, to replace Urban VI as pope.[13] Robert of Geneva, or Clement VII (1378–94), then returned to Avignon to establish his papacy.

Because of the irregular circumstances under which Clement VII and his successor Benedict XIII (1394–1422) possessed the papal throne, they each directed important cultural and political capital in the city towards exhibiting legitimacy as popes and as occupants of Avignon. Clement VII resided in Avignon during his entire papacy, and the library and certain foundations provide evidence of his presence.[14] Benedict XIII, the Aragonese Pedro de Luna, was elected in Avignon and later left the city. Circuitously he made his way to his family villa in Peñiscola, Valencia.[15] He was known particularly as an enthusiast of books in both Avignon and Spain. Culture was also a part of their resistance to attempts to resolve the Schism. Each felt himself to be the true pope. Traditionally, being an artistic patron was an important role of a pope in the papal city. Continued patronage by the popes in Avignon emphasized the pontifical nature of the city over Rome.[16]

The political divide caused by the Schism across Europe shows the difficulty of these popes' situations.[17] Charles V, king of France

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[11] See Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, pp. 59–63.

[12] See the chapter by Joëlle Rollo-Koster in this volume.

[13] Roger-Charles Logoz, *Clément VII (Robert de Genève), sa chancellerie et le clergé roman au début du grand schisme (1378–1394)* (Lausanne, 1974), pp. 39–81.

[14] On Clement VII, see Roger-Charles Logoz, "Clément VII," in *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*, ed. Philippe Levillain (Poitiers, 1994), pp. 372–78; and Logoz, *Clément VII.*

[15] On Benedict XIII, see Georges Pillement, *Pedro de Luna: Le dernier pape d'Avignon* (Paris, 1955). See also Alec Glasfurd, *The Antipope (Peter de Luna, 1342–1423): A Study in Obstinacy* (New York, 1965); and Hélène Millet, "Benoît XIII," in *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*, ed. Philippe Levillain (Poitiers, 1994), pp. 208–12.

[16] Benedict XIII, for instance, refused to concede to a *voie de cession*, in which both popes would abdicate and a new one would be elected; see Pillement, *Pedro de Luna*, pp. 78–79.

[17] Regarding shifting alliances from Clement VII to election of Benedict XIII, see Pillement, *Pedro de Luna*, pp. 44–55.

(r. 1364–80), announced his advocacy of Clement VII by November 1378. Clement VII also had strong adherents in southern Italy, Scotland, Savoy, some minor German states, Denmark, and Norway. Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal took some time to come around to his side.[18] In contrast, England, Flanders, the Empire, and central and northern Italy sided with his rival. But these various allegiances were not set in stone.[19] The French crown, and with it several allies, withdrew its backing from Benedict XIII from 1398–1403 (and again, permanently, in 1408).[20] In 1398, a handful of cardinals remained loyal to Benedict XIII, while 18 cardinals left the environs.[21] Geoffroy Boucicaut and his French forces laid siege to the palace for several months, and set up a blockade on goods, at the behest of the city's authorities (the cardinals opposed to Benedict XIII and the citizens).[22] The siege ended in early 1399, and Benedict XIII remained enclosed in the palace, under royal guard, until his escape in 1403.[23] After many travels and attempts at negotiation with the Roman pope,[24] Benedict XIII ended up in 1409 at Peñiscola, a chateau on a rocky outcropping in Valencia.[25] The Council of Constance (1414–18) brought about the end of all three existing papacies (Gregory XII 1406–15) in Rome, John XXIII (1410–15) in

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[18] Logoz, *Clément VII*, pp. 134–40, 157–58.

[19] By 1392, his support was clearly on the decline; see Yves Grava, "Pouvoirs et crises de l'église: Clément VII, pape du grand schisme et seigneur de Berre," in *Crises et réformes dans l'église de la réforme grégorienne à la préréforme*, ed. Ministére de l'éducation nationale (Paris, 1991), p. 288.

[20] On reasons for the withdrawal of obedience from Benedict XIII on the part of the French, see Joëlle Rollo-Koster, "Liturgy and Political Legitimization in Schismatic Avignon," in *Procession, Performance, Liturgy, and Ritual: Essays in Honor of Bryan R. Gillingham*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Ottawa, 2007), pp. 120–21, 129–31; Rollo-Koster, "*Castrum Doloris*: Rites of Vacant See and the Living Dead Pope in schismatic Avignon," in *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Formalized Behavior in Europe, China, and Japan* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 245–77.

[21] Pillement, *Pedro de Luna*, pp. 95, 97.

[22] See Rollo-Koster, "*Castrum Doloris*," p. 268; and Pillement, *Pedro de Luna*, pp. 99, 105, 107.

[23] For a reconstruction of events at the palace at the time of subtraction and siege, see Rollo-Koster, "Liturgy and Political Legitimization," pp. 134–36. See also Pillement, *Pedro de Luna*, pp. 114–26. Benedict XIII regained possession of the city, though he did not ever return. In November of 1411, the papal castle was handed over to the legate of the Roman pope; see Pillement, *Pedro de Luna*, pp. 114–251.

[24] Pillement, *Pedro de Luna*, pp. 90–92; and Millet, "Benoît XIII," pp. 210–11.

[25] See Pillement, *Pedro de Luna*, pp. 247–51.

Pisa, and Benedict XIII in Peñiscola) in favor of Martin V (1417–31).[26] Benedict XIII never abdicated his throne, but almost all support for him had been taken away by the time of his death in 1422.[27]

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce and, at times, analyze the artistic production, patronage, and collecting in Avignon at the times of Clement VII and Benedict XIII. The first section will focus on examples of luxury items, painting, sculpture, and architecture. The second section will emphasize the development of the library under these popes and their manuscript patronage. I shall focus on the art related to the papacy proper, with a few examples provided of production for the cardinals and other court members in Avignon.[28] Studies dealing with patronage, intellectual history, stylistic differentiation, artistic attribution, topography, and the social life of objects will be among the various approaches mentioned. Where appropriate, I shall discuss archival

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[26] John XXIII and Benedict XIII were deposed, while Gregory XII resigned. See Phillip H. Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance (1414–1418)*, (Leiden, 1994), pp. 23, 25, 30–31, 35, 131–36, 225–26; and Pillement, *Pedro de Luna*, pp. 258–66.

[27] See Pillement, *Pedro de Luna*, pp. 267–79. A last 'Avignon' pope, Clement VIII (Gil Sanchez Muñoz y Carbón) was elected in Spain and reigned 1423–29 before abdicating and recognizing Martin V in Rome.

[28] Unlike the useful lists of expenses of the papal court, next to nothing remains of the cardinals' archives; see Pierre Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon du XIVᵉ au XVIᵉ siècle*, vol. 1 (Nieuwkoop, 1922), p. 23. One remnant of a cardinal's records remains in the Vaucluse regional archives. It represents an accounting of the laws, revenues, and expenses of the bishopric of Avignon in 1367. The bishop of the city at the time, Cardinal Anglic Grimoard, was planning to depart the city with his brother, Pope Urban V. He ordered that this inventory be executed before he left for Italy. Four copyists and two illuminators labored on these five volumes; see Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*, p. 23. The cardinals who maintained an allegiance to the Avignon popes during the Schism continued to live in the *livrées*, or residences, scattered about town and beyond; see Pierre Pansier, *Les palais cardinalices d'Avignon aux XIVᵐᵉ et XVᵐᵉ siècles* (Avignon, 1926). These structures were residences as well as fortresses, often with reinforcements and towers. The term *livrée* stems from *librata* or residence in Latin, according to Eugène Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII. Essai sur l'histoire des arts en Avignon vers la fin du XIVᵉ siècle," *Revue archéologique* 11 (1888), 8 n. 1. Hervé Aliquot argues instead that the word stems from houses, "rendues libres et livrée aux curiaux, lors de l'arrivées des papes en Avignon…"; see Hervé Aliquot, "Les livrées cardinalices de Villeneuve-les-Avignon," in *Genèse et débuts du grand schisme d'Occident: Colloque international tenu à Avignon, 25–28 septembre 1978* (Paris, 1980), p. 397. Most in Avignon proper have disappeared, except for that of de Via and de Ceccano; some remains of towers are still present in the 20th century; see Aliquot, "Les livrées cardinalices," p. 397. Across the river in Villeneuve-les-Avignon, there were 15 *livrées*, of which four are intact and five have important remains; see Aliquot, "Les livrées cardinalices," pp. 397–408.

sources and give explicit examples, also providing citations to secondary authors who have in turn published information on the primary sources. Due to a lack of space, I cannot go into detail on all subjects, though I aim to broach past research, problems in the field, and possible avenues of future inquiry. Despite different agendas and difficult circumstances, the Avignon popes of the Schism used the sophisticated art, architecture, and manuscripts created there in a manner similar to, though with more urgency than, their predecessors in this newer papal city—to work towards expressing their political viability and authority in this rival location.[29]

I. Architecture, painting, sculpture, and luxury items during the Schism: problems and solutions

An essential premise of this study of papal art is that, though in Avignon and with rivals in Rome, Clement VII and Benedict XIII considered themselves the true popes.[30] In the 19th century, the modern Church established official lists with these as "antipopes."[31] Successive scholarship has thus separated these popes from the earlier Avignon popes. In contrast, Clement VII and Benedict XIII in their own times continued in the rich traditions of their Avignon predecessors whose reigns they understood as a model for and confirmation of their own legitimacy there. They each supported the arts while pope, in keeping with that legacy. At the same time, they were in politically challenging situations that necessitated special agendas. After an introduction to the luxury items, painting, sculpture, and architecture in schismatic Avignon, this section will analyze Clement VII's and Benedict XIII's patronage of art as a symbol of their claims to power in the Schism conflicts.

The papal archives, now mainly in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, are one of the richest resources to use for the study of artistic production, though they do not always yield the information that we seek. Diverse

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[29] One summary overview of art of this time is that of Enrico Castelnuovo, "Avignone," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, ed. Marina Righetti Tosti-Croce (Rome, 1991), pp. 773–76.

[30] Regarding the fiscal arrangement of Avignon, as compared to the Roman papacy at the time, see Daniel Williman, "The Camerary and the Schism," in *Genèse et débuts*, p. 65.

[31] See the Annuario Pontificio, first published (with a different title) in 1716, and taken over by the Vatican Press (or Tipografia Vaticana) in 1885.

types of income and expense records in the Avignon registers are a first stop to determine money spent by the popes on and their reception of art objects.[32] Items in these records can be vague, mentioning only payment for an object but not to whom. Perhaps a notation appears of an artist paid for his work, but not on what. At least some of the archives of the Avignon post-1378 papacies made their way to Rome eventually, but not without damage and some lacunae.[33] Moreover, their publication, like all of the papal archives, has been inconsistent.[34] For example, scholars have not published Clement VII's records in a general collection, though various gatherings, usually based on regional interests, have come together.[35]

A survey of glasswork, sculpture, and metalwork of the period exhibits the diversity of artistic activity in schismatic Avignon.[36] The catalogue of art in Avignon from 1360–1410 by Marie-Claude Léonelli is a convenient resource for examining a selection of the luxury items over the papacies of Clement VII and Benedict XIII.[37] Eugène Müntz examined the papal records under Clement VII and discovered a number of different individuals who worked as carpenters and stoneworkers, as well as glass, mural, and manuscript painters.[38] Müntz also named a dozen metal workers. Metalworking activities could be quite diverse: working with gold, silver, iron, or copper; enameling and engraving; setting precious stones; and sculpting.[39] Müntz found that the ordering

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[32] See Leonard Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings*, 2nd rev. ed. (Toronto, 2001), pp. 49, 104, 114–31, 168–72. Some material from the "Libri introitus et exitus camerae apostolicae" [hereafter IE] is now part of the Avignon Registers [*Registri Avenionensis*, hereafter RA], normally copies of papal letters; see Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives*, p. 168. See also Francis X. Blouin, *Vatican Archives: An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See* (New York, 1998).

[33] See Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives*, p. 8. On the documents of Clement VII, see Logoz, *Clément VII*, pp. xiv–xxiii.

[34] On the general nature of those inconsistencies, see Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives*, pp. 14–19.

[35] See Logoz, "Clément VII," p. 377, for bibliography on those publications.

[36] See Marie-Claude Léonelli, *Avignon 1360–1410: Art et histoire* (Avignon, 1978), pp. 36–64. To compare Roman gem and metalwork, see Constantino G. Bulgari, *Argentieri, gemmari e orafi d'Italia* (Rome, 1958).

[37] Léonelli, *Avignon 1360–1410*.

[38] Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII," pp. 13–16. He uses both the Vatican registers (different from the Avignon registers) and the IE documents as his sources, each of which is noted in his text.

[39] Richard W. Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work in Medieval France: A History* (London, 1978), p. 85.

of jewels and pieces of gold and silver during Clement VII's reign was equal to the same activity under the reign of his predecessors.[40] A rare extant example of the fine metalwork under Clement VII is a golden enameled chalice now in Caspe, Spain.[41] Müntz discovered five incidents of Clement VII's distribution of a golden rose, given as a sign of papal favor, as well as several gifts of swords of honor.[42] He listed 15 pieces of jeweled items found in the papal documentation. Purportedly they equal but one twentieth of the notices regarding such pieces present.[43] Objects of curiosity, such as a special umbrella for processions or a marquetry table, also appear in Clement VII's inventories, in which Müntz claimed such objects held an important place.[44] Under Benedict XIII, some metalwork examples emerge of a chalice (*c.* 1400) and three reliquary busts (*c.* 1397–1405).[45] After 1403, a Provençal town commissioned a silver *nef* (or salt container) for their new bishop from a goldsmith of Avignon, Jean de Gangoynieriis.[46] These activities indicate that skilled artisans still worked in Avignon during and after Benedict XIII's residence and that the city retained a local significance. Overall, the dearth of surviving objects of such precious materials makes it difficult to assess questions of style and artistry in Avignon.

In addition to using papal records and the objects themselves, scholars consult census and confraternities records to learn about artisans of precious objects. According to Lightbown, the census of 1376 reveals that 48 goldsmiths (the general title for an artisan working in precious metals) were in one parish alone, with 22 being Italian.[47] Goldsmiths in Avignon throughout much of the 14th century were predominantly

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[40] Lightbown comments that there was a mark for items made for or by court selected artisans and a mark for a general Avignon product; see Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work*, p. 91.

[41] Léonelli, *Avignon 1360–1410*, p. 37. This chalice is in the parish church, dating to before 1376.

[42] Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII," pp. 175–76. See also Karel Otavsky, "La rose d'or du musée de Cluny," *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 36.6 (1986), 379–85.

[43] Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII," pp. 176–79.

[44] Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII," p. 182.

[45] Léonelli, *Avignon 1360–1410*, pp. 37–39. The chalice was formerly in Tortosa, Spain, in the Cathedral Treasury (now disappeared); reliquary busts were of Saint Valeria (1397), Saint Vincent (1397–1405), and of Saint Laurent (1397–1405), all in Saragossa, in the Cathedral Treasury.

[46] Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work*, p. 93.

[47] Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work*, p. 91.

from Italy, and more particularly, from Siena.[48] The few other goldsmiths were mainly from France. From 1374–81, the confraternity records of Notre Dame la Majour, whose members were primarily artisans and tradesmen, show that approximately 21 per cent in the group were craftsmen, and 4 per cent were goldsmiths.[49] An earlier Notre Dame la Majour membership list (1362) contains 2 per cent goldsmiths, indicating no significant change in their population in Avignon from before the Schism to its early years.[50] Some of the goldsmiths left the city with the departure of the popes for Rome. For instance, Giovanni di Bartolo Guidi of Siena, one of the most celebrated goldsmiths at Avignon, was first recorded there in 1364.[51] He followed Urban V to Rome in 1368–69 and then returned in 1373.[52] Documents describe jewelry and precious objects that he repaired, reset, and created anew for the papacy at Avignon and Rome between 1367 and 1385.[53]

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[48] Scholars question whether this predominance of Sienese goldsmiths was because of their quality or because they were invited and attracted by the papal court's primarily Tuscan bankers; see Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work*, p. 90. Lightbown states that Paris retained the bulk of goldsmith custom in Paris, where he assumed the quality was also better; see Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work*, p. 89. On Sienese goldsmiths, see also Elisabetta Cioni, *Scultura e smalto nell'oreficeria senese dei secoli XIII e XIV* (Florence, 1998); Pierluigi Leone de Castris, "Tondino di Guerrino e Andrea Riguardi orafi e smaltisti a Siena (1308–1338)," *Prospettiva* 21 (1980), 24–44; and Michele Tomasi, "Oreficeria gotica senese: Il nome e la mano," in *Le opere e i nomi: Prospettive sulla "firma" medievale: In margine ai lavori per il Corpus delle opere firmate del Medioevo italiano*, ed. Maria Monica Donato (Pisa, 2000), pp. 35–38.

[49] Rollo-Koster compiled those data from two membership lists (1364 and 1374–81), totaling about 1,200 members and 302 occupations overall; see Joëlle Rollo-Koster, "Amongst Brothers: Italians' Networks in Papal Avignon," *Medieval Prosopography* 21 (2000), 159–61.

[50] See Rollo-Koster, "Amongst Brothers," pp. 161–62.

[51] Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work*, pp. 90–91. He is best known for the reliquary bust of St. Agatha that he executed for the cathedral of Catania at the request of the city's bishop, *c.* 1376. For an example of a set of documents related to a commission for Bartoli, see also Anne-Marie Hayez, "Deux commandes pour l'orfèvrerie pour les églises avignonnaises (1363, 1393)," in *Hommage à Robert Saint-Jean: Art et histoire dans le Midi languedocien et rhodanien (X^e–XIXe s.)*, ed. Guy Romestan (Montpellier, 1993), pp. 163–74.

[52] Lightbown is confusing on this point. He states that Giovanni remained in Avignon as court goldsmith to Gregory XI until 1385, but the pope died in 1378 in Rome; see Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work*, p. 91.

[53] See Scipione Borghesi and Luciano Banchi, *Nuovi documenti per la storia dell'arte senese* (Siena, 1898), pp. 38–47, doc. 22. See also Teresa G. Frisch, ed., *Gothic Art 1140– c. 1450: Sources and Documents*, *Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching* (Toronto, 1997; repr. 1987), p. 91.

Avignon attracted foreign artisans in large numbers in part because of the labor and community opportunities that the court city offered.[54] As Susan Mosher Stuard explains, Italian-designed luxury goods were highly prized in the 14th century.[55] These Italian artisans were in demand to furnish and keep in repair the services of plate for the palace, the cardinals, and the many other new households forming in Avignon.[56] Liturgical plate was also needed in this ecclesiastical center.

In addition to steady work for foreigners, the city also provided key networking opportunities. As Rollo-Koster argues, familial, cultural, mercantile, and communal connections created networks for these immigrants that eased their insertion into and their eventual experience in Avignon society.[57] The confraternity of Notre Dame la Majour was one such community association that brought Italians together. The confraternity's member list included 1,224 names in 1376, of which more than 1,100 were Italian (most were Tuscan).[58] These immigrants into Avignon came especially to offer some kind of services to the papal court as craftsmen, administrators, or merchants.[59] Seventy were wood workers or carpenters, and more than 40 were jewelers or goldsmiths. Others in the confraternity list identify themselves as weavers, leather-workers, armorers, stone masons, and sculptors. The different Italian artisans and merchants found networks that made coming to Avignon like discovering a home away from home.

In addition to those luxury items created in Avignon by local and foreign artisans, vendors—both local and foreign—imported them into Avignon. Francesco de Marco Datini from Prato (*c.* 1335–1410) had a well-established trade in staple and luxury goods into Avignon for

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[54] Most of the foreign smiths were categorized as followers of the court as opposed to simple citizens of Avignon. Therefore they had different sorts of marks. Lightbown states that all but four of the smiths were followers of the court. The citizens included Niccoló di Bruno of Florence and Guino di Mino of Siena, according to the 1376 census; see Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work*, p. 91.

[55] Susan Mosher Stuard, *Gilding the Market: Luxury and Fashion in Fourteenth-Century Italy* (Philadelphia, 2006), pp. 182, 206, 219.

[56] Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work*, p. 91. Even those ecclesiastics and aristocrats just passing through the city apparently bought services from the metalsmiths. An inventory of *c.* 1366 indicates that Duke Louis of Anjou owned gold and silver plate that was gilt and enameled from Avignon. Since he passed through the city *c.* 1365, it seems likely he purchased it then; see Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work*, pp. 10–11, 32.

[57] Rollo-Koster, "Amongst Brothers," pp. 156–58, 185–86.

[58] See Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato: Francesco di Marco Datini: 1335–1410* (Boston, 1986; repr. New York, 1957), pp. 8–9.

[59] Rollo-Koster, "Amongst Brothers," pp. 158–59, 161.

the papal court from about 1363 to 1410.[60] Though not necessarily a major merchant in the city, the existing records of his activities offer an invaluable view of the trade in luxury items.[61] Inventories of his three shops in Avignon, legal documents, and letters between him and his family, friends, and colleagues reveal that he provided the popes and their court with precious and mundane objects for sacramental and household use. They included chalices, crosses, miters, paintings, plates, buttons, rings, linens, leather saddles, cups, forks, belts, and goblets.[62] Armor and metal for arms-making was a part of his import business.[63] He also dealt in gems and precious textiles, as well as in nails and hammers. As Luciana Frangioni discusses, a large number of items in his shop were "prodotti di successo internazionale," or international products of success that had a specific place of origin, method of production, brand, or producer.[64] The inclusion of source details about the items in Datini's records, such as a chess set from Barcelona or knives from Milan, were the result of particular requests made by the merchant for his clientele. These notations suggest that there was a broad knowledge in sophisticated Avignon of the particular European markets for such items.

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[60] See, e.g., Stuard, *Gilding the Market*, pp. 151, 201, 207–09; Origo, *The Merchant of Prato*, pp. 10–20, 63; Robert Brun, "A Fourteenth-Century Merchant of Italy: Francesco Datini of Prato," *Journal of Economic and Business History* (1930), 451–66; Rollo-Koster, "Amongst Brothers," pp. 171–72 n. 68; and Luciana Frangioni, *Chiedere e ottenere: L'approvvigionamento di prodotti di successo della bottega Datini di Avignone nel XIV secolo* (Florence, 2002), pp. 9–10. For a summary of the Datini Archives in Prato documents and publications to the mid-20th century, see Origo, *The Merchant of Prato*, pp. 394–95. Brun published the letters in several volumes of *Mémoires de l'institut historique de Provence* in 1935–38. See, e.g., Robert Brun, "Annales avignonnaises de 1382 à 1410 extraites des archives Datini," *Mémoires de l'institut historique de Provence* 12 (1935), 17–142. Datini was once based in Avignon but after 1382 resided in his home town of Prato with partners working for him in Avignon until *c.* 1410.

[61] The Malabayla of Asti, the Alberti and Soderini of Florence, the Guinigi of Lucca, and Andrea di Tici of Pistoia were more significant international trading companies, according to Origo, *The Merchant of Prato*, p. 14.

[62] See Frangioni, *Chiedere e ottenere*, pp. 23–35; and Stuard, *Gilding the Market*, pp. 151, 268 n. 20.

[63] The arms were then produced or finished in Avignon; see Brun, "A Fourteenth-Century Merchant of Italy," pp. 457–58; and Origo, *The Merchant of Prato*, pp. 11–14.

[64] See Frangioni, *Chiedere e ottenere*. Frangioni presents an interesting study of "products of success," how they are indicated in Datini's records, and into what categories of requests items fall. Frangioni mentions one unpublished *tesi di laurea* in Italy of interest (T. Zanobini, "Aspetti della storia delle arti minori dagli inventrai dell'azienda Datini di Avignone" [1990–1991]); see Frangioni, *Chiedere e ottenere*, pp. 10 n. 5.

Fine textiles were significant luxury articles imported into Avignon. Textiles were used for decoration, warmth, and display. They could be found in clothing, furnishings, seat covers, bedclothes, floor coverings, vestments, linens, horse and mule accoutrements, canopies, etc.[65] The more sumptuous cloths were used in exchange and exhibition.[66] Müntz uncovered only four or five names of cloth workers in the time of Clement VII, though he did suspect that more were active.[67] Apart from homespun cloths, which were created and traded locally across Europe, the luxury cloth industry had become quite regional and specialized in all segments from raw materials to production by the late 14th century.[68] The trade network undoubtedly brought in many fine textiles to serve the luxurious tastes of the court.[69] Francesco Datini was one such textile merchant.[70] Anne Wardwell examines papal inventories to find numerous silks, the luxury cloth *par excellence*, imported from

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[65] Frances Pritchard, "The Uses of Textiles, c. 1000–1500," in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. David Jenkins (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 355–70.

[66] Datini's store inventories in Avignon demonstrate that the richly embroidered cloth for priests' vestments were among his most valuable goods; see Origo, *The Merchant of Prato*, pp. 18–19 See, for instance, the home inventory records of the Prato house (1394 and 1397) and Florence house (1400) of the merchant Datini, for how textiles had an important place in domestic life; Origo, *The Merchant of Prato*, pp. 250–51, 54–56, 410.

[67] Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII," pp. 179–80.

[68] John H. Munro, "Medieval Woollens: Textiles, textile techonology and industrial organisation, c. 800–1500," in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. Jenkins, pp. 181–82, 227. Avignon does not appear on his lists of specialized locations for wool production, for instance; see Munro, "Medieval Woollens: The western European woollen industries and their struggles for international markets, c. 1000–1500," in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. Jenkins, pp. 299–324. On changes in the Mediterranean market, especially from *c.* 1290–*c.* 1430, see Munro, "Medieval Woollens: Their struggles for markets," pp. 234–39, 260–61.

[69] On the effect of taste on the medieval cloth markets, see Munro, "Medieval Woollens: Textiles, technology and organisation," p. 182. A quotation that indicates the luxury of cloths used by the popes and cardinals in Avignon is that of an anonymous writer describing the chambers at the country house of Cardinal Annibaldo di Ceccano (at Gentilly, in 1343) made up for Pope Clement VI: "at the head of the bed and it its sides there were the finest gold and silk materials from roof to floor, all new, splendid, of various colors and of marvelous beauty; and two curtains, one at the side of the bed and the other at the foot of the bed, completely new…there was a papal seat covered with rich gold and silk material…a velvet carpet…Around all walls there were new wall hangings with novel and varied stories…The bed['s]…outer cover consisted of the finest red velvet…[and] a canopy was of gold cloth and silk….," in Frisch, ed., *Gothic Art*, p. 91.

[70] See Origo, *The Merchant of Prato*, pp. 32–33, 50–63.

the East.[71] By the 14th century, Italian and new Spanish workshops also provided silk cloths to western Europe.[72] Imported silks to Europe from central Asia and beyond offered inspiration and were found in circulation also by this time.[73] Fine cotton and woolen cloths came from Italian cities, especially Lucca and Florence. Belgium, England, France, Flanders, and England also produced respected wools.[74] While studies discuss the trade of cloth in general, determining more about how textiles were bought and/or used by the later popes in Avignon during the Schism would be valuable. Scholarship of textiles, like the other luxury items noted, suffers from the problem that not much remains of these art forms once important in Avignon.

A problem in the study of the arts in schismatic Avignon is that the paintings and monuments were either the subject of deliberate destruction or coincidental neglect at diverse points in history. In regards to large-scale painting in this period, little documentation and few extant works lead to challenges in scholarship.[75] In the papal palace over the schismatic period, some large-scale mural painting was carried out, as will be discussed below in more detail. Palace damage occurred in a fire in May of 1413, affecting earlier 14th-century frescoes in the Tinel

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[71] See Anne E. Wardwell, "Panni Tartarici: Eastern Islamic Silks Woven with Gold and Silver," *Islamic Art* 3 (1988–89), 96–115; and Anna Muthesius, "Silk in the Medieval World," in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. Jenkins, pp. 325–54, esp. 325.

[72] Byzantine and Islamic silk industries originally flourished with trade to Europe, which had not yet established its own production. From the mid-12th century, silk weaving could also be found in Italy; see Anna Muthesius, *Studies in Byzantine, Islamic and Near Eastern Silk Weaving* (London, 2004).

[73] These are called Tartar silks collectively; see Wardwell, "Panni Tartarici," pp. 96–173; and see also Muthesius, "Silk," p. 325.

[74] See Stuard, *Gilding the Market*, pp. 21–23; Origo, *The Merchant of Prato*, pp. 54–60; and Munro, "Medieval Woollens: Their struggles for markets," pp. 228–324.

[75] Contrasts between 14th-century artistic production and our modern approach to the study of art at this time need to be recognized. For the sake of clarity, I discuss the different types of artistic production in Avignon based on a modern division of media, such as monumental versus miniature or manuscript painting. Alternatively, artists did not always stay at work in one medium. Simone Martini, the great Tuscan painter, lived in Avignon from *c.* 1336–44. He painted frescoes in the cathedral of Notre-Dame-des-Doms and the frontispiece to Petrarch's Vergil manuscript. See, e.g., Castelnuovo, "Avignone," pp. 767–68; and C. Jean Campbell, "'Symoni nostro senensi nuper iocundissima': The Court Artist: Heart, Mind, and Hand," in *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity 1300–1550*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell (Boston, 2004), pp. 33–45.

(or dining room) and Consistory.[76] As Michel Laclotte presented in his useful, though dated, study of the School of Avignon, records cite many panel paintings now disappeared. Those few paintings that remain are largely anonymous for lack of exact documentation.[77] Laclotte defined two periods of large-scale painting in Avignon that flank the Schism: *c.* 1330–80 and again from 1440 to the beginning of the 16th century.[78] While the earlier Avignon papacy had the famous Matteo Giovannetti (who was the master of painting at the palace) at its court from about 1342–67, the papacy during the Schism did not have any artists who stood out to the same degree.[79] Giovannetti left Avignon for Rome with Urban V, and other artists' departures followed. Laclotte posited a general slowing of painting production during the schismatic period and assigned just three works to Avignon from the latter part of the 14th century. These anonymous items are a triptych with Saint-Agricol (Musée d'Angers, *c.* 1380), a panel of Blessed Peter of Luxembourg at the feet of the Virgin (Worcester Art Museum, 1390s), and a series of profane frescoes from a mansion at Sorgues in Provence (now in the Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon).[80] The author also claimed that Clement VII and Benedict XIII called artists to work at their court but that nothing remains to convey the details.[81] A few other contemporary

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[76] See Roberte Lentsch, "Les grands thèmes religieux des fresques du palais des papes," in *Le décor des églises en France méridionale (XIIIe–milieu XVe siècle), Cahiers de Fanjeaux* (Toulouse, 1993), p. 296.

[77] Michel Laclotte, *L'école d'Avignon: La peinture en Provence aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris, 1983), p. 20.

[78] Laclotte, *L'école d'Avignon*, p. 20 He notes that the work on this region started with the exhibition of the *Primitifs français* organized in 1904 by H. Bouchot.

[79] See Enrico Castelnuovo, "Matteo Giovannetti et le décor du Palais des Papes," in *Monument de l'histoire* ed. Vingtain, pp. 71–75; and Castelnuovo, *Un peintre Italien*.

[80] Laclotte, *L'école d'Avignon*, p. 62. On Sorgues, see also Dominique Thiébaut, "Peintures de l'école d'Avignon," in *Avignon Museé du Petit Palais: Peintures et sculptures*, ed. Esther Moench (Paris, 1999), pp. 94–95; and Marie-Claude Léonelli, "Un aspect du mécenat de Juan Fernandez de Herèdia dan le Comtat: Les fresques de Sorgues," in *Genèse et débuts*, pp. 409–17. The latter gives the frescoes to the patronage of Juan Fernandez de Heredia and dates it to either 1361–66 or 1370–76. The painting of the late 13th and early 14th centuries that is now in Avignon is found largely at the Musée du Petit Palais, though most of this derives from locales outside of Avignon. Apart from the Sorgues frescoes, no Avignon paintings of the era are in the Musée du Petit Palais. The museum's collection represents a joining (in the 19th century) of the collections of the marquis Giampietro Campana di Cavelli and of the Musée Calvet; see Elisabeth Mognetti, "Histoire des collections," in *Avignon Museé du Petit Palais: Peintures et sculptures*, ed. Musée du Petit Palais (Paris, 1999), pp. 16–18.

[81] Laclotte, *L'école d'Avignon*, p. 62.

pieces have surfaced that expand on the known painting activity that did occur. A two-winged altarpiece, now in the Louvre, depicts two scenes of St. Andrew's life flanked by a female saint and by St. Sebastian.[82] Eileen Kane dated it to approximately 1410–15 and attributed it to Jacques Iverny.[83] This artist was active in Avignon from 1410–38. He signed a triptych with the Virgin and Child between Sts. Stephen and Lucy dated *c.* 1425 (Turin, Galleria Sabauda).[84] An Annunciation panel painting (National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin) may also be attributed to him.[85] Originating from the Île-de-France, Iverny established himself in Provence and took on Italianizing characteristics in his work.[86] None of the extant 14th-century paintings explicitly seems to have direct connections to the schismatic popes. Little large-scale painting can be assigned again to Avignon until *c.* 1450, at which point the Avignon school reflowered with the activity of Enguerrand Quarton, Nicolas Froment, and Barthelemy d'Eyck.[87]

A question that often arises in Avignon scholarship of this period is whether the city had an effect on the development of the International Gothic style. This mode had traditionally been defined as growing in Burgundy, Bohemia, and northern Italy from about 1360–1440, with

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[82] Called the 'Retable de Thouzon,' Laclotte remarks that it recalls the work of Giovannetti; see Laclotte, *L'école d'Avignon*, pp. 61, 63. See also Ines Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international: L'art en France au temps de Charles VI, L'atelier du monde* (Paris, 2004), p. 27. For a good set of images and other information, see Association pour le site de Thouzon, *Le Retable de Thouzon* [Website] (25 September 2005 [cited January 25 2008]); available from http://thouzon.free.fr/retable.htm. The female saint may be Clare or Catherine; see Eileen Kane, "Nouvelles observations sur le retable de Thouzon," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 26.4 (1976), 239–49.

[83] Kane, "Nouvelles observations," pp. 239–49.

[84] For an illustration, see Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international*, p. 27. See also Frederic Elsig, *La peinture en France au XVᵉ siècle* (Milan, 2004), p. 22.

[85] See Elsig, *La peinture en France au XVᵉ siècle*, p. 22 pl. 13.

[86] Laclotte remarks that the Andrew panels recall the work of Giovannetti; see Laclotte, *L'école d'Avignon*, pp. 61, 63. See also Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international*, p. 27; and Kane, "Nouvelles observations," pp. 242–43.

[87] See Laclotte, *L'école d'Avignon*; Thiébaut, "Peintures de l'école d'Avignon"; François Avril, "La Provence," in *Les manuscrits à peintures en France: 1440–1520*, ed. François Avril and N. Reynaud (Paris, 1995), pp. 223–44, 370–73; Veronique Plesch, "Enguerrand Quarton's 'Coronation of the Virgin': This World and the Next, the Dogma and the Devotion, the Individual and the Community," *Historical Reflections* 26.2 (2000), 189–221; and Stefano Zuffi, *European Art of the Fifteenth Century*, trans. Brian D. Phillips (Los Angeles, 2004), pp. 274–75, 280–81.

influences from northern France, the Netherlands, and Italy.[88] It appears in large-scale painting, manuscript illumination, goldwork, tapestries, and textiles, among other media. Scholars see the International Gothic style, named so in the late 19th century, as a variant of Gothic art.[89] It combines rich clothing, flowing lines, bright colors, and intricate surface designs along with select attention to depth and perspective in the background.[90] The style is marked by a sense of precision in detail and allusion contrasting with fanciful subject matter and decoration. The International Gothic movement created a widespread European aesthetic for its refined and homogeneous style. The style was international in that it spread to royal and noble courts across Europe. The travel of artists, merchants, and nobility; the transfer of art through a variety of methods; and the political, cultural, and dynastic ties among the aristocratic courts of Europe aided this dispersal.

Now scholars generally support Avignon's involvement in the International Gothic style. In the mid-20th century, Erwin Panofsky and Millard Meiss limited the role of Avignon in the spread of this style.[91] In contrast, Philippe Verdier's 1962 catalog on International Gothic gave greater weight to Avignon.[92] He convincingly placed Avignon alongside Paris, Prague, Vienna, Dijon, Bourges, and Milan, underlining the importance of the meeting of northern and Italian art in the city on the Rhône. Sculptors such as Pierre Morel, painters such as Jacques Iverny, and miniaturists such as Sancho Gonthier, all discussed elsewhere in this paper, were important examples in Avignon of artists who lived and trained outside Provence before joining with the cos-

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[88] These dates are of the most broad definition, though some would narrow it to 1380–1420; see Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international*, p. 3. See Zuffi, *European Art*, pp. 14–19. On the art of these regions in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, see more recently Barbara Drake Boehm and Jiri Fajt, eds., *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia 1347–1437* (New York, 2005); Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye and François Avril, eds., *Paris 1400: Les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris, 2004); Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international*; and Elsig, *La peinture en France au XVe siècle*.

[89] See Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international*, p. 3.

[90] See Zuffi, *European Art*, pp. 14–19.

[91] See Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origin and Character*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA, 1953), p. 24; and Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, vol. 1 (London, 1967), p. 26.

[92] See Philippe Verdier, *The International Style: The Arts in Europe around 1400* (Baltimore, 1962), p. xii. See also Francesca Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi (1340–1410)* (Modena, 2006), pp. 3–4.

mopolitan culture of Avignon.[93] In regards to manuscript painting in particular, the work of Patrick de Winter on the library of the duke of Burgundy, Philip le Hardi, was influential.[94] He stated that one of the most important centers of illuminated book production was Avignon during the Schism. Inès Villela-Petit dedicated a separate segment to the city and its manifestations of the style in her recent International Gothic publication.[95] Stefano Zuffi, in his overview of 15th-century art, began the section on the style, "International Gothic arose in southern Europe, starting at the Palace of the Popes at Avignon."[96] These authors demonstrate that the influential role of Avignon in the style is currently accepted.

Sculpture, and especially papal tombs, suffered along with larger monuments because of pointed demolition. As Julian Gardner has stated, "It is doubtful whether the history of papal tomb sculpture in the 14th century at Avignon can ever satisfactorily be written. Too much has been destroyed, and a great part of what remains survives only in a problematic state of preservation."[97] Nevertheless, Gardner's work provides a useful and detailed gathering of the extant material regarding papal and cardinal tombs. He pointed to one of the earliest tomb sculpture publications by Eugène Müntz and other relevant sources such as exhibition catalogues.[98] The tradition by the 14th century was for each pope to have more than one tomb: one in Avignon and one in a home region or favorite institution.[99] For instance, Urban V had a tomb (now mostly destroyed) in Saint-Victor at Marseille, his former

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[93] See Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international*, pp. 24, 26, 27.

[94] Patrick de Winter, *La bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364–1404): Étude sur les manuscrits à peintures d'une collection princière à l'époque du 'style gothique international'* (Paris, 1985), pp. 93–94.

[95] Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international*, pp. 22–27.

[96] See Zuffi, *European Art*, p. 14. I make no claim that this is true.

[97] Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Clarendon Studies in the History of Art) (Oxford, 1992), p. 133.

[98] Gardner discusses the physical remains and questions of style, iconography, and dating. See Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara*; Eugène Müntz, "Les tombeaux des papes en France," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 36.1 (1887), 67–87, 275–85; Bruno Donzet and Christian Siret, eds., *Les fastes du gothique: Le siècle de Charles V* (Paris, 1981); and Léonelli, *Avignon 1360–1410*. Some pieces still in Avignon are at the Musée du Petit Palais; see Elisabeth Mognetti, "Sculptures," in *Avignon Museé du Petit Palais: Peintures et sculptures*, ed. Esther Moench (Paris, 1999), pp. 118–19.

[99] Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara*, p. 111.

abbey, and a tomb in Avignon (some fragments remain).[100] In addition to the papal tombs, the remains of cardinal's tombs are found in Avignon and beyond, adding to the luxuriant, though largely unstudied and problematic, repertoire of tomb sculpture.[101]

Scholarship on the papal palace during the period of the Avignon obedience is not particularly profuse compared to earlier periods. One reason for its lack of depth may be simply that the later Avignon popes did little work on the papal palace compared to preceding Avignon popes. The large-scale construction of the palace was completed by 1367 under Urban V. He built a structure in the gardens called *Roma*, of unknown use, just before he left Avignon for his attempted return to Rome. Gregory XI, who left in 1376 for Italy, only concerned himself with general maintenance of the castle. To that end, he hired a director of the works of the palace, first Bertrand Nogayrol and then Jean Bisac (or Johannes Bisaci), to oversee its care even after he was gone.[102] Clement VII and Benedict XIII also made efforts to maintain their surroundings, as I shall discuss below. Even the most prolific scholars on the palace ignore this period with, unfortunately, little explanation. Léon Honoré Labande, in his magisterial study of the palace, touched on these later years only briefly.[103] Dominique Vingtain, who has written on the palace and its decoration in two otherwise useful publications, devoted just a few pages in one and then jumped ahead to the 15th century after the popes had left.[104] The catalogue of an exhibition (2002) at the palace itself, entitled *Monument de l'histoire*, also neglected the era but does give a valuable historiographical perspective on the overall life of the building.[105] Perhaps the expense records of the Avignon curia

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[100] Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara*, pp. 151–52. The latter's fragments are in Avignon at the Musée du Petit Palais; see Mognetti, "Sculptures," p. 119.

[101] On some cardinals' tombs, see Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara*, pp. 133–71. See also Mognetti, "Sculptures," pp. 120–23. Cardinals residing in Avignon, who for the last century had been often buried in Rome, now began to be buried in their areas of origin and in Avignon. Of cardinals in Rome, little remains of their tombs. See Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara*, pp. 110–11. For prelates of the Limousin region who had tombs sculpted sometimes in Avignon, see Thierry Soulard, "Du testament au tombeau: Les monuments funéraires des prélats limousins sous les papes d'Avignon," *Hortus artium medievalium* 10 (2004), 97–108.

[102] Dominique Vingtain, "Rapide aperçu du développement chronologique du Palais des Papes au XIVᵉ siècle," in *Monument de l'histoire*, ed. Vingtain, p. 28.

[103] Labande, *Le Palais des papes*, vols. 1 and 2.

[104] Vingtain, ed., *Monument de l'histoire*; and Vingtain and Sauvageot, *Avignon*, pp. 422–24. See also Sylvain Gagnière, *Le palais des papes d'Avignon* (Paris, 1965), p. 109.

[105] See the various essays in Vingtain, ed., *Monument de l'histoire*.
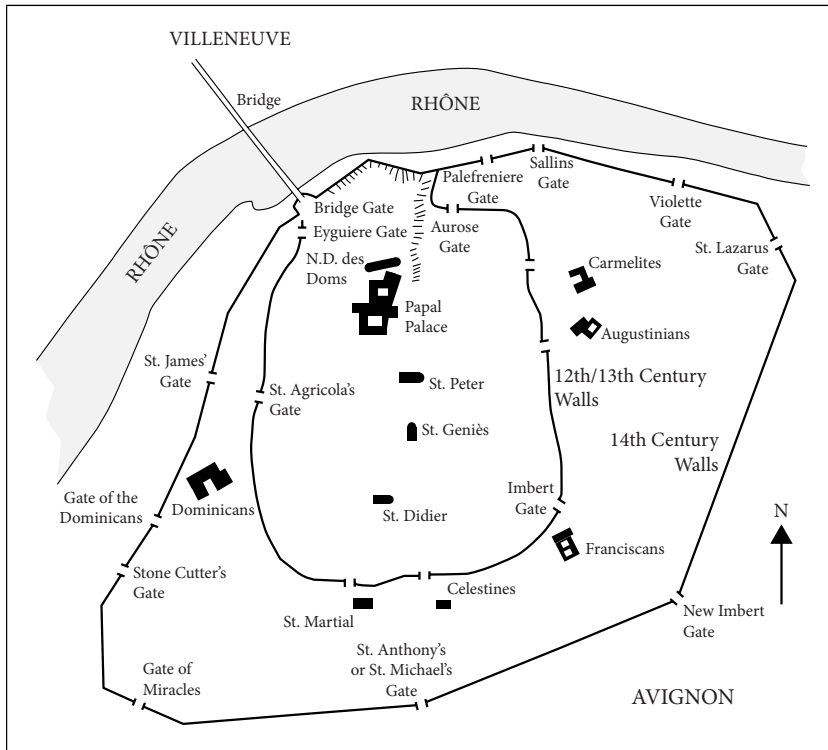
Fig. 1: Map of Avignon, late 14th–early 15th c. (used with permission of Joëlle Rollo-Koster).

could still reveal information about the palace expenditures under the schismatic popes, given the proper attention.

Other significant structures present in Avignon in the late 14th and early 15th centuries include the cathedral of Notre-Dame-des-Doms; the seven parochial churches, of which three were collégiales (Saint-Agricol, Saint-Pierre, and Saint-Didier); and convents and monasteries for Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Augustinians, Cordeliers, Celestines, knights of Rhodes, and confraternities (Fig. 1).[106] I shall not

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[106] See Pillement, *Pedro de Luna*, p. 65. See Joëlle Rollo-Koster, "The Politics of Body Parts: Contested Topographies in Late-Medieval Avignon," *Speculum* 78 (2003), 75. On Celestines, see Léon Honoré Labande, "La dernière fondation des papes d'Avignon: Le couvent des célestins," *L'Arte* 52 (1903), 586–99; and Léon Honoré Labande, "La dernière fondation des papes d'Avignon: Le couvent des célestins," *L'Arte* 53 (1904), 15–25, 70–78, 153–69, 209–14.

examine them in detail here, because the popes had little to do with the churches of the city, with the exception of Saint-Martial and the new Celestine establishment. Both of these were begun under Clement VII and are discussed below.[107]

Apart from direct studies of architecture, scholars have taken into account the city and its buildings during the schismatic Avignon papacy through symbolic urban topography. Since the papal palace's construction in Avignon, it had had a central role in papal ceremonial and ritual, in part because it was next to the cathedral—a starting and ending point for many processions according to Marc Venard.[108] Bernhard Schimmelpfennig has pointed to the enduring centrality of the Avignon palace in papal coronation ritual as the ceremonies became more linked to the palace proper.[109] Joëlle Rollo-Koster has looked particularly at the palace and its role in the city during the subtraction of French obedience from the Avignonese papacy from 1398–1403. She has argued that as power was redefined in the conflicts of Benedict XIII's papacy, the papal palace lost its central role in the city. New peripheral monuments and areas competed for allegiance.[110] Benedict's rivals emphasized their distance from the palace, speaking and acting against him in the zones between the 12th/13th-century walls and the 14th-century walls.[111] Alternatively, his proponents rallied in proximity to the palace. The diverse parties in the Schism argument manipulated and interpreted tangible evidence, such as the appropriation of buildings, and intangible examples, such

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[107] See Anne-Marie Hayez, "Clément VII et Avignon," in *Genèse et débuts*, pp. 133–34.

[108] See Marc Venard, "Itinéraires de processions dans la ville d'Avignon," *Ethnologie française* 7 (1977), 55–62, esp. 60, 61. See also Rollo-Koster, "The Politics of Body Parts," p. 76 and n. 33.

[109] He argues that an *ordo*, first published by Marc Dykmans, was compiled in Avignon and demonstrates the coronation rituals in the latter part of the 14th century; see Bernard Schimmelpfennig, "Papal Coronations in Avignon," in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 179–96; and Marc Dykmans, *Les textes avignonnais jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme d'Occident*, vol. 3, *Le Cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la Renaissance* (Brussels, 1983), pp. 11–12. The *ordo* manuscript is in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 4737. See also Bernard Schimmelpfennig, "Die Funktion des Papstpalastes und der Kurialen Gesellschaft im Päpstlichen Zeremoniell vor und während des Grossen Schismas," in *Genèse et débuts*, pp. 317–28.

[110] Rollo-Koster, "The Politics of Body Parts," pp. 66–98.

[111] See Rollo-Koster, "The Politics of Body Parts," pp. 74–84.

as miracles and visions at a certain place, as signs of legitimacy and God's blessing on each claim to power.[112]

These general comments on the luxury items, painting, sculpture, architecture, and topography in late 14th- and early 15th-century Avignon make evident the active state of cultural affairs during the Great Schism. This activity occurred in spite of, or perhaps because of, political and economic difficulties. In other words, the difficult situation of the popes may have compelled them and their court to have art created to exhibit the vitality and viability of their existence in the city. I would now like to present the known monuments commissioned by Clement VII and Benedict XIII. This discussion reflects one of the predominant methods of studying papal arts—via patronage. The approach allows scholars to suggest meanings and motivations for the production of art based on the context and background of the individual popes.

A. *Clement VII's patronage*

Upon his arrival in Avignon, Clement VII formed a luxuriant court life not only for his comfort and enjoyment but also to demonstrate his supremacy to his many visitors, who included King Charles VI of France (1380–1422), the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and the king of Armenia.[113] Architectural, sculptural, and painting examples reveal a discerning patron and opulent cultural climate.[114] Clement VII's patronage seems to have been a significant component in his propaganda to stake his claim as pope.[115] The continued creation of art in this papal city allowed him to continue in the footsteps of his predecessors and to leave physical reminders of his reign for posterity.

Maintaining the massive palace was one manner in which Clement VII pursued his papal heritage. Two architects who were active under

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[112] Martin de Alpartil, a court functionary and chronicler in Avignon, described a vision in 1400 of "celestial" white beings moving around the palace, disappearing into the Tower of Angels; see Rollo-Koster, "The Politics of Body Parts," pp. 86–87.

[113] See Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII," pp. 10, 12; and Logoz, "Clément VII," pp. 374–75.

[114] Eugène Müntz wrote an article discussing the arts in Avignon under Clement VII that is a useful start to study the topic, though by no means the last word. See Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII," pp. 8–18, 168–83. Müntz also discussed carpenters, stonecutters, glass workers, and other institutions besides papal ones.

[115] Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII," pp. 8–18, 168–83. See also Castelnuovo, "Avignone," pp. 773–74; and Hayez, "Clément VII et Avignon," pp. 133–34. There is currently a dissertation in progress (begun 2006) at the Institute of Fine Arts in New York by Elizabeth Monti on the patronage of Clement VII.

Gregory XI are found in the employ of Clement VII. Jean Bisac was the master of works of the palace and also managed the construction of a chapel in the Franciscan house in 1393.[116] Guillaume Colombier oversaw all the works in Avignon and the environs from 1391–92.[117] In the palace, Clement had new kitchens constructed as well as new storage spaces.[118] He added a chapel to the edifice called *Roma*, built in the palace gardens by Urban V.[119] The loss of the entire structure means that nothing is known of Clement VII's chapel, its use, form, or dedication.

The role of large-scale painting in Clement VII's patronage is hard to gauge, given the scarcity of extant works from Clement VII's time in Avignon. Records do suggest that a few painters were active in the papal palace. Guillaume Bonjean (or Bonjehan), Jean Petit, Dominique Pitior, and Gautier de Rodo painted rooms in the palace interior at different moments.[120] The records state that Bonjean painted the chapel in *Roma* in 1381 but do not indicate the theme of these now-destroyed paintings.[121] Other notations mention other mural painting that was done for Clement VII in the palace, but with no indication of an artist.[122]

Clement VII's involvement in the Celestine monastery church demonstrates the political and religious aims of his patronage particularly well. The pope established the monastery in Avignon in 1392 for the Celestine order (founded in 1254); it was completed in 1401, well after his death.[123] Its site was on the burial spot of a Celestine monk called the Blessed Peter of Luxembourg (d. 1387).[124] Created cardinal of San

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[116] Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII," pp. 12–13. See Anne McGee Morganstern, "Le mécénat de Clément VII et maitre Pierre Morel," in *Genèse et débuts*, pp. 429 n. 24.

[117] Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII," p. 13.

[118] Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII," p. 17.

[119] Lentsch, "Les grands thèmes," p. 307.

[120] See Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII," pp. 14–16. Müntz notes the archival sources of this information as well.

[121] Lentsch, "Les grands thèmes," p. 307. Lentsch notes the archival sources of this information as well.

[122] Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII," p. 16.

[123] See Hayez, "Clément VII et Avignon," pp. 133–34; Labande, "La dernière fondation des papes d'Avignon (1903)," pp. 586–99; and Labande, "La dernière fondation des papes d'Avignon (1904)," pp. 15–25, 70–78, 153–69, 209–14.

[124] See Castelnuovo, "Avignone," p. 773. On Peter, see Étienne Fourier de Bacourt, *Vie du bienheureux Pierre de Luxembourg, étudiant de l'Université de Paris, évêque de Metz et cardinal, 1369–1387* (Paris, 1882); and Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, 2006), pp. 35, 75–78.

Giorgio in Velabro in 1386 at age 16 by decree of Clement VII in Avignon, Peter tried to take possession of his titular church in Rome. He even used armed forces to fight, unsuccessfully, against the soldiers of the Roman pope Urban VI. Peter ended up returning to Avignon, where he died at the age of 18. A cult quickly developed after his death, because he was considered saintly in his efforts for the Church and its Avignon contingent.[125] Clement VII especially honored the Blessed Peter for his loyalty.

The significance of this Celestine establishment for Clement VII should not be underestimated. The cult of the Blessed Peter was an important instrument for the legitimization of the schismatic Avignon papacy.[126] The presence of the holy figure (first alive and then deceased) in Avignon exhibited divine authorization of the popes' presence there.[127] The mere *praesentia* in Avignon of Blessed Peter's body at the time of Clement VII expressed approval for his papacy in particular.[128] Blessed Peter's choice of Avignon in life as in death served as a holy paradigm for Clement VII's residence in Avignon. Clement VII understood that such a saintly and authoritative example was significant to his audience.[129] As Rollo-Koster has pointed out, the saintly man's tomb attracted many pilgrims and even mystics to the city, so the audience extended beyond Avignon and back home with the pilgrims.[130] Furthermore, the fact that Blessed Peter combated Clement VII's rival in Rome must have been significant to the Avignon pope and caused him to support this holy man as visibly as possible.

Clement VII solidified his association with the pilgrimage Celestine church in Avignon by his choice of placement for his own sepulcher

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[125] See Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII," p. 10. Apparently Charles VI asked Clement VII for Peter's canonization.

[126] See Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, p. 78; and Castelnuovo, "Avignone," p. 773. Other saints and visionaries whose holiness played a role in Schism politics include Marie Robine (d. 1399) and Saint Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419); see Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, pp. 35, 78–85.

[127] See also Rollo-Koster, "The Politics of Body Parts," p. 89.

[128] On *praesentia*, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, ed. Joseph M. Kitagawa (The Haskel Lectures on History of Religions) 2 (Chicago, 1981), p. 88.

[129] Compare Clement VI who looked to St. Martial's evangelization of southern France to legitimize his choice of Avignon; see Paula Hutton, "The Palais des Papes d'Avignon and the Crisis in Papal Ideology" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1995).

[130] Rollo-Koster, "The Politics of Body Parts," p. 89.

Fig. 2: Head of Clement VII with papal crown and coats of arms from his
former tomb at Celestine Church, ca. 1394–1401, Avignon (photo: Musée du
Petit Palais, inv. Calvet N 56).

(now destroyed) in the church at the foot of the main altar.[131] At his
death, he was buried first in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame-des-Doms
in Avignon and only later (1401) moved to this site, his desired rest-
ing place. The only physical remains of the tomb are the sculpted head
of Clement VII wearing the papal tiara (Fig. 2).[132] His head rests on

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[131] Clement died before it was completed; see Léon Honoré Labande, "Le tombeau
de Clément VII (Robert de Genève)," *Revue savoisienne* 38 (1897), 93–98; and Mor-
ganstern, "Le mécénat de Clément VII," pp. 423–30. The inscription on the tomb as
transcribed from various pre-Revolutionary accounts by Labande read: "Hic requiesiat
dominus Clemens, papa VII, primus hujus cenobii fundator, ex patre Amedeo, comite
Gebennensi, matre vero Matilda de Bolonia genitus, qui fuit prothonotarius, Morinensis
et Cameracensis episcopus, deinde cardinalis, demum ad papatum Fundis assumptus,
et curia huc incolume reducta, dominum Petrum, cardinalem de Lucembourcho,
miraculis cruscantem in hoc cemeterio sepultum, ad cardinalatum assumpsit, et in fine
anni decimi sexti sui pontificatus migravit ad Christum, die decima, sexta septembris,
anno Domini MCCCXCIIII. Cujus anima requiescat in pace. Amen."; Labande, "Le
tombeau de Clément VII," p. 96 n. 1.
[132] This sculpture is now in the Musée du Petit Palais, inv. Calvet N 56, published
in Castelnuovo, "Avignone," p. 773.

a sculpted cushion with a relief design of his coat of arms alternating with the crossed papal keys. Anne Morganstern has identified Pierre Morel as being involved in the production of the pope's tomb.[133] Morel acknowledged receipt of some uncommon Pernes stone and was the architect responsible for the choir of the church of the Celestines. Pre-Revolutionary accounts indicate that the marble effigy of Clement VII was indeed supported on a platform of Pernes stone. Though it cannot be decisively determined if Morel's hand sculpted it, Gardner pointed out that the tomb remains are "noteworthy" for the precision and sharpness of the patterns and modeling.[134] Morganstern suggests that Morel was an important master in Avignon because he brought a refined and advanced sculptural style to the city on the Rhône.[135] Below the effigy platform, statuettes of the Apostles and Virgin were placed in niches around the sides.[136] Thus Clement VII's apostolic predecessors were literally and figuratively supporting him as pope on the level above. The combination on his tomb of the papal tiara with his arms and the apostle figures was a clear way to validate himself as "true" pope and apostolic heir for posterity.

While Clement VII honored the Celestine convent with his burial there, Rollo-Koster has submitted that later cardinals manipulated this choice to their benefit.[137] They transferred Clement VII to the new church in a procession that shifted the sanctification of the palace to the convent as the pope's remains went to join those of the Blessed Peter in 1401. The convent's location, like other later conventual establishments, was outside the 12th/13th-century walls, at some distance from the palace (Fig. 1). The procession to the Celestine convent signaled the "crucial symbolic role [it played] in the balance for spatial power within the city."[138] This act appropriated legitimacy from the palace to the periphery under the cardinals' control. The move was meant to remind both Benedict XIII and France (leaning towards supporting Benedict again at the time) that the cardinals were in control. In this

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[133] Anne McGee Morganstern, "Pierre Morel, Master of Works in Avignon," *Art Bulletin* 58 (1976), 323–50; and Morganstern, "Le Mécénat de Clément VII," pp. 423–24.

[134] Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara*, p. 157.

[135] Morganstern, "Le mécénat de Clément VII," p. 426. See also Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international*, pp. 24–25.

[136] Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara*, pp. 155–57.

[137] Rollo-Koster, "The Politics of Body Parts," p. 90.

[138] Rollo-Koster, "The Politics of Body Parts," pp. 89–90.

case, the cardinals maneuvered Clement VII's legacy to their own end, even though it may not have been one with which he would necessarily agree.

Clement VII's patronage of the Celestines went beyond the Avignon monastery church's architecture. It included his designation of certain manuscripts for a Celestine convent that he intended to found in Annecy (to the northeast in the current *Rhône-Alpes* region) *c.* 1393. Yet this institution was never established.[139] Instead, Clement gave the manuscripts, including the Avignon Missal discussed below, to the Celestine convent that he instituted in Avignon.

Other individuals at Clement VII's court helped to promote his papal status through their patronage of the arts. The Benedictine college of St.-Martial is an ecclesiastical establishment founded in Avignon in 1378.[140] It takes its name from the same missionary saint to Gaul whose story appears in the chapel connected to the Grand Tinel or the main dining hall in the papal palace.[141] The college of St.-Martial owes its existence to Clement VII, but one of its main donors was Cardinal Jean de la Grange (d. 1402), a representative of Clement's papacy at the French royal court.[142] Typically in the 14th century, a pope officially founded a *collégiale*, and a high-ranking ecclesiastic supported it.[143] Church regulation required papal approval for this type of institution, considered below the status of a cathedral yet with a similar community of priests forming a chapter of canons. The canons said mass and Divine Office and earned a regular stipend. In addition to canons, the institution took in about a dozen students of canon law.[144]

The tomb of Cardinal Jean de la Grange in St.-Martial was a burial site for the cardinal as well as a monument to honor Pope Clement

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[139] For a notation regarding the donation, see Francisco Ehrle, *Historiae bibliothecae romanorum pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1890), p. 171.

[140] See Anne McGee Morganstern, "The La Grange Tomb and Choir: A Monument of the Great Schism of the West," *Speculum* 48 (1973), 52–69.

[141] Clement VI was the patron of this chapel. For details on this chapel, see Vingtain and Sauvageot, *Avignon*, pp. 290–342.

[142] Cardinal Pierre de Cros was another donor; see Castelnuovo, "Avignone," p. 773.

[143] See Jean-Loup Lemaitre, "Les créations de collégiales en Languedoc par les papes et les cardinaux avignonnais sous les pontificats de Jean XXII et Benoit XII," in *La papauté d'Avignon et le Languedoc 1316–1342*, ed. Édouard Privat (Cahiers de Fanjeaux) 26 (Toulouse, 1991), pp. 157–58.

[144] See Castelnuovo, "Avignone," p. 773.

VII and the French royal family. The structure (*c.* 1394–1402) had seven registers of sculpture. The sculpture, a casualty of the French Revolution, was dismantled with some elements known only through a drawing (Fig. 3).[145] The lowest register displayed a relief of a *transi* or decomposing body meant to evoke the vagaries of life. An alabaster effigy of the cardinal surmounted that level; Christ and the Apostles in a small sculpted arcade were just above him.[146] The upper five levels held half-life-size three-dimensional sculpted scenes of the Virgin's life. In each scene, a saint presented a kneeling figure to a moment of the Virgin's life. Scholars have identified the kneeling figures, respectively from the bottom, as the cardinal (with the Birth of the Virgin), Louis, duke of Orléans (brother of the king with the Purification of the Virgin), Charles VI (current king with the Annunciation), Charles V (former king with the Nativity), and Pope Clement VII (with the Coronation of the Virgin).[147] Though Clement VII was not himself the patron, this monument by an important court functionary glorified the pope by placing him among, and especially at the top of, this illustrious company. The tomb also provides an example of this court's need to demonstrate the endorsement by earthly and heavenly authorities of the schismatic Avignon papacy. Clement VII was surrounded by the kings and heirs of the crown of France who support him. He was also in the presence of the Virgin Mary and Christ, who had to sanction his papal role to allow his presence in the holy scenes. Enrico Castelnuovo characterized the cardinal's tomb as a political manifesto to show the total support of the French monarchy for Clement VII in Avignon.[148] Rollo-Koster has suggested that the tomb had the opposite meaning for Clement's successor.[149] De la Grange's tomb location was in the southern zone of the city away from the papal palace. Its construction during the period of the French crown's removal of support from Benedict XIII from 1398–1403 could be read as a physical manifestation of the cardinal's

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[145] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini lat. 4426, fol. 34. Morganstern, "The La Grange Tomb and Choir," fig. 4.

[146] See Morganstern, "The La Grange Tomb and Choir," pp. 53–60. The remaining sculptures are now in the Musée du Petit Palais; see Esther Moench, ed., *Avignon: Museé du Petit Palais: Peintures et sculptures* (Paris, 1999); and Mognetti, "Sculptures," pp. 124–27. See also Castelnuovo, "Avignone," p. 774.

[147] Morganstern, "The La Grange Tomb and Choir," pp. 59–60, 66; and Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara*, pp. 157–58.

[148] Castelnuovo, "Avignone," p. 774.

[149] Rollo-Koster, "The Politics of Body Parts," pp. 89–90.
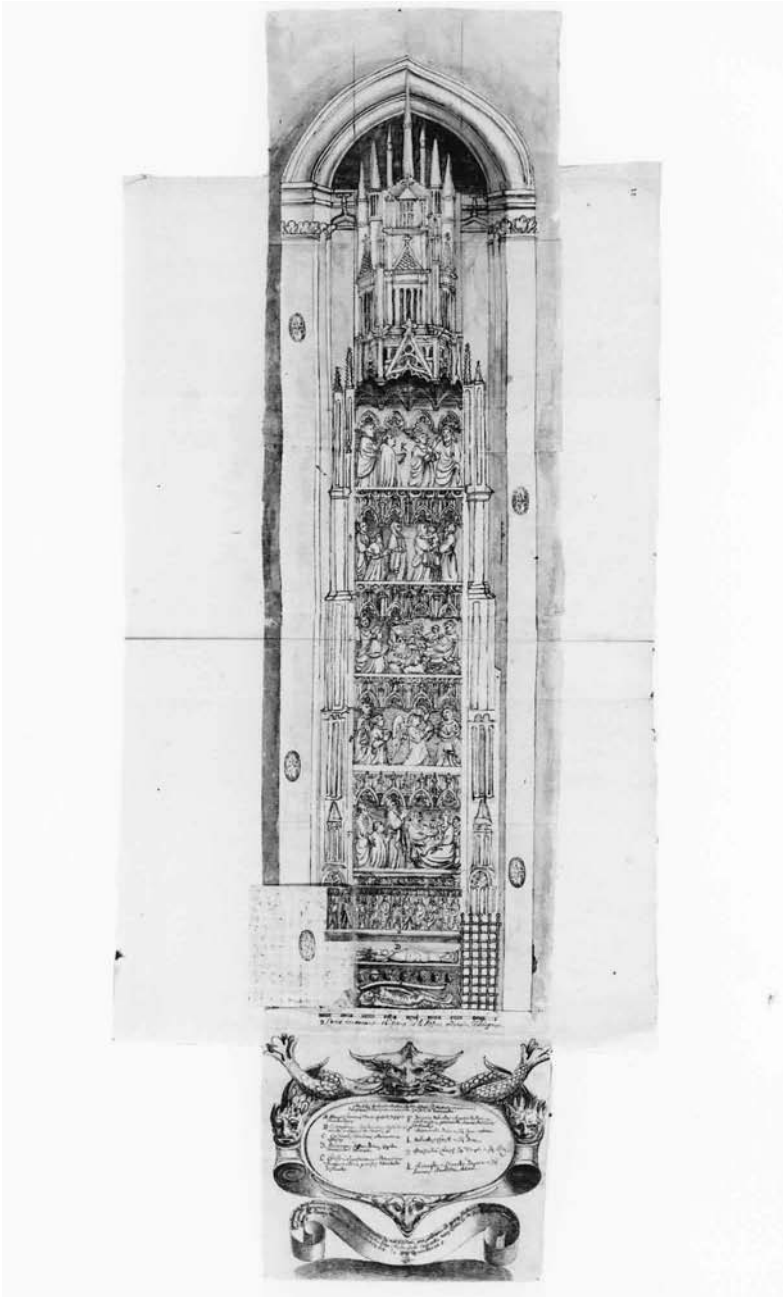
Fig. 3: Drawing of the tomb of Cardinal Jean de la Grange, formerly in
St.-Martial, Avignon, ca. 1394–1402, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica
Vaticana, Barberini lat. 4426, fol. 34r (photo: ©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
(Vatican)).

stance with King Charles VI against Benedict XIII. Its site was another sign that the city contained steep competition for topography under the Avignon obedience.[150]

The evidence of the sculptural and architectural patronage of Clement VII and his supporters indicates that subject matter, placement, and iconography were signals of his political direction during his pontificate. He worked to state his claim to his rightful ownership of the papal crown through the art of the city in life as well as in death. These examples also demonstrate that the artistic production in Avignon was complex and of high quality under this pope. As the second section will suggest, his manuscript patronage also paints a picture of him as a man of refined tastes.

B. *Benedict XIII's patronage*

Pedro de Luna was an important champion of Clement VII's regime.[151] As a cardinal, he traveled to convince many leaders on the Iberian peninsula to follow the Avignon obedience. These duties gained him crucial experience as a diplomat and recognition as an Avignon proponent. Elected pope himself in Avignon, he became Benedict XIII. Likely because of Benedict XIII's contentious and short time in Avignon, his large-scale patronage is harder to identify and to characterize, though still indicative of his claim to Avignon as a rightful papal residence.

Both Labande and Vingtain have explained that the works carried out by Benedict XIII in Avignon and on the palace were largely defensive.[152] He had a group of houses razed in order to build a wall, creating an immense fort comprising the palace, the cathedral, and the episcopal palace.[153] His forces placed their arms in certain palace towers and constructed a defensive wall before the entrance. These efforts indicate that Benedict XIII firmly believed in his legitimate claim to hold the palace as his center of papal power, and he had no intention of giving up his position, literally in the city or figuratively as pope. The Avignonnais eventually tore down the fortifications built by Benedict XIII.

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[150] Rollo-Koster, "The Politics of Body Parts," p. 90.
[151] See Millet, "Benoît XIII," p. 209.
[152] See Vingtain and Sauvageot, *Avignon*, pp. 423–24; and Labande, *Le Palais des papes* 2:177–78.
[153] Vingtain and Sauvageot, *Avignon*, p. 423; and Moench, ed., *Museé du Petit Palais*, pp. 9–10.

The palace and its grounds underwent considerable damage in the sieges of 1398 and 1410, as well as in a fire of 1413.[154] Benedict XIII's opponents aimed projectiles at the palace roof and walls. They harmed the Tower of Angels on the palace's north side and the papal seat in the main chapel, symbols of his power.[155] The fact that the palace was the center of the holdout of Benedict XIII and of his adversaries' attack suggests that the palace retained its significance as a symbolic and real home of the papacy.[156] Rollo-Koster has argued that the cardinal enemies of Benedict XIII allowed the palace to be damaged as such to demonstrate that they had the power to harm that which they were given the power to uphold.[157]

The continual attention to the palace after Benedict XIII's departure confirms its historic importance and symbolic role. The roofs and terraces were restored 1414–19.[158] François de Conzié, *camerarius* or chamberlain of the apostolic chamber under Benedict XIII and then later under Martin V in Rome (1383–1431), oversaw the refurbishment of the palace.[159] After the Avignon papacies, the palace, still in papal territory, was occasionally the dwelling of the papal legates through the 15th century, becoming their official residence in the 16th century.[160] French military occupation followed damage made in the French Revolution. Only in the late 19th century was the building restored again. Much wall painting had been completely destroyed, and what little that remained has been restored at diverse times over the last century.

The slim evidence of Benedict XIII's new architectural and artistic patronage in Avignon suggests that Benedict did not concern himself with expressing legitimacy and permanence through new monuments. He did use the existing palace and its new fortifications to assert his will to stay in the city and to remain pope. The next section will demonstrate how his book interests seemed to be a part of his papacy's image of

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[154] See Gagnière, *Le Palais des papes*, p. 109.
[155] Rollo-Koster, "*Castrum Doloris*," pp. 168–69.
[156] Rollo-Koster, "*Castrum Doloris*," pp. 269–71.
[157] Rollo-Koster, "*Castrum Doloris*," pp. 269–70.
[158] Vingtain and Sauvageot, *Avignon*, pp. 423–24.
[159] Gagnière, *Le palais des papes*, p. 109. De Conzié took possession of the palace in 1411; see Pillement, *Pedro de Luna*, p. 186. On the influence of de Conzié, especially during the subtraction of obedience, see Rollo-Koster, "Liturgy and Political Legitimization," pp. 122–36. On the position of chamberlain (and Conzié in particular), see Olivier Guyotjeannin and Francois-Charles Uginet, "Camerlingue," in *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*, ed. Philippe Levillain (Poitiers, 1994), pp. 267–70, esp. p. 68.
[160] See Gagnière, *Le Palais des papes*, pp. 112–27; Vingtain and Sauvageot, *Avignon*, pp. 422–63; and Vingtain, ed., *Monument de l'histoire*, pp. 139–74 (several articles).

endurance, exhibiting the cultural and political appetite of this pope in more portable terms.

II. The papal library and its manuscripts

A. *The library before and during the Great Schism*

> À la veille du Grand Schisme, la librairie pontificale qui réunissait un peu plus de 2,000 manuscrits était sans doute la plus importante de la Chrétienté.[161]

This quotation from Pierre Gasnault's overview of the papal library at the eve of the Great Schism indicates the importance of this collection in the life of the city, the papal court, and Europe overall. Many avenues of scholarship lead to study of this fascinating library. Not only can the books be considered as containers of knowledge but also they can be seen as works of art, signs of social connections, political markers, and economic commodities. I shall first discuss the library overall and then its formation and development in the 14th century through three main modes of acquisition. Finally, I shall analyze each pope's contributions to the library and selected manuscripts known to have been created in Avignon during their reigns. The papal collection of manuscripts reveals another manner that the popes of schismatic Avignon used culture to their benefit.

Reviewing the treatment of books before the Schism is essential to comprehend the continued significance of, as well as the changes within, the papal library during the Schism. Many of the issues relating to the earlier popes and their attitude towards the library were also relevant for the schismatic popes. In the early 14th century, gathering together a library was an integral expression of the Avignon pontiffs' religious, political, and intellectual dominance in its vast and varied contents. The development of the 14th-century papal book collection marked an important turning point toward a modern conception of a documented, comprehensive library. The popes of the Avignon obedience during the Schism retained the impressive papal library. In other words, the library never made its way to Rome after 1377. The Avignon popes' appropriation of the library during the Schism represented one of the ways that they made a claim to legitimacy over their

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[161] Pierre Gasnault, "La librairie pontificale à la veille du grand schisme," in *Genèse et débuts*, p. 277.

Roman rivals. They were in possession of a valuable intellectual and religious treasure. The library signified wealth in its materiality; intellectual and religious depth in its comprehensive nature; and even the physical presence of its owners in its sheer bulk. Perhaps most relevant was the ability of Clement VII and Benedict XIII to take over the collection of their papal predecessors in their equally rightful and proper positions as popes. Their continued use of key space in the palace for the collection, largely kept in the treasury and private rooms near the papal chambers, exhibited the popes' understanding of the library as a valued commodity to be given special care.

Inventories, now mainly in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, are maps to understanding the library's path and the value placed upon it. Early inventories of the papal library in 1295,[162] 1311,[163] 1327,[164] and 1339[165]

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[162] ASV, Tabularii Vaticani, vol. Indici no. 4 (olim Armad. LVI, XLV), fols. 62–73; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5180, fols. 152ff (17th-century copy). See Maurice Faucon, *La librairie des papes d'Avignon: Sa formation, sa composition, ses catalogues (1316–1420)*, vol. 1 (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome) 43 (Paris, 1886), pp. 3–4; and vol. 2 (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome) 50 (Paris, 1887), pp. 3–18 (Appendix I); Francisco Ehrle, "Zur Geschichte des Schatzes, der Bibliothek und des Archivs der Päpste in vierzehnte Jahrhundert," in *Archiv für literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 1 (1885), pp. 24–41; Daniel Williman, *Bibliothèques ecclésiastiques au temps de la papauté d'Avignon I: Inventaires de bibliotheques et mentions de livres dans les Archives du Vatican (1278–1420)* (Documents, études, et répertoires) 20 (Paris, 1980), p. 19; and Augustus Pelzer, *Addenda et emendanda ad Francisci Ehrle Historia Bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonifatianae, tum Avenionensis* (Vatican City, 1947), pp. 4–24. Another inventory under Clement V contained many of his personal possessions from his home in Carpentras; see Faucon, *La librairie des papes*, 2:19–22.

[163] Benedict XI (1303–1304) had moved things to Perugia from Rome. The treasury was placed in the sacristy of San Frediano and pillaged by Ghibellines of Pisa in 1314; see Faucon, *La Librairie des papes* 1:7–8; ASV, RA 65, Clement V, vol. 10, fols. 510–538. See Ehrle, "Zur Geschichte des Schatzes," pp. 24–41; Ehrle, *Historiae bibliothecae*, pp. 26–108.

[164] The part of the Treasury left in Italy was moved to Assisi in 1320, when the city was allied with the Guelph (or papal) factions. When it changed into Ghibelline (or imperial) hands, it seems there was also pillaging of the goods; see Faucon, *La Librairie des papes* 1:8–10. For the 1327 inventory, see ASV, Archivum Avenionensis [hereafter AA], Archiv. Arcis, Arm. C., Fasc. 2, no. 10 (8 August 1327). It contains 226 items; see Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñiscola pendant le grand schisme d'Occident et sa dispersion: Inventaires et concordances*, 2 vols. (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome) 141 (Rome, 1991), 1:3. See Ehrle, "Zur Geschichte des Schatzes," pp. 307–24; and Pelzer, *Addenda et emendanda*, pp. 25–37.

[165] For the 1339 inventory, see ASV, AA, Collectoriae [hereafter Coll.] 468, "Inventarium bonorum mobilium palatii apostolica," 1339/1369, fols. 2–18 (or 3–15 of printed numbers). It contains 433 items; see Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:3. See Ehrle, "Zur Geschichte des Schatzes," pp. 324–64; and

confirm that the 13th-century papal library did not arrive intact in Avignon in the 14th century.[166] Unfortunately none of these particular inventories is considered a complete account of the papal collection. They do enlighten us about the placement of and movement of books in the palace in the early Avignon papacies, however.

Three main inventories were carried out before the Schism. By far, the most complete was the first inventory of 1369, with all subsequent lists being of only a particular section of the library or for a particular purpose.[167] The 1369 inventory noted the manuscripts by room in the palace.[168] It was a topographic inventory with descriptions for the non-specialist to be able to recognize the physical book rather than the extent of the contents.[169] The first few hundred books in the listing were ordered under headings of types of books; the rest were simply listed seemingly as found in the room.[170] The second main inventory before the Schism (1375) was less of an inventory and more of a catalogue.[171] It was better adapted to users in that the listing informed the reader about content; it gave little information about the physical nature of

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Pelzer, *Addenda et emendanda*, pp. 38–66. See also Faucon, *La Librairie des papes*, 1:10–11; and Williman, *Bibliothèques ecclésiastiques*, 1:29–30. The 1339 inventory was followed by lists of archival coffers holding unspecified juridical and liturgical books; see Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:3. See also Faucon, *La librairie des papes*, 1:5–11 and 2: Appendix II, 19–22.

[166] See Gasnault, "La Librairie pontificale," p. 283.

[167] It was made to prepare for Urban V's intended move to Rome and was organized by Philip de Cabassole. There are two copies of the 1369 inventory. One is ASV, AA, Coll. no. 468, "Inventarium bonorum mobilium palatii apostolici," 1339/1369, fols. 165r–286v (fols. 184r–307r of printed nos.; see fol. 22r or printed fol. 223r). Published in Faucon, *La librairie des papes*, 1:93–262; Ehrle, *Historiae bibliothecae*, pp. 274–437. The second copy is ASV, AA, Coll. no. 469, "Inventarium bonorum mobilium palatii apostolici," 1339/1369, fols. 202ff. [MS includes Inventories of Gregory XI (1371–73), fols. 23–46; Inventories of Clement VII (1379–80), fols. 113–174]. See Ehrle, "Zur Geschichte des Schatzes," p. 13.

[168] On the special characteristics of this inventory, see Antonio Manfredi, "'Ordinata iuxta serenitatem et aptitudinem intellectus domini nostri pape Gregorii undecimi': Note sugli inventari della biblioteca papale avignonese," in *La vie culturelle, intellectuelle et scientifique à la cour des papes d'Avignon*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Textes et études du moyen âge) 28 (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 87–109.

[169] See Gasnault, "La Librairie pontificale," p. 279.

[170] See Gasnault, "La Librairie pontificale," p. 279.

[171] Though the binding and the diverse contents are often mentioned, the first and last words are not listed, making it quite difficult to identify these now. ASV, RA 231, fols. 21–66 (copy of Catalogue (after 1394)). Published in Ehrle, *Historiae bibliothecae*, pp. 454–549. See Ehrle, "Zur Geschichte des Schatzes," p. 14. For more on the differences in the library between 1369 to 1375, see Manfredi, "Note sugli inventari della biblioteca papale avignonese," pp. 102–09. See also Gasnault, "La librairie pontificale," p. 281.

the book to identify it on a shelf. The circumstances of its creation were not clear, and it only covered the grand library. As such, it listed only 1,482 manuscripts.

The size of the papal library at approximately 2,000 volumes in 1369 was enormous compared to the book collections of contemporary ecclesiastics (the average being about 35 volumes). It was even large for major institutions. For instance, compare its number to the 1338 inventory of 1,722 books in the Sorbonne university library in Paris.[172] The selection of a prefect of the library from among the intimate circle of the popes indicated the special nature of the books at court.[173] Many of these men also had other significant court positions, such as confessors or prefect of the chapels. The popes charged the prefects with the important job of the maintenance and care of the liturgical books in use.[174]

The 1369 inventory provides some useful information about the papal collection's overall composition and use. The library was a traditional ecclesiastic collection, with more than over three quarters of the holdings being theological and liturgical texts.[175] Legal manuscripts were next in importance, followed by historical, patristic, doctrinal, and heretical texts in much lower numbers.[176] Most texts were in Latin with, conversely, few manuscripts in the vernacular. Antique and contemporary literature was represented relatively little.[177]

The 1369 inventory especially gives a sense of the distribution of book types throughout the palace.[178] The main library (930 books) was in the large upper Treasury room of the Tower of the Pope.[179] At the bottom of the Tower of the Pope was the lower Treasury, holding coffers of books coming from the spoils. The secret room of the Treasury,

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[172] See Gasnault, "La librairie pontificale," p. 278.

[173] Ehrle, *Historiae bibliothecae*, pp. 176, 724–26.

[174] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 89–90.

[175] See Gasnault, "La librairie pontificale," pp. 281–82. Manzari also indicates the mainly liturgical nature of the illuminated manuscripts that were produced in Avignon; see Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 10.

[176] See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:57, 59–60, 62–64. See also Faucon, *La Librairie des papes*, 1:70–81. It is interesting to note that the works of theologians who attacked or defended the position of the pope were present, such as the proponents in the struggle between the papacy and Emperor Ludwig at the time of John XXII and Benedict XII; see Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La Bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:66.

[177] See Gasnault, "La Librairie pontificale," p. 282.

[178] See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:6–8; and Manfredi, "Note sugli inventari della biblioteca papale avignonese," pp. 87–109.

[179] See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:8.

to the north at the base of the same tower, held mostly law books. The chapel of St. Michael at the top of the Wardrobe Tower (just south of the Tower of the Pope and also part of the popes' private quarters) contained a variety of texts of law, theology, Aristotle, medicine, and even of Greek and Hebrew. The chamberlain's room held a characteristic work library, with classical texts, books of history and judiciary process, and a life of Saint Francis.

The documentation about the library suggests that books in the varied locations in the palace had different readers. In other words, a division seems to have existed between the public and the exclusive sections of the library in the palace throughout the Avignon residency. Construction notices in 1338 and 1340 allude to the private library of Pope Benedict XII in the tower, now called the Study Tower, attached to his chamber.[180] From the time of Clement VI, the popes' main study was in the Chamber of the Deer in the nearby Wardrobe Tower.[181] Popes, just as kings and queens, held audiences in their private chambers.[182] These visits were for special visitors in small groups. They were limited in part by the small physical space of the room but also by the desire to share the prestige of such an interview with only a chosen few.[183] These towers in the southeast corner of the complex were deliberately set apart from the rest of the papal palace as the popes' quarters. The popes clearly wished to separate themselves and a part of their collection from other readers. At the same time, early lists reveal that a lending library and a section with chained books for reading were in place somewhere in the castle.[184] One reason for the lending library was the existence of the University of Avignon (founded 1303). This institution did not have its own library or produce books until 1419

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[180] See Labande, *Le palais des papes*, 1:56, 61, 103–04.

[181] See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:65.

[182] See Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "*Ad maiorem pape gloriam*: La fonction des pièces dans le palais des papes d'Avignon," in *Architecture et vie sociale: L'organisation intérieure des grandes demeures à la fin du moyen âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Guillaume (De Architectura) (Paris, 1994), p. 32.

[183] See Radke, "Form and Function," p. 20.

[184] Regarding borrowing lists, see Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:36; and Anneliese Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Storia e letteratura) 138.3 (Rome, 1977), pp. 59–64.

because of the presence of the papal library, so university visitors must have come regularly to the palace.[185]

Analyzing the literature on the library leads to an understanding about how little attention has been given to the period of the Schism. Maurice Faucon's books (1886 and 1887) comprised, for instance, only a small part of the project that he had originally planned.[186] While he did aim for his study to go up to 1420, he knew of only one document post-1378, the inventory of the library of Benedict XIII.[187] He stated in his introduction that he had wanted to present a literary history of the Avignon popes, but his own illness stopped him from that great task.[188] His work was "reduced" (his words) to a study on the library of the popes of Avignon. Nevertheless he still published important informa-tion. Primarily he edited various lists of the inventories of the popes. Francis Ehrle, prefect of the Vatican library from 1895–1914, published excerpts from inventories of the pre-Schism Avignon papacy.[189] He stopped after the pontificate of Gregory XI and included those of the treasury too.

An essential study of the pontifical library inventories during the Schism has surfaced in the volumes of Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin for the école Française de Rome.[190] Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin focused on telling the story of the pontifical library in its last decades in Avignon, its movement to Peñis-cola in Spain with the departing pope Benedict XIII, and its dispersal. M. Josep Perarnau i Espelt published almost concurrently the inven-tory of Benedict XIII's library at his death and, in conjunction with M. Josep Serrano Caldero, two inventories after his death.[191] The issues

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[185] See Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*, Pp. 49ff. For more on the university, see Jacques Verger, "Jean XXII et Benoît XII et les universités du Midi," in *La papauté d'Avignon et le Languedoc 1316–1342*, ed. Édouard Privat (Cahiers de Fanjeaux) 26 (Toulouse, 1991), pp. 208–09.

[186] See Faucon, *La librairie des papes*, vols. 1 and 2.

[187] Faucon, *La librairie des papes*, 1:82–86. See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:viii.

[188] See Faucon, *La librairie des papes*, 1:xii.

[189] Ehrle, *Historiae bibliothecae*.

[190] Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, vols. 1 and 2.

[191] Josep Perarnau I Espelt and M. Josep Serrano Caldero, "Darrer inventari de la Biblioteca papal de Peñiscola (1423)," *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 6 (1987), 49–291; and Josep Perarnau I Espelt, "Els inventaris de la Biblioteca papal de Peñiscola a la mort de Benet XIII," *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 6 (1987), 7–48. These articles overlap with Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin slightly. See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:xxxii.

that Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin addressed are indicative of many of the problems to date regarding the Schism materials. One difficulty remains the lack of archives or of a single location for the existing archives, such that finding book notations is difficult.[192] The movement of Benedict XIII to Peñiscola meant that archives went with him, and although some were returned to the popes later in Rome, not all were. The example of Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin indicates how scholars have increasingly moved from a pure gathering of documents, still a necessary element of documentary study, to analysis.

Though Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin's study continues to be helpful as a comprehensive publication of the library records during the acer Avignon papacy, the library inventory documents do have limits to what they can reveal. For instance, Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin's introduction presented that Clement VII was not "un homme d'étude, même s'il n'était pas sans culture."[193] Based on their published lists of items that Clement VII obtained, it does seem that he was not as prolific in his ordering as Benedict XIII. Nor did he seem to pay as much attention as his successor to the library, given the single inventory taken during his pontificate (and this one of overall items in the treasury). The inventories published by Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin rarely give information about illustration of the books listed. Yet, as I shall explain in discussing Clement VII's specific manuscript patronage, papal accounts reveal that at least four prolific illustrators worked for his court. Clement VII clearly saw fit to hire artists to decorate books regularly. Moreover, his choices were very lavish in subject matter and beauty. As the next section will discuss, the papal inventory records need to be taken into consideration with other evidence to offer insight into manuscript acquisition and production in the schismatic period in Avignon.

B. *Manuscript acquisition*

Archival materials provide some details about how the popes throughout the 14th and early 15th centuries obtained the items for the pontifical

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[192] For a useful overview of the archival source types in the Vatican Archives and their functions, see Emil Göller, *Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der Päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung: Die Einnahmen der Apostolischenkammer unter Johann XXII* (Paderborn, 1910), pp. 7–56, 106.

[193] Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:viii.

library in Avignon. There were three main methods of entry: through gift-giving, through the papal "right of spoil," and through direct ordering and acquisition.[194] The category of gifts is hardest to examine. Brief entries in the papal records occasionally appear regarding manuscripts received as gifts.[195] Unfortunately scholars cannot often identify these books with known books today, though I shall discuss a few examples below. The spoil and direct acquisition methods are still fruitful methods to examine the development of the papal library, because they reveal underlying concerns and interests of the popes.

The Papal right of spoil
The right of spoil was a papal prerogative newly and often exercised in the 14th century. Through it, the papacy could claim all moveable goods of any high-level Church official or any member of the court at his death.[196] From the first instance of the right of spoil in 1316, Daniel Williman has identified 1,191 cases of its use until the beginning of the following century.[197] At the death of an ecclesiastic or papal court member, papal representatives would review and inventory the deceased's moveable goods, selecting items to appropriate or sell for the pope. Once chosen for the pope, manuscripts and many other types

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[194] Francesca Manzari discusses direct ordering and acquisition especially, though briefly also gifts and spoils, throughout her book Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*. The gift records were mostly kept in the IE records now in the ASV. For excerpts from John XXII to Clement VII, see Ehrle, *Historiae bibliothecae*, pp. 144–71. Regarding the right of spoil, see Daniel Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes of Avignon 1316–1415* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society) 78.6 (Philadelphia, 1988). For books in Avignon under the various pontificates, see also Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*, pp. 3–21.

[195] See Francesca Manzari, "La miniatura ad Avignone nel XIV secolo," in *Roma, Napoli, Avignone: Arte di curia, arte di corte 1300–1377*, ed. Alessandro Tomei (Turin, 1996), pp. 202–23.

[196] An early important study of the early Avignon papacy and the spoil system is Guillaume Mollat, "A propos du droit de dépouille," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 29 (1933), 316–47. In addition, see the essential work of Daniel Williman: *Records of the Papal Right of Spoil 1316–1412* (Paris, 1974); *Bibliothèques ecclésiastiques, I*; and *Bibliothèques ecclésiastiques au temps de la papauté d'Avignon II: Inventaires de prélats et de clercs non français, Documents, études, et répertoires, 20* (Paris, 1980). See also Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *Bibliothèques ecclésiastiques au temps de la papauté d'Avignon II: Inventaires de prélats et de clercs français, Documents, études, et répertoires, 61* (Paris, 2001). Most recently, see Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *Raiding Saint Peter: Empty Sees, Violence, and the Initiation of the Great Western Schism (1378)* (Leiden, 2008); and Rollo-Koster, "Looting the Empty See: The Great Western Schism Revisited (1378)," *Rivista di Storia della chiesa in Italia* 59.2 (2005), 429–74.

[197] See Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes*, p. 23.

of items typically came first into the palace. Then some manuscripts were reserved for papal or courtly use, some were instead held in the treasury to give out as gifts or favors, and others were sold for extra revenue for the papal coffers. Unfortunately, little is known today about details of manuscripts that entered the library in this manner. Nevertheless, scholars have learned that the right of spoil was a way for a 14th-century pope to look beyond his immediate resources to enrich his coffers and his book collection.

The papal prerogative of the spoil was a ready financial source that the popes learned to appreciate more with time.[198] The building campaign of the earlier popes in Avignon and the conflicts in Italy required the papacy to generate more income.[199] As Williman has presented, almost one quarter—or 264 of 1,191—of all cases belong to the time of Clement VI.[200] The right of spoil after his death became a regular function of regional agents. They were always ready to inventory a dead cleric's goods instead of waiting for special commissions on a case by case basis. These agents apparently abused their positions as papal representatives to the extent that popes Innocent VI, Urban V and Gregory XI controlled the activities of their agents more closely.[201] From Innocent VI's 277 cases of despoiling, his successors decreased the practice to 156 cases for Urban V and 159 for Gregory XI.[202]

Like the other popes before him in Avignon, Clement VII acquired manuscripts through the papal right of spoil. Overall, 117 cases of the right of spoil occurred during his reign.[203] Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin indicated that he obtained several hundred manuscripts through these cases.[204] Compared to his predecessors, Benedict XIII

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[198] See Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes*, p. 25.

[199] See Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes*, p. 25.

[200] One reason for this increase under him may have been the large number of ecclesiastical mortalities with the plague outbreak across Europe in 1348. Many collections may have become available to the pope in a short period. Nevertheless, other indications are that he purposefully expanded the gathering of spoils. Only his successor Innocent VI overcame him by 13 cases. Compare to 109 cases under John XXII and 67 under Benedict XII; see Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes*, p. 24. See also Williman, *Bibliothèques ecclésiastiques, I*, p. 3.

[201] See Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes*, pp. 29–32.

[202] Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes*, p. 24.

[203] Regarding his use of the right of spoil and his cases, see Williman, *Records of the Papal Right of Spoil*, p. 249; and Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes*, pp. 24, 258–59.

[204] See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:56–57, n. 109.

did not use the right of spoil to the same degree to obtain manuscripts for the papal collection. Indeed Williman's index of spoil cases demonstrated the marked decrease in the numbers of overall cases under Benedict XIII: the most cases (seven) that took place were in 1403, and for several years he had none.[205] Overall, 40 cases of spoil transpired under his reign.[206] He gained a few hundred manuscripts through spoils, with few of them noted individually. Many of these were sold or given away.[207]

The political nature of this right is demonstrated by resistance to collection during the Schism. The areas in which Benedict XIII, for instance, could collect such spoils decreased over time along with his waning allegiances. After 1408, his agents only worked in the Iberian peninsula.[208] The decline in the use of the right of spoil was also due to concerns about the abuses of the right of spoil.[209] As Daniel Williman has characterized it, the "opposition became clamorous" against what was seen as an unchecked initiative on the part of the collectors.[210] The opposition was so widespread, gaining proponents even among kings, that the Council of Constance banned such activity in 1417.[211]

The gain (be it cultural, economic, or something else altogether) for the popes must have outweighed expenditures in order for the spoil process to have functioned. Certainly one benefit was to gain access to a variety and number of manuscripts that was likely beyond even the capability of the papal treasury to purchase. The numbers of manuscripts obtained through spoils suggest that it was a fruitful way to add to the collection. The administrative effort put forth to assign a representative; to sort the possessions of the deceased; to prepare the items for

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[205] Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes*, p. 259. Other sources on the Schism and spoils are Rollo-Koster, *Raiding Saint Peter*; and Rollo-Koster, "Looting the Empty See," pp. 429–74.

[206] See Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes*, pp. 24, 259.

[207] See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:57 n. 109.

[208] Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:58.

[209] See Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes*, pp. 32–37.

[210] See Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes*, p. 32. See also Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance*, p. 57.

[211] Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes*, pp. 32–37; and Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance*, pp. 57, 58, 287. Stump publishes a compilation of the actual text of the first and second reform committees. On spoils, see Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance*, pp. 340–31 and 96–97.

transport, transfer, or sale; and to arrange them once they arrived in Avignon was a calculated though worthwhile measure.[212]

Book production and illustration for the Avignon popes
The other constructive method by which to study manuscript entry into the papal library is through direct book ordering and acquisition. The issue of manuscript production is tied closely to that of manuscript illustration. Often the records mention miniaturists whose activity signals the production of manuscripts under a pope, though certainly not all manuscripts were decorated. Each Avignon pope had a different practice.[213] According to the papal registers, John XXII seems to have bought a number of books already made, and more than one workshop also provided him with manuscripts during his pontificate as well.[214] Benedict XII ordered many books made in Avignon.[215] Clement VI purchased them from outside of Avignon, especially from Paris, and did not keep the papal atelier highly active.[216] Innocent VI

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[212] See Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes*, pp. 19–22.

[213] See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*. Manzari discusses each Avignon pope's ordering in more detail. Another useful book on the subject remains Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*. The ordering records are now kept in the RA in the ASV for each year of the 14th-century papacies. These records do not provide details about specific books but do have information about library prefects, parchment merchants, scribes, illuminators, and binders. For published excerpts from John XXII to Gregory XI, see Ehrle, *Historiae bibliothecae*, pp. 136–72.

[214] See especially Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 9, 11–12, 30–82. Under John XXII, Guillaume de la Broue and Jean de la Tissanderie were noted as heads of the library. The names of the copyists (and an illuminator André de Beauvais) are mostly French, with an Englishman; see Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*, pp. 4–11. For published records of John XXII's acquisition, see K. H. Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII nebst den Jahresbilanzen von 1316–1335*, 2 vols. (Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der Päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung: 1316–1378) (Paderborn, 1911), 1:261–65.

[215] See especially Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 89–127. Under Benedict XII, Jean Engilbert was superintendent of the library. One Italian is mentioned as collaborating on certain copies, but the other copyists and two illuminators mentioned (Guillaume Ytier and André de Beauvais) are French; see Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*, pp. 8–12.

[216] See especially Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 129–31. Under Clement VI, Pansier claims that the atelier of papal copyists dissolved and that the work then resumed under Innocent VI, Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*, p. 12. Manzari suggests that it was not as quiet as Pansier claims, Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 129. Mention of books being made appears in only two places in the registers of Clement VI; see Faucon, *La librairie des papes*, 1:49. Faucon attributes the lack of evidence to a lack of archival upkeep (for instance, no scribes' names are mentioned), stating that Clement did add to the library. He indicated that Clement's personal collection was included, he had two breviaries

did not acquire many manuscripts, though he briefly restarted the palace's book-making activity in 1352.[217] Under Urban V and Gregory XI, few notices pertain to the acquisition of books in any way in the papal registers.[218] Despite the financial strains and political conflict of the Schism, manuscript production and illumination flourished under the later popes in Avignon. A review of the scholarship history of the field of manuscript production and illumination helps to introduce the specific patronage of Clement VII and Benedict XIII.

The pioneering manuscript studies of Leon Honoré Labande and Pierre Pansier initially advanced the study of the production and illumination of Avignonese manuscripts.[219] Their work used the inventories and documentation relative to the payment of papal copyists and illustrators, which was published by Maurice Faucon and Franz Ehrle.[220] Labande and Pansier also examined the manuscripts and documents kept at the bibliothèque municipale of Avignon and the archives départementales de Vaucluse at the end of the 19th century.[221] With that information, they identified a small corpus of illustrated manuscripts created in Avignon over the entire papal period. Later scholars in the 1960s–80s who brought attention to Avignon's production included Otto Pächt, François Avril, and Marie-Claude Léonelli.[222] In 1978,

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copied in 1346, and he had 27 volumes copied according to a 1352 notation, Faucon, *La librairie des papes*, 1:49–50. See also manzari, "La miniatura ad Avignone," p. 206; and Étienne Anheim, "La bibliothèque personelle de Pierre Roger/Clément VII," in *La vie culturelle, intellectuelle et scientifique*, ed. Hanesse, pp. 1–48.

[217] A notation appears that Innocent VI hired an individual, Bartholot or Barthélemi de Paris, for miniature painting and bookbinding *c.* 1357–58; see Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*, pp. 12–13; and Manzari, "La Miniatura ad Avignone," p. 206.

[218] See Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*, p. 14.

[219] Léon Honoré Labande, "Les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Avignon provenant de la librairie des papes du XIVᵉ siècle," *Bulletin historique et philologique* (1894); Léon Honoré Labande, "Les minaturistes avignonnais et leurs oeuvres," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 3.37 (1907), 213–40, 89–305; and Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*. For a more complete historiography of the field of illuminated manuscripts of Avignon, see Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 3–17. See also Francesca Manzari, "Contributi per una storia della miniatura ad Avignone nel XIV secolo," in *La Vie culturelle, intellectuelle et scientifique*, ed. Hamesse, pp. 112–17.

[220] Faucon, *La Librairie des papes*, vols. 1 and 2; and Ehrle, *Historiae bibliothecae*.

[221] See Léon Honoré Labande, *Catalogue sommaires des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Avignon (Musée Calvet)* (Avignon, 1892). The few manuscripts of this time that remained in Avignon are in the Bibliothèque municipale and once were in the city's Musée Calvet; see Labande, "Les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Avignon," pp. 145–60; and Labande, *Catalogue sommaires*. See also Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*.

[222] See Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss, *Die Illuminierte Handschriften und Inku-*

Marie-Claude Léonelli especially brought the importance of the art of this period to the public, in an exhibition with an accompanying catalogue: *Avignon 1360–1410: Art et histoire*.[223] Her work was crucial in designating certain manuscripts to the city. For those manuscripts still in Avignon, the 1993 catalogue with entries by Léonelli and Patricia Stirnemann remains significant.[224] Research on Avignon manuscripts into the 1990s continued only to glance the surface of the abundant material.[225] The volume of Francesca Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi (1310–1410)*, has recently enriched the study of 14th- and early 15th-century Avignon manuscripts and their illuminators.[226] She has the most significant, full treatment of the manuscripts created for the popes in Avignon. Manzari has added to earlier work by identifying new Avignon manuscripts, discussing workshop problems, and analyzing several specific workshops during the Avignon papacies. Based on historical, liturgical, codicological, and stylistic evidence, she had identified more than 200 illustrated manuscripts that artists likely produced in Avignon from 1310 to 1410.[227] Despite the lack of certain archival information in many cases, she used the evidence of the manuscripts themselves to inform us about production.[228] Manzari overcame problems with the method of first connecting one secure manuscript via inscription, coats of arms, or style with a patron, owner, or artist in Avignon.[229] Then she established other stylistic or iconographic connections or regular collaborations to form a body of substantial works

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nabeln des Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Französischen Schule (Vienna, 1974), pp. 141–45; Léonelli, *Avignon 1360–1410*; and Avril, "Manuscrits," in *Les fastes du gothique*, pp. 279–82.

[223] Léonelli, *Avignon 1360–1410*. See also Bibliothèque nationale, *Manuscrits à peintures en France du XIII*e* au XVI*e* siècle* (Paris, 1955), pp. 63–67.

[224] Marie-Claude Léonelli, "Schede," in Isabelle Delaunay *Les manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque municipale d'Avignon, XI*e*–XVI*e* siècles* (Avignon, 1993), pp. 29–51, 67–73, 79–85, 129–32; and Patricia Stirnemann, "Schede," also in *Les manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque municipale d'Avignon, XI*e*–XVI*e* siècles*, pp. 20–27, 60–63, 125–28. See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 5.

[225] For review of that material, see Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 5–6.

[226] See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*. Some of her findings are summarized in Manzari, "Contributi per una storia della miniatura ad Avignone," pp. 111–40.

[227] Not all of these were for the popes though. See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 8, 341–57.

[228] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 9.

[229] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 9–10.

from the city.[230] She included sections on the patronage of Clement VII and Benedict XIII, whose personal interests had an effect on the library's makeup because of the new manuscripts collected or produced for their use, enjoyment, and agenda.

C. *The library and illuminated manuscripts during the period of Clement VII*

When Clement VII arrived at the castle in Avignon, a large library sat ready for his use. Inventories suggest that Clement VII altered little of the existing library when he arrived in the palace. Clement VII's patronage and collecting activity eventually added some beautiful manuscripts to the collection, contributing to the library's importance as a sign of his legitimacy and authority.

The main segments of the library of Clement VII in 1378 were located in the Wardrobe Tower in the chapel of St. Michael and in the Chamber of the Deer, also called the *studium* and considered a private papal chamber.[231] A fragmentary inventory exists from 1379–80 that lists books located in the *magna libraria turris* outside of the *studium* as well as in the *studium* itself. It seems as if these books were of a slightly different nature from those in other parts of the palace. Faucon suggests that Clement VII kept books on topics meant for leisure and distraction.[232] These included classic Latin authors such as Seneca and Pliny, histories, and literature by contemporary authors such as Boccaccio and Petrarch.[233] In addition, books more traditional in an ecclesiastical collection were present, such as writings of the Fathers of the Church, liturgical books, and various biblical commentaries. A segment of this catalogue is missing, so it is difficult to know if the

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[230] The variety of artists, the diversity of their origins, and the ultimate dispersal and uneven cataloguing of manuscripts in southern France's collections has made it a challenge to localize manuscripts to Avignon. The Avignon method of teamwork has also rendered it difficult to pinpoint a manuscript's production to Avignon versus other centers such as Toulouse or Naples with similar collaborative working methods. See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 10–11.

[231] Listed in ASV, AA, Collectoriae (hereafter Coll.) 469, fols. 177–185. This inventory was entitled "Inventarium librorum qui solebant esse in camera cervi volantis nunc vero sunt in magna libraria turris" (in "Inventarium bonorum mobilium palatii apostolici" (1371–83)). See Faucon, *La librairie des papes*, 1:57–58; Faucon, *La librairie des papes* 2:27–42; and Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:25–26, 65–66.

[232] See Faucon, *La librairie des papes*, 1:57–59.

[233] See Faucon, *La librairie des papes*, 2:32.

pope had one of his several known Bibles and/or devotional books also with him in this room.[234]

Clement VII's treatment of one particular Bible, now known as the Bible of Antipope Clement VII, is revealing of how he appropriated the papal library for his own use when he came to Avignon as the rival pope (Fig. 4).[235] I have argued elsewhere that artists produced this manuscript in Naples *c.* 1330 for a member of the Angevin court.[236] Soon after its creation, the unknown owner gave it to a bishop-abbot at Monte Cassino, Raymond de Gramat. At the bishop-abbot's death in 1340, Benedict XII appropriated it through the right of spoil.[237] In 1369, the Bible was in the papal collection still, in a chapel in the dignitaries' wing of the palace in Avignon. Clement VII demonstrated how much he appreciated this manuscript in his recently acquired library by inserting his coat-of-arms over the Angevin-related arms already present. He thus chose this manuscript among the hundreds present to mark it especially as his own. I suggest that with this appropriation he moved it into his personal study, as it appeared in the inventory of Benedict XIII's study. Benedict XIII valued it so much that he took it with him in the portable library when he escaped Avignon. Eventually the last Avignon pope in Spain, Clement VIII, gifted the Bible to the king of Aragon in 1423. The Bible's captivating story offers a compelling tool to delve into the complex artistic, political, and theoretical issues surrounding ideas of patronage, collecting, giving, and receiving while gaining a full perspective on the meaning of this luxurious manuscript and its illustration for its many owners.[238] In particular, I argue that, for

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[234] For example, the Bible of Antipope Clement VII mentioned below.

[235] London, BL, Add. 47672. See, e.g., Cathleen A. Fleck, "Biblical Politics and the Neapolitan Bible of Anti-pope Clement VII," *Arte Medievale* n.s. 1.1 (2002), 71–90; Fleck, "When a Bible is not a Bible: The Meaning and Movement of the Bible of Anti-pope Clement VII (BL, MS Add. 47672)," *Word and Image* 22.3 (2006), 219–27; and Fleck, "The Cultural Politics of the Papal Library at Avignon: The Meaning and Movement of the Bible of Anti-pope Clement VII," in *La vie culturelle, intellectuelle et scientifique à la cour des papes d'Avignon*, ed. Hamesse, pp. 65–85.

[236] Regarding Clement VII and the Bible, see Cathleen A. Fleck, *The Clement Bible at the Medieval Courts of Naples and Avignon; A Story of Papal Power, Royal Prestige and Patronage.* (Aldershot, forthcoming); Fleck, "The Cultural Politics of the Papal Library," pp. 65–85; and Fleck, "When a Bible is not a Bible," 219–27.

[237] Daniel Williman aided in this archival discovery; see Fleck, "When a Bible is not a Bible," pp. 219–20.

[238] See, e.g Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Cunnison (New York, 1967); Annette Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley, 1992); Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction:
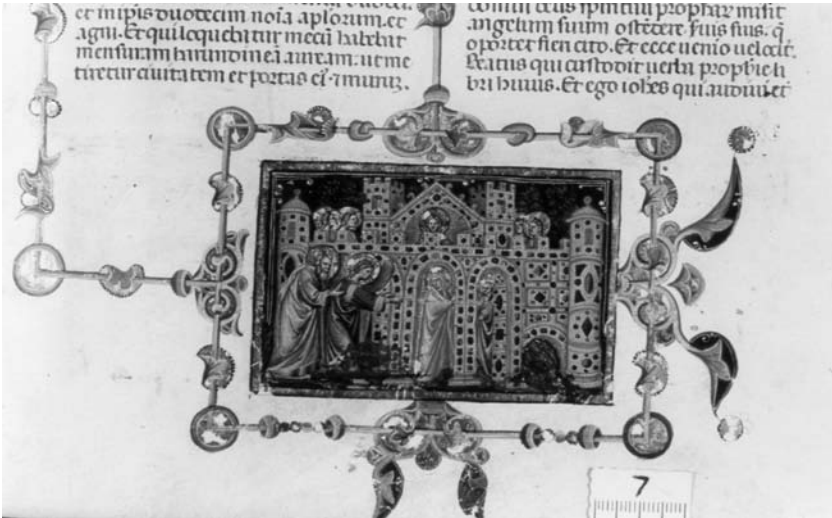
Fig. 4: Celestial Jerusalem, Book of Revelation, Bible of Clement VII, ca. 1330. London, British Library, MS Add. 47672, fol. 473r (photo: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art).

Clement VII, the Bible served as part of a collection; as beautiful art; as an inalienable possession held from circulation; as sacred Scripture; as an intellectual symbol; as religious allegory; and as political argument.[239] What remains unclear is how such a manuscript was used, viewed, and displayed within the daily life of the pope. One could imagine the proud Clement VII inviting cardinals and visiting dignitaries into his study to share this special find, much as Peter invites John into Jerusalem in the Bible's final scene, but such exchanges unfortunately remain in the realm of speculation (Fig. 4).[240]

Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Appadurai (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 3–63; Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as process," in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Appadurai, pp. 64–91; Krzysztof Pomian, "The Collection: Between the Visible and the Invisible," in *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800*, ed. Krzysztof Pomian (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 1–44; and Colin Danby, "The Curse of the Modern: A Post Keynesian Critique of the Gift/Exchange Dichotomy," *Social Dimensions in the Economic Press* 21 (2002), 13–42.

[239] See Fleck, "The Cultural Politics of the Papal Library," pp. 65–85, 380–82.

[240] See fol. 473r, reproduced in Fleck, "The Cultural Politics of the Papal Library," p. 380 fig. 2.

Clement VII profited from manuscripts not only for his own personal use but also as a method of making vital contacts. Examination of some of his manuscripts through the social ties that exchanges create is a rewarding exercise.[241] For example, Clement VII frequently exchanged presents with Duke Jean de Berry (1340–1416). The duke of Berry was the brother of King Charles V of France and a counselor to his nephew, King Charles VI. The duke and his physician gave Clement VII a Bible with commentary by Nicholas of Lyra as a gift in 1389.[242] Perhaps they gave the gift in gratitude for the pope's support of the duke's marriage to Jeanne de Boulogne.[243] Alternatively, it may have been a present in return for a manuscript of Priscian, Aristotle, and Boethius that Clement VII had already given the duke in 1387.[244] According to the inventories of the library of the duke (in 1402 and 1416), two of Clement VII's other manuscripts made their way into the duke's collection: an illustrated Bible with the pope's arms and a ten-volume Bible.[245] These exchanges with an influential individual such as the duke suggest that Clement VII's gift-giving was not only meant to cultivate cultural ties with a highly discriminating consumer. He also intended to foster relations with the duke as a prominent diplomat and aristocrat, undoubtedly to promote the Avignon case for legitimacy at the French court.[246]

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[241] Sources that informed my approach to theories of gift-giving and receiving and to the social and political connections of exchange include Mauss, *The Gift*; Kopytoff, "Cultural Biography of Things," pp. 64–91; Appadurai, "Commodities and the Politics of Value," pp. 3–63; Brigitte Buettner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400," *Art Bulletin* 83.4 (2001), 598–625; and Genevieve Warwick, "Gift Exchange and Art Collecting: Padre Sebastiano Resta's Drawing Albums," *Art Bulletin* 79.4 (1997), 630–46.

[242] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 50, 51; see Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (Berkeley, 1977), pp. 194–98; and Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 286.

[243] On how giving obligates a return, see Mauss, *The Gift*, pp. 10–11.

[244] London, BL, Burney 275. On the idea of the manuscript as a gift related to the marriage, see Meiss, *French Painting*, pp. 194–95, 342ff. See also Josiah Forshall, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 1, pt. 2, n.s. (London, 1840), pp. 69, col. 2.

[245] See Alfred Hiver de Beauvoir, *La librairie de Jean duc de Berry au château de Mehun-sur-Yèvre, 1416* (Paris, 1860), pp. 10, 91; and Léon Dorez, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque de Lord Leicester à Holkham Hall* (Paris, 1908), p. 46.

[246] On the social and political nature of exchanges, see Kopytoff, "Cultural Biography of Things," pp. 68–69; and Appadurai, "Commodities and the Politics of Value," p. 3.

The book patronage of Clement VII included the support of four miniaturists: Jean de Toulouse, Jean (also Johannes or Giovanni) Bandini (or Bandinelli), Hugues Tornatoris (also Tourneur), and Gauthier de Rodes.[247] Bandini worked for the pope in 1379, 1385, 1386, and 1388.[248] An entry regarding Tornatoris states that he painted four small manuscripts for the chapel of the pope in 1391. Rodes decorated some books of the mass for the pope in 1393. Unfortunately, none of the Tornatoris or Rodes books are currently identified.

Among these illustrators, Jean de Toulouse was the most influential in terms of the effect of his style, abundance of his production, and length of his activity.[249] Manzari identified more than 50 manuscripts tied to Jean de Toulouse, in a career stretching *c.* 1380–*c.* 1410.[250] For instance, Jean de Toulouse illuminated one of the aforementioned multi-volume missals for the pope in 1390, according to at least one document. Manzari pointed to three volumes of the Missal of Clement VII now in the Vatican.[251] By matching the archival records regarding payment to Jean with the manuscripts, she thereby discovered his name and style. Manzari has presented a rich discussion of Jean's work and traits, identifying several new manuscripts in his workshop.[252] Most of the manuscripts that he produced were liturgical, though he did

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[247] See Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*, pp. 15–19; Müntz, "L'antipape Clément VII," p. 16; and especially Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 203.

[248] See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 203; Manzari, "La miniatura ad Avignone," p. 217; and Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*, p. 19.

[249] See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 5, 204–06.

[250] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 15. His works include the Paris Missal (Paris, BNF, lat. 848), an Agostino Trionfo codex (Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale [formerly in Musée Calvet], MSS 71, 72), and a manuscript in Barcelona (Archivo de la Corona de Aragon, MS S. Cugat 14); see Léonelli, *Avignon 1360–1410*, pp. 39, 67, 73. Also a missal in Avignon is connected with him (Avignon, bibliothèque municipale [formerly in Musée Calvet], MS 133). See also Manzari, "La Miniatura ad Avignone," p. 217; and Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 29, 225.

[251] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. lat. 62, Vat. lat. 4766, Vat. lat. 4767. See Manzari, "La Miniatura ad Avignone," p. 217 figs. 20–22; and Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 204, 205–06. See especially Francesca Manzari, "Commande épiscopale et pontificale. Manuscrits avignonais de la Bibliothèque apostolique Vaticane," *Mémoires de l'academie de Vaucluse* 8.6 (1997), 29–39.

[252] I shall not list every manuscript of Jean de Toulose here for the sake of brevity. For more information, see Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 204–93.

have some profane books in his repertoire.[253] The former comprised prayerbooks, missals, Books of Hours, and a pontifical, while the latter included books on hunting and on battles. Jean was also in charge of the atelier that created works for the Celestines, whose monasteries Clement supported.

Jean de Toulouse remained active well into the pontificate of Clement VII's successor, and his work reveals many things about the nature of book production during the Schism.[254] He had the most commissions for the popes, cardinals, and other prelates, according to the documents and the extant material. As Manzari has defined, one of the special elements of his style was to manage and harmonize other artists' work with his own in a manuscript. He had many collaborators with whom he tended to divide the work on each folio. For instance, he collaborated with Jean Bandini, the Italian miniaturist, on three known manuscripts.[255] Bandini painted the square-framed miniatures in the column while Jean de Toulouse seemed to work on the historiated initials and borders with figures.[256]

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[253] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 267–72 (esp. 267–70 for the profane topics).

[254] See Manzari, "La Miniatura ad Avignone," p. 221.

[255] A small prayerbook of Clement VII (Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 6733); a Book of Hours (Paris, BNF, lat. 10527); and another Book of Hours (Oxford, Keble College, MS 15); see Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 214–20. All are dated to the mid-1380s.

[256] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4767, fol. 37r; Manzari, "La miniatura ad Avignone," p. 218 fig. 21; or Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 309 fig. 98. The Italian Bandini typically prepared illustrations taking up whole columns as in Italian manuscripts, though his style had the refinement of his French colleagues. The initials, as well as the few other larger-framed images in the columns, held figurative compositions of liturgical scenes or biblical themes such as crucifixions. These scenes were usually placed on patterned backgrounds and not in landscapes or multi-dimensional spaces. Aspects of naturalism in the expressive gestures and shading of the body and its form entered their work. Overall, the scenes were not part of larger narrative sequences but were still fitting for the liturgical text that they accompanied. A good example is in one volume of the Vatican missal by Jean de Toulouse (Vat. lat. 4767). The *Te igitur* initial, which marks the text said at the blessing of the eucharistic host, contains the traditional illustration for this point in the manuscript: a Crucifixion. The image takes up about one fifth of the text space, placed into a single column. The artist depicted a simple composition of the Virgin and apostle John to the sides of the cross on a background of red with a gold tendril-pattern surface. This scene alludes to the sacrifice of Christ's body that the host represents. The lengthened figure of Christ, nude except for a diaphanous loincloth, is shown with emaciated limbs and torso; his wounds in his hands, feet, and sides are bleeding. Despite a certain elegance in the stance of the figures, they are still slightly awkward in their proportions with too-large heads for their compact bodies.

Many Avignon manuscript painters seem to have had such a division of labor. They inserted themselves into manuscripts to carry out certain designated decorations on the page, such as borders, historiated initials, or full-page illuminations. The documents that do mention manuscript activity during Clement VII's papacy mainly note the hire of manuscript scribes, most of whom were of French origin, to copy texts in the papal atelier.[257] The manuscripts produced in Clement VII's Avignon by Jean de Toulouse, Hugues Tornatoris, Jean Bandini, and Gauthier de Rodes contained mainly French-influenced elongated figures, flat colors, patterned backgrounds, and foliate decoration with delicate oak-style leaves.[258]

In addition to the predominant French style, Italian influence entered the workshops under Clement VII. Jean's work underscores how the discussion of origins is unavoidable in illuminated manuscript scholarship about Avignon artists during the Schism. One example from Jean de Toulouse's workshop appears in the Missal made for Clement VII before 1394 (Fig. 5).[259] Its rendering of the crucifixion, though by a Bohemian hand (according to Manzari), clearly has Italian characteristics.[260] The composition displays a sense of depth through landscape and figural elements. The area beneath the cross is teeming with Christ's mourning followers and the taunting Roman soldiers, all well-proportioned and compelling in their elegance and emotion. The rocky ground with its variety of plants and the sense of depth conveyed through overlapping figures hints at a burgeoning naturalism. Even the borders indicate Italian influence in their broad leaves, though they are particularly Bohemian in the manner that they curl into themselves.

Manzari's analysis of Jean's collaborations confirmed the richness and complexity of international involvement in the book production of Avignon in the late 14th century.[261] None of the diverse hands subsumed themselves into the master's hand. Rather, they kept their individual and

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[257] See Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*, pp. 1–3. Note that manuscript scribes differ from accounts and chancellery scribes.

[258] See Manzari, "La miniatura ad Avignone," pp. 209–23 figs. 9–29.

[259] Paris, BNF, lat. 848, illustrated in Léonelli, *Avignon 1360–1410*, color plate 83. Compare also the crucifixion painting on panel by the Italian Master of the Codex of St. George, now in the Cloisters in New York. This miniature artist, active in Avignon in the second quarter of the 14th century, portrays a typical 14th-century Italian composition.

[260] See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 222. See also Léonelli, *Avignon 1360–1410*, p. 67 entry 84.

[261] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 10–11.

Fig. 5: Workshop of Jean de Toulouse, Crucifixion in the Missal for Clement VII, bef. 1394, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 848, fol. 153bis v (photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France).

regional flavor in a variety of production settings independent of the manuscript type. The separate hands retained their particular geographical touch, turn of a letter, coloring, or figural style. This differentiation seems to indicate that the diverse origins and thus training of artists were valued in Avignon. Perhaps Clement VII fostered the diversity in the workshops in order for Avignon to appear a vital center of culture in the eyes of his European audience and especially his opposition.

The archival materials regarding manuscript production do not reveal how and where these artisans were working in the city under the schismatic popes. Nevertheless, Manzari has argued convincingly that the evidence of the manuscripts themselves shows the dissolution and then regeneration of workshops by largely independent painters as the general *modus operandi*.[262] In other words, the individuation of hands of different origins just mentioned suggests that workshops came together for certain projects and eventually disbanded, only to join again with another configuration of individuals.[263] The papal court used illuminators who were independent artists and occasionally collaborated. One individual, such as Jean de Toulouse, was typically responsible for overseeing the product. For instance, Jean teamed up regularly with the anonymous Bohemian and the Italian Jean Bandini, but also with the Neapolitan-trained Spanish painter Sancho Gonthier.[264] This evidence confirms the arrangement of a workshop system (also *bottega* or *équipe*) in Avignon.[265] This term is different than a scriptorium, which implies a coherent and constant group working in a single institution. Manzari proposed that these workshops gathered in close vicinity to the palace proper in order to coordinate and share workers regularly.[266]

Scholarship about manuscript production and illumination during the pontificate of Clement VII has uncovered an abundant production under this pope. More study of his aims and goals as seen through his patronage would still be helpful. Regardless, the pope's sponsorship of

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[262] She introduces this idea at Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 9, though she reiterates this throughout her book.

[263] Manzari states this a number of times, e.g., in Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 10.

[264] See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 15. Villela-Petit comments that he was trained in Bologna; see also Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international*, p. 26.

[265] See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 8–10.

[266] She states that she agrees with Labande on this issue; see Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 9.

artists such as Jean de Toulouse and his special treatment of manuscripts such as the Bible of Antipope Clement VII are signs of a patron who valued fine objects in his collection; they added to the perception of him as a cultured prince of the Church in charge of his possessions.[267] Though more subtle than architecture because they are smaller and more private objects, the manuscripts of his library emphasize his claims to legitimacy just as well.

D. *The library and illuminated manuscripts during the period of Benedict XIII*

Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin put forward a characterization of Benedict XIII as a man of greater culture and love of books than Clement VII.[268] Manzari, in a more subtle evaluation, has pointed out that many aspects of book production continued from Clement VII to Benedict XIII.[269] Documents indicate that Jean de Toulouse, for instance, was active in 1396, 1397, 1409, and 1410; Tornatoris was paid for several works in 1396. Regardless, certain changes to the library did occur under Benedict XIII. Indeed, more happened than one might think possible for a pope who was sequestered in the Avignon palace, then traveled for a number of years, and finally arrived at his villa in Peñiscola some distance from Avignon.[270] The overall picture given by Jullien de Pommerol, Monfrin, and Manzari demonstrates substantial production for the library, if not busy patronage of illustrated manuscripts under Benedict XIII. This activity within the context of Benedict XIII's difficult situation indicates the importance of the library collection as a political tool to stake a claim to the intellectual, cultural, and religious heritage of the papacy.

One manner in which Benedict XIII showed interest in the library was by carrying out a few inventories and doing some rearranging within the papal palace in Avignon. His first action was to inventory

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[267] See, e.g., Fleck, "When a Bible is not a Bible," pp. 219–27.

[268] Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:viii. Perhaps this assessment is understandable, given that one goal in their publication was a history of the library of Avignon at the time of Benedict XIII; see Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:xxxii.

[269] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 204.

[270] For Benedict XIII's books overall, see Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*, pp. 19–21.

liturgical books of various chapels in the palace (1394–97).[271] Next an inventory appeared of the books of his private study spaces (1405–07).[272] The *studium* that Benedict XIII prepared in the room next to his own room is believed, through two damaged lists, to have held a total of 150 volumes.[273] This was an increase in size of 243 per cent over the personal study of Urban V in the 1369 inventory (containing 64 volumes). Among the titles of Benedict XIII, theology books numbered about 39 and law books numbered 23. Additionally, his personal collection contained 34 classical and poetical texts, as well as 29 concerning heresies and secular and ecclesiastical power issues. It seems that he kept close to him those manuscripts that he needed most to consult or that were regarding issues of importance to him, with a taste more profane and scientific (and less theological) than the grand library.[274]

A significant sign that Benedict XIII understood the library as essential to his papal identity was his movement of manuscripts out of Avignon after he left in 1403. Once he had determined that he could not return to Avignon, he attempted to have the rest of the Avignon manuscripts sent to him in Peñiscola.[275] He was successful only in receiving a part of these (1405–08, 579 articles).[276] Benedict XIII's division,

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[271] ASV, RA 303 (213), Ben. XII an. III, pt. III, t. xxvi, "Inventarium bonorum ac rerum palatii Apostolici," published in Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La Bibliothèque pontificale*, 2:773–79.

[272] For the Chambre du Cerf, see ASV, Coll. no. 469, fols. 177–178; and for the studium proper, see ASV, Coll. no. 469B, fols. 49–50. The former is published in Faucon, *La librairie des papes*, 2:27–42; and Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:127–33; and the latter is published in Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:135–42.

[273] He moved the study from the Chamber of the Deer. He added 196 volumes to the papal library overall from his personal collections, and that number did not include any law texts, which scholars assume he owned. Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La Bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:ix, 65–66.

[274] Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:66.

[275] Manzari discovers that manuscript activity continued after Benedict XIII's departure, throughout the decade, just before the last shipment of books out to the pope in Aragon. Manzari, "La Miniatura ad Avignone," pp. 8–9.

[276] There were two inventories of the portable library or "bibliotheca minor": ASV, RA 231, fols. 96–104v3—first partial state of inventory; and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 3180, fols. 1r–13r, 20r (original)—second corrected fuller state of inventory (1407–08). Published by Anneliese Maier, "Die 'Bibliotheca Minor' Benedikts XIII.," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 3 (1965), 139–91, as a partial edition with the second inventory in full and correspondences of the first. It was reprinted in Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter*, pp. 17–53 (vol. 3). Also published in Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:143–299.

There was also an inventory of books prior to evacuation of the papal palace in Avignon in 1411: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Capitolare di

breakup, and dispersal of the library books create questions for scholars. What were his selection criteria for what he took with him or what he left behind? Why did he give away or sell certain manuscripts and not others? The fact that he made this effort to transport some manuscripts expressed how he felt that they were his rightful possessions. Possibly he did not wish his rivals who were encroaching on Avignon to obtain these books, which were owned by proper popes before him and thus signified his continuation in their footsteps. Selling books, his right as proper owner, probably gave him needed income. It also seems that he did truly enjoy books, so he may have wanted to benefit from this world-class library to the greatest extent possible. Perhaps it is telling of either his political stubbornness or wavering that his portable library contains the first clear notice of treatises on the opposing sides of the papal Schism. From another standpoint, an increase in poetic texts from earlier inventories seems to indicate a personal preference.[277]

Even after Benedict XIII had physically left Avignon, he had work done to reorganize the large section of the library in the papal palace, likely in the treasury, in a document entitled the *Nova ordinatio* (1407).[278] Such a reorganization suggests that he still considered the palace and its contents as his possessions as pope, even if he was not present. The contents demonstrate that the prevalence of theology remained the same from his predecessors' time, though the juridical texts did increase in number from before.[279] In the 1375 inventory, theology constituted 87 per cent of the whole, law 7 per cent, and the

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S. Pietro A. 76 (original). Published in Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La Bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:333–37 (partial publication); Anneliese Maier, "Der Katalog der päpstlichen Bibliothek in Avignon vom Jahr 1411," in Annaliese Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Storia e letteratura) 97, 105 (Rome, 1964–67; repr. from *Archivum historiae pontificiae*), pp. 97–177; repr. in full in Annaliese Maier and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter*, vol. 3 (Storia e letteratura) 138 (Rome, 1977), pp. 77–157.

[277] See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:68–69. It is likely that other texts related to the Schism were in the archives instead of the library.

[278] Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 6399 (incomplete copy). Published by Pascual Galindo Romeo, "La biblioteca de Benedicto XIII (Don Pedro de Luna)," *Universidad* 6 (1929), 83–93; and Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:114–25.

[279] See Marta Pavón Ramírez, "El Fondo jurídico de la biblioteca pontificia de Aviñón y Peñíscola," in *La vie culturelle, intellectuelle et scientifique à la cour des papes d'Avignon*, ed. Hamesse, pp. 141–59.

liberal arts 6 per cent.[280] Under Benedict XIII in 1407, theology made up 76 per cent of the library, law 17 per cent, and the arts 7 per cent. Overall, 500 new manuscripts appear in the inventory of 1407 that are not found in the 1369 or 1375 inventories. It seems as if Benedict XIII added significantly to the library in Avignon.

In his mansion in Peñiscola, Benedict XIII worked to form a library with, as in Avignon, a larger, more public section and his own private study (1412–15, 1,090 articles).[281] An informative listing appeared after his death, demonstrating the most complete view of the pontifical library there (1423, 1,939 articles in total, to which the portable library had been added).[282] At the time of his death, the notaries also found two chests in his room containing 34 volumes assumed to reflect his private interests.[283] Apart from St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, this personal collection was profane in nature, with 19 classical authors and poets, plus a book on alchemy and on the Holy Land. This list reveals that his tastes continued primarily in the same vein in Spain, with the addition of still more classical, poetic, and juridical texts.[284]

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[280] See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:62–63.

[281] See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 293. Paris, BNF, lat. 5156A, fol.1ff., "Initium inventarii librarie maioris castri Paniscole"—(1411–1415). Published in Faucon, *La Librairie des papes*, 2:43–151; and Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:339–40 (published the annotations and corrections to the text as published by Faucon).

[282] This was the inventory of the large library in Peñiscola after the death of Benedict XIII and included notations of dispersal of the library: Barcelona, Biblio. de Catalunya, MS 233, "Inventarii librorum in libraria castri Paniscole et in duobus cofris in camera domini nostri pape inventorum post obitum Benedicti XIII et electionem Clementis VIII" (copy); and an inventory of the studium library, Barcelona, Biblio. de Catalunya, MS 235, "Inventarium librorum in studio repertorum et quorundam que (!) dominus cardinalis sancti Laurentii retinebat" (original). Published in Perarnau I Espelt and Serrano Caldero, "La Biblioteca papal de Peñiscola," pp. 49–184, 185–226; Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:367–623, 2:625–702; see also Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:69–72.

[283] Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin characterize this grouping by saying that it does not seem to represent the defense of a man worried for his soul or his legitimacy but, rather, seems more to represent a man who, finally abandoning the battle, wished to have his enjoyments nearby during his waning years; see Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:73. I do not agree that such a personal collection necessarily means that he has changed his interests, just that he might indulge personal choices over professional ones as he aged and continued his separation from Avignon proper. Those authors go into more detail on the nature of the texts and exact authors and titles in all of these listings than space permits me here.

[284] On the classical texts especially, see Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:76–87.

The original goal of Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin had been to publish the inventories of Benedict XIII with concordances of manuscripts to other inventories from Urban V onwards. They hoped to demonstrate fully how Benedict XIII added to and reorganized the library.[285] Yet again, the limitations of history were a hindrance. None of the lists comprised a complete directory after the 1369 inventory. The latter was the largest list at over 2,000 items, but there is no assurance that this was complete.[286] In addition, the lists were of different types. Some consisted of inventories, identifying a document in place in order to be able to claim ownership. Others were catalogues, or guides to readers, with manuscripts listed by type and sometimes location for an individual to find it.[287] Within lists, manuscripts were identified in diverse ways: sometimes by title alone, sometimes by appearance, sometimes by indications of ownership such as coats of arms within, sometimes with a description of illustrations or aesthetics, and sometimes with first and last words of either the first, second, penultimate, and/or ultimate folios.[288] Thus, while a selection of manuscripts in earlier lists can be matched to some in later lists and even with known manuscripts today, many are simply impossible to identify with certainty because of the different methods of noting them. Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin included an incomplete list of identified manuscripts and their known locations through notations in each of their published lists.[289]

The diverse record types may not make modern analysis of Benedict XIII's contributions to the library easy, yet the papal records do disclose that he received some completed books from exchanges and requests.[290] For instance, he demanded a copy of Pliny from the Parisian humanist Gontier Col. Different purchases were also mentioned, such as of a book of medicine at the death of a physician in 1395 and a Bible in Genoa in

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[285] Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:xxiii.

[286] Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:5–8.

[287] Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:xxiii. For instance, the 1369 listing is more of a material inventory, while the 1375 listing is a work instrument. Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:9

[288] See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:xxiv.

[289] See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:xxviii. I have been able to find the Bible of Clement VII, for instance, in a variety of these inventories from Urban V through Benedict XIII; see Cathleen A. Fleck, "Papal Politics of a Trecento Bible: The Bible of Anti-pope Clement VII (London, BL, MS Add. 47672)" (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1998), pp. 23–39.

[290] See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:58–59.

1408.[291] Marie-Claude Léonelli adds to the understanding of book movement at this period with her analysis of the records of a Milanese book dealer, who was resident in Avignon between 1363–1407.[292] Antoine de Sexto (or de Sesto) was the best-documented, though not the only, Italian bookseller in the city. He bought and sold books for private and curia patrons.[293] In particular, he bought the folios of parchment for papal book production numerous times.[294]

The papal records also indicate various kinds of book-making activity done for Benedict XIII. Illuminators were noted as being paid the same rate as the scribes.[295] A copyist named Guillaume worked on a breviary and evangeliary for Benedict XIII in 1397, and perhaps Jean de Toulouse illuminated it.[296] At an uncertain date, a copyist named Albert prepared a Bible in six volumes, of which five remain, now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.[297] In 1413 the pope employed 12 copyists.[298] In general, the scribes seemed especially to copy liturgical books for the pope. This emphasis at first may not seem congruent with the increase in law books that he had in his library. Yet he still had a preponderance of liturgical books, and this production was in keeping with the view that Benedict's court had of him. According to the diary (1406–08) of François de Conzié, the pope had an "invariable" piety and a "veritable" cult of liturgy in which he enjoyed taking part.[299] Other aspects of book production, such as correcting the text and binding the pages, also occurred under his watch, according to the papal records.[300]

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[291] See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:59.

[292] See Marie-Claude Léonelli, "Un libraire d'Avignon à l'époque du Grand Schisme," *Bulletin historique et philologique* (1977), 115–22.

[293] His records help to show that there was no interruption in book movement, even when the popes were totally absent from 1376–79. See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 203.

[294] Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:59. This information comes from the Vatican's IE documents, IE 376, fol. 87v, 185.

[295] IE 375, fol. 55, and 376, fol. 93v. See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:60.

[296] Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*, p. 19.

[297] Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*, p. 20. These are Paris, BNF, lat. 61, 87, 91, 139, 255.

[298] See RA 344, fols. 177–187; and Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:60.

[299] Dykmans, *Les textes avignonnais*, p. 105.

[300] Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La Bibliothèque pontificale*, 1:61–62.

Examination of the particular manuscripts that Benedict XIII commissioned and received in the first decades of the 15th century has been neglected. Manzari's study rectifies this gap.[301] She describes how the landscape of the study of book production tied to Benedict XIII changed in 1995 when two volumes of a missal made for Benedict XIII were found (Fig. 6).[302] The recent discovery of a third volume at Monte Cassino now leads Manzari to believe that artists produced the entire set in Avignon.[303] All three are noted in Benedict XIII's inventories, including the one in 1423 after his death.[304] Of the two Vatican manuscripts, one was listed with no images, probably Vat. lat. 4765, which has later illustrations added. The Monte Cassino volume is of a style that Manzari identifies as from Avignon in 1405–09.[305] She claims that the missal's illustration was more rich than any missal yet done for a pope, though in an unfinished state. This situation suggests that the workshops had talented artisans present to produce such works in the first decade after Benedict XIII's departure, but that circumstances were perhaps too tumultuous or finances so precarious that they could not finish the work. Manzari has now identified a whole group of manuscripts tied to these three missals in terms of their calligraphic, figural, and/or decorative styles.[306] They often reference Avignon through the patron or style and thus demonstrate an association to Avignon of the entire group.[307] She also uses iconography as a connecting factor, with one missal volume (Vat. lat. 4764, fol. 62r) and a breviary (Ross. 125, I, fol. 353r) both containing the rare Throne of Grace image with the Lord wearing a three-tiered papal crown.[308] Manzari argues that all of

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[301] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 16.

[302] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4764, 4765. See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 294–95.

[303] Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 539. Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 295.

[304] See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 295. She notes the archival source and the dispersal history of the manuscripts.

[305] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 296.

[306] These include the Missals of Benedict XIII in the Vatican and Monte Cassino, a Breviary (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ross. 125 I/II), a Book of Hours (Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 208), a Missal of Rome (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 1909), and another Book of Hours (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 520); see Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 322–23.

[307] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 322–23.

[308] In Manzari's estimation, such a similarity signals a common Avignon model. Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 300.
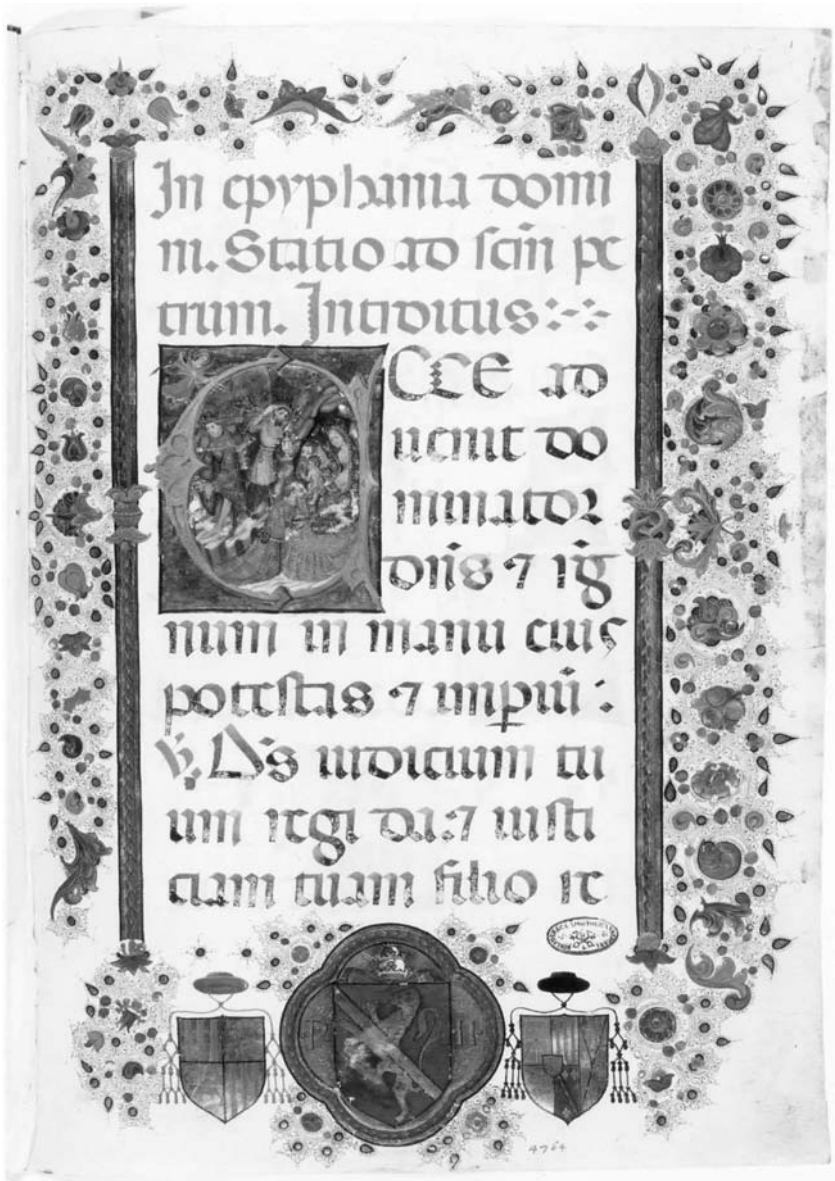
Fig. 6: Missal of Benedict XIII (one of three volumes), 1405–09, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 4764, fol. 1r (photo: ©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican)).

these manuscripts contain stylistic elements of the Netherlands, lower Rhine, northern Italy, and France.

Because of the variety of stylistic components in Benedict XIII's "missal" group of manuscripts, Manzari emphasizes that they represent the significant role of Avignon in the development and spread of the International Gothic style in Avignon.[309] They show the activity of artists there from the Netherlands and Bohemia, for instance, who were carriers of the style. During the time of Benedict XIII especially, prelates and cardinals had manuscripts created in Avignon during visits and took them home to various places in Europe. For instance, the Jean de Toulouse workshop made a sumptuous liturgical manuscript for export to a Spanish bishop, containing a full-page Crucifixion and Maestà.[310] This pontifical shows visual evidence of knowledge of ceremonies and rituals of Avignon. It is a sample of the intense export to Spain that has caused confusion in the localization of manuscripts to Avignon or to Spain. Another example is a missal prepared for the Catalan abbey of Sant-Cugat del Vallés in 1402.[311] Again the Jean de Toulouse workshop illustrated this for a Spanish destination, demonstrating how Avignon was essential to the spread of the International Gothic developing at this time.

In addition to this "missal" group of manuscripts created under Benedict XIII in the first decade of the 15th century, another set of books was executed by the workshop of Jean de Toulouse (until *c.* 1410). Among them was a Bible in four volumes created for the Chartreuse of Villeneuve-les-Avignon (*c.* 1410–12).[312] Two illustrated initials seem to be by him, whereas most of the manuscript is in other diverse styles and colors.[313] Manzari suggests that it is likely that this is the last known illumination of this productive artist's career.

A new element of production under Benedict XIII was the presence of Spanish artists and interests at his court.[314] Sancho Gonthier,

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[309] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 16–17, 323, 325.

[310] Begun in 1390, Seville, Biblio. Colombina, Vitr. BB149–3. See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 249–54 figs. 127–28.

[311] Barcelona, Archivo de Aragón, Sant-Cugat 14. Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 256, fig. 129. Manzari includes other examples; see Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 307–35.

[312] Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, MSS 6424–6427; Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 284–85.

[313] See Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 6427, fol. 2r in Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 285 fig. 148.

[314] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 273.

a religious of Spanish origin but of Bolognese figurative culture, was active between the end of the 1300s and beginning of the 1400s.[315] He signed a pontifical and the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Tolomeo de Lucca (1401) executed for Benedict XIII.[316] He was cited several times in the documentation of payment by the pope in Avignon, as well as in Nice in 1406 and Marseille in 1407.[317] He and other miniaturists and copyists seem to have traveled with Benedict XIII after his escape from Avignon in 1403.[318] Their movement with the fleeing pope suggests that Benedict XIII did not use local artists as he moved about. Why this occurred is not clear. Perhaps he found his Avignon book style so compelling as to take these artists around with him. Maybe he planned to be in locations for periods too short to take advantage of local artists. Conceivably, Sancho was particularly loyal to Benedict XIII.

In more than one case, Sancho Gonthier collaborated with Jean de Toulouse on manuscripts during Benedict XIII's reign. The most significant project on which both Sancho and Jean worked independently, perhaps meeting through it, was the decoration of a group of Greek and Latin classic texts translated into Aragonese.[319] The patron was Aragonese Juan Fernández de Heredia, the grand master of the Hospitallers of Saint John of Rhodes and Jerusalem, who passed much of his life (1310–96) in Avignon. He commissioned many works of art and text, including this collection of Aragonese texts in translation. Spanish copyists signed them, and they date from 1385 to 1396. Jean de Toulouse was found in some of them, along with his Bohemian collaborator, and Sancho Gonthier in others.[320]

These years in which Juan Fernández de Heredia dedicated himself to his translation project coincided with the prehumanistic activity of a circle of scholars tied to Clement VII and, above all, to Benedict XIII. Jean Muret (secretary of Clement VII and then Benedict XIII),

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[315] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 273–76 figs. 144, 145.

[316] Paris, BNF, lat. 968 and 5126, respectively. See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 276.

[317] Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon*, p. 21; and Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 273–76.

[318] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 294.

[319] See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 276–84.

[320] For example, Jean de Toulouse was in *Libro de los Emperadores y Conquista de Morea* (Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, MS 10131), and Sancho in *Grant Cronica de Espanya*, 1385 (Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, MSS 10133 and 10134 (vols. 1 and 3)); see Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, pp. 280–82.

Nicolas de Clamanges (secretary from 1397–1408), Jean de Montreuil, Galeotto Tarlati da Pietramala, Tommaso and Bonifacio degli Ammannati, Niccolò Brancacci', and Amadeo di Saluzzo were all part of the group.[321] The considerable growth in the number of classical volumes in the papal library evidenced in the 1407 inventory may result from the pope's involvement in this circle. The extant manuscripts suggest that none of Benedict XIII's classical books were illustrated as were de Heredia's.

After 1411, a sharp break in manuscript production and illumination in Avignon occurred, though Manzari states that the book market still existed.[322] Alternatively, Peñiscola documents indicate that the pope paid 18 copyists until 1415 and several miniaturists between 1411 and 1413.[323] Though details about these books are not known, knowledge that Benedict XIII continued his efforts in production under a period of great duress indicates his dedication to his manuscripts.

Whether Benedict XIII was a greater lover of books than his predecessor is hard to confirm. More important, his actions—of reorganizing the collection in Avignon and taking some of it with him to Spain—indicate that he recognized the significance of the library. The Roman popes made every effort to regain the archives and the library of the schismatic popes from Spain and Avignon. Thus they also affirmed how the library was a relevant sign of intellectual, religious, and political legitimacy, not only for the Avignon popes but also for other pretenders to the throne of the Church.

The overarching theme of the art and architecture produced under Clement VII and Benedict XIII in Avignon is one that coincides closely with their situation. Both popes wished to demonstrate their validity, authority, and legitimacy as proper leaders of the Church. They used

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[321] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 284. On Muret, de Montreuil, and Clamanges, see Christopher M. Bellitto, *Nicolas de Clamanges: Spirituality, Personal Reform, and Pastoral Renewal on the Eve of the Reformations* (Washington, DC, 2001), pp. 11–12; and Ezio Ornato, *Jean Muret et ses amis Nicolas de Clamanges et Jean de Montreuil: Contribution à l'étude des rapports entre les humanists de Paris et ceux d'Avignon (1392–1420)* (Geneva, 1969). On Clamanges and Benedict XIII, see Bellitto, *Nicolas de Clamanges*, pp. 17–25.

[322] Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 336.

[323] Josep Perarnau I Espelt, "Tres notes entorn de la biblioteca papal. I. L'exemplar del de mysterio cymbalorum d'Arnaud de Vilanova ofert a Bonifaci VIII; II. Que es la 'Cicognina'; III. Scriptores (illuminatores) librorum domini nostri pape a Peñiscola, 1411–1413," *Arxiu de textos catalans antics* 6 (1987), 307–11. See Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi*, p. 294.

many means, including the arts, to present this image. The methods described above are significant for the comprehension of the arts in Avignon during the Schism. Through inventories and the identification of workshops of production, scholars have amassed important groupings of material. I would propose that other methods of study should now develop to build up a richer vision of the intellectual and cultural history of the papal collections. On the one hand, broad studies of a single pope's patronage within his historical moment would undoubtedly yield intriguing understandings of meaning for artistic production and political aims. On the other hand, scholars have written few in-depth studies of a single object, monument, or manuscript from the collections of Clement VII or Benedict XIII. Future scholars could take the significant identification studies of our predecessors and select one item to dive still deeper into the fascinating period and ideas of the Avignon papacy of the Schism.

THE REFORM CONTEXT OF THE GREAT WESTERN SCHISM

Christopher M. Bellitto

Most studies that examine reform around the time of the Great Western Schism focus on either reform efforts in the Church's head (papacy, curia, upper levels of the hierarchy) or at her grassroots level (dioceses, cathedral chapters, local religious houses, parishes, lay movements). An historian's interest in reform in the Church's head or her members is not necessarily aimed at prejudicing one over the other, but this approach does not adequately reflect reform concerns because it can produce—albeit unintentionally—a false dichotomy. Based on their own research interests, modern scholars will naturally gravitate toward one or the other side, tipping over what was more of a balanced reform equation in the Middle Ages. As a result, we often find an accidental picture of opposition between reform efforts *in capite* <u>or</u> *in membris*. Throughout the late Middle Ages, however, nearly every discussion of renewal spoke of *reformatio in capite <u>et</u> in membris*. At different times and in different places, one pole was indeed favored over the other, but the efforts usually started from the same, not conflicting, desire for renewal. Reform activity directed at the Church's head and members tended to increase as a result of rising, not lowered, expectations; criticism increased based on love, not disdain, for the Church. Still, anyone living during this confused late medieval period trying to find an answer to the Church's multilayered troubles was forced to choose where to start digging, a task not unlike that of the modern historian trying to make sense of it all from a distance of more than half a millennium.

Designed as a primer and guide, this chapter will take a broad approach to just such historical topics and the historiographical developments attendant to them in an effort to understand the reform context of the Great Western Schism.[1] What we will find are many examples of parallel reform efforts *in capite* and *in membris* that were at times relatively independent and interdependent; only rarely (though spectacularly, when this did occur), were they on a collision course, as in

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[1] My thanks go to Louis B. Pascoe, s.j., Phillip H. Stump, and Thomas M. Izbicki for their advice and suggestions on an earlier version of this article.

the louder calls for clerical reform issued by John Wycliffe and Jan Hus just before and during the Schism. As a matter of understanding terms, we must bear in mind that the two phrases "institutional reform" and "hierarchical reform" are typically used synonymously and interchangeably to refer to leadership *in capite*, as this chapter will do for convenience and following convention, but the Church as institution and hierarchy operates in both the Church's head and members. Reform efforts *in capite* may have been focused on the Church's head (typically referred to as institution, hierarchy, or curia), but they were intended to have an impact on her body, as well. Louis B. Pascoe, s.j., for example, notes that the influential Church reformer Jean Gerson (1363–1429) believed institutional reform, led by the hierarchy and with theologians playing a key role, would result in personal reform *in membris*: "All ecclesiastical reform must, in the final analysis, terminate in personal reform if it is to be in any way effective."[2] So too, grassroots reform *in membris* often started from dissatisfaction with the performances of the Church's popes, cardinals, and other curial leaders *in capite* but also with local priests whom the laity saw every day. Meanwhile, reforming priests and bishops could, of necessity, be seen at both ends of the equation: in the Church's head as part of the hierarchy, even if sitting on the lower rungs of the institution, but participating among the Church's members in terms of their pastoral service. As Scott Hendrix has noted, any attempt at personal reform on the part of a cleric could be both personal and clerical (and therefore "institutional," at least at the parochial level) at the same time. The cleric's own renewal will surely have a pastoral impact, linking him with others in the Church's body, but possibly trickling up to her head as well.[3]

The phrase itself—*reformatio in capite et in membris*—is one that developed over time.[4] The explicit idea of reform *in capite et in membris* may have originated in papal correspondence dating to the early 13th century and is found in subsequent legal discussions, typically dealing with the relationship between a pope (head) and his bishops

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[2] Louis B. Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform* (Leiden, 1973), p. 175.

[3] Scott Hendrix, "Nicholas of Cusa's Ecclesiology Between Reform and Reformation," in *Nicholas of Cusa on Christ and the Church*, ed. Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki (Leiden, 1996), pp. 122–26.

[4] Karl Augustin Frech, *Reform an Haupt und Gliedern: Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung und Verwendung der Formulierung im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter* (Frankfurt, 1992).

(members) or a bishop (head) and his cathedral chapter (members). Reform in head and members was a particular concern of the Church's general councils, where we find disciplinary canons directing reforms in the Church's head and members from the earliest general councils of the first millennium and continuing into the Middle Ages, even if the concern is implicit and the key late medieval phrase is not invoked in so many words.[5] (We will return to the connection between late medieval councils and reform by way of concluding this article.)

By the time of the Schism, the concept of a reform in head and members was a standard *topos*.[6] To understand the heritage of these reform notions and categories that the late Middle Ages inherited, a brief survey of the history of reform will be helpful.[7] Reform studies owe their current vitality to a triad of 20th-century scholars: Gerhart Ladner (1905–93), an Austrian layman who converted to Catholicism from secular Judaism and spent more than half his career in the United States; the French Dominican Yves Congar (1904–95), who though silenced earlier in his career saw his ideas vindicated in his own lifetime and was rewarded with the red hat of a cardinal by Pope John Paul II in 1994; and the German Catholic priest Hubert Jedin (1900–80). Taken together, and with the scholarship that followed, these studies indicate the truth behind the phrase *ecclesia semper reformanda*, which

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[5] For summaries, see Christopher M. Bellitto, *The General Councils: A History of the Twenty-One Church Councils from Nicaea to Vatican II* (New York, 2002), pp. 35–42, 65–74.

[6] For many examples, see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Western Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, 2006).

[7] What follows draws on Christopher M. Bellitto, "Ancient Precedents and Historical Case Studies: Recent Reform Scholarship," *Catholic Library World* (June 2005), 277–89; and Bellitto, *Renewing Christianity: A History of Church Reform from Day One to Vatican II* (New York, 2001), pp. 3–6. Reform scholarship has tended to focus on a particular period or topic, but there have been a few studies attempting a more synthetic view and wider historical lens. Among these, see Bellitto, *Renewing Christianity*, concerned almost exclusively with Catholicism and a frequent resource for this article, complemented by Craig D. Atwood, *Always Reforming: A History of Christianity Since 1300* (Macon, 2001), which looks beyond Catholicism and Europe. The key period before Atwood's is treated by Paul Amargier, *Une église du renouveau: Réformes et réformateurs, de Charlemagne à Jean Hus 750–1415* (Paris, 1998), about half of which is comprised of French translations of Latin reform documents. Apart from these syntheses, two collections of scholarly essays spanned the course of Church history with specialized studies. These are Roger Aubert, ed. *Progress and Decline in the History of Church Renewal* (Concilium) 27 (New York, 1967); and Derek Baker, ed., *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History* (Studies in Church History) 14 (Oxford, 1977).

indicates that the only thing that seems to remain constant in Church history is change.[8]

Gerhart Ladner carved out reform as its own field of inquiry with *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers*, first published in 1959 and then republished with brief bibliographic addenda in 1967—that is, before and after Vatican II (1962–65).[9] Ladner's careful research placed the Greek and Latin vocabulary of reform in its earliest context to identify the question of reform as a central one for Christianity from the first days of the Church's history. A primary insight resulting from Ladner's research is that, for most of Christianity's first millennium, the idea of reform was almost exclusively personal: Christians seek to restore within themselves the *imago Dei* according to which they were created and which had been diminished by Adam's fall. Given the salvific action of Christ, Christians may actually achieve a *reformatio in melius* that would transcend the state of human beings in the Garden of Eden. Ladner's study was more about ideas, images, and theories than applications, at least on a wide scale, although we should note that *The Idea of Reform* was the first of two or three volumes that he envisioned but never completed, having ended with what became the only volume in the early Middle Ages.[10]

It was with the papal revolution of the 11th century that a more institutional notion of reform became operative, crystallizing under

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[8] Hans Küng believes the phrase may have its origins in Jean Calvin's thought or circle in the 16th century; he suggested a study of the phrase itself would be salutary, particularly as the Church was preparing for Vatican II in the early 1960s, but no such study has appeared; see Kung's *The Council, Reform, and Reunion*, trans. Cecily Hastings (New York, 1961), p. 9.

[9] Gerhart B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, MA, 1959; repr. New York, 1967). His articles were collected and republished under the title *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages: Selected Studies in History and Art*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1983). For a review of Ladner's career and scholarly contributions, see the article by one of his students, John Van Engen, "Images and Ideas: The Achievements of Gerhart Burian Ladner, with a Bibliography of His Published Works," *Viator* 20 (1989), 85–115. Phillip H. Stump, another of Ladner's students, looked back at *The Idea of Reform* on the 40th anniversary of its publication to examine its reception and impact: "The Influence of Gerhart Ladner's *The Idea of Reform*," in *Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Studies in Honor of Louis Pascoe, s.j.*, ed. Thomas M. Izbicki and Christopher M. Bellitto (Leiden, 2000), pp. 3–17.

[10] Ladner did, however, treat Gregorian ideas and images elsewhere, for example: "Religious Renewal and Ethnic-Social Pressures as Forms of Life in Christian History," in *Theology of Renewal*, ed. L. K. Shook, 2 vols. (New York, 1968), 2:328–57, and "Two Gregorian Letters: On the Sources and Nature of Gregory VII's Reform Ideology," *Studi Gregoriani* 5 (1956), 221–42.

Gregory VII (1073–85) and growing with the hierarchical papal monarchy of the High Middle Ages. This development was very significant: a recent article makes the case that the institutional nature and structure of Church reform in the 11th century competed with prior imperial dominance, replacing the *renovatio imperii* with the *reformatio ecclesiae*. This argument sees Church reform directed from Rome—especially in its attempts to link localities, regions, and nascent national areas—as providing an organizing principle for a conception of European identity that began to replace political associations from the early medieval period. Emperors felt pressure from popes as the Church replaced civil structures as the unifier of medieval European society and culture, a unification built especially on the merits of St. Peter that were an important ideological foundation for the Gregorian revolution. Such excitement and enthusiasm for reform certainly did not wane as the Middle Ages moved through the time of the Schism and into the 16th century.[11]

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[11] Ovidio Capitani, "*Reformatio Ecclesiae*: A proposito di unità e identità nella costruzione dell'Europa medievale," *Studi Medievali* 47 (June 2006), 1–27. This article is an interesting example of history offered in the context of contemporary discussions of European unity, particularly in light of the controversy surrounding whether the European Union's charter should or should not refer to Europe's Christian heritage. Although written earlier, another article sees the push for ecclesiastical change, reform, and renewal as captivating the late Middle Ages and beyond, too: Gerald Strauss, "Ideas of *Reformatio* and *Renovatio* from the Middle Ages to the Reformation," in *Handbook of European History 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. 2, *Visions, Programs and Outcomes*, ed. Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (Leiden, 1995), pp. 3–4: "To the historian, at least, what matters above all is the place of these ideas in the collective experience of Europeans, and their relevance to some major events and prominent groups and persons whose self-perception and view of the world, and of their roles in it, were substantially shaped by their understanding of reform and renewal as imperatives, norms, and warrants" (p. 3).

An instructive anthology for the classroom that similarly treats change and competition for dominance between Church and empire at the start of the second millennium is Maureen C. Miller, *Power and the Holy in the Age of the Investiture Conflict: A Brief History with Documents* (New York, 2005). The Gregorian Revolution as a reform movement is a vast topic, of course, but it is not, properly speaking, the direct subject of this volume, although aspects of institutional and personal reform raised by the Gregorian reformers played out in the late Middle Ages. We cannot do justice to the extensive bibliography concerning the Gregorian Revolution here, but good starting points are Harold J. Berman, *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), pp. 85–269; Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 1988); Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050–1250* (Oxford, 1989); I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990); Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth*

Given this volume's subject, we lament that Ladner himself did not get to the subject of reform during the late Middle Ages and the Great Western Schism in any detail or depth, but others did, picking up where he left off and following his intentions while adapting them to other emerging fields of medieval history of the last half-century. Consequently, his students and others have pushed *The Idea of Reform* forward chronologically while looking more at praxis, at changing notions of reform in different contexts, and at reform's impact on Church and civil structures, education, social and economic developments, religious orders, and lay spirituality. For our direct purposes: two of his own students studied reform in the late Middle Ages for their doctoral dissertations and subsequent research agendas. Louis B. Pascoe, s.j., published monographs on the reform thought of two leading University of Paris theologians and Church statesmen, Jean Gerson and Pierre d'Ailly (1351–1420); while Philip H. Stump wrote the definitive study of reform efforts at the Council of Constance (1414–18).[12] To

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to the Early Twelfth Century, trans. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1993); and H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII 1073–1085* (Oxford, 1998).

[12] Two other of Ladner's students essentially picked up where their mentor left off, but they did not study the late medieval era that is the subject of this article and volume: John Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley, 1983); and John Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and His Patrons* (Philadelphia, 1997), who pushed Ladner's categories as an intellectual historian to identify their impact on social and economic change. For late medieval reform studies inspired by Ladner, see Pascoe, *Jean Gerson*, and his *Church and Reform: Bishops, Theologians, and Canon Lawyers in the Thought of Pierre d'Ailly, 1351–1420* (Leiden, 2005), both of which deal with the link between institutional and personal reform in many places while following in Ladner's tradition of intellectual history; and Phillip H. Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance (1414–1418)* (Leiden, 1994), which attends both to the delegates' ideas of reforms as well as to their practical plans. The present author, trained by Pascoe, studies Nicolas de Clamanges (1363/64–1437), a fellow student of Gerson's under d'Ailly's patronage: see Christopher M. Bellitto, *Nicolas de Clamanges: Spirituality, Personal Reform and Pastoral Renewal on the Eve of the Reformations* (Washington, DC, 2001), which likewise carried Ladner's methods forward in time while heeding to the methodology of intellectual history. For examples of similar studies of reform ideas and applications from earlier and slightly later periods, see Martha G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098–1180* (Stanford, 1996), which examines the Cistercian link between personal reform in the monastery and regional reform in the surrounding countryside and culture, particularly via the clergy's role as reformers; J. Michael Hayden and Malcolm R. Greenshields, *Six Hundred Years of Reform: Bishops and the French Church, 1190–1789* (Montreal, 2005); Morimichi Watanabe and Thomas M. Izbicki, "Nicholas of Cusa: *A General Reform of the Church*," in *Nicholas of Cusa on Christ and the Church*, pp. 175–202; John W. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought* (Leiden, 1968); Stephen D. Bowd, *Reform before the Reformation: Vincenzo Querini and the Religious Renaissance in Italy* (Leiden, 2002);

summarize the Ladnerian contribution and direction in reform studies, we can safely say that reform efforts generally emphasized the personal element in the patristic and early medieval centuries, accentuated more institutional and systematic efforts in the high medieval period, and then found greater balance between personal and institutional dimensions—the *reformatio in capite et in membris* theme that we have been introducing—in the late medieval era of the Great Western Schism.

While Ladner focused on the patristic period from an historical perspective, Congar took a more comprehensive, longer, and theological view in his *Vraie et fausse réforme dans l'Église*, which, like Ladner's study, was published before Vatican II (1950) and then republished shortly afterward (1968), with the second edition benefitting from Ladner's work.[13] Congar focused on ecclesiology, specifically its historical development, in an attempt to understand how the Church understood herself and then explained that understanding to others as she expanded throughout the world. He naturally encountered the subject of reform when it came to discerning those aspects of the Church that could change and those that could not. To pursue his study, Congar came up with a typology of authentic reform: it must be frank and candid, serious, always have preeminently in mind reform's impact on the masses and especially the laity, and be grounded in a *reditus ad fontes*. Reform efforts must steer a *via media* between the Scylla of what he called "Phariseeism" (not unlike Erasmus' early 16th-century objections

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Nelson H. Minnich, "Concepts of Reform Proposed at the Fifth Lateran Council," *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 7 (1969), 163–251; Robert E. McNally, "Pope Adrian VI (1522–23) and Church Reform," *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 7 (1969), 253–85; Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform* (Berkeley, 1993); and Gleason, *Reform Thought in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Chico, 1981). For a snapshot of doctoral dissertations in the last quarter century on reform topics and figures, many of which treat the medieval and reformation centuries, see Bellitto, "Ancient Precedents and Historical Case Studies," pp. 281–282.

[13] Yves M.-J. Congar, *Vraie et fausse réforme dans l'Église* (Paris, 1950, 1968). A team of scholars has been working on a complete English translation for some time, but the edition has not yet appeared. For an anthology of other relevant reform work by Congar, see Jean-Pierre Jossua, ed., *Cardinal Yves Congar: Écrits réformateurs* (Paris, 1995), especially pp. 173–247, which include selections from *Vraie et fausse réforme* in addition to other writings. Congar acknowledged his debt to Ladner's seminal book, while suggesting some correctives; see Stump, "The Influence of Gerhart Ladner's *The Idea of Reform*," p. 10. Pope John XXIII read both *The Idea of Reform* and *Vraie et fausse réforme*; in a private exchange, Alberto Melloni informed me that he paged through the pope's copy of each book but—and this was disappointing both to him and me—found little and certainly no extraordinary marginalia. See also Stump, "The Influence of Gerhart Ladner's *The Idea of Reform*," p. 11 and n. 28.

to formalism, obligation, and rote practice) and the Charybdis of a facile
revolutionary approach that caricatures the old as bad and the new as
good. To achieve reform without schism, the reformers must work in
a spirit of charity and pastoral service, seek to maintain community
with dialogue and not polemics, exercise patience, and understand that
true renewal is a return to principle and tradition (albeit understood
in a dynamic sense).[14]

Our third key scholar in the history of reform studies took up the
period after the Great Western Schism, but he is important because of
the attitude change that he facilitated. Hubert Jedin effectively legiti-
mated reform as a topic for such researchers by cutting through the
polemical Protestant-Catholic divide that characterized Cold War-type
discussions of reform with its emphasis on "who was right" from the
Jesuit cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) through the Protestant
Adolph von Harnack (1851–1930). Jedin simply ignored not only the
polemics but also a prevailing Catholic sensibility that did not want to
view as possibly correct some of what Luther et al. said.[15] Like Congar
and Ladner, Jedin saw reform as a central, unifying theme in all peri-
ods of Church history, but his main contribution was the four-volume
Geschichte des Konzils von Trient, with the first volume appearing in
1951.[16] Looking at Luther and Trent drew Jedin's eye back into the
late medieval context in order to more fully understand Catholic
reform efforts leading up to, including, and proceeding from Trent.
Jedin considered Catholic reform efforts in and of themselves, not as

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[14] Congar, *Vraie et fausse réforme*, 2nd ed., pp. 42–46, 55–56, 227–317. A helpful brief
article that contains historical and theological elements, thus marrying Ladner and Con-
gar, is found in Avery Dulles, "The Church Always in Need of Reform: *Ecclesia Semper
Reformanda*," in *The Church Inside and Out* (Washington, DC, 1974), pp. 37–50.

[15] Shortly after his death, an appreciation of Jedin's place in the history of Church
history, especially reform studies, was offered by Giuseppe Alberigo, "Réforme en tant
que critère de l'histoire de l'Église," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 76 (1981), 72–81. See
also three articles in *Cristianesimo nella storia* 22 (2001) that provided biographical and
bibliographical analyses as well as discussions of Jedin's work on Trent and his role as
a *peritus* at Vatican II: Giuseppe Alberigo, "Hubert Jedin storiografo (1900–1980)," pp.
315–38; Klaus Ganzer, "Hubert Jedin e il concilio di Trento," pp. 339–54; and Norbert
Trippen, "Hubert Jedin e il concilio Vatican II," pp. 355–74.

[16] Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 4 vols. in 5 [vol. 4 was published
in two separate parts] (Freiburg, 1951–75). An English version is incomplete: only the
first two volumes were translated into English as *A History of the Council of Trent*, 2
vols. [background and antecedents; first session 1545–47], trans. Ernest Graf (London,
1957–61). In 2002, Graf's translation was placed online as part of the American Council
of Learned Societies' History E-Book Project.

reactions to—and sometimes rearguard actions against—Luther and those who followed him. His was a major voice in the reassessment of the "Counter-Reformation," a phrase redolent of reaction and counter-attack, and led others to look instead at the multiplicity of Catholic reform efforts well before, contemporaneous with, and after Luther. While this reassessment is itself fascinating and a subject worthy of its own historiographical study, such an effort would take us far afield.[17] In terms of reform as a field, Jedin's achievement was in directing the attention of Church historians, liturgists, Scripture scholars, ecumenists, and theologians not just to Trent but also to late medieval reform efforts at a time when those very same scholars were challenged by John XXIII (1958–63) to reform their own Church at Vatican II.

Ladner, Congar, and Jedin, of course, had no way of knowing that John XXIII would call Vatican II shortly after his election in 1958, but their work was waiting: when the pope called a council, everyone turned back to history for other examples of councils and reform efforts. Given the ecumenical openness that had been brewing in the 20th century and was set to expand greatly as a result of Vatican II, the search for reform precedents brought with it questions of continuity and/or discontinuity of Catholic reform efforts before and after Luther, sometimes discussed in the language of revolutionary versus evolutionary change, tradition versus progress, or conservation versus innovation. Scholars, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, wondered whether they could identify forerunners or proto-Protestants, by narrow definition and of necessity Catholic figures before 1517, and proto-Tridentine reformers, as well.

Once again, the late medieval period became the logical focal point, but we should stress the difficulty, danger, and even outright error of trying to separate the efforts of late medieval reformers—indeed, of reformers of any period—with what came before and after. A more general application of this methodology often led to the historians' parlor game of wondering just when antiquity ended, when the Middle Ages or Renaissance began, or when we reached the unsettled shores

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[17] The scholarship is vast. An excellent introduction to the topic is John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA, 2000). Classic articles in the debate are gathered in David M. Luebke, ed., *The Counter-Reformation* (Oxford, 1999), and a fine historiographical discussion is provided by Willian V. Hudon, "Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy—Old Questions, New Insights," *American Historical Review* 101 (1996), 783–804. A very good textbook treatement is Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1770: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Washington, DC, 1999).

of post-modernity. Descriptive words mean much in this discussion, especially concerning the questions of if and to what degree the late medieval Church was in decline and in need of rescue. Do we see decay or vibrancy in the contemporary complaints? Was the Church dying or flowering?[18] We must answer that both dying and flowering—along with many other movements—were occurring at the time. Such a highly complex period can never be reduced to continuity *or* discontinuity, just as we cannot speak of reform in head *or* members. A both/and approach is more accurate for the period and helps us better understand it from our own perspective. Reform works as a prism through which to see an age.[19]

Nevertheless, we are faced with the fact that the historiography of late medieval reform did, in fact, take such a turn toward the questions of periodization, separation, continuity, and discontinuity between Catholic reformers of the late Middle Ages and both Protestants and Catholics of the 16th century. We have briefly noted above, when discussing Jedin's work, the nomenclature debate concerning Catholic, Counter, or some other word or phrase to describe Roman Catholic reform efforts before and after Luther, including especially Trent and its aftermath. Among Protestants, Heiko A. Oberman led the effort to identify Protestant forerunners, to use his own term that ended up defining the debate. Oberman asserted that that idea of discontinuity was "a tool for apologetics."[20] In contrast, two pointed articles in *Church History*, the first by Scott Hendrix and the other by Hans J. Hillerbrand, argued precisely for what made the Protestants new and different. The quest for continuity between the late Middle Ages and

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[18] One thinks in a similar vein of Johan Huizinga's *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, translated into English in 1924 but retranslated with a significant title word change as *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* by Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago, 1996). See also Lawrence G. Duggan, "The Unresponsiveness of the Late Medieval Church: A Reconsideration," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 9 (1978), 3–26; John van Engen, "Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church," *Church History* 77 (2008), 257–84.

[19] See especially Berndt Hamm, *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 2, 258–72, 285–89. Hamm identifies reform as an example of "normative centering," a collision of questions and movements at a particular moment in time; see pp. 1–18, 43–46.

[20] Heiko A. Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation: The Shape of Late Medieval Thought* (New York, 1966; Philadelphia, 1981), p. 34. See also Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (Cambridge, MA, 1963); and Oberman, ed., *The Dawn of the Reformation: Essays in Late Medieval and Early Reformation Thought* (Grand Rapids, 1986).

the 16th century, though laudable in its contemporary ecumenical aim, does not accurately reflect the existence of real discontinuities at the time.[21] Diarmaid MacCulloch's massive history of the Reformation published in 2004, for instance, begins in 1490, placing it squarely in conversation with what was new with Luther et al. instead of what they shared with the Catholic Middle Ages.[22] But two leading textbooks that appeared in the generation after Jedin and Vatican II capture Jedin and Oberman's perspectives on the period in their titles: Steven Ozment's *The Age of Reform (1250–1550)*, and Carter Lindberg's *The European Reformations*, the latter beginning with a chapter set largely in the 14th century.[23] How to split the difference? As Erika Rummel, a leading expert on Erasmus, has put it, "we may examine prominent voices of reform without losing sight of the fact that the Reformation of the sixteenth century blended the voices of 'forerunners' in a manner that ultimately precludes an analysis into separate intellectual geneologies."[24]

Having considered the nature of the historiography of late medieval reform, let us turn to a small but representative selection of reform efforts and targets from the late Middle Ages.[25] Personal and parochial reform *in membris* may have been easier to attempt than *in capite* reform directed by the papacy and/or episcopacy during our period, if for no other reason than that the Schism had to be resolved before reform could profitably be pursued from the top down. How could the papacy

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[21] Scott Hendrix, "Rerooting the Faith: The Reformation as Re-Christianization," *Church History* 69 (2000), 558–77, especially pp. 558–60; Hans J. Hillerbrand, "Was There a Reformation in the Sixteenth Century?" *Church History* 72 (2003), 525–52. The articles by Hendrix and Hillerbrand provide historiographical commentary as well, and they act as a Protestant complement to William V. Hudon's 1996 *American Historical Review* article on Catholic reform in the age of Trent (above, n. 17).

[22] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation* (New York, 2004).

[23] Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform (1250–1550): An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven, 1980); Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Oxford, 1996).

[24] Erika Rummel, "Voices of Reform from Hus to Erasmus," in *Handbook of European History*, vol. 2, *Visions, Programs and Outcomes*, p. 61. Note once more that this important handbook spans the century before and after Luther, asking the reader to consider the period as a whole.

[25] Our treatment of reform objects is a fairly typical list of topics covered by anyone trying to recount late medieval reform efforts, but for a handy and lucid synthetic treatment, see especially Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1979), pp. 80–130, 175–203, 213–19, 231–38. For a representative cross-section of specialized studies concerning reform in various segments of the Church's head and members, see the articles in Izbicki and Bellitto, eds., *Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*.

or episcopacy effectively fix the Church when there was confusion as
to who the true pope was? Moreover, the papacy was in no position to
look beyond itself and identify the need for reform *in membris*, sitting
as it was in a proverbial glass house and having spent three-quarters of
a century in Avignon, only to return to Rome and be met immediately
by the Schism and then the conciliar challenge to its authority. Indeed,
as we will see, delegates at Constance debated what task to pursue first,
reform or papal union. It is no surprise, then, to find reform bubbling
up from the Church's members at the same time that some in the
hierarchy at least acknowledged problems without being able to make
longstanding or widespread change. This fact reminds us that reform
in capite et in membris operated on twin tracks, with personal reform
in membris sometimes taking the lead; we might remark on and admire
the latter efforts, since reform-minded lay and clerical Christians *in
membris* did not give up on a hierarchy that quite literally could not
get its act together during the Schism.[26]

Underlying many of these efforts *in membris* was an arithmetical
piety that often needed correction but nevertheless reflected genu-
ine piety.[27] A century after our period, Erasmus was still identifying
this arithmetical piety as a problem, while acknowledging the faith

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[26] In an important multivolume history of the Church, we find a long section of
about 250 pages—book-length in its own right—on late medieval reform infused with
the notion that *reformatio in capite et in membris* are closely related. Indeed, the authors
made just this point in a revealing footnote: "Nous bornerons donc notre recherche en
ce chapitre à la question des réformes se donnant pour telles et intéressant l'ensemble de
l'Église ou du moins de ses organes le plus imprtants. Mais les chapitres qui précédent
sur l'éducation religieuse du peuple chrétien, sur les dévotions ou sur les aberrations du
sentiment religieux, contiennent nombre d'indications sur la réforme au sens le plus
large du terme, sans parler des chapitres sur la théologie, la réforme des Universités
ou sur les missions"; see E. Delaruelle, Edmond René Labande, and Paul Ourliac,
L'église au temps du grand schisme et de la crise conciliare (1378–1449) (Paris, 1962),
pp. 881–1130 [=vol. 14, part 2 of Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin, eds., *Histoire de
l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*], with quotation at p. 886 n. 3.

[27] The devotional life and spirituality of the late Middle Ages are surveyed in R. N.
Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515* (Cambridge, 1995); Delaru-
elle, Labande, and Ourliac, *l'église au temps du grand* schisme, pp. 605–835; and Richard
Kieckhefer, "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion," in *Christian Spirituality II:
High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Jill Raitt (New York, 1988), pp. 75–108. For
an introduction to the *imitatio Christi* tradition and a particular Franciscan example
in one important text, see respectively Ewert Cousins, "The Humanity and the Passion
of Christ," in *Christian Spirituality II*, pp. 375–91, and Lawrence F. Hundersmarck,
"Reforming Life by Conforming it to the Life of Christ: Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Med-
itaciones vite Christi*," in Izbicki and Bellitto, eds., *Reform and Renewal in the Middle
Ages and the Renaissance*, pp. 93–112.

that enlivened it. Within the Church's body before and during the Schism, we find a particular attraction to interiority (even mysticism) and individual identification with Jesus' humanity and suffering with the *imitatio Christi* practices; a pre-Ignatian model of contemplatives in action, identified heavily with the Dutch lay movement called the *devotio moderna*; lay complaints about clerical worldliness locally and regionally; attempts to improve clerical training especially in university settings; religious orders seeking to return to their roots in a movement labeled Observant or Observantine; and a Christocentric humanism among working-class Catholics as well as among academics turning back to the Church's patristic heritage and therefore to the idea of personal reform identifed by Ladner.

Late medieval reform is closely associated with late medieval spirituality, which in turn was a continuation of high medieval spirituality encompassing many of the same devotions and directions we have just mentioned. The key to high and late medieval spirituality and reform, especially *in membris*, was the evangelical awakening of the 12th century.[28] At the heart of that awakening was a rediscovery of the human, historical Jesus of the gospels, whose suffering was particularly approachable for the medieval peasant. As the hierarchical Church became ever more worldly because of the papal revolution, reformers at many levels of the Church sought to bring the Church back to her roots of poverty, purity, and sometimes persecution as a sign of her virtue and authenticity—hence the more radical and even heretical impulses of reformers criticizing the clergy, especially those

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[28] For the spirituality of the period placed appropriately in its reform context, see Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), and *Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996). For a wider lens, see Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1985), especially the following articles related to our topics: Gerhart B. Ladner, "Terms and Ideas of Renewal," pp. 1–33; Giles Constable, "Renewal and Reform in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities," pp. 37–67; Jean Leclercq, "The Renewal of Theology," pp. 68–87; and Chrysogonus Waddell, "The Reform of the Liturgy from a Renaissance Perspective," pp. 88–109. See also M.-D. Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle* (Paris, 1957), rendered into an English edition, albeit one that does not include all of the original, as *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, ed. and trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago, 1968). Giles Constable addressed the influence of the 12th-century renaissance in subsequent centuries in "Twelfth-Century Spirituality and the Late Middle Ages," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1971), 27–60, and "The Popularity of Twelfth-Century Spiritual Writers in the Late Middle Ages," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron*, ed. Anthony Molho and John A. Tedeschi (Dekalb, 1971), pp. 5–28.

sitting atop the hierarchy. Moving from the earlier medieval *contemptus mundi*, lay and religious stepped more directly into the marketplace and called upon their followers to imitate the life of the apostles. The call to a *vita apostolica* also led to the foundation of mendicant orders such as the Franciscans and Dominicans. While many stayed inside the Church to reform her, others ended up stepping outside as rogue preachers who simply went too far, producing Waldensians, for instance, who grew from the more loosely-knit poor men's movements (*pauperes Christi*) centered in Lyon in France and throughout Lombardy in northern Italy.[29] Their criticisms were more often concerned with practice (wealthy clergy, concubinage, simony, secular trappings, abuse of indulgences and power) than doctrine, although they veered into dogmatic dissent as time progressed, voices were raised, and positions hardened.

The late Middle Ages also inherited the high medieval desire to get back in touch with the *ecclesia primitiva*; along with that goal came a recovery of the patristic idea of personal reform. Most orthodox positions, however, did not see the *ecclesia primitiva* as an absolute norm for reform, because they allowed for legitimate developments, including those ushered in with the Donation of Constantine.[30] Other positions disagreed on precisely these points, seeing the Donation as the beginning of a slippery slope that eventually resulted in the papal monarchy and clerical worldliness of their own late Middle Ages. A number of these reform impulses and influences came together in the thought and work of two late medieval reformers eventually condemned for heresy: England's John Wycliffe (*c.* 1330–84) and Jan Hus in Prague (1369–1415). A particularly thorny problem arose for Church authorities, because of these men's dangerous mix of an insider's intellectual dissent with popular protest. Both saw themselves as reformers *in membris*, criticizing the Church around them, and *in capite*, pointing

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[29] For an introduction to the Waldensians, see Edward Peters, ed., *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation* (Philadelphia, 1980), pp. 139–63, 170–73; more extensively, see Euan Cameron, *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2000). For other similar groups, see generally R. I. Moore, *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (Toronto, 1995).

[30] Glenn Olsen, "The Idea of the *Ecclesia Primitiva* in the Writings of the Twelfth-Century Canonists," *Traditio* 25 (1969), 61–86; Louis B. Pascoe, "Jean Gerson: The *Ecclesia primitiva* and Reform," *Traditio* 30 (1974), 379–409; Pascoe, "Gerson and the Donation of Constantine: Growth and Development within the Church," *Viator* 5 (1974), 469–85; Pascoe, *Church and Reform*, pp. 105–06, esp. n. 18.

out problems in the upper hierarchy. They surely saw their criticisms as valid, orthodox, and grounded in the Church's past, especially in the *ecclesia primitiva* as a model and in the need for personal reform as the root of all other efforts aimed at fixing the Church's problems at many levels, specifically concerning immorality and simony. Like some of their high medieval forebears, including the *pauperes Christi* and the Waldensians, their criticisms of worldly and immoral clergy flowed from their dedication to the *vita apostolica* and the broader evangelical awakening associated with it, and could sometimes veer into what in retrospect we call "anticlericalism," putting them at odds with the very priests, bishops, and popes they were trying to reform. Some Waldensians were reported to believe, for example, that "it is better to confess to a good layperson than to a wicked priest."[31] We should note, though, that "anticlericalism" is a 19th-century term informed by the early modern Enlightenment.[32] One could well argue that reformers such as the Waldensians, Wycliffities, and Hussites were decidely pro-clerical in that they were acting out of rising, not lowered, expectations that reform could occur and in support of good priests versus bad priests, which was a significant aspect of all reform efforts, as we have already noted. Once again, we are reminded that complaints about decay can indicate a positive force for vibrant reform at work. We certainly cannot deny that these reformers were often onto something. An investigatory commmission at Oxford in 1378 declared that some of Wycliffe's criticism were not incorrect *in se* but could be offensive to pious ears. In 1999, Pope John Paul II referred to Hus with admiration as a courageous reformer, and he expressed regret at Hus's execution.[33]

Again following from some medieval reformers who turned away from the Roman Church, Wycliffe and Hus moved from trying to fix certain practices to abolishing what they saw as accretions or deviations unintended by Christ, thereby denying the possibility of necessary and

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[31] Peters, *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*, p. 159.

[32] John Van Engen, "Late Medieval Anticlericalism: The Case of the New Devout," in *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter A. Dykema and Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden, 1993), pp. 19–30.

[33] Pope John Paul II, "Address of the Holy Father to an International Symposium on John Hus," 17 December 1999, as it appears on www.vatican.va. To offer an earlier example, the beguine Marguerite Porete was burned as a heretic in 1310 but praised by Pope Eugene IV about 150 years later. Her work was copied in many manuscripts and translated from French into at least Latin, Italian, and Middle English. In 1927, her works received a fresh English edition by the British Benedictines that was published with a *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur*.

authentic adaptation and development that occurs in the life of any institution's head and members. Some of Wycliffe's followers, known as Lollards, rejected the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, some or all of the seven sacraments, sacramental validity in light of clerical immorality (essentially latter-day Donatism), the idea that the Church could contain both saints and sinners at the same time (holding that the predestined alone belong in the true Church), the papacy's legitimacy as an institutional authority and its ownership of property (calling for "disendowment"), the juxtaposition of canon law ("human law") with divine law as reflected in scripture, and the hierarchy's control of scriptural interpretation in place of their own strong emphasis on personal and nearly literal interpretation.[34]

Hus's positions were similar to Wycliffe's, and we can find elements of *reformatio in capite et in membris* at work in them. Only the predestined constituted the true Church, though the *ecclesia militans* would be comprised of the saved and the damned. While the identity of each could not be known for certain, a Christian's behavior and quality of life (especially in the case of a priest and related to the validity of the sacraments he celebrated) would render a fairly reliable indication as it followed or deviated from biblical norms. Christ alone, not the pope, was the true head of the Church. Peter's successors ought to be chosen according to the quality of their life and should be the embodiment of all virtue—that is, the papal status derives not from the intristic nature of the office, its authority, or its jurisdiction (which Wycliffe and Hus essentially rejected outright) but from the moral state of the man serving as pope. His role was to be only spiritual, because material possessions, temporal power, and primacy had derived not from Christ but from the nefarious Donation of Constantine. The vertical hierarchy was to be spread horizontally and chosen in a more "democratic" fashion. It is no surprise that Hus's reputation was further tarnished in Catholic circles but raised in Protestant ones when Luther declared, "We are all Hussites."[35]

Wycliffe and Hus appealed not only to the intellectual elite but to the lay masses as well. With the commercial revolution of the High Middle Ages came wealth, a relative rise in literacy, and increased pov-

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[34] For helpful selected primary sources, see Peters, ed., *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*, pp. 265–307; and Matthew Spinka, ed., *Advocates of Reform: From Wyclif to Hus* (Philadelphia, 1953), pp. 21–88, 187–278.
[35] Rummel, "Voices of Reform from Hus to Erasmus," p. 63.

erty, particularly in urban areas—a not uncommon story in social and economic history. Rich, poor, or working class, lay men and women were emerging as not only the objects of Church leadership but also as agents of devotional energy and activity in their own right. Heiko A. Oberman, as part of his efforts to find indications of the Reformation in the late medieval period, pointed out the "pregnant plurality of four-teenth-century thought." That plurality led Oberman to conclude that the only pattern among lay activity was no pattern, but he did emphasize that by the time of the Schism, the laity were centrally involved in the life of the Church: for them, their own experiences *in membris* were outweighing academic speculation and institutional problems *in capite*. Educated and involved, the laity were poised to play a strong role in the Protestant reformations that would follow, just as they had done in the movements attached to the ideas of Wycliffe and Hus.[36]

Perhaps nowhere was this phenomenom more prominent than in the Low Countries, where not all reforming laity left the Roman Church. An instructive example of laity *in membris* who chose to reform themselves and stay inside the Church comes from the 14th-century *devotio moderna* in northern Europe.[37] This movement was led by the deacon Geert Groote (1340–84), son of a cloth merchant in Deventer, which would be Erasmus's hometown. Influenced strongly by the 12th-century Rhineland mystics as well as by the contemplative experiences and advice of John Cassian, whose work was the early medieval bridge between eastern and western monasticism, Groote championed a *vita apostolica* and preached against the contemporary clergy's worldly behavior, including simony and immorality, as well as against the laity's superficial piety. Groote attracted a mix of like-minded men and women who took resolutions, not vows, and practiced a quasi-religious spiritual program of reading, prayer, service, and mutual support as the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life, although a more structured Windesheim Congregation flourished, as well. It is notable that while some members of the clergy attacked the group and charged that the evangelical life could not be lived outside formal vows, the *devotio*

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[36] Heiko A. Oberman, "Fourteenth-Century Religious Thought: A Premature Profile," *Speculum* 53 (1978), 80–93.

[37] For accessible translations of *devotio moderna* materials, as well as an excellent introduction, see John Van Engen, trans., *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings* (New York, 1988), which complements and updates R. R. Post, *The Modern Devotion* (Leiden, 1968).

moderna was supported at Constance by bishops and cardinals, including Gerson and d'Ailly and then even Pope Martin V (1417–31).

The *devotio moderna* is notable for its emphasis on personal reform precisely at the moment the institutional Church at its very head was cut in two and then three. It is clear that there was a strong patristic aspect to their reform efforts.[38] They were also strongly influenced by *imitatio Christi* spirituality and the attempt to reform their lives by conforming themselves, as much as possible, to their original image and likeness of God.[39] Although they saw problems in the institutional Church, they largely did not reject the Church structures as they existed, choosing instead to tend their own religious gardens. Their spirituality was in line with the high and late medieval trends that we have mentioned, tied with a strong reforming impulse. Their tendency to simple, inward piety rejected externals including vigils, pilgrimages, the rote exercise of devotions such as rosaries, and a mathematical approach to gathering indulgences and relics. To their own eyes, this distancing of themselves from contemporary arithmetical piety is what made them "modern."[40] They read approved translations of homilies, saints' lives, and Scripture from Latin into Middle Dutch, although some adherents neglected (but did not reject) a connection to the corporate sense of the Church and the exercise of the sacraments.

The *devotio moderna* carved out a middle ground between laity and clergy; they generally led themselves and did so using vernacular, not Latin, texts. They were moderate reformers walking the line between a reliance on arithmetical accretions and extreme asceticism as they focused on pastoral care *in membris* instead of ecclesiastical politics *in capite*. But they were not the only group trying to find a middle course in a turbulent age; we also find religious orders engaged in a kind of pre-Vatican II *aggiornamento* to reconnect with their founding charisms and to cast off what had tarnished their orders. These

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[38] Nikolaus Staubach, "*Memores pristinae perfectionis*: The Importance of the Church Fathers for *Devotio Moderna*," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, ed. Irena Backus, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1991), 1:405–69.

[39] The author of the *The Imitation of Christ*, Thomas à Kempis (1380–1417) or otherwise, may have come from *devotio moderna* circles; see Van Engen, *Devotio Moderna*, pp. 8–10, esp. n. 5. Constable offers a detailed discussion of *imitatio Christi* piety in *Three Studies*, pp. 145–248.

[40] Otto Gründler believed that what made them "modern" may have been their turn from pure contemplation to a *vita apostolica*, but surely the mendicants had done this already nearly two centuries before: Otto Gründler, "*Devotio Moderna*," in *Christian Spirituality II*, p. 190.

religious orders we call Observant or Observantine; we find a branch of them for nearly every existing religious order, male and female, in the late Middle Ages. Although clerical, Observants represent reform *in membris* more than *in capite*, since they operated at the parish or monastery level and often initiated reform among themselves rather than having it imposed from above.

Starting in the late 14th century in many places in Europe, we find a groundswell of enthusiasm for Observant reforms.[41] Observant religious orders followed something of a pattern: a group of dissatisfied monks, mendicants, or nuns often moved away from their houses, established a new house or appropriated and then renovated an existing though discarded house, and established their own version of their order. Typically, the attempt was to recover the original spirit and intent of the order's founder and to live the order's life through a strict observance of the founding documents and customs, casting aside accretions, dispensations, and accommodations to their Rule (a *reditus ad fontes*). In general, there was an increase in poverty and a decrease in exemptions. These monks, nuns, and friars more radically and closely shared food and sleeping facilities, largely in an attempt at inner, personal renewal that avoided externals. Claustration led to increased time for contemplation, ushering in at times mystical moments, but other Observant branches embraced greater apostolic service and inspired affiliations with lay confraternities.

We find both eremitical and apostolic examples of the Observant reforms. Augustinians reformed themselves as Observants about 1385 and were related to the Brethren of the Common Life's Windesheim Congregation; their reform quickly spread, as did their influence. Erasmus owed his education to the Brethren, and Luther was an Observant Augustinian himself at Erfurt and Wittenberg. The Franciscans, who had experienced disputes about poverty almost as soon as they were established early in the 13th century, experienced an Observant reform in the 15th century, led by Bernardino of Siena and John of Capistrano. These Observant Franciscans practiced a more primitive and eremitical life than their Conventual confrères, at first withdrawing from apostolic service a bit but then competing with the Conventuals as itinerant

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[41] Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing About Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park, 2004), pp. 80–89; Oakley, *Western Church*, pp. 231–38.

preachers; in the middle of the 15th century, they were permitted to operate independently and in 1517 to exist formally as OFM Regular Observants. So, too, did the Dominicans have an Observant branch by the late 14th century, led by Catherine of Siena and Raymond of Capua. Italian, German, and Austrian Benedictines about the same time returned to a simple liturgy and more manual labor.[42] These Observant reforms had advantages for men and especially women. New leadership opportunities naturally arose, granting a measure of independence and the opportunity for initiative from the existing order. For women specifically, there were more chances for greater literacy, teaching, travel, and some partnership with male leadership. We find particular occasions for women to be involved in composing, translating, and copying rules, sermon transcriptions, poetry and prayers, devotional materials, chronicles, and reports as well as for women to reach the heights of mystical union with God.[43]

We move now to a complex target of reform that touched the Church in head and members: the reform of education, especially for the cleric in training, which takes us into the fields of pastoral service, scholastic theology, and humanism.[44] Most priests in the late Middle Ages were still learning their craft in something of an apprenticeship system far from the sparkling but largely inaccessible university centers of theology and canon law in cities.[45] Even those who did spend time in universities, if only briefly, would have had almost no opportunity for pastoral training, which would have occurred once they returned

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[42] Observantines have not been the sole subjects of monograph-length studies. For the two major mendicant orders, consult William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, 2 vols. (New York, 1966–73); and John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968).

[43] Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, pp. 95–151, 169–204.

[44] This section draws on Christopher M. Bellitto, "Revisiting Ancient Practices: Priestly Training before Trent," in *Medieval Education*, ed. Ronald B. Begley and Joseph W. Koterski (New York, 2005), pp. 35–49; and Bellitto, "Humanist Critiques of Scholastic Theology: Continuities in Medieval Educational Reform," in *Truth as Gift: Studies in Medieval Cistercian History in Honor of John R. Sommerfeldt*, ed. Marsha L. Dutton (Kalamazoo, 2004), pp. 483–501.

[45] William J. Courtenay, "The Institutionalization of Theology," in *Learning Institutionalized: Teaching in the Medieval University*, ed. John Van Engen (Notre Dame, 2000), p. 254; Owen Chadwick, "The Seminary," *Studies in Church History* 26 (1989), 2; Hubert Jedin, "L'importanza del decreto tridentino sui seminari nella vita della chiesa," *Seminarium* 3 (1963), 398–99. For some German urban exceptions proving the norm of apprenticeship, see Reinhold Kiermayr, "On the Education of the Pre-Reformation Clergy," *Church History* 53 (1984), 7–16.

home.[46] In these locales, reform in priestly formation was only as good as the bishop pushing for it and the priest mentoring a protégé; it is also extremely difficult to track what was surely a daily, individual, and largely verbal exchange that has left few traces in the written record. We do find some examples of guidance to improve clerical behavior, knowledge, and practical service on the local or regional level, as with an early 14th-century manual, *Oculus sacerdotis*, by England's William of Pagula, and a vernacular *Instructions for Parish Priests* by an English parish priest named John Mirk about 1400. Similar manuals appear in 15th-century Germany as well.[47]

Nevertheless, we also find a concern for pastors charged with *cura animarum* in university settings where scholars compiled quodlibets, handbooks, *florilegia*, penitentials, and *pastoralia*. Even if these reform efforts were distanced from the scene of the action in parishes, this drive for reform represents an understanding of the need for parochial reform—although Thomas Aquinas, an academic with little pastoral experience, referred to his fellow university professors as "skilled workers" and parish priests as merely "manual laborers."[48] This reform of scholastic and pastoral theology seems at first to have been a movement apart from solving the Schism, and indeed we can find complaints about scholastic theology before 1378. At the same time, there is ample evidence to demonstrate that much thinking about reforming the Church (and then resolving the Schism) occurred in university settings, particularly the University of Paris, and also that models of corporate activity and accountability from university experiences were adapted by Constance when university scholars became conciliar participants trying to reform the Church and unify the papacy.[49] In fact, reform appears at

[46] Peter A. Dykema, "Handbooks for Pastors: Late Medieval Manuals for Parish Priests and Conrad Porta's *Pastorale Lutheri* (1582)," in *Continuity and Change: The Harvest of Late Medieval and Reformation History: Essays Presented to Heiko A. Oberman on His 70th Birthday*, ed. Robert J. Bast and Andrew C. Gow (Leiden, 2000), pp. 143–62, esp. 146 n. 12.

[47] Leonard E. Boyle, "The *Oculus sacerdotis* and Some Other Works of William of Pagula," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. 5 (1955), 81–110; David Foss, "John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*," *Studies in Church History* 26 (1989), 131–40; Dykema, "Handbooks for Pastors," pp. 144–51.

[48] Leonard E. Boyle, "The Quodlibets of St. Thomas and Pastoral Care," *The Thomist* 38 (1974), 251.

[49] By their very nature, universities as places of learning were dedicated to the idea of reforming in the sense of reconsidering existing knowledge and adapting it in light of new discoveries, making a *reformatio in melius* a university's *raison d'être* and including the occasional reformation of its own structures: Walter Rüegg, "Themes," in

times to have been a bigger concern for academics than union, if only because their first worry seems to have been for changes that would not harm their own benefices. At Paris, Henry of Langenstein (1325–97) believed the Schism began because French cardinals resisted Urban VI's attempts at reform—ironic, to them, coming from a former career Avignon curialist—which caused Langenstein and others to naturally link reform with union, especially as the Schism persisted.[50]

Around the time of the Schism, two successive chancellors at the University of Paris, Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson, proposed curricular changes in theology, although they were well aware that their efforts were not likely to reach the pews, at least directly. At the same time, Paris produced many bishops, canonists, and other Church leaders, so a reform of their theological education would have had an effect on the Church at large, likely *in capite*, and perhaps *in membris* via a trickle-down phenomenon. D'Ailly's 1402–03 *Tractatus de materia concilii generalis* (the third part of which was redone, retitled *Tractatus de reformatione ecclesiae*, and submitted to the Council of Constance in 1416) addressed the reform of pastoral care, starting with the personal worth of the minister. D'Ailly was concerned with training in Scripture and rhetoric, with its obvious impact on preaching, although most of his other suggestions concerned urban libraries, which would help elite clergy but not their rural colleagues.[51]

In a flurry of activity in the first few years of the 15th century, Gerson agreed with his mentor d'Ailly but aimed a bit lower in the institutional Church, emphasizing pastoral service over pure academics. He produced letters and lectures against pride and vain curiosity in students who should be progressing in virtue in order to be better pastors. Going

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A History of the University in Europe, vol. 1, *Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 30–34; Paolo Nardi, "Relations with Authority," in *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 1: *Universities in the Middle Ages*, p. 86. See also Jürgen Miethke, "Kirchenreform auf den Konziliens des 15. Jahrhunderts: Motive—Methoden—Wirkungen," in *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, ed. Johannes Helmrath and Heribert Müller (Munich, 1994), pp. 28–39.

[50] R. N. Swanson, *Universities, Academics, and the Great Schism* (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 38, 61–62, 181, 197. Urban VI was not the only former curialist who attempted to clean up the system in which he himself had flourished during the time of the Schism. See, for example, the still-useful synthesis of the career and reform thought of Dietrich of Niem offered by E. F. Jacob, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch*, 2nd ed. (Manchester, 1953), pp. 24–43.

[51] Francis Oakley, *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly: The Voluntarist Tradition* (New Haven, 1964), pp. 334–35, 337–39.

beyond the legislation of Lateran IV (1215), which had stipulated that each metropolitan church should have a theological school, Gerson preached at a 1408 diocesan synod that every diocese should have its own theological school to train priests; the existence of such a school would break down the distance to travel and spread university learning over a broader geographic area. He also advocated that the larger collegiate churches should also have theology schools, although he did not see anything inherently wrong in the existing apprenticeship system, either.[52] We find just such schools, particularly when there was a reforming bishop with a special concern for the education of his priests, in dioceses in Germany, Spain, and Italy during the 15th century, some of which became the foundations for the first seminaries as stipulated by Trent in the latter half of the 16th century.

The theology being taught in these several settings had devolved in the late Middle Ages from the vibrant scholastic humanism of the 12th-century Renaissance to the pastorally disconnected, self-absorbed, and sterile *sophismata* derided by many reformers.[53] The Dominicans, meeting in general chapters in 1344 and 1346, specifically complained about university theological education devoid of biblical, theological, and practical training for personal spiritual development and subsequent pastoral service. A concern with vain curiosity led to arrogance and the quest for knowledge in place of humility, service, and the desire for individual holiness and wisdom. It is here that educational reform meets humanism: a more affective and pastoral approach to theological education and service was fed by a renewed literary interest in the classics and, especially, ancient rhetorical styles that would render preaching more effective. The holy priest would be an example to his parishioners on how to reform their lives by conforming to the *imago Dei* and by imitating Christ. Gerson made these connections when he brought the Dominicans back to the University of Paris in 1403 specifically to improve preaching, and he reiterated, near the end of the Schism, that

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[52] Pascoe, *Jean Gerson*, pp. 123–24, 170.

[53] For a sense of the philosophical issues underlining these changes, the subsequent debates among theologians, and the impact on late medieval spirituality, see Zenon Kaluza, *Les querelles doctrinales à Paris: Nominalistes et realistes aux confins du XIVe et du XVe siècles* (Bergamo, 1987), pp. 13–86; William J. Courtenay, "Nominalism and Late Medieval Religion," in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, ed. Charles Trinkaus with Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden, 1974), pp. 26–59; and Courtenay, "Spirituality and Late Scholasticism," in *Christian Spirituality II*, pp. 109–20.

the ultimate goal of theology was personal conversion.[54] Great reform-
ing preachers marked the era—one thinks quickly of Vincent Ferrer
and Bernardino of Siena—and they were driven by their own quest for
personal holiness and love of God, following Augustine's statement that
unless love burns in the preacher's heart, he cannot raise up those to
whom he preaches.

Let us note briefly that the connections between humanism and
reform comprise their own subfield of reform studies and are closely
tied with the emerging field of sermon and preaching studies as well.[55]
To the degree that they sent the Church back to the fathers and their
own classical Greco-Roman forebears, late medieval humanists tied
reform with the earliest notions of personal reform and the recovery
of the *imago Dei*. As John F. D'Amico states in a very helpful article on
the subject, "In general, humanist reform thought emphasized personal
amelioration rather than institutional change."[56] It was the combined
work of Charles Trinkaus and Paul Oskar Kristeller that rescued the
idea of religious reform and humanism as a combined effort from an
earlier generation of scholarship that had confined the Renaissance by
defining it narrowly as a literary and secular movement.[57] Humanism
began in Italy with the recovery of Greco-Roman literary style, often
beginning with manuscript studies, but it was frequently married with
issues of personal reform. One of the earliest centers outside of Italy to
feel the humanist influence was the papal court at Avignon. A center

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[54] Pascoe, *Jean Gerson*, pp. 99–109, 169. For a comprehensive study of an important
1418 treatise on the subject, see Mark Stephen Burrows, *Jean Gerson and De conso-
latione Theologiae (1418): The Consolation of a Biblical and Reforming Theology for a
Disordered Age* (Tübingen, 1991).

[55] See, for instance, the following two studies, which continue the process of push-
ing Gerhart Ladner's categories forward in time and applying reform ideas to practice:
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, NC 1979);
and Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reforma-
tion Rome* (Princeton, 1995).

[56] John F. D'Amico, "Humanism and Pre-Reformation Theology," in *Renaissance
Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3 vols., ed. Albert Rabil, Jr. (Philadelphia,
1988), 3:349–79, with quotation at p. 366. See also Salvatore I. Camporeale, "The Origins
of Humanist Theology," in *Humanity and Divinity in Renaissance and Reformation:
Essays in Honor of Charles Trinkaus*, ed. John W. O'Malley, Thomas M. Izbicki, and
Gerald Christianson (Leiden, 1993), pp. 101–24.

[57] For the best examples of their contributions, see Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renais-
sance Thought and Its Sources*, ed. Michael Mooney (New York, 1979); and Charles
Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist
Thought*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1970).

of such activity—later coupled with broader notions of institutional Church reform—was the France (especially the University of Paris and even more specifically its Collège de Navarre) of religious reformers such as Gerson and d'Ailly, along with their forebears and successors, in the 14th to 16th centuries.[58]

Finally, as the late Middle Ages proceeded and the Schism persisted, there was growing recognition, especially at councils, that reform of head and members depended on each other: reform of one meant reform of the other, specifically when it came to pastoral impact.[59] As we indicated earlier, reform in head and members had become an increasing focus during the medieval general councils; such a conception of reform was certainly discussed at Lyon I (1245), Lyon II (1274), and Vienne (1311–12) before taking a more prominent and explicit position at Constance. The famous Constance decree *Haec sancta synodus* (1415), which asserted a council's authority even over a pope, stated that everyone must obey a council's decisions in matters of faith, the Schism, and reform, referring to the "generalem reformationem dictae ecclesiae Dei in capite et in membris."[60] Phillip H. Stump, who has studied the Council of Constance more than anyone in the Anglophone world, reminds us that its delegates would have been unfamiliar with any reform of the head that did not include the members. "What appears to us as an institutional reform was for the Constance fathers

[58] Gilbert Ouy, "Paris, l'un des principaux foyers de l'humanisme en Europe au début du XVe siècle," *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* (1967–68), 71–98; Ouy, "Le collège de Navarre, berceau de l'humanisme français," *Actes du 95e congrès national des sociétés savantes, Reims 1970: Section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610*, vol. 1, *Enseignement et vie intellectuelle* (IXe–XVIe siècle) (Paris, 1975), pp. 275–99; Giovanni Matteo Roccati, "La formation des humanistes dans le dernier quart du XIV siècle," in *Pratiques de la culture écrite en France au XVe siècle*, ed. Monique Ornato and Nicole Pons (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1995), pp. 55–73; Roccati, "La formazione intellettuale di Jean Gerson (1363–1429): Un esempio del rinnovamento umanistico degli studi," in *L'educazione e la formazione intellettuale nell'età dell'umanesimo*, ed. Luisa Rotondi Secchi Tarugi (Milan, 1992); Dario Cecchetti, *L'evoluzione del latino umanistico in Francia* (Paris, 1986).

[59] Johannes Helmrath, "Reform als Thema der Konzilien des Spätmittelalters," in *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438/9–1989*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo (Leuven, 1991), pp. 75–152, especially pp. 84–98. For a condensed form of this long article, see Helmrath, "Theorie und Praxis der Kirchenreform in Spätmittelalter," *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* 11 (1992), 41–70. See also Jürgen Miethke and Lorenz Weinrich, eds., *Quellen zur Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Grossen Konzilien des 15. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (Darmstadt, 1995).

[60] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols. (London and Washington, DC, 1990), 1:409.

the reform of the living body of Christ in head and members, animated by the Holy Spirit," Stump observes. For them, reform *in capite* was "a vital prerequisite to the reform of the members; according to the prevailing hierarchical view reform would extend down from the head to the members."[61] Francis Oakley makes a close link between the calls for reform *in capite et in membris*, the context of the Schism, and the conciliarist assertion of jurisdictional supremacy: "It is not really until the opening years of the fifteenth century…that we encounter the thoroughgoing combination of the strict conciliar theory with the call for a churchwide reform that would erect permanent constitutional barriers to the pope's abuse of his jurisdictional power."[62]

Constance's record on reforms is mixed because many reform ideas were competing within the confused and unsettled context of schism itself.[63] From the start, Constance's delegates had laid out for themselves a three-fold agenda of restoring unity, reforming the Church, and combatting heresy—the last largely taken up with the trial and execution of Jan Hus in 1415. The resolution of the Schism took time, leaving many months during which negotiations occurred behind the scenes and away from Constance. Delegates wondered how far and how authoritatively they might proceed with the matter of reform, which occupied them greatly during the long period of July 1415 until January 1417 while the Emperor-elect Sigismund pursued a diplomatic mission far from Constance on several fronts, not all of them related to the Schism. At the same time, the so-called "priority struggle" ensued, with delegates

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[61] Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance*, pp. 17, 138. See also p. 169: "[T]he conciliar reformers themselves placed their first emphasis on reform *in capite*. They did so, however, because they believed that it was the most urgent and would in turn make possible true reform *in membris*, to be enacted at future councils which would meet regularly according to the decree *Frequens*." The conclusions that follow concerning the reform initiatives at Constance are drawn largely from Stump's study, passim, and Stump, "The Reform of Papal Taxation at the Council of Constance (1414–1418)," *Speculum* 64 (1989), 69–105.

[62] Oakley, *Western Church*, pp. 219–31, with quotation at p. 223. On this link between reformers and conciliarists, see also Miethke, "Kirchenreform auf den Konziliens des 15. Jahrhunderts," pp. 16–27. Conciliarism, however, could overshadow and even overwhelm reform efforts, particularly if the latter became a political means and not an end unto itself; see Helmrath, "Reform als Thema der Konzilien des Spätmittelalters," pp. 146–52. For more on late medieval conciliarism, see the contribution in this volume by David Zachariah Flanagin. See also Christopher M. Bellitto, "*Il conciliarismo*," in *Il Cristianesimo Grande Atlante*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo, Giuseppe Ruggieri, and Roberto Rusconi, 3 vols. (Turin, 2006), 3:1092–1101.

[63] Miethke, "Kirchenreform auf den Konziliens des 15. Jahrhunderts," pp. 39–42.

arguing about whether and how to move forward with reform before a unified papacy had been secured; the matter was settled in the summer of 1417 when they decided to elect a pope first, although reform measures were not completely cast aside.[64] As Stump has pointed out, one could argue, as some did, that the best reformation was the resolution of the deformation of the papacy, split as it was among three popes and their separate colleges of cardinals.

Constance reformers took particular aim at curial abuses and the practice of papal provisions, by which the papacy reserved to itself the appointment of individuals to particular offices, a procedure that had grown unwieldly and subject to much abuse, competition, litigation, patronage, simony, and bribery during the Avignon papacy and the Schism. Avignon in the 14th century did have some reforming popes. Benedict XII (1334–42) sent home from the curia prelates with offices charged with pastoral care, reorganized some elements of his administration by streamlining the number of documents and procedures along with their attendant fees, advocated more difficult examinations of candidates for ordination to the priesthood and episcopate, and issued reforms for the Benedictines that became the prototype for reforms issued at their Peterhausen chapter held over a half-century later during the Council of Constance. Innocent VI (1352–62) and Urban V (1362–70) worked against absenteeism, pluralism, and simony while seeking to improve clerical training and examination. But admittedly, by the time of Constance, pluralism, absenteeism, and poorly prepared priests and bishops were all too common. As C. M. D. Crowder, who compiled and introduced what remains the standard collection of primary sources for our period, so colorfully put it:

> Above all the ecclesiastical system, at its administrative centre and at the grassroots, was stamped with the image of a commercial empire. The spirit of gain was more prominent than the gaining of spirits…The Church's central administration had grown for sounder reasons than the perfecting of its own revenues, but during the Schism it left the impression that it was primarily concerned with its own upkeep. As long as the Schism lasted that burden was doubled…

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[64] For a detailed analysis of the steps leading up to and then producing the unifying election of Martin V in November 1417, see Phillip H. Stump's contribution in this volume.

We might add that it tripled after Pisa added a third papal line in 1409.[65] Nevertheless, there were good reform plans put in place by Constance, and Stump's study went a long way in reversing the general picture that Constance's reforms had essentially failed completely. Gains were made particularly concerning the rights of diocesan bishops and, therefore, with restricting some of the many papal provisions.[66] Constance reduced the size of the curia, thereby limiting some of the vast possibilities for corruption, and practiced a measure of collegial action between Martin V as head and the council, national groups, and religious orders as representatives of the Church's members.[67]

As the Schism ended, the hope was that reform of the head would sponsor reform in the members and that Constance's decree *Frequens*, mandating regular meetings of general councils (eventually once each decade), would insure that the reforms would continue to be spread, applied, policed, and adjusted. But this program was not followed, and eventually *Frequens* was simply ignored during the rest of the 15th century, when reform steps were overshadowed by the papal agenda of restoring its own authority and fighting back against conciliarism. In addition, the reform *in membris* would have forced Constance's delegates to cast a brighter light on their own transgressions, despite the fact that the dominant reform image found in their writings during the council centered squarely on the idea of correction.[68] In deliberations, they discussed the need for a clergy that was better-educated (with a bachelor's degree in theology or a license in canon or civil law),

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[65] C. M. D. Crowder, *Unity, Heresy, and Reform, 1378–1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (New York, 1977), pp. 21–22.

[66] Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance*, pp. 270–72. On d'Ailly's ideas of bishops as models and agents of personal and pastoral reform, see Pascoe, *Church and Reform*, pp. 93–164. For a complete treatment of the papal fiscal system, see Jean Favier, *Les Finances pontificales à l'époque du grand schisme d'Occident, 1378–1409* (Paris, 1966).

[67] For a case study of reform in head and members on the national level in the aftermath of Constance, see Birgit Studt, *Papst Martin V. (1417–1431) und die Kirchenreform in Deutschland* (Cologne, 2004).

[68] Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance*, pp. 221–26. In 2006, Stump and Chris Nighman posted "A Bibliographical Register of the Sermons & Other Orations Delivered at the Council of Constance (1414–1418)" on the website of the Bibliographic Society of America: http://www.bibsocamer.org/BibSite/Nighman-Stump. For a research note on the project, see Chris Nighman and Phillip Stump, "A New Bibliographical Register of the Sermons and Other Speeches Delivered at the Council of Constance (1414–1418)," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 50 (2006), 71–84.

behaved in a morally upright manner (including being celibate), and was concerned with pastoral service. Still, reforming themselves was less desirable and more difficult than looking up to the Church's head, especially since their desire for reform was married with the conciliar idea that they did, in fact, have the authority to reform the head if the head did not do so itself. It is always easier, after all, to point out the speck of dust in someone else's eye and to ignore the plank in one's own.

EXTRA ECCLESIAM SALUS NON EST—SED QUAE ECCLESIA?: ECCLESIOLOGY AND AUTHORITY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

David Zachariah Flanagin

In the closing years of the 14th century, Jean Gerson (1363–1429), the young chancellor of the University of Paris and later champion of conciliarism at the Council of Constance, found himself in a self-imposed exile at his deanery in Bruges.[1] He had been a leading voice in French efforts to end the Schism and to institute meaningful reform since at least 1391, when he gave the first of many sermons before the royal court. However, in the wake of too many years of bitter politics and, more recently, his failure to dissuade the French clergy and court from unilaterally withdrawing obedience from the pope at Avignon, Gerson, frustrated and possibly suffering from a nervous breakdown, chose to withdraw from public life and seek the quiet contemplation and humble duties of a parish charge.[2] Yet life was anything but peaceful in Flanders. In the early years of the Schism, after much lobbying from both obediences, the region had elected to support the claims of Urban VI, but later military encroachments by the duke of Burgundy had created a situation in which Flanders was divided between adherents of Avignon and of Rome.[3] What Gerson found in Bruges was a flock in the worst form of schism, where certain persons were "violating brotherly love…when they turn others away from the holy

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[1] There are numerous works on Gerson. For the most recent survey on his life, see Brian Patrick McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation* (University Park, 2005). On Gerson's conciliarism, see especially G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson—Apostle of Unity: His Church Politics and Ecclesiology*, trans. J. C. Grayson (Leiden, 1999). For a summary of the current state of Gerson scholarship, see McGuire, ed., *A Companion to Jean Gerson* (Leiden, 2006).

[2] See Brian Patrick McGuire, "Patterns of Male Affectivity in the Late Middle Ages: The Case of Jean Gerson," in *Varieties of Devotion in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Susan C. Karant-Nunn (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 163–78; and John B. Morrall, *Gerson and the Great Schism* (Manchester, 1960), p. 45.

[3] See Noël Valois, *La France et le grand schisme d'Occident*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1896–1902), 1:253–62, 2:224–71. See also Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson*, p. 74 and n. 16 for further citations.

sacraments of the Church."[4] Only a few years earlier, one fourth of
the divided populace had left the officially Clementine city to celebrate
Easter mass in nearby Urbanist Ghent.[5] People were claiming that it
was "illicit to hear the masses or receive the sacraments of the opposite
obedience,"[6] a fact most glaring in cities such as Liège to the south,
which actually had one bishop from each obedience, neither of whom
hesitated to condemn their opponents in the harshest of terms.[7] In fact,
some were "rashly and scandalously" asserting that "the sacraments of
the Church lack their efficacy, with the result that the priests have not
been consecrated, children have not been baptized, the sacrament of the
altar has not been confected, etc."[8] Recriminations had reached such a
fever pitch that it was being declared that "all those of one obedience
or of the other—or those who are neutral—are totally outside of the
state of salvation."[9] Such a scene is one of many examples of how the
Schism was being experienced among the towns and cities of Europe,[10]

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[4] "fraternam violant caritatem…dum a sacramentis ecclesiasticis et sacrosanctis
eosdem avertunt"; Gerson, *De modo se habendi tempore schismatis*, in Jean Gerson,
Oeuvres complètes, ed. Palémon Glorieux, 10 vols. (Paris, 1960–73), 6:29. All references
to Gerson's work in this chapter are taken from Glorieux's edition and will henceforth
be cited simply as Gerson 6:29, where "6" is the volume in Glorieux and "29" is the
page number. All translations from the Latin are my own, unless otherwise noted.
Finally, because of the important distinction between the universal Church and the local
church in much late medieval ecclesiology, I will refer to the former as the "Church"
and the latter as a "church."

[5] Morrall, *Gerson*, p. 45, cited in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and
Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, 2006), p. 7 n. 4.

[6] "non liceat audire missas eorum vel sacaramentis communicare"; Gerson, *De
modo*, 6:29.

[7] Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, p. 7.

[8] "temerarium et scandalosum…asserere…sacramenta Ecclesiae suam efficaciam
non habere, ut sacerdotes non esse consecratos, pueros non esse baptizatos, sacramen-
tum altaris non esse confectum, et similia"; Gerson, *De modo*, 6:29.

[9] "omnes tenentes istam partem vel omnes tenentes alteram vel omnes neutra-
les…esse universaliter extra statum salutis"; Gerson, *De modo*, 6:29.

[10] Another example of the exclusion of persons from the sacraments can be found
in the writings of the Frenchman Pierre Salmon, who tells of his visit to Utrecht,
when he could find no priest who would celebrate Easter mass for him, since he was a
partisan of "Benedic [*sic*] l'antipape," described in Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the
Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago, 1996), p. 19.
Another example of the idea that personal salvation was threatened by the Schism can
be found in the charges made against Jean de Varennes (1340/45–1396?), the penitent
preacher of Reims, who was accused of having said that "no one had entered heaven
since the beginning of the present Schism" [a principio praesentis schismatis, nullus
intravit coelestem regionem]; Jean de Varennes, *Reponsiones*, in Louis Ellies du Pin,
ed., *Joannis Gersonii Doctoris Theologi & Cancellarii Parisiensis Opera Omnia, Novo
ordine digesta*, 5 vols. (Antwerp, 1706), 1:920. Though Huizinga is probably being too

and it brings to our attention the fact that the existence of two popes and two papal obediences was not simply a struggle of international politics, of curial corruption, or of legal subtleties. The importance of the Schism for the average man and woman in Europe—in fact, for any concerned Christian of the day—was that it had fundamentally disrupted the system of salvation, upon which all were relying to reach eternal beatitude and escape the torments of hell.[11]

Since the patristic era, Christian theology had posited a fundamental connection between soteriology and ecclesiology, with the former being understood as dependent on the latter.[12] This connection is rooted in a principle, first explicitly stated by Cyprian, the 3rd-century bishop of Carthage, that "there is no salvation outside the Church."[13] *Extra ecclesiam salus non est.* As he clearly explains,

> It is she [i.e., the Church] who rescues us for God, she who seals for the kingdom the children whom she has borne. Whoever breaks with the church and enters on an adulterous union, cuts himself off from the promises made to the church; and he who has turned his back on the church of Christ shall not come to the rewards of Christ: he is an alien, a worldling, an enemy. *You cannot have God for your Father if you have not the church for your mother* [italics added]...If a person does not keep this unity, he is not keeping the law of God; he has lost his faith about Father and Son, he has lost his life and his soul.[14]

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bold in calling it a "popular belief" that *no one* had entered heaven since the start of the Schism, based solely on this one piece of evidence from Varennes, *Autumn*, p. 34, the charge against him does likely reflect the general attitude of uncertainty about the sacramental and thus soteriological system, as will be discussed below. Cf. McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, p. 375 n. 61 and p. 77. For more on Varennes, see Valois, *La France*, 3:28–29, 84–86; Huizinga, *Autumn*, pp. 226–28; and McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, pp. 76–77.

   [11] For a discussion of the late medieval crisis of the Schism as soteriological, see Frantisek Graus, "The Crisis of the Middle Ages and the Hussites," trans. James J. Heaney, in *The Reformation in Medieval Perspective*, ed. Steven E. Ozment (Chicago, 1971), pp. 88–89, 98; and Scott Hendrix, "In Quest of the *Vera Ecclesia*: The Crises of Late Medieval Ecclesiology," *Viator* 7 (1976), 347–78. The effect of such a crisis on people across Europe is the more recent focus of Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries.*

   [12] For references to this concept, especially as it was developed by Augustine, see Yves Congar, *L'Église: De saint Augustin à l'époque moderne* (Paris, 1970), pp. 16, 20–21, 23–24; Bernard P. Prusak, *The Church Unfinished: Ecclesiology through the Centuries* (New York, 2004), pp. 148–53.

   [13] This principle can be traced back to Cyprian, *Epistle* 73.21. For a fine summary of Cyprian's ecclesiology, see Robert B. Eno, *The Rise of the Papacy* (Wilmington, DE, 1990), pp. 54–70.

   [14] Cyprian, "The Unity of the Catholic Church," trans. in *St. Cyprian: The Lapsed, The Unity of the Catholic Church*, ed. Maurice Bévenot (Mahwah, 1956), repr. in Bart

Several key assumptions are operative here. First, Cyprian (and all medieval theology following him) assumes, as the starting point, a state of universal human sinfulness—and thus alienation from God.[15] Left untreated, this spiritual crisis leads to an ominous end—eternal torment and suffering in hell. To be saved from this fate is to be "rescued" for God's kingdom and to have the proper relationship with God (as Father) restored. However, this promise of salvation, which comes through Christ, belongs to the Church, Christ's spouse, and to those who are members of it. Thus the Church possesses the primary relationship with Christ (and God), and the relationship of individual humans to the divine (and to salvation) is mediated through (and only through) that Church. In sum, "You cannot have God for your Father if you have not the Church for your Mother."[16]

These assumptions form the foundation of all late medieval ecclesiology. In particular, this mediating role of the Church between the individual and God was understood in terms of the sacraments.[17] Salvation was primarily effected by means of the sacramental channels of grace—both the divine grace that forgives sins (especially through baptism and penance) and the divine grace that strengthens the believer in his or her good works (especially through the eucharist). However, the sacraments were granted by Christ to the Church and thus were available only in the Church—the one, true Church. The spiritual power to confect and administer these sacraments was found in the priests that belonged to this Church—and only this Church. Priests had this spiritual power because they had received it from the Church when they were ordained by their superiors in the Church—and only in this

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D. Ehrman, *After the New Testament: A Reader in Early Christianity* (New York, 1999), p. 342.

[15] For a brief summary of the idea of human sinfulness and its healing through sacramental grace (see below), as it is formulated by Augustine and later medieval theology, see Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250–1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven, 1980), pp. 23–30.

[16] Cyprian, "Unity," in Ehrman, *After*, p. 342.

[17] As in most areas, Augustine's formulation of these ideas, though he did not create them *de novo*, was all important. See Congar, *L'Église*, pp. 16, 20–21, 23–24, 169–74. Prusak summarizes the tradition as follows, "A modified and institutionalized version of Augustine's theology of Church as a communion of sacraments will ground the paradigm that emerges in medieval Western tradition. The Church will be viewed as a kind of divine franchise in which those empowered by ordination administer a system of sacraments, through which God distributes salvation by means of grace"; *Church*, p. 153. See also Ozment, *Age of Reform*, pp. 29–30.

Church. In sum, the sacraments and the salvific power that they conferred were mediated through the one, true Church and it alone. Such is the soteriological necessity of the Church for the medieval mind. The very personal concern of parents for the salvation of their children, of wives for their husbands, and of priests for their flock were all built on the assumption that such salvation was available in—and only in—the one true Church.

But what was the Great Western Schism but a crisis—of radical proportion—in the nature of the Church? Two (and later three) popes each claimed that they were the one true pontiff of the one true Church. Who was telling the truth? Multiple bishops were appointed to the same diocese. Which one was legitimate? More important, could priests be sure that they had been ordained by a bishop with the power to do so? Could lay men and women trust that the eucharist, baptism, absolution, and other sacramental graces that they hoped to receive were being administered by a priest capable of truly doing so? Could they make it to heaven and avoid hell by relying on uncertain sacraments from an uncertain priest ordained by an uncertain bishop appointed by an uncertain pope?[18] Were they really part of the true Church? Could they be saved?

Such serious doubts and concerns are reflected in the denials of the validity of the sacraments—and even salvation—at Bruges and elsewhere. Such is the crisis of the Great Schism of 1378 to 1417. Western Christianity was thrown into a deep uncertainty about its salvation

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[18] These questions are closely related to the traditional debates over Donatism, i.e., the debate over whether the sacraments continued to be valid when administered by a sinful priest. Augustine gave the definitive medieval answer to this debate when he explained that the sacraments relied on the power and holiness of God, not the holiness of their human minister, who simply functioned as the means by which they were distributed. The crisis of the rampant corruption and then the Schism in the late medieval Church brought even this traditional position into question again, most notably by John Wycliffe; see Jaroslav Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300–1700)* (The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine) 4 (Chicago, 1983), pp. 93–94. However, even a medieval anti-Donatist position still assumes that the validity of the sacraments requires priestly ordination within the Church. What is suddenly at issue in the Great Western Schism is whether this system of hierarchical ordination is entirely vitiated when one is following a false pope. Thus, the problem caused by the Schism is similar to the problem of Donatism in its uncertainty in the sacraments, but different in that the locus of that uncertainty is not the holiness of the priests (though that is still an issue) but in the institutional connection of their ordination to the true *ecclesia*.

because of a deep uncertainty in its ecclesiology. The Schism was a potential threat, not only to the political futures of a handful of popes and cardinals but also to the eternal status of every man, woman, and child in Christendom—and people felt that threat.[19] Thus, it should not be a surprise that the nearly four decades of Schism were a time of urgent ferment with respect to fundamental questions of ecclesiology. What exactly is meant by "the Church outside of which there is no salvation"? Who is the head of that Church? Who is the source of its power and authority? What is the stable foundation of that Church? Most immediately, are recognition, allegiance, and obedience to the *verus papa* constitutive factors in belonging to the *vera ecclesia*?[20]

The goal of this chapter is to begin to understand the various major answers to these questions that were available at the start of the Schism in 1378, as well as those that developed in light of the Schism in the decades that followed. We will begin by analyzing the starting point of most 14th-century ecclesiology, the system of absolute papal monarchy. While clearly developing in the West since the early centuries of Christianity,[21] this idea of papal monarchy took on a much clearer shape in the heat of political disputes between the papacy and its ecclesiastical and secular opponents in the first half of the 14th century. We will then turn to an analysis of two of these opponents, Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham, both of whom challenged the fundamental claims of papal monarchy and offered an alternative ecclesiology in its stead. Finally, we will turn to the most important development during the time of the Schism,[22] the conciliar ecclesiology that eventually carried the day at Constance and succeeded in ending the papal crisis, perhaps best

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[19] See n. 11 above.

[20] Although a great deal of ecclesiological controversy in the 14th century takes place in the context of well-known disputes between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, these disputes are not themselves our primary concern. Instead of the question of whether secular rulers or Roman pontiffs were the supreme authority in Christendom, we are focused on the issue of defining the identity of the true Church and authority within the Church proper.

[21] For an excellent analysis of this development, see Congar, *L'Église*; and Prusak, *Church*. For a more general introduction to papal history beyond the ecclesiological focus, one which contains a solid bibliography, see Eamon Duffy, *Saints & Sinners: A History of the Popes*, 3rd ed. (New Haven, 2006).

[22] However, conciliarism was not the only ecclesiological development during the time of the Schism. Both John Wycliffe and John Hus made significant contributions to the field of ecclesiology. For an analysis, see Congar, *L'Église*, pp. 299–305; and Matthew Spinka, *John Hus' Concept of the Church* (Princeton, 1966).

represented by Jean Gerson. In all of this, our goal is to understand the major ecclesiological (and thus soteriological) options that were available to thinkers at the time of the Great Western Schism, the greatest ecclesiological crisis in the history of the Catholic Church.

The Roman ecclesiology: absolute papal monarchy[23]

Are recognition, allegiance, and obedience to the *verus papa* constitutive factors in belonging to the *vera ecclesia*? The most famous statement of papalist ecclesiology in the Middle Ages clearly answers this question in the affirmative: "[W]e declare, state, define and pronounce that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."[24] This concluding passage from Boniface VIII's famous *Unam sanctam* (1302) is a poignant expression of the ecclesiology of absolute papal monarchy that had been developing for centuries but had recently begun to take on a much more sophisticated shape in the late medieval conflicts between the papacy and its opponents, both religious and secular.[25] The immediate circumstance of the bull

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[23] For an in-depth analysis of the papalist ecclesiology in the 14th century, see Michael Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages: The Papal Monarchy with Augustinus Triumphus and the Publicists* (Cambridge, 1963). See also Congar, *L'Église*, pp. 269–81; and Friedrich Merzbacher, "Wandlungen des Kirchenbegriffs im Spätmittelalter: Grundzüge der Ekklesiologie des ausgehenden 13., des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 70 (1953), 291–317.

[24] Boniface VIII, *Unam sanctam*, trans. in Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State 1050–1300* (Englewood Cliffs, 1964; repr. Toronto, 1988), p. 189.

[25] There are no treatises specifically "on the Church" in medieval theology before 1300, including no specific questions on the Church in the *Sentences*, the commentaries on the *Sentences*, or Aquinas' *Summa*. See Pelikan, *Reformation*, pp. 70–71; Congar, *L'Église*, p. 270; and Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church 1300–1870* (Oxford, 2003), p. 63. However, there was a sudden explosion of such treatises after 1300, beginning with James of Viterbo's, *De regimine christiano* (1301–02), which has been called "the oldest treatise on the church"; see H.-X. Arquillière, *Le plus ancient traité de l'Église* (Paris, 1926). Oakley attributes this sudden interest to three major conflicts: (1) the conflicts between the papacy and the secular powers in the early 14th century, especially those between Boniface VIII and Philip IV and between John XXII and Louis of Bavaria; (2) the conflicts surrounding the mendicant orders, which included (a) the secular-mendicant controversies of the latter half of the 13th century as well as (b) the disputes over the doctrine of Franciscan poverty in the early 14th century; and, finally, (3) the outbreak of the Schism in the late 14th century, *Conciliarist*, pp. 63–64. A thorough list of these treatises on the Church as well as their available editions is given in Congar, *L'Église*, pp. 270–71 n. 2.

is the very bitter and very public feud between the pontiff and Philip IV of France concerning the question of ultimate authority over the churches in that kingdom.[26] In response to what were viewed as serious encroachments on papal prerogatives, Boniface had summoned the French bishops to a council in Rome in November of 1302. Fewer than half of the French bishops answered the summons. In reaction, Boniface clearly proclaims the importance of the Church for all Christians and, further, the crucial role of the papacy in it.

Unam sanctam begins with the fundamental principle that connects all medieval ecclesiology and soteriology, the declaration "that there is one holy, Catholic and apostolic church…and that outside this church there is no salvation or remission of sins."[27] That is, there is only *one* true Church, which extends throughout the whole world (i.e., is "catholic") and which originates from its commission by Christ (i.e., is "apostolic"). By virtue of this fundamental connection with Christ, this Church is "holy," and it has been instituted as the only means for individual human beings to become holy as well (i.e., be "saved" and have their sins "remitted").

In the papalist ecclesiology, as in all late medieval views of the Church, the most important mark of this *vera ecclesia* is its unity—both to Christ and within itself.[28] She is the one dove of the Song of Songs (6:8), the beloved spouse. She is the one ark that was the only ship of salvation in the flood. She is the Lord's seamless garment. She is joined in "one Lord, one faith, one baptism."[29] Perhaps most important, she is the "one

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Richard Scholz has written the most complete analyses of these treatises, set in the context of the two major disputes between popes and secular rulers of the first half of the 14th century, along with printed editions of many of the texts, in his *Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps des Schönen und Bonifaz VIII* (Stuttgart, 1903) and *Unbekannte kirchenpolitische Streitschriften aus der Zeit Ludwigs des Bayern (1327–1354)*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1911–14).

[26] The details of this controversy are well known. The specific points of contest were (1) taxation of the clergy without papal permission and (2) clerical immunity from royal jurisdiction. Ultimately, it was a question of whether the papacy had total jurisdiction over everything in the Church, including authority over churches and clergy who were located in the kingdom of France, or whether the king of France had total jurisdiction over his realm, including authority over the churches and clergy in it.

[27] Boniface VIII, *Unam sanctam*, in Tierney, *Crisis*, p. 188. Pelikan points out that these four marks of the Church found in the creed form a foundational element of all the major ecclesiologies of our period, *Reformation*, pp. 69–70.

[28] Pelikan calls this "the fundamental attribute of the church"; *Reformation*, p. 84.

[29] Boniface VIII, *Unam sanctam*, in Tierney, *Crisis*, p. 188.

mystical body whose head is Christ, while the head of Christ is God."[30]
Unlike monsters that have two heads, the "one and only Church" has
a single head, Christ. However, when Christ ascended into heaven, he
left a vicar (or "substitute") in his place on earth.[31] Christ appointed
this vicar, Peter, to "feed his sheep" (cf. Jn. 21:17) during his absence.[32]
That is, Peter was established at the head of the earthly body of Christ,
and Peter's successors, the Roman pontiffs, continue in this role to the
present.[33] In sum, the source of unity in the true Church is ultimately
the Church's connection to Christ and God; however, through the spe-
cial establishment of Christ, that unity is now preserved on this earth
by the connection of the Church to Christ's vicar, the pope. Thus, the
constitutive factor in identifying the true Church, outside of which there
is no salvation, is submission to papal leadership. That is why,

> if the Greeks or any others say that they were not committed [i.e.,
> entrusted] to Peter and to his successors, they necessarily admit that
> they are not of Christ's flock, for the Lord says in John that there is one
> sheepfold and one shepherd.[34]

The true Church is clearly identified with the Roman church, with the
pope as its head.

It must be noted that the simple fact of papal leadership was not in
and of itself a source of major controversy in the West, at least until the
14th century. Instead, it was the exact nature and scope of that papal
authority that was most in question. What is the relationship of the
papacy to the rest of the Church? to the secular powers? to the bishops
and priests below it? Papal apologists in the 13th and 14th centuries
sought to answer these questions in the most absolute of terms.

One of the major foundations of this system is the way that it con-
ceives of the office of the papacy using the Neoplatonic framework of

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[30] Boniface VIII, *Unam sanctam*, in Tierney, *Crisis*, p. 188.
[31] Most of these themes under discussion are commonplaces in papalist literature.
Citations are simply given as representative examples. See Alvarus Pelagius, *Collirium
adversus hereses novas*, 1.19, in Scholz, *Unbekannte*, p. 491.
[32] Boniface VIII, *Unam sanctam*, in Tierney, *Crisis*, p. 188. On the conception of
the papacy as taking the place of the absent human Christ, see Wilks, *Problem*, pp.
354ff.
[33] Boniface VIII, *Unam sanctam*, in Tierney, *Crisis*, pp. 188, 189; cf. Augustinus
Triumphus of Ancona, *Tractatus brevis de duplici potestate prelatorum et laicorum,
qualiter se habeant*, in Scholz, *Publizistik*, p. 486.
[34] Boniface VIII, *Unam sanctam*, in Tierney, *Crisis*, p. 188.

Pseudo-Dionysius.[35] According to this ontology, all of existence—in its diversity and multiplicity—derives or flows out from a single source of being, God. Based on its relative position with respect to this source, each creature in existence is arranged in a grand hierarchy of being that extends through both celestial and earthly reality. However, the hierarchy is not static. In addition to flowing out from God, it is also in the process of returning to the unified source of being. This return is accomplished for each level of the hierarchy by the level immediately above it, in which the higher level purifies, illuminates, and perfects the level below. Thence comes the oft-cited principle from Pseudo-Dionysius that "it is the all-holy ordinance of the divinity that secondary things should be lifted up to the most divine ray through the mediation of the primary things."[36] Mediation is the only means of return to the source, God.

In medieval ecclesiology, this pattern helped form the essential conception of how the Church functioned as mediator between individual Christians and God.[37] The hierarchy of the Church—from the lowest orders to the highest—had been established by God according to the pattern of this celestial reality, and atop this ecclesiastical hierarchy was the pope. It should be noted that the existence of such a hierarchical concept of the Church was understood in two ways in medieval theology.[38] First, it could be taken to mean that the hierarchy as a whole, with all its levels and functions, was established by God as essential to salvation. According to this understanding, while the pope was still at the top of the hierarchy, he did not create it, and thus he had only a limited ability to interfere with the divinely established roles of the

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[35] The major points of Pseudo-Dionysius' idea of hierarchy can be found in his treatises, *The Celestial Hierarchy* and *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, in *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, trans. Colm Luibheid (New York, 1987), which also contains an excellent introduction to his thought and its influence on medieval theology. In the Middle Ages, the author of these works was universally believed to have been the Dionysius converted by the Apostle Paul in Athens (Acts 17:34), and thus they achieved a quasi-canonical status; see Congar, *L'Église*, p. 224.

[36] Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, p. 236. Boniface VIII cites this principle in his *Unam sanctam*, in Tierney, *Crisis*, p. 189.

[37] For a brief discussion of Neo-Platonic hierarchy in late medieval ecclesiology, see Brian Tierney, *Religion, Law, and the Growth of Constitutional Thought 1150–1650* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 42–44. The discussion that follows relies primarily on Congar, *L'Église*, pp. 224–30, 248–52.

[38] See Congar, *L'Église*, pp. 248–52.

lower levels—local bishops and priests.[39] This understanding formed the basis for the complaint of secular clergy (and their university allies) about the invasion of their territories in the 13th century by mendicant preachers and confessors.[40] The mendicants did not fit into the ecclesiastical hierarchy as it was currently understood (at least not as one of the levels actively mediating the laity's return to God), and thus their interference was fundamentally a disruption of the divinely instituted order. Conversely, the papacy, which had authorized these mendicant activities, had an entirely different understanding of the idea of hierarchy. Instead of focusing on the essential functions of the different levels of the hierarchy, the papalist understanding emphasized the parallel between God (as the chief hierarch of all existence) and the pope (as the chief hierarch of the Church). In the same way that all of existence flowed out of the source of being, God, who contained all being and power within himself, papal apologists understood the papacy as the source or font of all power and authority that existed within the Church.[41] Thus the papalist understanding of hierarchy focused on the power of the pope, like God, to create the hierarchy beneath him, rather than on the fixed shape of the hierarchy itself.

Such a Dionysian concept of the hierarch's authority forms the basis of the papalist understanding of the pope's plenitude of power [*plenitudo*

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[39] An important supporter of this first view of hierarchy during the time of the Schism was the secular master Jean Gerson, e.g., in his sermon *Suscepimus Deus*, where he argues that bishops have an essential authority, rooted in divine law, that cannot be removed and does not require them to submit all their judgments to the pope, Gerson 5:538–46. For a good analysis of Gerson's view of hierarchy, see Louis B. Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform* (Leiden, 1973), pp. 17ff.; and Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson*, pp. 287ff.

[40] The seminal analysis of this conflict, with respect to its ecclesiological implications, can be found in Yves Congar, "Aspects ecclésiologiques de la querelle entre mendiants et séculaires dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle et le début du XIVe," *Archive d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 28 (1961), 35–151.

[41] As a powerful example of this second understanding of hierarchy applied to the papacy, Congar quotes Bonaventure's *Breviloquium* 6.12: "Unus, primus et summus pater spiritualis omnium patrum, immo omnium fidelium et hierarcha praecipuus, sponsus unicus, caput indivisum, pontifex summus, Christi vicarius, fons, origo et regula cunctorum principatuum ecclesiasticorum, a quo tanquam a summo derivatur ordinata potestas usque ad infima ecclesiae membra secundum quod exigit dignitas in ecclesiastica hierarchia"; *L'Église*, p. 229, n. 17. For more on the support of the mendicants for this stronger conception of papal authority, see Ulrich Horst, *The Dominicans and the Pope: Papal Teaching Authority in the Medieval and Early Modern Thomist Tradition*, trans. James D. Mixson (Notre Dame, 2006), pp. 5–21.

potestatis].[42] As Giles of Rome (Aegidius Romanus) claims in his *De ecclesiastica potestate* (*c.* 1301–02), "All the power [*posse*] that is in the Church is contained [*reservatur*] in the Supreme Pontiff."[43] According to Giles, the affirmation that the pope holds the plenitude of power means that the he has within himself *all* the power of lower levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, so much so that he can act directly on any area of the Church without relying on those lower levels as secondary causes. That is, the necessary mediation of one level to another is bypassed in favor of the absolute power of the papacy. "Whatever [the pope] can do with other ecclesiastical persons he can do without them."[44] In this ecclesiology, the other bishops are simply appointees or delegates of the pope and his plenitude, possessing little more than a share in his responsibility [*pars sollicitudinis*] for the whole Church.[45] Indeed, they get all their power directly from the Roman pontiff, who determines the scope of their flock and the amount of power that they have over them.[46]

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[42] The concept of the papal *plenitudo potestatis* derives from the 5th-century writings of Leo I (e.g., *Epistle* 14.1) but took on a much more radical shape in the papalist writings of the later Middle Ages. For an insightful and succinct summary of Leo's position, see Eno, *Rise*, pp. 102–17. For a discussion of the development of the concept in the Middle Ages, see R. L. Benson, "*Plenitudo potestatis*: Evolution of a Formula from Gregory IV to Gratian," *Studia Gratiana* 14 (1967), 195–217. An insightful analysis of its use in the writings of Innocent III and the 13th-century canonists can be found in Kenneth Pennington, *Pope and Bishops: The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 43–74.

[43] "Totum posse, quod est in ecclesia, reservatur in summo pontifice"; Aegidius Romanus, *De ecclesiastica potestate*, ed. Richard Scholz (Aalen, 1961), p. 193. An English translation is also available as Giles of Rome, *Giles of Rome on Ecclesiastical Power: The* De ecclesiastica potestate *of Aegidius Romanus*, trans. R. W. Dyson (Woodbridge, 1986). One should note that Giles is careful to limit this papal plenitude to the power given to the Church, not total power over the universe, *De ecclesiastica*, p. 195.

[44] "quecumque potest cum aliis personis ecclesiasticis, potest sine illis"; Aegidius Romanus, *De ecclesiastica*, p. 195. Congar characterizes such a concept of papal authority as threatening to create "un unique diocese d'extension universelle" in which the bishops are merely the vicars of the pope; *L'Église*, p. 251. Wilks remarks that, although such an outcome was considered undesirable, such a conception of papal authority "makes an obliteration of the episcopacy possible"; *Problem*, p. 384.

[45] The contrast between the papal *plenitudo potestatis* and the episcopal *pars sollicitudinis* had long been a part of the canonistic and theological tradition. However, the implication that the bishops somehow derived their shared power from the pope, rather than receiving it directly from Christ, only became explicit in the writings of the 13th-century papalists. See Pennington, *Pope*, pp. 57–62; and Wilks, *Problem*, p. 387.

[46] Aegidius Romanus, *De ecclesiastica*, pp. 206–07. For more on the papacy as source of all jurisdictional power in the Church, see Wilks, *Problem*, pp. 380–88.

In addition to building on a number of important claims in the canonistic tradition, this view of the plenitude of papal power is closely associated with a particular interpretation of several biblical verses. With respect to the universal scope of papal power over all Christians, papalists regularly cite Jn. 21:15–17, where Christ tells Peter to "Feed my sheep."[47] As Giles declares, since Christ "did not distinguish between one group of sheep or another, thus He entrusted all the sheep to him. All sheep, therefore, have been entrusted to him universally, without number, i.e., without distinction."[48]

Even more important for the papalist ecclesiology is the grant of power given to Peter in Mt. 16:18–19:

> And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not prevail against it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven.[49]

In his *Tractatus brevis* (*c*. 1315), Augustinus Triumphus of Ancona explains that this passage is a clear refutation of the claim by some that bishops get their power directly from Christ and not through the mediation of the pope.[50] While Augustinus admits that the power of orders (the power to administer the sacraments) was given to all of the apostles directly by Christ and not through the mediation of Peter (citing Jn. 20:22–23),[51] he declares that the power of jurisdiction (the power to rule) was given to Peter alone when Christ granted him the keys.[52] It is as if Christ were saying, "Although I have given the power of orders to all the apostles, I give your power of jurisdiction to you alone,

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[47] See Boniface VIII, *Unam sanctam*, in Tierney, *Crisis*, p. 188; and Aegidius Romanus, *De ecclesiastica*, p. 208.

[48] "non distinguens inter has oves vel alias oves, propter quod sibi commisit omnes oves. Non ergo in numero, sed sine numero, idest sine distinccione, commisse sunt sibi universaliter omnes oves"; Aegidius Romanus, *De ecclesiastica*, p. 208.

[49] Wilks explains that this passage was used to support the universality of papal claims both by reference to the "whatever" (i.e., everything) that is bound, and by the fact that it includes both "earth" and "heaven"; *Problem*, p. 357.

[50] That is, he is explicitly refuting the view of the hierarchy held by the secular masters.

[51] Augustinus, *Tractatus brevis*, in Scholz, *Publizistik*, p. 491. However, Augustinus still claims that the pope has even this power of orders more perfectly than others, p. 495. In addition, through his power to appoint, depose, and transfer bishops, the pope has effective control over the execution of the episcopal power of orders. See Wilks, *Problem*, pp. 384–86.

[52] On the distinction between the powers of orders and jurisdiction, see Wilks, *Problem*, pp. 375–82.

for you to dispense and distribute to all the others."[53] Furthermore, Augustinus declares that this singular grant of authority to Peter was absolutely necessary to preserve the oneness of the Church that Christ would build on this rock. Citing the gloss on Mt. 16:19 which states that Christ gave the keys to Peter to create unity, Augustinus asserts that, if the opposite were the case and all the apostles had received power directly from Christ, then each of them would have been head of the Church, and it would not be one.[54] However, with Peter clearly established as the "prince of the apostles" and the "vicar of Christ," the diverse members of the Church have recourse to a single head when disputes arise. Thus, God's plan for one, singular Church is intimately connected to his establishment of one, singular ruler of that Church, his vicar on earth, Peter and Peter's successors.[55] From the perspective of the papalists, to be so arrogant as to resist this power ordained by God (i.e., to resist the papacy) is to place oneself in direct opposition to God himself.[56]

In this ecclesiology, the principle of the necessity of membership in the one true Church has been combined with an absolute view of papal authority in such a way that membership in the Church is identified with submission to the papacy. If one is not subject to Peter, to whom Christ entrusted his flock, then one is not a member of the flock. This identification of the Church and the papacy is so strong that Giles of Rome could conclude his treatise on Church power with a statement that entirely blurs the line between the two:

> Fear the Church and observe her commands. Every person is ordered for this purpose. The Church is to be feared and her commandments are to be observed. Or, *the supreme pontiff, who holds the summit of the Church and who can be called 'the Church,'* [italics added] is to be feared and his commandments are to be observed because his power is spiritual, heavenly, and divine, and it is without weight, number, or measure.[57]

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[53] "Ac si aperte diceret: quamvis omnibus apostolis dederim potestatem ordinis, sic tibi potestatem tuam iurisdictionis do tibi soli, per te omnibus aliis dispendendam et distribuendam"; Augustinus, *Tractatus brevis*, in Scholz, *Publizistik*, p. 492.

[54] Augustinus, *Tractatus brevis*, in Scholz, *Publizistik*, p. 494.

[55] "In sum, episcopal authority, connected with the power of jurisdiction, now replaced the Eucharist as the source of ecclesial unity"; Prusak, *Church*, p. 231.

[56] Boniface VIII, *Unam sanctam*, in Tierney, *Crisis*, p. 189.

[57] "Ecclesiam time et mandata eius observa, hoc est enim omnis homo, idest ad hoc ordinatur omnis homo. Ecclesia quidem est timenda et mandata eius sunt observanda, sive summus pontifex, qui tenet apicem ecclesie et qui potest dici ecclesia, est timendus

Such thinking is why Boniface VIII could make his famous assertion that "it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."[58] For him, "pope" and "Church" were essentially interchangeable terms.[59] Since it is clearly necessary to be within the Church to be saved—*extra ecclesiam salus non est*—then it is clearly necessary to be subject to the pope.[60]

Before moving on to other late medieval ecclesiologies that will reject this papalist view of the Church, it is necessary to mention two important corollaries to its concept of the papal plenitude of power, both of which will play important roles in later discussions about the Schism. First, the absolute supremacy of papal power was taken to mean that the pope was above all earthly judgment.[61] That is, the pope could judge all others but was himself immune from judgment—*cunctos ipse iudicaturus, nemine est iudicandus.*[62] Citing 1 Cor. 2:15, "The spiritual man judgeth all things and he himself is judged of no man," Boniface VIII uses this principle to assert that the "the supreme spiritual power [i.e., the papacy]…can be judged only by God not by man."[63] Second, the idea that the papacy was both the source of and continued to retain all power in the Church led to the conclusion that the papacy was superior to a general council.[64] Canon law contains two important provisions in this regard. First, the validity of a council and its decisions is contingent on their confirmation by the Roman church.[65] Second, a council is not supposed to be summoned except by the authority of the pope; else, it is not a *concilium* but an illicit *conventiculum* or

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et sua mandata sunt observanda, quia potestas eius est spiritualis, celestis et divina, et est sine pondere, numero et mensura"; Aegidius Romanus, *De ecclesiastica*, p. 209.

[58] Boniface VIII, *Unam sanctam*, in Tierney, *Crisis*, p. 189.

[59] For more on the interchangeable identities of pope and Church, see Wilks, *Problem*, pp. 356, 367–68.

[60] Cf. Alvarus Pelagius, *De planctu ecclesiae*, 1.24: "Qui non habet Papam pro capite, non habet caput Christum, nec vivum membrum de corpore eius mystico, Ecclesia scilicet Catholica militante," cited in Alan Gewirth, *Marsilius of Padua: The Defender of Peace*, 2 vols. (New York, 1951–56), 1:262 n. 13. Cf. Wilks, *Problem*, p. 419.

[61] For a discussion, see Wilks, *Problem*, pp. 471–75.

[62] Gratian, *Decretum* D. 40 c. 6. See also D. 17 post c. 6. Brian Tierney, discussing D. 40 c. 6, has shown how the clause that immediately follows this statement, "nisi deprehendatur a fide devius," plays a crucial role in the development of later conciliarism; *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 56–67.

[63] Boniface VIII, *Unam sanctam*, in Tierney, *Crisis*, p. 189.

[64] See Wilks, *Problem*, p. 473.

[65] Gratian, D. 17 cc. 2, 6.

conciliabulum.[66] Papalists understand these traditions to mean that "the pope alone has more power than the whole Catholic Church and councils together."[67]

One of the major ironies of the Great Western Schism is that this ecclesiology of absolute papal monarchy, which had been developed in the preceding centuries with the express purpose of preserving the unity of the Church, itself became one of the most significant factors inhibiting all attempts at reunion. The belief that a council could not be summoned without the consent of the pope and that the decisions of any such council also depended on their confirmation by him was a serious problem when the identity of the true pope was itself the question that needed to be settled by the council. Furthermore, even if a council were to be summoned, the popes claimed that they were above all human judgment. What success could there be for any attempt to "judge" between the rival claimants? More seriously, if submission to the pope was the same thing as membership in the true Church, was half of Europe, through no fault of their own, doomed to remain *extra ecclesiam* and thus without salvation? These uncertainties both horrified and paralyzed Christendom for nearly four decades, and it was only the clear development of alternative theologies of the Church and its authority that allowed for an eventual solution at the Council of Constance. However, the basic ideas of conciliarism were not invented *de novo*. The papalist ecclesiology described above was embroiled in controversy even before the outbreak of the Great Western Schism. It is clear that other Christian thinkers who shared the basic assumption linking salvation to the Church had nevertheless come to understand the "true Church" quite differently than the papal apologists in Rome. In the decades leading up to the Schism, the most important examples of such alternative ecclesiologies were proposed by two very different men taking refuge in the court of Louis of Bavaria. It is to these that we now must turn.

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[66] Gratian, D. 17 c. 5.
[67] Alvarus Pelagius, *De planctu ecclesiae* 1.6, quoted in Prusak, *Church*, p. 233.

Two 14th-century alternatives: Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham[68]

Marsilius of Padua (1275/80–*c.* 1342) and William of Ockham (*c.* 1280/90–1349) were two of the most famous opponents of the

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[68] For an excellent introduction to Marsilius of Padua's political and ecclesiological thought, see *Marsilius of Padua and Medieval Political Philosophy*, vol. 1 of Alan Gewirth, *Marsilius of Padua: The Defender of Peace*, 2 vols. (New York, 1951–56). In particular, see the historiographical survey, 1:3–6, and the chapter on "The People's Church," 1:260–302. For a fine English translation of the *Defensor pacis*, see vol. 2 of the same work, repr. as Marsilius of Padua, *Defensor Pacis*, trans. Alan Gewirth (Lanham, 1980). A recent translation and commentary, with less focus on theological and ecclesiological elements, is Marsilius of Padua, *Defender of the Peace*, ed. and trans. Annabel Brett (Cambridge, 2005). Shorter treatments of Marsilius' ecclesiology can be found in Wilks, *Problem*, pp. 84–117; Congar, *L'Église*, pp. 287–90; Hendrix, "Quest," pp. 358–59; and Tierney, *Religion*, pp. 48–50. A more recent introduction to Marsilius' political thought, accompanied by a very helpful bibliography, can be found in Cary J. Nederman, *Community and Consent: The Secular Political Theory of Marsiglio of Padua's* Defensor Pacis (Lanham, 1995), where pp. 9–27 are useful for framing the context and purpose of the entire treatise. While the work of Marsilius is both rather limited in volume and quite clear in argument, the same cannot be said for William of Ockham. His *opus* is enormous, and his position often quite difficult to uncover under the mass of arguments and counter-arguments. Thus, the scholarly debate about his work is itself quite voluminous. Most helpful is Arthur Stephen McGrade, *The Political Thought of William of Ockham: Personal and Institutional Principles* (Cambridge, 1974). McGrade, pp. 28–43, gives an excellent review of the major interpretations of Ockham by: (1) Georges de Lagarde, *La naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du moyen âge*, 2nd ed., vols. 4–5 (Paris, 1962–63), who treats Ockham as a radical secularist; (2) Richard Scholz, *Wilhelm von Ockham als politischer Denker* (Leipzig, 1944), who sees Ockham as fundamentally a theologian; and (3) Philotheus Boehner, "Ockham's Political Ideas," *Review of Politics* 5 (1943), 462–87, E. F. Jacob, "Ockham as a Political Thinker," in *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch* (Notre Dame, 1963), and C. C. Bayley, "Pivotal Concepts in the Political Philosophy of William of Ockham," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 10 (1949), 199–218, all of whom treat Ockham as a constitutionalist. A slightly more recent historiographical survey can be found in the unpublished dissertation of Karen L. Carter, "The Ecclesiology of William of Ockham: Reforming the Church from the Franciscan Ideal" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1987), pp. 1–15. See also John Morrall, "Ockham and Ecclesiology," in *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, s.j.* (Dublin, 1961), pp. 481–91; Brian Tierney, "Ockham, the Conciliar Theory, and the Canonists," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 15 (1954), 40–70; Brian Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility 1150–1350: A Study on the Concepts of Infallibility, Sovereignty and Tradition in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 205–37; Hendrix, "Quest," pp. 359–65; and Congar, *L'Église*, pp. 290–95. Most of Ockham's political and ecclesiological works are published in critical editions in his *Opera Politica*, 4 vols.: vols. 1–3, ed. H. S. Offler, R. F. Bennett, and J. G. Sikes (Manchester, 1940–56); vol. 4, ed. H. S. Offler (Oxford, 1997). The major exception is the all-important *Dialogus*, which only exists in very poor printed editions, e.g., Melchior Goldast, ed. *Monarchia Sancti Romani Imperii*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt, 1611–14). Short amounts of some of Ockham's ecclesiological texts

papalist ecclesiology in the 14th century. Both achieved their fame in the midst of very public battles with the Avignon popes, especially John XXII (1316–34), but each was fighting for a very different cause. Marsilius' opposition to the papacy was political, primarily concerned with refuting the ever-expanding claims of papal power in the secular realm;[69] Ockham's opposition stemmed from his theological beliefs, as he became convinced that certain popes had deviated from the truth of the gospel. Each constructed his own alternative ecclesiology, moving sharply away from the simple identification of the papacy with the Church. Their resulting visions would play an important role in the later development of conciliar theory, though in complex and differing ways.

Marsilius, born and educated in the Italian city of Padua, later a rector and teacher at Paris, and finally a refugee and partisan of Emperor Louis of Bavaria in his disputes with John XXII, is most famous for his political and ecclesiological treatise of 1324, the *Defensor pacis*.[70] Though the thrust of this text had its most immediate applications in the long-running disputes between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* (as witnessed by Marsilius' avid participation in Louis' occupation of Rome), it also offered a thorough revision of the internal structure of the Church, with regard to both its essential identity and its authority.

Most likely reflecting his experience of the problems associated with clerical immunity from secular jurisdiction in the cities of northern Italy,[71] Marsilius' purpose in the *Defensor* is to construct a theory of the social order built upon an Aristotelian concept of the state.[72] Thus he begins by arguing that the greatest natural good of man is the "sufficient life," which can only be achieved in the context of human community,

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have been translated in William of Ockham, *A Letter to the Friars Minor and Other Writings*, ed. Arthur Stephen McGrade and John Kilcullen (Cambridge, 1995).

[69] Cf. Nederman, *Community*, pp. 14–15.

[70] For Marsilius' life, see Gewirth, *Marsilius*, 1:20–23; and Nederman, *Community*, pp. 9–14.

[71] Gewirth, *Marsilius*, 1:23–28. For a brief analysis of the debate about the proper context of interpretation for Marsilius' thought, whether Italian republicanism or German imperialism, see Nederman, *Community*, p. 9.

[72] See Wilks, *Problem*, pp. 84–117. However, Marsilius was by no means a pure Aristotelian. See Nederman, *Community*, pp. 29ff. The word loosely translated as *state* by Gewirth is the Latin *regnum*, which is Marsilius' primary term for a generic political community; see Nederman, *Community*, pp. 20–21.

or a "state."[73] The proper, i.e., peaceful, functioning of this state requires a government (a "ruler") and a set of laws, all established by the will of the people, i.e., the "Legislator."[74] Such peace requires that the ruler be in complete control of the other "parts" of the state, acting as its "heart," so that all the elements of the community remain in harmony and balance.[75] However, in order for the government to fulfill this controlling function, it must be unified: "it must necessarily be one in number, not many, if the state or city is to be rightly ordered."[76] The existence of multiple governments would result in "fighting, separation, and finally the destruction of the state."[77] Thus, it is absolutely necessary that all coercive jurisdiction belong to the part of the state that is the government, and only to that part.[78]

To this point, Marsilius has outlined a secular vision of the state, based on the philosophy of Aristotle, and strongly emphasized an argument for corporate unity based on the singular nature of coercive government. However, the key to the radical nature of Marsilius' treatise is his placement of the clergy within this system.[79] For Marsilius, priests and prelates are simply one more part of this state, the "priestly" part.[80] This part was established by Christ for the sole purpose of teaching men what it is that they need to "believe, do, and omit in order to attain eternal salvation and avoid misery," i.e., instructing them in the evangelical law and administering the sacraments which confer

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[73] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 1.1.1, p. 3; 1.4.2, pp. 12–13. All references are to page numbers in Gewirth's English translation.

[74] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 1.4.3, p. 13; 1.5.7, p. 17; 1.7.3, p. 26; 1.9.2, p. 29, 1.9.5–9, pp. 31–33; 1.12.3, p. 45; 1.15.1–4, pp. 61–62.

[75] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 1.15.8–14, pp. 65–67.

[76] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 1.17.2, p. 80.

[77] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 1.17.3, p. 81; cf. 1.17.4–7, pp. 82–83.

[78] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 1.17.13, p. 86.

[79] Tierney explains that Discourse I of the *Defensor pacis*, which treats the state, caused little stir; it is Discourse II, which treats the Church, that is so radical; see *Religion*, p. 49; cf. Cary J. Nederman, "A Heretic Hiding in Plain Sight: The Secret History of Marsiglio of Padua's *Defensor Pacis* in the Thought of Nicole Oresme," in *Heresy in Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Ian Hunter, John Christian Laursen, and Cary J. Nederman (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 71–88. Nederman points out that the papal condemnation of the *Defensor*, John XXII's *Licit iuxta* (1327), was directed entirely at a series of Marsilius' propositions that denied the plenitude of papal power, as well as Marsilius' participation in Louis' occupation of Italy, not at the secular political theory of Discourse I, pp. 75–76.

[80] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 1.5.1, p. 15.

grace.[81] This power of orders was given to all of the apostles equally, and it constitutes the totality of the unique authority of the priesthood.[82] Conversely, jurisdictional authority, the entire hierarchy of the Church in which the popes "declare and assert that they are over all the other bishops and priests in the world," does not come from God but, rather, dates from the Donation of Constantine and is thus derived "through the will and mind of men, like the other offices of the state."[83] For Marsilius, the (erroneous) papal claim to a plenitude of "universal coercive jurisdiction" that comes directly from Christ and not from the human Legislator has instituted a rival system of government in the state that is the "singular cause" of current discord.[84] At this point, the ultimate purpose of the *Defensor* and its new ecclesiology is revealed.

Because Marsilius views the papal conception of the Church and its authority as the primary problem facing the modern state, he takes it upon himself to thoroughly redefine ecclesiology in terms favorable to the state.[85] He begins by asserting that the Church should not be identified with the papacy; instead, the Church is most truly and fittingly defined according to the traditional concept of the *congregatio fidelium*: "the whole body of the faithful who believe in and invoke the name of Christ."[86] This multitude of believers is "the church in its principal and primary sense," and its "head is Christ."[87] The priesthood does have an important role in this Church. As stated above, priests have been given a special character of the soul (i.e., the power of orders) that allows them to administer the sacraments,[88] and they have the responsibility of teaching God's law. However, they have no coercive jurisdiction within the state, including no power to excom-

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[81] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 1.6.8, p. 23; 1.19.5. p. 92.

[82] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 1.19.5, p. 92; 2.15.4, p. 235. Marsilius is clearly describing what theologians called the power of orders, though he does not use the term.

[83] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 1.19.8, p. 93; 1.19.6, p. 92.

[84] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 1.19.9–12, pp. 94–95.

[85] Wilks calls the *Defensor* "simply a means by which Marsilius advocates imperial intervention into papal affairs," *Problem*, p. 479. Cf. Nederman, *Community*, pp. 14–15.

[86] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 2.2.3, p. 103. Such a definition of the Church as the *congregatio fidelium* is by no means unique to Marsilius. Congar describes it as one of the general foundations of scholastic ecclesiology, and it has roots that go back to the ancient Church, *L'Église*, p. 215. See also Gewirth, *Marsilius*, 1:260, n. 2 for a series of contemporary uses of the term.

[87] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 2.28.17, p. 386.

[88] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 1.19.5, p. 92; 2.6.1–14, pp. 140–52.

municate.[89] Furthermore, there is no hierarchy of jurisdiction among the priests themselves. The unique character of priests, i.e., the power of orders, is "the same in kind among all priests, and…the Roman or any other bishop has no more of it than has any simple priest."[90] Any distinction between levels of the priesthood derives entirely from the decision of priests in the early Church to elect one of their members as a leader "to avoid scandal and schism" when their numbers grew too large.[91] However, this authority is neither essential (because it is delegated) nor coercive (unless it is granted by the Legislator).[92] Thus, all priests and bishops, like all the apostles, are essentially equal; none, including the pope, has any special authority over the others, and none has any coercive authority unless granted by the human Legislator.[93] If neither Peter nor the pope has any special status,[94] since Christ, not Peter, was the "rock" of Mt. 16:18,[95] then what is the basis for the unity of the Church, according to Marsilius? On the one hand, just as the Church is defined as the *congregatio fidelium*, the unity of the Church is in that shared faith.[96] On the other hand, the requirement (of which much is made by the papalists) that there be one shepherd for the one flock (Jn. 10:16) is fulfilled by Christ, who "alone was the universal shepherd and leader of shepherds, and no one else after him; just as he alone was the head and foundation of the church."[97] For Marsilius, the Christian faith and Christ himself constitute the point of spiritual unity, while the social understanding of unity is clearly subsumed under the unified nature of the state.

Marsilius' understanding of Church as *congregatio fidelium* has one final component of great importance, when viewed in the context of a Christian society such as medieval Europe. Since the human community is the source of all authority in the state, and the priestly class is part of the state, the human community is the source of all authority (except the power of orders) for the priests. Thus, in a Christian

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[89] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 2.6.12, pp. 148–49. Since excommunication has a coercive effect, it, like all other coercive power, belongs to the people, the Legislator.

[90] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 2.15.4, p. 235.

[91] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 2.15.6, p. 237.

[92] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 2.15.7, pp. 237–38.

[93] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 2.16.4, p. 243.

[94] Marsilius further denies that the pope can claim to be Peter's successor; *Defensor pacis*, 2.16.14, pp. 249–50.

[95] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 2.17.2, p. 254.

[96] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 2.28.13, p. 383.

[97] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 2.28.16, p. 385; cf. 2.28.5, p. 374.

community, the people as a whole have the right and responsibility to elect (and depose) their clergy.[98] Furthermore, since the unity of the *congregatio fidelium* is a unity of faith, questions of faith (and other serious matters) must be decided by that *congregatio*—in a council of all believers or their representatives.[99] And the responsibility for calling such a council belongs not to the pope or any individual part of the Church, but to the Church (i.e., the people) as a whole or its chosen governmental ruler.[100] For Marsilius, as for the papalists above, the question of the Church's identity and the question of its authority are ultimately the same question. For both of them, authority lies with the essential ecclesial component. For the papalists, Church identity and authority are rooted in the Roman pontiff; for Marsilius, both are fundamentally discovered in the community of the faithful.

William of Ockham, the second great ecclesiological innovator of the 14th century, can be said to have arrived in the field of ecclesiology by accident rather than by intention.[101] Nevertheless, Ockham's ecclesiological writings are vast and complex, so much so that his true opinions remain the subject of historical debate to this day.[102] Ockham began his career at the University of Oxford in the field of nominalist philosophy and theology.[103] His life changed in 1324, when he was summoned to Avignon to answer charges of heresy. There he met Michael of Cesena, the Franciscan minister-general, who was in the midst of a dispute with the papacy about the doctrine of apostolic poverty.[104] Reversing the decision of Nicholas III, his predecessor, John XXII had undermined the whole basis of Franciscan poverty when he denied that a licit distinction could be made between ownership and use. This distinction had been the theoretical paradigm that allowed the Franciscan order

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[98] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 2.17.8–15, pp. 258–64. Marsilius makes explicit the parallel to the community's responsibility to make its own laws and establish its own rulers; 2.17.11, p. 261.

[99] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 2.18.8, p. 272; 2.20.1–14, pp. 279–86. Wilks calls this Marsilius' "intense laical orientation"; *Problem*, p. 479.

[100] Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, 2.18.8, p. 272; 2.21.1–4, pp. 287–90.

[101] See McGrade, *Political*, pp. 6–7: "he was not in the beginning a political person."

[102] See n. 68, above for a brief sketch of the major interpretations.

[103] This summary of Ockham's history follows that of McGrade, *Political*, pp. 4–28.

[104] For the history of this dispute, see Malcolm Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order, 1210–1323* (London, 1961); and David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park, 2001).

to "use" books, houses, etc. that were technically "owned" by the pope, while at the same time maintaining their vow of absolute poverty and the vision of apostolic perfection that it represented. Shortly afterwards, John XXII added fuel to the fire by discarding this vision of apostolic perfection entirely, when he declared that it was a heresy to deny that Christ and the apostles truly owned property. At Avignon, Michael of Cesena introduced Ockham to John's writings on these issues, and, becoming "convinced that the pope had fallen into heresy, Ockham set his face against John's errors 'like the hardest rock,' taking up an intensely personal opposition that was to shape decisively the rest of his life and work."[105] In 1328, Ockham and Michael fled Avignon for the safety of Louis of Bavaria's court, where Ockham spent the final 20 years of his life.

In those decades, Ockham produced a tremendous number of texts, encompassing four volumes of *Opera politica* as well as the famous *Dialogus*. Our task here is to highlight the themes pertinent to his ecclesiology with regard to the nature of the Church and its authority. What, then, is Ockham's concept of the Church? He begins by rejecting a definition focused on the clergy and instead speaks of the true *ecclesia* as the "whole *congregatio fidelium* who are living at the same time in this mortal life."[106] Like Marsilius, Ockham seizes upon this traditional way of defining the Church in terms of its members but, also like Marsilius, gives new content to this phrase. Instead of a mystical or organic body that exists as a spiritual reality in its own right, Ockham conceives of the Church simply as the sum of individual believers.[107] In fact, Ockham denies entirely the possibility of real existence for any such corporate person [*persona imaginaria et repraesentata*]; all such corporate entities are merely collections of real individual persons.[108] In such a light, he assumes all of the traditional terminology for the Church and redefines it in individualistic terms:

> …the house of God, which is said to be built on the rock, which is called the one dove, which is the beautiful spouse…which receives the keys and the power of binding and loosing…the faithful are this house…and

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[105] McGrade, *Political*, p. 12, citing Ockham, *Epistola ad Fratres Minores*, in *Opera Politica*, 3:15.

[106] "Tota congregatio fidelium simul in hac vita mortali degentium"; Ockham, *I Dialogus* 1.4, cited in Congar, *L'Église*, p. 291.

[107] Congar, *L'Église*, pp. 291–92.

[108] Morrall, "Ockham," p. 486.

consequently the faithful are one Church, and thus the Church is real
persons and not an imaginary and represented person.[109]

The Church is real persons, not a real person. It is a sum of individuals,
not a reality in its own right.

What is it that unites such a Church of individuals? According to
Ockham, the unified reality shared by all believers is the one true faith
itself.[110] To be a true Christian, a *fidelis*, and thus a member of the
true Church, one has to explicitly acknowledge that true faith, what
Ockham refers to as the "catholic truths."[111] This faith, which includes
Scripture and apostolic tradition,[112] is essentially "the historical and
unbroken witness" of the universal Church.[113] It is what has been, is,
and will be confessed by all faithful men and women always and every-
where.[114] Membership in the Church requires an explicit acknowledge-
ment of this unified truth by each individual Christian.[115] Conversely,
any pertinacious denial of these truths makes one *ipso facto* a heretic
and an *infidelis*, and thus outside of the true Church.[116] Therefore, in
Ockham's Church, there has been a clear shift away from an emphasis
on institution and toward the singular necessity of personal assent to

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[109] "Domus Dei, quae dicitur aedificari supra petram, quae unica columba appel-
latur, quae sponsa pulchra…quae domus etiam claves accepit, ac potestatem ligandi et
solvendi…fideles sunt illa domus…et per consequens fideles sunt una ecclesia, et ita
ecclesia est verae personae, et non est persona imaginaria et repraesentata"; Ockham,
Tractatus contra Benedictum, *Opera Politica*, 3:191.

[110] Cf. Congar, *L'église*, p. 292; and Hendrix, "Quest," p. 361.

[111] See Tierney, *Origins*, p. 216ff.

[112] See Jacob, "Ockham," p. 94 and n. 3; Tierney, *Origins*, p. 216ff.; and Heiko
Augustinus Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval
Nominalism*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids, 2000), pp. 378–82.

[113] Morrall, "Ockham," p. 488.

[114] Ockham, *Tractatus contra Ioannem*, *Opera Politica*, 3:67.

[115] However, the number of truths that required explicit assent varies based on
whether one is a layman, a priest, etc. For example, all are required to believe the
creed and certain other articles, including the real presence and the existence of hell,
while bishops and theologians, for example, are required to assent to more truths that
make up the Catholic faith. See Ockham, *Tractatus contra Ioannem*, *Opera Politica*,
3:47–50. See Tierney, *Origins*, p. 216. For a more in-depth analysis of Ockham's view
of doctrinal assent and heresy, in light of his 14th-century context, see Takashi Shogi-
men, "William of Ockham and Conceptions of Heresy, c. 1250–c. 1350," in *Heresy in
Transition*, pp. 59–70.

[116] Ockham, *Tractatus contra Ioannem*, *Opera Politica*, 3:52–54. It should be noted
that pertinacity (i.e., stubbornly clinging to a personal opinion that contradicts catholic
truth) is the key requirement for moving from simple error, which does not *ipso facto*
separate one from the Church, to outright heresy, which does immediately separate
one from the Church. See *Tractatus contra Ioannem*, *Opera Politica* 3:50–54; Tierney,
Origins, p. 216; and McGrade, *Political*, pp. 49–50.

the true faith.[117] The universal Church retains its primacy of place, but that universal Church is now defined in terms of the unanimous, collective confession of individuals to the catholic truths. As such, it cannot be identified with any particular person or institution, whether pope or council.

What does this mean for the issue of authority in the Church? In the first place, the pope's relationship to the Church, like that of every other *fidelis*, depends entirely on his explicit assent to the faith. Thus he, too, is subject to falling into heresy. While this possibility had long been a standard part of medieval ecclesiology, particularly among the canonists,[118] the intensity of Ockham's argument is deeply colored by the fact that he believes that he is currently opposing such a heretical pope. Ockham feels that, in the current situation, John XXII has fallen into pertinacious heresy in the case of both his teaching on apostolic poverty (which contradicts the earlier teaching of Nicholas III) and his views on the beatific vision. For Ockham, the fact of such pertinacious heresy means that John XXII has ceased to be the pope (or a Christian) at all.[119] Ockham, however, does not end his argument here. A lapse into heresy is possible not only for the pope but for the cardinals and the Roman church as well, though here the Roman church is clearly distinguished from the universal Church of the *congregatio fidelium*.[120] Even a general council is not preserved from the possibility of error. Thus it becomes clear that Ockham is no conciliarist. While in the course of his many arguments Ockham discusses all the main features of the conciliar position, he himself does not believe that a council truly represents the inerrant Church.[121] Since the Church is, by definition, simply the sum of its individual parts, the Church can only be said to have gathered and spoken when all of her parts have gathered and spoken.[122] Any limited, representative assembly of fallible Christians is not so endowed with a certainty of arriving at the truth.

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[117] Congar, *L'Église*, pp. 294–95; cf. Hendrix, "Quest," p. 362; and McGrade, *Political*, p. 53.

[118] See Tierney, *Foundations*, pp. 36–46.

[119] See Ockham, *Tractatus contra Ioannem*, 18, *Opera Politica* 3:79. See also Tierney, *Origins*, pp. 216–17. See below for the implications of this doctrine for judging a heretical pope.

[120] Jacob, "Ockham," p. 96 and n. 3.

[121] See Morrall, "Ockham," p. 481.

[122] Morrall, "Ockham," p. 486.

> Persons who can err against the faith when they are in different places
> will be able to err against the faith even if they come together in the same
> place. For coming to one place does not render them unable to deviate
> from the faith. For, just as location does not sanctify men, so it does not
> confirm them in faith. However, all those who come to a general council
> could err against the faith before they came…Therefore, they will be able
> to fall into heretical depravity even after they come together.[123]

Ockham, like all others of his day, continues to assert the indefectibil-
ity of the universal Church, which endures because of the promises of
Christ, and he continues to find certainty and comfort in the historical
faith passed down by that universal Church. However, it is clear that he
has radically separated the universal Church from any current person
or institution in it. Unlike both the papalists (who identify the Church
with the pope) and Marsilius (who identifies it with the social commu-
nity), no one in Ockham's Church can claim to represent the universal
Church by virtue of office or status alone. All are fallible. Thence comes
Ockham's famous assertion that all living Christians might desert the
true faith, with that faith being preserved in only one individual—even
a woman or a baptized infant—who would thus constitute the totality
of the Church on earth.[124]

  However, it would be a mistake to conclude, based on these rather
bold assertions of papal fallibility and on Ockham's own career as an
opponent of particular popes, that Ockham, like Marsilius, rejects the
idea of papal authority entirely. To the contrary, Ockham clearly sup-
ports the idea of a universal, Christ-ordained, papal jurisdiction, while
at the same time attempting to moderate some of its more extreme
juridical elements.[125] For example, in explicit support of papal authority,
Ockham responds to one of Marsilius' contentions that, when Christ

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  [123] "Illae personae, quae in diversis locis existentes possunt contra fidem errare,
etiam si ad eundem locum conveniunt, poterunt contra fidem errare. Quia concursus
ad eundem locum non reddit aliquos inobliquabiles a fide: quia sicut locus non sanc-
tificat homines, ita et locus nullos confirmat in fide. Sed omnes ad generale concilium
convenientes, antequam convenirent, poterant contra fidem errare…Ergo etiam post-
quam conveniunt, poterunt labi in haereticam pravitatem"; Ockham, *I Dialogus* 5.25,
quoted in Morrall, "Ockham," p. 482.
  [124] See Ockham, *I Dialogus* 5.25, 29, et al., cited in Morrall, "Ockham," p. 490. Cf.
Congar, *L'Église*, p. 292 and n. 67. For possible roots for this tradition in the liturgical
image of Mary at the cross, see Hendrix, "Quest," p. 362 and p. 363, n. 69.
  [125] For a discussion of these moderating elements, see McGrade, *Political*, pp. 140ff. In
general, Ockham did not believe that the papal plenitude of power meant that pontiffs
could do whatever they wanted, as long as it fell within the bounds of divine and natural
law. That would turn gospel liberty into the worst form of servility. As that could not

said "feed my sheep" to Peter, he did not intend to include all people, especially the other apostles.[126] On the contrary,

> Although Christ gave the rest of the apostles some special power, he never granted them a general power or a power equal to the power of Peter…[For] when he said to Peter, "Feed," etc., setting him over all, he did not distinguish between them and others.[127]

The other apostles did receive the power to teach and administer the sacraments from Christ directly (i.e., the power of orders), but even that power was subject to Peter's authority if abused, and all governmental (i.e., jurisdictional) power given to the apostles came through the mediation of Peter.[128] Furthermore, the nature of Peter's role—his duty of "feeding" Christ's flock—included not simply teaching and support but also "[feeding them] by way of power and with authority."[129] For Ockham, genuine papal superiority and power exists by virtue of the Petrine office as shepherd,[130] and he justifies this point by reference to the unanimous tradition of the universal Church:

> What has been believed from the times of the apostles until our own time by the prelates and doctors of the Church succeeding one another in a continuous series and by the peoples subject to them should be held firmly by all Catholics…[T]he universal Church cannot err…But the prelates of the Church from the apostles themselves to these times, with the peoples subject to them, have held and thought that Peter was superior to the other apostles…[N]o Catholic people has been found to contradict them. Therefore this assertion must be attributed to the universal Church and consequently must be held firmly.[131]

Ockham's principle of the inerrancy of the Church has led him to affirm the jurisdictional authority of the papacy, despite his own personal

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possibly have been the intent of Christ, Ockham argued that "that the exercise of power and authority in the church should be kept to a minimum"; p. 145.

[126] Ockham, *III Dialogus* 1.4.8, trans. in Ockham, *A Letter*, pp. 219–21. Marsilius' argument can be found in his *Defensor pacis* 2.28.9, pp. 379–80. Marsilius is interpreting this command from John in light of Paul's statement that Peter was entrusted with the gospel for the circumcised (Gal. 2:7), which he understands to mean that Peter was only sent to feed the Jews. It is the "Disciple" in Ockham's text who adds the element of the other apostles, although this element certainly was not foreign to other portions of Marsilius' work.

[127] Ockham, *III Dialogus* 1.4.8, trans. in Ockham, *A Letter*, p. 220.

[128] Ockham, *III Dialogus* 1.4.8, trans. in Ockham, *A Letter*, pp. 220–21.

[129] Ockham, *III Dialogus* 1.4.10, trans. in Ockham, *A Letter*, p. 224.

[130] Ockham, *III Dialogus* 1.4.10, trans. in Ockham, *A Letter*, p. 225.

[131] Ockham, *III Dialogus* 1.4.22, trans. in Ockham, *A Letter*, pp. 227–28.

battles with individual popes. The key to understanding this apparent tension in Ockham's thought is the crucial distinction between a divinely ordained office and a fallible inhabitant of that office. In Ockham's opinion, John XXII had actually ceased to be pope the moment that he pertinaciously clung to his heretical opinion. Thus the pope, having lost his office and its jurisdiction on account of his heresy, is subject to the judgment of any Catholic.[132] That is, the supremacy of papal jurisdiction is preserved for the pontifical office, while the person (no longer) holding that office becomes liable for judgment by any true *fidelis*. Such a solution allows Ockham to preserve many of the traditional principles about authority and truth in the Catholic Church. However, on a practical and structural level, his ecclesiology leaves many problems unresolved. Most important, there is no mechanism for implementing this automatic deposition of a pope. What if the pope does not agree that he is a heretic and refuses to leave? Faced with a fallible council and the impossibility of gathering the universal Church, Ockham's ecclesiology has no certain means for determining this most difficult of issues, as would soon appear during the time of the Schism.

Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham offered two alternatives to the papalist ecclesiology in the middle of the 14th century. Both rejected the almost total identification of the Church with the papacy that was advocated by Giles of Rome and the curial apologists of their day. Instead, Marsilius and Ockham both defined the locus of the true Church as the *congregatio fidelium*; however, each understood the term quite differently. Marsilius' political motivations led him to identify this *congregatio* with the state—the society of Christian people and their chosen ruler. As in the secular world, authority derived from the will of the people, and thus ultimate authority lay not in priests or popes but in a general council representing those believers. The pope had no special significance inherent to his office, because he shared his power of orders with all other priests, and his jurisdiction was entirely derived from the consent of the people. Ockham, in contrast, was driven by his theological battles with the Avignon papacy to define the Church in terms of fidelity to Catholic truth. Any particular pope or Christian—or all of them—could choose to abandon this faith and consequently cease to be a member of the Church. However, as long as someone continued to be faithful to that Catholic truth, whether

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[132] See Tierney, "Ockham," pp. 60–62.

he was on good terms with a particular pope or not, he continued to be a member of the universal Church. Finally, concerning the issue of authority in this Church, Marsilius and Ockham found even less common ground. Marsilius was a conciliarist, though one far more radical than most,[133] who believed that a general council, representing the *congregatio fidelium*, possessed the authority to determine questions of faith decisively. The papacy played no special role beyond that of an ordinary priest. By contrast, Ockham acknowledged in the papacy a true, though moderated, plenitude of jurisdiction within the Church, though he granted the doctrinal prerogative of inerrantly declaring the truth of the faith to neither papacy nor council, but only to the universal Church. He was clearly no conciliarist, though many of his ideas would later be turned to the conciliarist cause.[134]

When faced with the crisis of the Schism, either ecclesiology would have formed an adequate way of escaping the soteriological dangers of identifying the Church with the pope in a time of multiple popes. Both had redefined the *vera ecclesia* in such a way that knowledge of the true pope was accidental to the essential question of membership in the true Church. Furthermore, both had begun to develop mechanisms for judging a problematic pope. However, neither the ecclesiology of Marsilius nor that of Ockham (nor that of the papalists) furnished the final solution to the problem of the Schism. For that, we must turn to

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[133] Marsilius was far beyond the pale for most conciliarists. Dietrich of Niem and Nicholas of Cusa made selective use of his ideas, but they were the exceptions. His radical stance was not shared by the mainstream of conciliar theory. Francis Oakley argues that he was so radical that he should not even be labeled a conciliarist at all: "it has become increasingly clear that the views of Marsiglio of Padua stand out as so uncharacteristically radical that it would be a salutary clarification if, by general agreement, we could agree henceforth to withhold from him the conciliar designation"; see "Conciliarism in England: St. German, Starkey, and the Marsiglian Myth," in *Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Studies in Honor of Louis Pascoe, s.j.*, ed. Thomas M. Izbicki and Christopher M. Bellitto (Leiden, 2000), p. 227. Arguing to the contrary, Cary Nederman has posited that Marsilius may indeed have been a major influence on French conciliar thinkers like Gerson, through the "indirect" or "subterranean" transmission of Nicole Oresme, who had woven many of Marsilius' ecclesiological ideas into his treatise, *Li livre de Politiques*, which enjoyed wide circulation at the French court in the latter part of the 14th century; "A Heretic," pp. 86–87.

[134] Ockham's *I Dialogus* contains most of the major conciliar points, although they are systematically refuted; see Morrall, "Ockham," p. 481. That said, Tierney declares that Ockham "probably influenced late medieval ecclesiology more than any other one man"; *Origins*, p. 197.

the conciliar ecclesiology that rose to prominence during the chaos of
the Schism itself.

THE CONCILIAR ECCLESIOLOGY AND THE SOLUTION TO THE SCHISM[135]

The major political and theological crises of the late 13th and 14th centu-
ries had generated the first serious attention to questions of ecclesiology
and ecclesial authority; however, it was the events of 1378 that truly
brought these issues to the forefront. While the claims of the papacy
to temporal lordship had been successfully checked by new theories of
secular power and, perhaps most important, by sheer military force,
papal monarchy continued to dominate common understandings of
the Church and its authority, at least internally. The alternative posed
by Marsilius was far too radical to be accepted widely, and Ockham's
ecclesiology, if one could uncover it from under the massive number
of arguments and counter-arguments, suffered from its own serious
shortcomings and seeming contradictions.[136] The average man and

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[135] Scholarship on the conciliar movement is extensive. The most important histo-
riographical debates about conciliarism will be discussed below. Any modern study of
conciliarism must begin with Brian Tierney's work, especially his *Foundations of the
Conciliar Theory* (Cambridge, 1955). Francis Oakley, *Council over Pope?: Towards a
Provisional Ecclesiology* (New York, 1969), offers a good overview of the history, theol-
ogy, and implications of conciliarism. More recently, Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist
Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church 1300–1870* (Oxford, 2003), is a
much more sophisticated analysis of current trends and issues in conciliar research. See
also, E. F. Jacob, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch* (Notre Dame, 1963); Congar, *L'Église*,
pp. 305–27; and Hendrix, "Quest," pp. 365–70. There is much current work on indi-
vidual conciliarists of this era. Some of the more recent are Louis B. Pascoe, *Church
and Reform: Bishops, Theologians, and Canon Lawyers in the Thought of Pierre d'Ailly
(1351–1420)* (Leiden, 2005); and Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson—Apostle of Unity*.
One of the most important collections of conciliar texts available in print is that of
du Pin, ed., *Joannis Gersonii Doctoris Theologi & Cancellarii Parisiensis Opera Omnia*,
which contains a large number of works by conciliarists and thinkers of the era other
than Gerson. English translations of conciliar documents of this era are sparse. Most
helpful are C. M. D. Crowder, ed., *Unity, Heresy, and Reform, 1378–1460: The Conciliar
Response to the Great Schism* (New York, 1977); and Matthew Spinka, ed., *Advocates of
Reform: From Wyclif to Erasmus* (The Library of Christian Classics) 14 (Philadelphia,
1953). Most of Gerson's masterwork on conciliar ecclesiology, *De potestate ecclesiastica
et origine iuris et legum*, was translated by James Cameron, "Conciliarism in Theory and
Practice 1378–1418, with a Translation of Selected Documents" (Ph.D. diss., Hartford
Seminary, 1953), though the translation has significant flaws.

[136] For example, one shortcoming is that Ockham clearly assumes a manifest tradition
of the faith that is universally acknowledged, while at the same time positing that all

woman in Christendom still understood himself or herself to be a part of a visible Church of priests and sacraments, with bishops and, more distantly, a single pope and successor of Peter at the head. This was the "one holy, Catholic, and apostolic" Church, and, for most of Christendom, "apostolic" meant "papal."[137]

This chapter began with a discussion of the existential crisis posed by the uncertainty about the identity of the true pope—and thus of the uncertainty in one's clergy, sacraments, and, most important, salvation. As long as unity was "the fundamental attribute of the church"[138] and as long as the apostolic Church was so closely identified with its papal head, Europe was destined to remain in crisis. Multiple popes, each with his own hierarchy of cardinals, bishops, and priests, had created the appearance of multiple Churches. But salvation could only lie inside of one. Which Church was it? The papal Schism made identifying this true Church well-nigh impossible, clouded, as it were, behind a lack of knowledge about the truth of the events of 1378.[139] Furthermore, the standard assertion that the pope was above all human judgment seemed to exclude any possibility of a third party having the authority to discern which pope was legitimate.[140] As long as this papalist ecclesiology dominated, Christendom was caught in an untenable crisis of uncertainty about the Church and salvation. The result of this angst was a sophisticated and concerted re-examination of the nature of the true Church and its authority, whose result was the conciliar theory and its most important achievement, the ending of the Schism at the Council of Constance (1414–18).

However, before beginning our analysis of this conciliar theory, there are a few preliminary matters that confront the historian. First there is the question of the ideological and confessional biases that

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living Christians but one might abandon that faith. Certainty would seem to require an impossible awareness of what *all* Christians had always believed, and, in the case of disputes, there is no living entity with authority to discern the truth beyond simply the individual.

[137] Such an equation of "papal" with "apostolic" can be seen in the common name for the Roman bishopric as the "Apostolic See"; Pelikan, *Reformation*, p. 113.

[138] Pelikan, *Reformation*, p. 84.

[139] See the chapter by Joëlle Rollo-Koster in this volume for an analysis of the events of 1378 and the role of the cardinals in them.

[140] "The prevailing doctrine of papal authority made it peculiarly difficult to reconcile the contending Popes, since any disposition on the part of either of them to submit the dispute to arbitration could have been interpreted as a tacit abandonment of the claim to be true Pope, subject to no human judgment"; Tierney, *Foundations*, p. 2.

long dominated the portrait of conciliarism. Shortly after the conciliar ecclesiology had succeeded in ending the Schism and selecting a single pontiff, Martin V, the popes and their supporters began seeking to undermine this vision of the Church and reassert the idea of absolute papal monarchy. The process began even before the end of the Council of Constance, when Martin issued the decree *Ad perpetuam*, in which he asserted that the final court of appeal was the pope, not a council.[141] Later, when the disputes between council and pope became quite heated at the Council of Basel, Eugenius IV and the Dominican theologian Juan de Torquemada explicitly rejected the legitimacy of *Haec sancta* and the conciliar ecclesiology that underlay it, ascribing it to the radical (and thus tainted) roots of Marsilius and Ockham.[142] In later years, this relegation of conciliarism to the margins of either "revolution" or "heresy," or simply "oblivion," was the byproduct of an historical narrative that simply assumed that absolute papal monarchy was *the* traditional doctrine of the Church (thus ignoring not only conciliarism but also even the important developments in ideas about the papacy in the later Middle Ages).[143] The result has been a tendency in much of Catholic history, and even secular histories relying upon it, "to portray the whole conciliar episode as nothing more than a stutter, hiccup, or interruption in the long history of the Latin Catholic Church, an unfortunate and revolutionary episode, radical in its origins and rapid in its demise."[144] However, in the last half of the 20th century, this confessional narrative has been decisively challenged by a number of scholars, most importantly Brian Tierney, whose *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory* has itself became the foundation for all subsequent study of conciliarism.[145] Tierney's work clearly demonstrates that the

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[141] "Nulli fas est a supremo iudice, vicelicet Apostolica Sede seu Romano Pontifice, Jesu Christi vicario in terris appellare, aut illius iudicium in causis fidei quae tamquam maiores ad ipsum et Sedem Apostolicam deferendae sunt, declinare"; quoted by Gerson, 6:283.

[142] See Thomas M. Izbicki, "Papalist Reaction to the Council of Constance: Juan de Torquemada to the Present," *Church History* 55 (1986), 7–20; and Oakley, *Conciliarist*, pp. 100–01.

[143] Oakley, *Conciliarist*, pp. 16–18, 99–100.

[144] Oakley, *Conciliarist*, p. 16.

[145] Francis Oakley, "*Verius est licet difficilius*: Tierney's *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory* after Forty Years," *Politics and Eternity: Studies in the History of Medieval and Early-Modern Political Thought* (Studies in the History of Christian Thought) 92 (Leiden, 1999), pp. 73–95. Oakley says that "the case Tierney made was at once both powerful and subtly nuanced and, despite the subsequent surfacing of some oblique (and not so oblique) scholarly grumbling, I would judge that the great tide of literature on conciliar

conciliar position was nothing new at all, but rather the "logical culmination of ideas that were imbedded in the law and doctrine of the Church itself."[146] In particular, Tierney argues that conciliar theory was rooted deeply in the ancient canonistic traditions regarding papal heresy and the relationship between the head and members of a corporation. More recently, scholars have traced the roots of conciliarism to other traditional sources, including the Scriptures and the apostolic ideal of the primitive Church.[147] However, the charge of radicalism (particularly tied to the ideas of Marsilius) still hangs over the modern study of conciliar ecclesiology, as can be seen by the frequency of arguments to the contrary.[148]

A second issue that must be confronted in the study of conciliar ecclesiology is not a problem of confessional bias but one of categories or labels. There is no single entity that can be labeled "conciliarism."[149] It was not a unified school but was, rather, a collection of individuals who shared a series of common themes. Recognizing this difficulty, some scholars have gone so far as to claim that "no such thing as the conciliar theory was ever a historical reality."[150] However, such an extreme conclusion is not widely shared. Instead, most scholars, though aware of the great diversity within the conciliar movement, nevertheless continue to treat it as an appropriate umbrella category.[151] Perhaps the most useful categorization of these various divisions within conciliarism

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and related matters that has been flowing during the forty years since he propounded his thesis has really done little or nothing to shake it"; p. 77.

[146] Tierney, *Foundations*, p. 13.

[147] For example, see my dissertation, David Zachariah Flanagin, "Gathering Around the Word: The Biblical Roots of Conciliarism in Jean Gerson" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2004); Louis B. Pascoe, "Jean Gerson: The *Ecclesia primitiva* and Reform," *Traditio* 30 (1974), 379–409; and John J. Ryan, *The Apostolic Conciliarism of Jean Gerson* (The American Academy of Religion: The Religions) 4 (Atlanta, 1998); see also Karlfried Froehlich, "New Testament Models of Conflict Resolution: Observations on the Biblical Argument of Paris Conciliarists during the Great Schism," in *Conciliation and Confession: The Struggle for Unity in the Age of Reform, 1415–1648*, ed. Howard P. Louthan and Randall C. Zachman (Notre Dame, 2004), pp. 13–36.

[148] For example, see Posthumus Meyjes, pp. 342–48; Oakley, *Council*, pp. 56–61; and Oakley, *Conciliarist*, pp. 99–110. For a contrary view, see n. 133 above.

[149] See Oakley, *Council*, pp. 61–62.

[150] Constantin Fasolt, *Councils and Hierarchy: The Political Though of William Durant the Younger* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 318, cited in Oakley, *Conciliarist*, p. 61. For a discussion of this historiographical debate about the labels of "conciliar" or "conciliarism," see Oakley, *Conciliarist*, pp. 60–63.

[151] Such is readily recognizable in the titles and rhetoric used by most current scholarship.

is that of Francis Oakley, who distinguishes three primary currents of thought that fed into the conciliarism of the early 15th century.[152] First, there was the long tradition of calling for periodic councils to promote reform *in capite et membris*, associated recently with William Durand the Younger at the Council of Vienne (1311–12) and later reflected in the decree *Frequens* at the Council of Constance (1417).[153] While this tradition in itself did not necessarily imply the supremacy of a council, it quickly fused with ideas about conciliar supremacy in the Schism years. Another, less prominent strand was the oligarchic ideal of such cardinals as Franciscus Zabarella, who believed that the college of cardinals formed a corporate entity with the pope, together constituting the Roman See. Thus the cardinals shared in papal authority and could act as a check on his power.[154] Finally, the third strand is what Oakley calls "the strict conciliar theory."[155] This tradition is itself heterogeneous but is still united by a number of significant, common themes. Since this "strict conciliar theory" is the ecclesiology that becomes the final basis for the Council of Constance and the ending of the Great Western Schism, we will conclude with an analysis of its ecclesiological foundations, focusing on a number of its most important representatives whose efforts spanned the period from 1378 to 1417.[156]

The heart of conciliarism lies in its definition of the nature of the true Church, a definition that sharply distinguishes between the universal Church, defined as the *congregatio fidelium*, and the particular church of the pope and cardinals in Rome.[157] Dietrich of Niem states this distinction quite succinctly:

> …the universal Church is made up of various members of Greeks, Latins, and barbarians who believe in Christ, of men and women, of peasants and nobles, of poor and rich, constituting one body, which is called Catholic. The head of this body, the universal Church, is Christ alone. The others, such as the pope, the cardinals and prelates, the clerics, the

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[152] Oakley, *Council*, pp. 61ff.; cf. Oakley, *Conciliarist*, pp. 65ff.
[153] For more on this tradition, see the chapter by Christopher Bellitto in this volume.
[154] For a helpful introduction to the form of conciliarism centered on the authority of the cardinals, see Wilks, *Problem*, pp. 456–63, 479–87.
[155] Oakley, *Council*, p. 68.
[156] In the analysis that follows, references are made to select number of representative examples of each theme. As the focus is on the common elements of conciliar theory, these examples could be multiplied *ad infinitum*. Such is particularly the case in the large number of ecclesiological writings by Gerson.
[157] Tierney, *Foundations*, p. 3.

kings and princes, and the common people, are the members, occupying their various positions…

The other is called the Apostolic particular and private Church. It is included in the Catholic Church, and is made up of the pope, the cardinals, the bishops, the prelates, and the churchmen. It is usually called the Roman Church.[158]

Following Ockham (and many others) in this distinction and diverting from the tendencies of the papalist tradition, conciliarist thinkers affirm that the true Church is not identifiable with one person or office but is, rather, made up of the totality of the faithful. However, unlike Ockham, most conciliarists do not see this Church as merely a collection of individual *fideles*. Rather, they adhere to the more traditional understanding of the Church as a sacramental or mystical community that is more than the sum of its parts.[159] Essentially, the Church is the single, "mystical body" of Christ, his "bride," the New Jerusalem who descends from heaven.[160] Although particular offices and institutions are part of it, it is not defined solely by them. Instead, its life and unity are fundamentally rooted in its mystical connection to Christ, who is its one primary head.

It is by his grace and merits that the Church, his mystical body, continually receives feeling, movement, and vital spirit, and by him it is brought about that, as the law stands, she cannot err, be wholly defiled, or suffer death from mortal sin.[161]

It is impossible for Christ to be separated from his mystical body in such a way that the Holy Spirit would cease to infuse the Church with faith, hope, love, and especially the sacraments.[162] As such, the unity of the Church (and its salvific power) "depends fully and perfectly upon the unity of Christ, its head… [and] does not depend—or originate

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[158] Dietrich of Niem, *De modis uniendi ac reformandi ecclesiae*, trans. in Spinka, *Advocates*, pp. 150–51.

[159] On this understanding, see Congar, *L'Église*, pp. 157ff.; and Wilks, *Problem*, pp. 354–55.

[160] Gerson, *De auferibilitate sponsi ab ecclesia*, 3:294; and *Ambulate dum lucem habetis*, 5:43; cf. Pierre d'Ailly, *Propositiones utiles*, trans. in Francis Oakley, "The 'Propositiones Utiles' of Pierre d'Ailly: An Epitome of Conciliar Theory," *Church History* 29 (1960), 400. For Gerson, such language implied an eternal, hierarchical structure for the Church, as it is patterned after its heavenly exemplar. See n. 39 above.

[161] Henry of Langenstein, *Epistola concilii pacis*, trans. in Spinka, *Advocates*, p. 132.

[162] Gerson, *De auferibilitate*, 3:295.

from—the unity of the Pope."[163] Popes are separable from the Church by death, heresy, or schism, but none of these cases violates the fundamental unity of Christ with his Church.[164]

Such an understanding of the nature and identity of the Church would greatly mitigate the soteriological crisis caused by the Schism. If the Church, outside of which there is no salvation, is fundamentally identified with Christ and not with the pope, then uncertainty about the identity of the true pope, while still troubling in many ways, need not lead to uncertainty about the identity of the true Church. Such is the point that Gerson is trying to make to the citizens of Flanders in the treatise with which we opened this chapter. In response to the deep divisions and uncertainty that he finds there, Gerson argues for the wisdom of cautious doubt in such a case when sure knowledge is so badly lacking. The major criterion for discerning whether one is in the true Church is *not* adherence to the correct pontiff but, rather, a genuine and humble willingness to listen to the truth when it finally becomes known. In the meantime, while the secondary head is divided, the members of the body remain united to one another by the bond of brotherly love. As long as pure motives and right intent are preserved, i.e., directed toward God and brotherly love, the unity of the Church is preserved, and, more important, her sacramental graces remain valid.[165] Such ecclesiological insights from Gerson may have soothed troubled consciences during the Schism; however, they did not go far in actually healing the breach between the divided pontiffs. That step required a second principle of the conciliar ecclesiology, one which turned from the question of the Church's identity to that of its authority.

To this fundamental distinction between the universal Church and the Roman church, conciliar ecclesiology also adds the very important claim that the former possesses more authority than the latter.[166] That is, while the pope may hold the highest authority of any individual member in the Church, his authority is not greater than that of the Church as a whole. Furthermore, conciliarists claim that this supreme authority of

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[163] D'Ailly, *Propositiones*, in Oakley, "Propositiones," pp. 399–400.
[164] Cf. Gerson, *De auferibilitate*, 3:299–313.
[165] Gerson, *De modo*, 6:32–34.
[166] At its heart, the dispute between conciliarists and papalists was a conflict between these two ways of identifying the location of power. Stated generally (though, in reality, things were more complex), the papalists argued that all power was contained in the head and flowed to the body; the conciliarists argued that all power was contained in the body and flowed to the head. See Wilks, *Problem*, p. 488.

the universal Church is both realized and exercised through a general council representing the whole. It is through these claims about ecclesial authority that conciliar theory will ultimately succeed in bringing an end to the Great Western Schism. Against such claims militated the powerful papalist traditions that asserted popes to be above all human judgment, which linked the validity of conciliar decisions to papal approval and which required a papal summons to convoke a council. The conciliarists used their understanding of the Church—along with a host of canonical, scriptural, and practical evidence—to overcome these serious obstacles.

The first important component to this conciliar argument is the assertion that the universal Church has authority superior to that of the pope. A number of conciliarists make this argument with respect to the favorite of papal verses, Mt. 16:18. While papal apologists argue that this verse clearly establishes Peter as the rock on which the Church is built,[167] Henry of Langenstein points out that the grammar clearly applies to the Church and not to Peter. It says that "the gates of hell will not prevail against her (*eam*)," which clearly refers to the *ecclesia* [fem.] and not Peter [masc.].[168] Thus "the universal Church, which is not able to err or be exposed to mortal sin, is indeed superior to the college of cardinals and the pope because he does not have this prerogative."[169] Peter's denial of Christ (Mt. 26:69–75, et al.) and his failure to walk according to the truth of the gospel (Gal. 2:11–14) are evidence that such promises did not apply to Peter—or his successors.[170] Therefore, while it is true that the pope has no superior among humans who can judge him, he nevertheless is bound to submit to the universal Church when it summons him to judgment.[171] Indeed, the pope is subject to the Church, "as fallible to infallible [*tamquam deviabilis indeviabili*],"

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[167] For the history of the interpretation of this verse identifying Christ, not Peter, as the "rock," an interpretation that stems from Augustine and other patristic theologians, see Karlfried Froehlich, "St. Peter, Papal Primacy, and the Exegetical Tradition, 1150–1300," in *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities, 1150–1300*, ed. Christopher Ryan (Papers in Mediaeval Studies) 8 (Toronto, 1989), pp. 3–44.

[168] Henry of Langenstein, *Epistola*, in Spinka, *Advocates*, p. 118. Cf. Gerson, *De potestate*, 6:217.

[169] Henry, *Epistola*, in Spinka, *Advocates*, pp. 118, 128.

[170] See Thomas Izbicki's chapter in this volume for a discussion of current interpretations of Galatians 2.

[171] Gerson, *De auctoritate concilii*, 6:121.

to such an extent that the Church can accuse him of heresy or schism, depose him, imprison him, or even issue a sentence of death.[172]

The next component to the conciliar argument concerning ecclesial authority is the assertion that a general council both represents and embodies the authority of the universal Church. Many of the conciliarists develop this argument using elaborate theories of representation, e.g., medieval corporation theory;[173] others, like Gerson, conceive of the general council as a microcosm that "reflect[s] and represent[s] the Church hierarchy as the macrocosm."[174] Whatever the functional paradigm of the relationship, it was absolutely necessary to establish that some real institution in the Church, i.e., the council, could act with the power, authority, and indefectibility of the whole body, since it was by definition impossible to gather the numerical totality of the Church into one location. Conciliarists explain that, as this embodiment of the universal Church, the council ultimately receives its power not from the strength or wisdom of its human participants but, instead, directly from Christ and the Holy Spirit. Citing Mt. 18:20, "If two or three of you were to come together in my name upon the earth…I am in the midst of you," Henry of Langenstein argues that, "in a general council, where the Holy Spirit is judge, victory is not achieved by numbers but by truth."[175] Pierre d'Ailly cites the same verse to prove that such a gathering has Christ himself as its "director and infallible guide."[176] In support of the same point, Gerson concludes,

> The Church, or a general council representing it, is a rule (*regula*) directed by the Holy Spirit and led by Christ. The result is that every person of every status, even papal, is bound to "listen to it" and to obey it; otherwise, he should be considered as a "Gentile or tax-collector." This is clear from the immutable divine law promulgated in Mt. 18[:17].[177]

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[172] Gerson, *De unitate ecclesiae*, 6:140.

[173] For an example, see Thomas E. Morrissey, "Franciscus Zabarella (1360–1417): Papacy, Community and Limitations upon Authority," in *Reform and Authority in the Medieval and Reformation Church*, ed. Guy Fitch Lytle (Washington, DC, 1981), pp. 48–54.

[174] Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson*, pp. 309–10.

[175] Henry, *Epistola*, in Spinka, *Advocates*, p. 127.

[176] D'Ailly, *Propositiones*, in Oakley, "Propositiones," p. 400.

[177] "Ecclesia vel generale concilium eam repraesentans est regula a Spiritu Sancto directa, tradita a Christo, ut quilibet cuiuscumque status etiam papalis existat, eam audire ac eidem obedire teneatur; alioquin habendus est ut ethnicus et publicanus. Patet ex immutabili lege divina Math. xviii promulgata"; Gerson, *Ambulate*, 5:44.

As should be immediately obvious, this is the same logic that undergirds Constance's famous decree *Haec sancta*,[178] a logic that rests on the dual assertion of the superiority of the universal Church to any of its members, including the pope, and the identification of the general council as the representative embodiment of that whole, sharing in all its privileges and prerogatives.

One final, more practical, component to the conciliar argument concerning ecclesial authority concerns the actual summoning of a council. As we have seen, canon law clearly reserves this prerogative for the Roman pontiff, but, if this were to be maintained absolutely, it might be impossible for the aforementioned authority of Church and council ever to be realized or implemented. This obstacle is overcome in two ways. First, the law of papal summons is declared to belong to the category of positive, human law. That is, it was established by humans for the specific purpose of serving the good of the Church. However, when the intention of the law (i.e., the good of the Church) is violated by the letter of the law (i.e., the requirement that the pope summon the council), the principle of *epikeia* requires that the intention be preserved and the letter violated.[179] Thus the canonical requirement of papal summons is declared to be valid in most circumstances, but not when necessity requires an exception, as in the current Schism. The second means of overcoming this obstacle involves an explanation of how the Church can assemble itself in the absence of such papal involvement. At this point, conciliarists rely on varying explanations drawn from canon law and theology. In the first place, they look to corporation theories developed in the *Decretalist* commentaries, which speak extensively of

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[178] "This holy synod of Constance, which is a general council…declares that, legitimately assembled in the holy Spirit, constituting a general council and representing the catholic church militant, it has power immediately from Christ; and that everyone of whatever state or dignity, even papal, is bound to obey it in those matters which pertain to the faith, the eradication of the said schism and the general reform of the said church of God in head and members"; trans. in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols. (London, 1990), 1:409.

[179] Henry, *Epistola*, in Spinka, *Advocates*, pp. 129–31; D'Ailly, *Propositiones*, in Oakley, "Propositiones," pp. 401–02; Gerson, *De unitate*, 6:144–45. *Epikeia* or "equity" is a legal concept, derived from Aristotle, which argues that since no positive law can foresee every possible circumstance, it is necessary in some cases for positive laws to be interpreted according to the intention of the lawgiver, rather than according to the strict letter of the law, in order that justice may be fulfilled. For the most complete analysis of Gerson's use of *epikeia*, see Francesco d'Agostino, *La tradizione dell'Epieikeia nel medioevo latino: un contributo alla storia dell'idea di equità* (Milan, 1976), pp. 237–63. See also Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson*, pp. 242–46.

the relationship between the head and members of a corporate body and the manner in which authority devolves to the members in the absence of the head.[180] Thus, it is argued that, in the event of papal inability or unwillingness to summon a council, the authority to do so devolves first to the cardinals, then to the bishops, and then, perhaps, to the laity as well.[181] Gerson parallels such explanations with a more mystical approach, in which he describes the power of the Holy Spirit that infuses the mystical body of Christ. He declares that the people of God receive their "efficacy and power [*virtutem*] from the divine seed which is diffused through the ecclesiastical body like life-giving blood and is sown inseparably in it at its root."[182] Not only is this the divine power by which the "Mystical Body of the Church" is "vivified and salubriously united"[183] but it is also that divine power by which "the ecclesiastical congregation assumes its authority and the power to unite itself," when the pope is dead, insane, heretical, scandalous, or simply unwilling.[184] For the conciliarists, the failure of the pope to summon a council, while disappointing, is ultimately no hindrance to the Church's ability to gather in authoritative assembly for the good of the whole.

Finally, we must note that, unlike the radical Marsilius and Ockham, most conciliarists in the era of the Schism were ultimately rather conservative.[185] They did not follow Ockham to the brink of individualism or subjectivism, nor did they follow Marsilius in his attempt to jettison the idea of papal authority. Instead, most conciliarists believed that the papacy was a divinely established institution. Gerson, for example, is even willing to continue to acknowledge the *plenitudo potestatis* given to the pontiff by Christ. However, his conciliar ecclesiology leads him

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[180] Tierney, *Foundations*, pp. 87–153.

[181] Gerson discusses the devolution of authority to the cardinals and bishops, but no further, because his view of the permanency of the hierarchy, established by God, precludes the possibility of all the bishops failing in this duty; *De auctoritate*, 6:114–15. D'Ailly, in contrast, declares that because this power essentially belongs to the whole Church, anyone can summon a council; *Propositiones*, in Oakley, "Propositiones," pp. 401–02.

[182] "Quod per ecclesiasticum corpus tamquam sanguis vivificus diffusum est et radicaliter seu inseparabiliter insertum"; Gerson, *Propositio facta coram Anglicis*, 6:131.

[183] "Habet in se artem et virtutem vivificam qua mysticum corpus Ecclesiae se vivificare potest et unire salubriter"; Gerson, *Propositio*, 6:126.

[184] "In talibus et similibus casibus congregatio ecclesiastica sumit auctoritatem et virtutem seipsam uniendi ex divino semine per universum corpus suum diffuso"; Gerson, *Propositio*, 6:134.

[185] Oakley, *Council*, p. 70.

to reject a papalist interpretation of this reality. Instead, he explains that this papal power is neither absolute nor arbitrary; it is given for the purpose of serving and edifying the Church, and thus the Church has the ability to regulate the use of that power as well as the person using it (i.e., who is selected as pope).[186] In general, mainstream conciliarism of this era was arguing that "the pope, however divinely-instituted his office, was not an absolute monarch but in some sense a constitutional ruler."[187] The Church had no right to eliminate papal power arbitrarily, since it was granted to Peter by Christ; however, the popes had no right to use their power arbitrarily, since it was granted for the good of the Church.[188]

Conciliarism was thus in many ways an ecclesiological *via media* that reaffirmed the traditional primacy of the papacy while mitigating the more extreme conceptions of that primacy. Its latent roots in the theological and canonistic traditions of the Middle Ages came together during the frustrating and uncertain years of the Great Western Schism to form a new vision of the Church and its authority—a vision that soon captured the allegiance of the majority of princes and prelates, theologians and canonists, and led them to gather in the city of Constance in 1414. There the conciliar ecclesiology achieved its one great triumph, the ending of the Schism and the election of a single pope for all of western Christendom. After nearly 40 years, the crisis, both ecclesiological and soteriological, was over.

Conclusion

Our task has been to examine four important ecclesiological options— and the deep concerns motivating them—that were available during the time of the Schism, each of which played some part in serving to create or helping to solve the crisis. All these ecclesiologies shared the same fundamental soteriological assumption that it was necessary to be a part of the true Church to be saved, and all drew upon

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[186] Gerson, *De potestate*, 6:227. For an excellent analysis of this most important of early conciliar documents, see Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson*, pp. 247–313. For the distinction between the divine source of papal power and the Church's right to choose the pope, see Wilks, *Problem*, p. 493.

[187] Oakley, *Council*, p. 68. Cf. Wilks, *Problem*, p. 488.

[188] For more on the idea of the plenitude of power residing in both pope and Church before the conciliarist era, see Wilks, *Problem*, pp. 488ff.

important traditions within the Catholic Church, interpreting them in the light of contemporary conflicts and concerns. The existential angst and institutional nightmare of seeing the Church as a many-headed monster pushed issues of the *ecclesia* and its authority to the front of the European consciousness. The success of Constance would offer a temporary respite in the ecclesiology wars, but one that would not last. The Council of Basel witnessed a new battle between a resurgent papalism and a more radicalized conciliarism. In the following century, issues of ecclesiology would flare once again as the Protestant reformers returned to the roots of Christian tradition to construct their own visions of the Church. Such struggles have continued until today, as papalists, conciliarists, individualists, and many others populate the ecclesial landscape. Perhaps the newest and most significant element is the direct challenge that has been issued by many to the fundamental link between soteriology and ecclesiology. Now, the question is not only *quae ecclesia vera est*? but also *et intra et extra ecclesiam, salus est?* This latter question has the potential to redefine the ecclesiological landscape in the modern world.

THE AUTHORITY OF PETER AND PAUL: THE USE OF BIBLICAL AUTHORITY DURING THE GREAT SCHISM

Thomas M. Izbicki

The Great Schism evoked writings in multiple genres, ranging from laments to legal depositions. Most of these writings, including the depositions about the disputed election of 1378, were in Latin; but some were in the vernacular, especially in French.[1] The polemics produced by theologians and canon lawyers, whether arguing the case for a claimant to the papacy or advocating a solution to the Schism, adopted conventional modes of argument. They employed arguments from reason and authority, the latter including a profusion of citations to authoritative texts. Among the sources employed were the Bible, patristic texts, canons and laws, and the works of Aristotle. All of these were drawn from an accepted body of texts, and all proposed solutions were grounded in the western Christian tradition. Late medieval authors prepared hierarchies of these authorities, lists that might differ according to whether the issue was one of doctrine or of practice. In cases involving practice, including solution of the Schism, the Bible was the chief authority; but other sources, including the examples of the saints, were included.[2]

At one time, the arguments for conciliar remedies were thought to derive from dissident writers such as William of Ockham and Marsilius of Padua. Other scholars looked to the example of secular politics. The development of representative assemblies dealing with kings, including the birth of the English Parliament, was presumed to have been an inspiration to conciliarists.[3] It is now widely accepted that the roots of

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[1] For these genres, see, respectively, the contributions of Renate Blumenfeld-Kozinski and Joëlle Rollo-Koster in this volume.

[2] The hierarchies prepared by Huguccio of Pisa and William of Ockham were conflated by the Dominican papal apologist Juan de Torquemada for employment in the discussion of practical matters; see Thomas M. Izbicki, *Protector of the Faith: Cardinal Johannes de Turrecremata and the Defense of the Institutional Church* (Washington, DC, 1981), p. 65.

[3] The polemic against conciliar supremacy, rooted in 15th-century debates, grew stronger in the 19th century after Gallicanism vanished; see Thomas M. Izbicki, "Papalist

these proposals, especially advocacy of a general council able to judge contenders for the papacy, were rooted in traditional beliefs of theologians and canon lawyers.[4]

Although the traditional roots of conciliarism have become widely recognized, the use of the argument from authority is little studied. Which texts were chosen for use in which context and how they were cited deserve to be studied. This chapter will examine two texts about the same topic to see how they were used during the Great Schism. These texts are concerned with circumcision. The issue in the early Church of whether to impose Jewish practices on gentile converts was a crucial one, defining the division of the Christian movement from its Jewish roots. Removal of the foreskin from a male child's penis was a defining moment in the making of a Jewish identity. Releasing converts from this obligation helped create a community that was not identified with the Jews and Jerusalem.

There are two important biblical passages that enter into our study, and they found an echo in canon law. They were employed at length or in brief references. One is found in the second chapter of Paul's letter to the Galatians. Paul related his visit to Jerusalem, which resulted in the confirmation by the other apostles of his mission to the gentiles. Then he reported rebuking Peter [Gal. 2:11] for withdrawing under pressure from eating with gentile converts. On the basis of the principle *lex orandi lex credendi*, this wavering in dealing with uncircumcised converts could be taken as endorsing Jewish rites that the Church had abandoned as obsolete under the new dispensation. In later medieval thought, this wavering could be understood as not just wrong but bordering on heresy. The other biblical passage relevant to this inquiry is found in the Acts of the Apostles. The 15th chapter includes an account of a council in Jerusalem. A decision was reached there—and announced by James, not Peter—that converts were not obligated to circumcision. Galatians presented a more confrontational view of change, while Acts presented the Church as taking communal action to resolve a problem instead of having a single leader pronounce judgment. Either text had potential to limit papal power, a subversive potential particularly

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Reaction to the Council of Constance: Juan de Torquemada to the Present," *Church History* 55 (1986), 7–20.

    [4] Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism*, enlarged ed. (Leiden, 1998); Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism, in the Catholic Church 1300–1800* (Oxford, 2003).

important in an age when the papacy's very power was in question. Either could be used to undermine papal authority in an age when the unity of the visible institution was paramount, and this potential could be realized even more strongly after that unity had been fractured by the Great Schism.[5]

Before examining the use of these texts during the Schism, it is useful to study their use when the papacy was in the ascendant. Were they used to restrict or rebuke reigning Roman pontiffs? Was there a tradition of citing them, and in what ways were they selected for use in certain contexts? Did the patristic heritage so influential in the medieval Church include institutional readings of these texts? If they did, how were they transmitted to later centuries, when Rome was the chief mover of many changes in institutional practice? After answering these questions, we will look at certain figures from the late 13th and earlier 14th centuries: John of Paris; William Durant the Younger; William of Ockham; and Marsilius of Padua. How did they use these texts in opposition to the papacy?

The text from Acts seems not to have had any great appeal to the Latin Fathers and their successors. When Acts 15 is mentioned at all, as it is by Rupert of Deutz and Peter Abelard, the issue of superseded rites and the temporary concession of them to Jewish converts was addressed. The role of James in the council of the apostles and elders was ignored by these authors.[6] The *Ordinary Gloss* on Acts, which was based on patristic and early medieval exegesis, had little to say about the ecclesiological dimensions of this chapter. It did, however, quote Walafrid Strabo's gloss saying that James judged in the council: "With Peter speaking, Barnabas and Paul narrating, James, the bishop of Jerusalem judging, the decision [*sententia*] rightly pleased [the apostles and elders]."[7]

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[5] See William E. Maguire, *John of Torquemada, O.P.: The Antiquity of the Church* (Washington, DC, 1957), on the place of unity as the first mark [*nota*] of the true Church.

[6] See Rupert of Deutz, *De Trinitate et operibus eius libri XLII in libros regum*, *patrologia Latina* [hereafter PL] 167.1258–59; and Peter Abelard, *Commentariorum super S. Pauli epistolam ad Romanos libri quinque*, PL 178.953–62. Both of these texts are cited from the *Patrologia Latina Database*, accessed 12 October 2007.

[7] *Biblia Latina cum glossa ordinaria: Facsimile reprint of the Editio Princeps Adolph Rusch Strassburg 1480/81*, vol. 4 (Turnhout, 1992), fol. c 3 verso at v. *Tunc placuit*, the marginal gloss with words from the interlinear gloss in square brackets. Compare Walafrid Strabo, *Actus Apostolum*, PL 114.457, cited from the *Patrologia Latina Database*, accessed 31 October 2007.

Paul's rebuke of Peter was given much more attention by patristic and earlier medieval Latin authors. Medieval authors looked particularly to the Latin Fathers for guidance in exegesis. Peter of Celle summarized one of the major issues in interpreting Paul's rebuke of Peter, the latter's motivations in drawing back from gentile converts, by contrasting Jerome with Augustine. Jerome, he said, went easy on Peter, crediting him with erring through good intentions. He pretended to agree with Jewish Christians out of concern for their welfare [*dispensatorie*]. Peter had sinned but had not erred in faith. Augustine said that Peter had erred by truly embracing circumcision as a rite and thus compelled converts to do the same. He did, however, humbly accept correction.[8]

No Latin writer denied that Peter had deserved rebuke, however they interpreted his motivations. They also regarded Peter's bad example as dangerous to the early Church. A commentary on Galatians sometimes attributed to Jerome said that Peter had given scandal by drawing back from eating with gentile converts and thus was rebuked by Paul.[9] Where they differed, at least as is pertinent to solution of the Schism, was on the leverage of Paul in rebuking Peter. This question was addressed early on by Marius Victorinus, who attributed the rebuke not just to Paul but to the Christian people as well.[10] Gregory the Great, himself bishop of Rome and "servant of the servants of God," treated Paul as an inferior in rank who justly rebuked his superior. He was quick to note that Peter had been converted by this rebuke and remained at the vertex of the Church.[11] Others, such as Claudius of Turin, emphasized the different apostolates of Peter and Paul, the one to the Jews and the other to the gentiles. Paul had won Peter over not through authority but by his irrefutable arguments.[12] Only a few writers, such as Rabanus Maurus, hinted at an equality of Peter and Paul.[13] The reforming papacy

[8] Epistola CLXXIII, PL 202.629, cited from the *Patrologia Latina Database*, accessed 21 October 2007.

[9] *Commentarii in epistolas S. Pauli*, PL 30.810, cited from the *Patrologia Latina Database*, accessed 21 October 2007.

[10] *In epistolam Pauli ad Galatas libri duo*, PL 8.1161–63, cited from the *Patrologia Latina Database*, accessed 21 October 2007.

[11] *Homiliarum in Ezechielem prophetam libri duo*, PL 76.1002–04, cited from the *Patrologia Latina Database*, accessed 21 October 2007.

[12] *Enarratio in epistolam D. Pauli ad Galatas*, PL 104.860–62, cited from the *Patrologia Latina Database*, accessed 21 October 2007.

[13] *Enarratio in epistolas beati Pauli*, PL 112.273–74, cited from the *Patrologia Latina Database*, accessed 21 October 2007.

of the 11th century saw Peter Damian restate the position of Gregory the Great, putting Peter at the vertex but rejoicing in correction.[14] In the following century, Peter Abelard inserted the rebuke of Peter into *Sic et non* as an argument that the apostles had not been taught everything at Pentecost.[15] Peter Lombard, however, brought back the idea of Rabanus Maurus that Paul had known himself to be not unequal to Peter.[16] The *Ordinary Gloss* offered a slightly different version of the opinion that Paul "would not have dared" resist Peter to his face "unless he regarded himself not to be unequal to him," a gloss derived from the work of Walafrid Strabo.[17] The *Gloss* also stated Augustine's opinion, found in a letter to Jerome, that Peter humbly had accepted the correction that Paul had taken the liberty of offering. The example was worthy of imitation, it said, but difficult to imitate in correcting superiors.[18]

Thus there were texts in the tradition of biblical exegesis that critics of the papacy might use to equate Paul with Peter on the basis of Galatians 2, but no important writer down to the 13th century argued for the authority of contemporary theologians or of councils representing the Church to rebuke a reigning pope, or even to resolve a dispute over election of a pope.[19] Canon layers, however, were well aware of the subversive potential of the text from Galatians. Gratian's *Decretum* contains a canon summarizing Paul's rebuke of Peter, which quotes the same passage from Walafrid Strabo on Galatians found in the *Ordinary Gloss* on the Bible. A *dictum* of Gratian follows, in which the rebuke is interpreted as an act of charity, not an act of an equal in ecclesiastical

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[14] *De ferenda aequanimiter correptione*, PL 145.708–10, cited from the *Patrologia Latina Database*, accessed 21 October 2007.

[15] PL 178.1478, cited from the *Patrologia Latina Database*, accessed 21 October 2007.

[16] *Collectanaeorum in Paulum continuation*, PL 192.107–13, cited from the *Patrologia Latina Database*, accessed October 21, 2007.

[17] *Biblia Latina cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 4, fol. A 4v at v. *Restiti*. Compare Walafridus Strabo, *Epistola ad Galatas*, PL 114.547, cited from the *Patrologia Latina Database*, accessed 31 October 2007.

[18] *Biblia Latina cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 4, fol. A 4 verso at v. *Dixi Cephe*. Compare Letter 116, PL 22.947, cited from the *Patrologia Latina Database*, accessed 31 October 2007.

[19] A general council was more likely to mark the end of a schism, not try to remedy it, in the earlier centuries of the ascendant papacy, as did the Second Lateran Council (1139); see Mary Stroll, *The Jewish Pope: Ideology and Politics in the Papal Schism of 1130* (Leiden, 1987).

office.[20] The *Ordinary Gloss* to this canon emphasized the divine source of Paul's charity, shown in rebuking an erring superior.[21] Not even the canonists seem to have found a subversive potential in Acts 15. This would only be found later when councils were desired to resolve the Schism and restrict papal power.

Consequently, use of these texts about Peter and Paul to restrain the papacy, let alone to resolve a schism, was something of an innovation of the later 13th century. There was potential for such usage, as in the idea of Paul knowing himself to be "not unequal" to Peter, but the potential was only realized when the papacy came under increasing critical scrutiny. An early example is that of John of Paris, a Dominican who participated in the polemical exchanges occasioned by the conflict between Pope Boniface VIII and Philip IV of France. John was a convinced Thomist, but he was not a supporter of papal claims to direct the affairs of princes. John argued instead for limits on the papacy's role in temporal affairs, while supporting its predominance in purely clerical affairs.[22] John employed both biblical passages in his tract *De potestate regia et papali*. He acknowledged that Jesus, not Peter, had commissioned Paul directly as apostle to the gentiles. Here he cited Galatians [1:1, 12, 17–18]. In this context, Paul becomes a potential center of power apart from Peter and his successors.[23] Elsewhere, John used the passage from Acts 15 and Galatians 2 in different ways. He used Acts 15 to deny that temporal rulers exalted some priests over others. The council in Jerusalem met without imperial authorization to discuss the circumcision of converts. John notes, however, that James, not Peter, had announced the decision of the council. James had acted in his role as bishop of Jerusalem and host of the council.[24] John of Paris used the text from Galatians more to Rome's detriment when he affirmed that issues affecting the pope could be dealt with by lesser clergy. He appealed to charity as permitting rebuke of an erring pope when this was necessary. This rebuke could be offered "with humility and reverence," as Paul had rebuked Peter in the text from Galatians.[25]

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[20] C. 2 q. 7 c. 33 and d. p. c. 33, in *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Emil Friedberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879; repr. Graz, 1959), col. 493. Compare this text with the reference to Walafrid cited in n. 17 above.

[21] *Ordinary Gloss* at C. 2 q. 7 c. 33 v. *sciret*.

[22] Jean Rivière, *Le problème de l'église et l'état au temps de Philippe le Bel: Étude de théologie positive* (Louvain, 1926), pp. 148–50, 281–300.

[23] John of Paris, *On Royal and Papal Power*, trans. J. A. Watt (Toronto, 1971), p. 125.

[24] John of Paris, *On Royal and Papal Power*, p. 169.

[25] John of Paris, *On Royal and Papal Power*, pp. 232–33.

William Durant the Younger, bishop of Mende, became involved in Clement V's Council of Vienne (1311–12). For that assembly, which met following the defeat of Boniface VIII by Philip of France, William wrote extensively on the reform of the Church. His tract raised the possibility that a council could reform pope and curia. He stated, looking to Paul's writings, that powers ordained by God should follow divine commands.[26] Durant was particularly concerned to defend the rights of bishops and priests against usurpation of their roles in pastoral care by the friars. Since the papacy had given privileges to the friars to do pastoral work, Durand thought the Roman pontiffs should be rebuked. To this end, he cited Paul's rebuke of Peter, noting that the latter had accepted rebuke and mended his ways.[27]

William of Ockham, a Franciscan, spent his later years trying to prove that John XXII and Benedict XII, who had rejected his order's belief that Christ and the apostles owned nothing, individually or in common, were heretics.[28] Ochkam used a relentless barrage of citations to Scripture, theology, and law in these polemics. The texts related to circumcision appear occasionally in significant contexts.[29] We will cite these briefly in chronological order. The *Opus nonaginta dierum* (1332–34) includes a chapter denying that the Franciscan order as an entity could have possessions. Among the proofs were Scripture verses that emphasized groups of individuals acting together. One reference is the selection by the apostles, acting as a group of individuals, of representatives who would accompany Paul and Barnabas to Antioch to convey the decision about observances expected of converts [Acts 15:5].[30] In the *Dialogus* (*c.* 1335), Ockham considered the problem of Church authority from every angle. Our texts were deployed to argue a variety of points. Paul's preaching office is described there too as assigned directly by Christ. The apostle's willingness, despite this authorization, to consult others for better judgment of practical matters

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[26] Constantin Fasolt, *Council and Hierarchy: The Political Thought of William Durant the Younger* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 177.

[27] Fasolt, *Council and Hierarchy*, pp. 203 n. 119, 223. Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory*, pp. 174–75.

[28] Brian Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility 1150–1350: A Study on the Concept of Infallibility, Sovereignty and Tradition in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 171–237. For the dates of Ockham's polemics on this topic, see *The Cambridge Companion to Ockham*, ed. Paul Vincent Spade (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 10–11.

[29] Michael of Cesena, the deposed minister-general of the Franciscans, used Paul's rebuke of Peter for the same purpose; see Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility*, p. 200.

[30] *Guillelmi de Ockham opera politica*, ed. R. F. Bennett and H. S. Offler, vol. 2 (Manchester, 1963), pp. 568–69.

was cited as well. Ockham also cited Acts to show that the Spirit could guide a general council in difficult situations.[31] In his *Octo quaestiones de potestate papae*, Ockham used Acts 15 to show that councils were held before there was a Roman see and that contemporary claims to plenitude of power were dangerous to Christians.[32] A similar argument about the Spirit acting in the council found in Acts 15 appears in the roughly contemporaneous *Breviloquium* (1341–42).[33]

Ockham had an ability to use tradition to undermine reigning popes.[34] Marsilius of Padua, like his contemporary Ockham, found refuge with Ludwig of Bavaria, a dedicated foe of John XXII. Marsilius, however, had a more radical agenda than the deposition of a reigning pope for heresy. He wished to deprive the clergy of all exercise of temporal power, arguing that this would bring peace to Italy. Marsilius presented in *Dictio* I of his *Defensor pacis* an argument from reason to support his agenda. In *Dictio* II he presented, at length, an argument from authority. The whole heritage of received texts was interpreted to this political end. Marsilius tried harder than other writers mentioned above to level the distinction between Peter and the other apostles. He argued that Paul had received his mission from Christ, not from Peter. Paul and Peter thus had been equal. Peter had been honored as the eldest apostle, but there was no evidence the other apostles had chosen him as their leader. Marsilius emphasized the role played by the apostles and elders, not just Peter in the council in Jerusalem. Peter had not decided the issue of how to treat converts by his plenitude of power. The assembled apostles and elders were greater than Peter or any other apostle acting alone. Marsilius also invoked Paul's rebuke of Peter to demonstrate the equality of these two apostles.[35]

The papalist reading of these biblical texts surfaced early in the debates of the 14th century. Pierre de la Palu, a Dominican, answered the critique of the privileges of the friars offered by the Parisian master Jean de Pouilli. Pierre admitted that an erring pope could be corrected

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[31] William of Ockham, *A Letter to the Friars Minor and other Writings*, ed. Arthur S. McGrade and John Kilcullen (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 131, 167, 212–13, 222–24.

[32] *Guillelmi de Ockham opera politica*, ed. H. S. Offler, vol. 1 (Manchester, 1974), pp. 81, 231–32.

[33] William of Ockham, *A Short Discourse on the Tyrannical Government over Things Divine and Human…*, ed. Arthur S. McGrade (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 22–23.

[34] Brian Tierney, *Ockham, the Conciliar Theory and the Canonists* (Philadelphia, 1971).

[35] Marsilius of Padua, *The Defender of Peace: The Defensor Pacis*, ed. and trans. Alan Gewirth (New York, 1956), pp. 242–46.

charitably by his subjects, just as Paul had rebuked Peter.[36] A tract by Guillaume de Pierre Godin, another Dominican of that time, treated the texts from Acts and Galatians in depth. Confronting the fact that James, not Peter, had delivered the sentence concerning the treatment of converts, he contended that Peter, although the greater judge, had deferred to James as the special judge in Jerusalem. The council had been gathered by Peter; but Godin attributed the judgment to the Holy Spirit, which revealed the truth to all the apostles and elders.[37] Godin read the ecclesiastical order of the 14th century back into apostolic times, saying the elders at the council in Jerusalem were priests, lesser than bishops but greater than deacons.[38] Godin addressed the question of papal error, saying that a heretic ceased to be pope. Thus a true pope was not subject to human judgment. A pope who was in error but not an obdurate heretic also could be resisted, as Paul had resisted Peter. Godin denied, however, that this rebuke made the two apostles equal.[39] In an addition to his original text, Godin argued that Christ had called Paul but that Peter had laid hands on him in an act of consecration.[40]

One of the more creative apologists for the papacy in the time of John XXII was the Carmelite theologian Guido Terreni. His denial that any pope ever was a heretic and his teachings on papal infallibility can be understood as anticipating later teachings on these topics. To deny that a pope could err, however, Terreni had to deal with a long tradition presuming the contrary. The Carmelite answered the argument from Paul's rebuke of Peter by saying that the issue was not one of false doctrine. The apostle Peter had sinned, accepted rebuke, and repented.[41] Guido did say, addressing the text about Paul and Peter in the *Decretum*, that a pope who persisted in a heretical opinion was excommunicated by the very fact of embracing error, since every heretic was excommunicated.[42]

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[36] Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility*, pp. 152–53. On this controversy, see Jean Dunbabin, *A Hound of God: Pierre de la Palud and the Fourteenth-Century Church* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 58–68.

[37] William D. McCready, *The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Fourteenth Century: Guillaume de Pierre Godin, Tractatus de causa immediate ecclesiastice potestatis* (Toronto, 1982), pp. 107, 119–20.

[38] McCready, *The Theory of Papal Monarchy*, p. 176.

[39] McCready, *The Theory of Papal Monarchy*, pp. 193, 260–62.

[40] McCready, *The Theory of Papal Monarchy*, p. 327.

[41] Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility*, p. 250.

[42] Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility*, p. 266 n. 2.

The early polemics of the Schism did not resort to these arguments, whether for or against the papacy as supreme in the Church. They were concerned for the most part with the conclave of 1378, arguing whether Urban VI had been legitimately elected. Eyewitness testimony was crucial to princes and prelates in deciding whether to accept Urban of his rival, Clement VII.[43] The earliest suggestions that remedies other than a choice between the two contenders were needed usually were ideas of compromise, not finding an authoritative judge of the two claimants. Two rare exceptions derive from the University of Paris.

The theologian Henry of Langenstein argued for a Church council, guided by the Holy Spirit, as the right solution to the Schism. Among his proofs was an appeal to Scripture. His biblical evidence for councils that decided not just major issues but also minor ones included four cases from the Acts of the Apostles [Acts 1, 7, 15, and 21].[44] Henry may have been aware of the argument of Pierre Flandrin, one of the spokesmen for the Avignon obedience, that Paul and the other apostles had been subjected to and united by divine law to Peter before they went out to evangelize the world. Peter, Flandrin had said, had been the head of the college of the apostles, as the pope was the head of the college of cardinals.[45] Henry's council, guided by the Spirit, made the assembled Church superior to those who claimed Peter's preeminent place in the hierarchy.

The canonist Conrad of Gelnhausen, a contemporary of Henry of Langenstein, also argued for a council to settle the Schism. He pointed directly to the assembly recorded in Acts 15, which he quoted on the subject of circumcision, as proof of the value of councils, and the other councils recorded in the same book. Conrad identified the opinion rejected by the council in Acts 15 as a heresy propagated by Pharisees:

> The third [council] was celebrated not to impose the strictures of the Law [*legalia*] on the gentiles. When there arose then certain who were of the Pharisees' heresy, saying that it was necessary to be circumcised and to observe the law of Moses, the apostles and elders gathered to look into this…[translation mine].

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[43] Michael Siedlmayer, *Die Anfänge des grossen abenländischen Schismas* (Münster, 1940).

[44] *Advocates of Reform from Wyclif to Erasmus*, ed. Matthew Spinka (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 115.

[45] Franz P. Bliemetzrieder, *Literarische Polemik zu Beginn des grossen abenländlischen Schismas* (Vienna, 1910; repr. New York, 1967), p. 69.

Conrad was quick to note that the apostolic example of summoning councils had not vitiated by the greater number of Christians in his own time. The faithful could not all be assembled, but they could be represented by a general council. They did not have to be present each and every one in order to act for the good of the Church. This was an apostolic example that could be imitated in Conrad's own day: "but we should imitate the example of the apostles."[46]

The recommendations of Henry and Conrad were ignored. Among other reasons, there was no one pope to call a council under the prevailing canon law. And so, during the following decades, other remedies were tried; but armed force failed, and no agreement could be reached between the factions.[47] The rebuke of Peter by Paul and the councils of the apostles did not fit comfortably into this stage of the Schism. A rare exception was the argument of the English Benedictine Nicholas Radcliffe, that a council to judge the claimants to the papacy could be justified by appealing to Paul's rebuke of Peter. Had Peter refused to mend his ways, the other apostles could have held a council to remonstrate with him.[48] John Wycliffe, Radcliffe's more radical contemporary, used Paul's rebuke of Peter to critique papalists who thought a pope could not sin. He thought the pope could not dispense himself from even the relatively minor or venial sin of not eating with gentile converts.[49]

Only when the French crown tried to coerce Benedict XIII, the successor to Clement VII, into resolving the Schism by withdrawing obedience [*subtractio obedientiae*] did these biblical texts begin to find frequent employment. The architect of this policy was Simon de Cramaud, a lawyer trained at the University of Orléans.[50] In defense of the policy of subtraction, Simon argued that, according to Paul, apostolic power existed to build up the Church, not destroy it. When a pope scandalized the faithful—for example by wishing to give the Church's patrimony to his kin—he could be resisted, as Paul had resisted Peter. Simon documented this with a reference to a comment by Cardinal

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[46] Bliemetzrieder, *Literarische Polemik zu Beginn des grossen abenländlischen Schismas*, p. 118.

[47] R. N. Swanson, *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 45–69.

[48] Margaret Harvey, *Solutions to the Schism: A Study of some English Attitudes 1378–1409* (St. Ottilien, 1983), pp. 70–71.

[49] John Wyclif, *On Simony*, trans. Terrence A. McVeigh (New York, 1992), pp. 106, 111.

[50] Howard Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud and the Great Schism* (New Brunswick, 1983), pp. 31–107.

Petrus Bertrandi on a text from the *Clementine Constitutions* [Clem. 1.3.2], which cited the c. *Paulus* in Gratian's *Decretum*, not to the Bible.[51] Simon acknowledged that such resistance was, as Gratian had said, an act of charity. Nonetheless, he argued that, in such a case, the pope's power was inferior to that of Christ, the celestial pope, which permitted resistance to his erring vicar. Simon denied that this resistance opened the way to rebellion against kings. He also reminded his readers that the pope was Christ's steward and, in the words of Gregory the Great, "the servant of the servants of God."[52]

These texts entered the mainstream of conciliarism through more than one channel. The most important was via the University of Paris. Pierre d'Ailly and his pupil Jean Gerson, had rejected subtraction of obedience. They were, however, alienated by Benedict XIII's obstinacy. When the cardinals of the two obediences tired of the evasions of Benedict and Gregory XII, his Roman counterpart, and decided to hold a council at Pisa (1409), these theologians already were seeking ways in which a general council might be called to end the Schism. D'Ailly moved from being a professor to the position of bishop and then that of cardinal. His work for the solution of the Schism combined writing on ecclesiology and reform with a prelate's role in Church assemblies.[53] Jean Gerson, however, remained an academic, serving for several years as chancellor of the University of Paris.[54] (D'Ailly also taught Nicholas de Clamanges, who advocated individual, personal reform as the first step toward renovation of the Church.)[55]

D'Ailly led the way in using these biblical texts to critique those in power. He led the effort to oust John of Monzon, a Dominican, from the University of Paris for opposing the doctrine of Mary's Immaculate Conception, which was popular among the faculty. D'Ailly took the stance that, if prelates opposed him on this issue, he could resist them as Paul had resisted Peter. Paul was the "type" of the theologian, the

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[51] Simon de Cramaud, *De substraccione obedientie*, ed. Howard Kaminsky (Cambridge, MA, 1984), pp. 90–91, 139–40.

[52] Simon de Cramaud, *De substraccione obedientie*, p. 118. For an English translation of this passage, see Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, pp. 343–44.

[53] Francis Oakley, *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly: The Voluntarist Tradition* (New Haven, 1964), pp. 9–14.

[54] John B. Morrall, *Gerson and the Great Schism* (Manchester, 1960); Brian Patrick McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation* (University Park, 2005).

[55] Christopher M. Bellitto, *Nicholas de Clamanges: Spirituality, Personal Reform and Pastoral Renewal on the Eve of the Reformation* (Washington, DC, 2001).

expert from whom the prelates of the Church were to obtain guidance.[56] Once d'Ailly became disillusioned with Benedict XIII (c.1403), he began to seek arguments in favor of a council. In his *De materia concilii generalis*, d'Ailly pointed to the councils recorded in Acts 1, 6, 15, and 21 as examples that could be followed in resolving the Schism. He described the gathering of Peter and the other apostles as "that most holy Roman Curia" [*illa sanctissima Romana Curia, scilicet Petri et Apostolorum*]. D'Ailly also blamed the Church's woes on a neglect of holding councils: "And so we can say now—alas!—that, on account of a failure to celebrate councils, the Church has fallen, disposed to various schisms and innumerable other evils, just as experience teaches" [translation mine]. Those who opposed this remedy, d'Ailly said, were guilty of grave error.[57]

When the Council of Pisa met, d'Ailly offered in its defense his *Propositiones utiles*. In this work he used biblical, theological, and legal arguments to support conciliar action for reunion of the visible Church. In the fifth proposition, d'Ailly looked once more to the early Church for examples of conciliar remedies in urgent situations. Here too he referenced the councils described in the Acts of the Apostles. The council at Jerusalem in Acts 15 was emphasized both because it reached "common consent" to the necessary remedies and because James, not Peter, had pronounced the decision: "And in one famous council at Jerusalem, it is not Peter but James, the bishop of that place, who is found to have presided and to have made known the decision" (Acts 15:23 *seqq.*).[58]

When the Council of Pisa failed to end the Schism, d'Ailly supported the demand for another general council. The Council of Constance (1414–18), in which d'Ailly, then a cardinal, played a prominent role, did achieve reunion, deposing the claimants tied to Avignon and to the Council of Pisa, Benedict XIII and John XXIII respectively. In support

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[56] Louis B. Pascoe, *Church and Reform: Bishops, Theologians and Canon Lawyers in the Thought of Pierre d'Ailly* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 194–95, 201. D'Ailly drew on Thomas Aquinas to support this role for theologians; see ibid., p. 194 n. 65. On Dominican resistance to the Immaculate Conception, rooted in their Thomist tradition, see Thomas M. Izbicki, "The Immaculate Conception and Ecclesiastical Politics from the Council of Basel to the Council of Trent: The Dominicans and Their Foes," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 96 (2005), 145–70.

[57] Oakley, *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly*, pp. 318–19.

[58] *Unity Heresy and Reform, 1378–1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism*, ed. C. M. D. Crowder (New York, 1977), pp. 51–54 at p. 53.

of this council, the cardinal yet again appealed to the example of the councils recorded in the book of Acts. Echoing older texts, perhaps without realizing it, d'Ailly argued that Paul had parity with Peter "in the office of preaching" [*Paulus dicitur fuisse par Petro, predicationis officio*].[59]

D'Ailly approached Paul's rebuke of Peter in a separate text, urged to do this by a prelate who had found that Augustine and Jerome different in their interpretation of the text in Galatians. D'Ailly replied that Paul had resisted Peter as an equal. He was willing, however, to accept Augustine's opinion that Paul had acted usefully and had been greeted by Peter with charity and humility. Peter had left this hard lesson for posterity, including for his successors:

> Peter accepted what Paul did as useful out of the liberty of holy charity and the piety of benign humility; and so he gave an example to those coming after, the more holy because harder to imitate, that it is not unworthy for superiors, if perhaps they have left the right path, to be corrected by inferiors, and especially where there might be an error in the teaching of religious things or a matter of faith.[60]

Jean Gerson also played a strong part in ecclesiastical politics. He was involved, as was his mentor, in ousting John of Monzon from the University of Paris. Gerson, like d'Ailly, had a high regard for the theologian's office. Paul also was the model he used. Just as Paul had been obligated to rebuke Peter, so a theologian could rebuke a prelate, even a pope, who was in the wrong. This was an aspect of his office and not separable from it.[61]

Gerson also joined d'Ailly in the move toward a conciliar solution to the Schism. He too had been reluctant to back the *via subtractionis*, but both had tired of Benedict XIII's evasions. By 1409, the Chancellor, as he was called, was writing, in *De auferabilitate sponsus ab ecclesia*, that Christ was the true head of the Church, who could not be removed. The pope, however, was only the visible head. He could be removed from office for a just cause. In a fairly political turn for so dedicated a

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[59] Pascoe, *Church and Reform*, pp. 77 [citing Galatians, and quoted above], 127 [citing a list of councils found in Acts].

[60] Paul Tschackert, *Peter von Ailli (Petrus de Alliaco): Zur Geschichte des grossen abenländische Schisma und der Reformconcilien von Pisa und Constanz* (Gotha, 1877), pp. [28]–[29], Text IX.

[61] Louis B. Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform* (Leiden, 1973), pp. 90–91.

theologian, Gerson argued that a community could not give up its right to conduct its own affairs. Nor could the Church be expected to give up that right. Then he drew back from his own example. Gerson regarded this as dissimulation: "Peter once judaized through dissimulation; Paul resisted him to his face" [Gal. 2:11] [translation mine].

Paul had rebuked Peter for this, all the more so since Peter had introduced a "new thing" into the Church. He had baptized gentiles in the persons of the centurion Cornelius and his household [Acts 10]. If Peter could have been forced to give an accounting for his conduct, how much more, Gerson said, could two contenders for the papacy be forced to do the same? Gerson wrote: "How much more strongly and reasonably can two contenders, deformed by schism, perjury, suspicion of heresy be compelled to give an accounting before good and grave men, even if they knew themselves to be innocent?" [translation mine]. Prolonging the Schism and perjury, swearing false oaths to work for a solution, made both of the claimants suspect of heresy, even if they were not guilty.[62]

Gerson made no further evident use of these biblical texts in his writings about the Schism for several years. He did, however, resort to them after the Council of Constance had ended the Schism and elected a new pope, Martin V. Martin, faced with agitation by the Poles to condemn the propaganda issued by apologists for the campaigns of the Teutonic knights, propaganda which branded the Slavs and Lithuanians as heretics, prohibited them from appealing to a future council. Gerson was upset by this prohibition, and he argued that the Roman pontiff was liable to correction by his subjects. The pope was a neighbor, our brother, the Chancellor reasoned, and so he was subject to fraternal correction. In this context, Gerson argued that Paul had been right to rebuke Peter, his superior. Had this resistance not been licit, Paul would have been in violation of law: "It would follow, second, that Paul acted contrary to divine and human law when he had resisted Peter to his face, that is publicly and before an assembly of the Church, as is found in Galatians 2[:11]" [translation mine].

If Peter had not mended his ways, Paul could have appealed to the Church for support, and "he would have needed to be condemned by

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[62] Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Palémon Glorieux, vol. 3 (Paris, 1962), p. 302. Gerson also appealed to the authority of Aristotle to back this argument; see Morrall, *Gerson and the Great Schism*, p. 91.

the Church." Peter had, moreover, humbly accounted to the Church in Jerusalem for his baptism of Cornelius.[63] Gerson concluded that, when the pope strayed, as Peter had, believers could resist him and reject his judgment. Gerson concluded: "Therefore, occasionally it is right to decline the judgment of the supreme pontiff in cases concerning the faith" [translation mine].

There was no obligation to embrace his wrong judgment. Correction had to be offered to a reigning pope with respect, but it had to be offered.[64] Gerson may have been moved too by Martin's failure to condemn Jean Petit's ideas on tyrannicide. Petit had been used to an accusation of tyranny to defend the murder of the duke of Orléans, the brother of King Charles VI of France, by agents of his cousin John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy.[65]

The third leading intellectual present at the Council of Constance, together with d'Ailly and Gerson, was the Italian canonist Francesco Zabarella. Zabarella appears in the literature of the Schism as the leading exponent of corporation theory. The Church, like any other corporation, could act for its own good against an erring and destructive head.[66] Zabarella, in his tract on the Schism, appealed to Scripture as well as law, to make his case for a council to reunite the Church. His leading example of a council called to address the problems of the early Church was that recorded in Acts 15. He noted that there was a great gathering [*magna congregatio*] of the apostles and the elders to decide whether to circumcise converts with the guidance of the Holy Spirit. What they decided, miraculously [*miraculose*], was the decision of the Church. Zabarella argued that "we should believe what was done with God's inspiration" [*debemus credere quod Deo inspirante factum sit*].[67] Zabarella appealed to both Galatians and its summary in Gratian's *Decretum* to prove that, "although he was the prince of the apostles, the [Church's] plenitude of power, was not in him alone" [*licet Petrus*

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[63] Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 6 (Paris, 1965), p. 284.

[64] Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, 6:290.

[65] Brian Patrick McGuire, "In Search of Jean Gerson: Chronology of His Life and Works," in McGuire ed., *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, (Leiden, 2006), pp. 1–39 at pp. 22–28.

[66] Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory*, pp. 199–214.

[67] Franciscus de Zabarellis, *Tractatus de schismate*, in *De iurisdictione, autoritate, et praeeminentia imperiali ac potestate ecclesiastica deque iuribus regni & imperij uariorum authorum qui ante haec tempora uixerunt scripta…*, ed. Simon Schard (Basel, 1566), p. 702.

fuerit princes Apostolorum, tamen plenitudo potestatis non fuit in eo solo]. He and James presided together in the council of the apostles and the elders. This set the example of "ancient custom" [*mos antiqua*] of gathering councils to deal with difficult matters. Peter, Zabarella maintained, had been able to err. When he had erred he was rebuked. Any of his successors could be resisted, as Paul had resisted him.[68] Peter had not claimed to exercise all power in the Church. For him to have done so would have endangered the Church's general welfare [*status ecclesiae*].[69] Zabarella also used Peter as an example of humility for the claimants to the papacy. When Cornelius the Centurion (Acts 10) fell at his feet, Peter had raised this convert up and reminded him of their shared humanity.[70]

The potential of these biblical texts to limit—or even undermine—papal power was not lost on Leonardo Dati. This Dominican had recently become the master-general of his order, the sole leader of a clerical family once divided by the Schism. Dati feared that the papal privileges on which the pastoral work of the friars depended might be revoked as a reform.[71] Consequently, the master-general tried in sermons and polemics to moderate the effort to constrain papal power with conciliar acts.[72] This effort to defend the papacy led Dati into a controversy of his own making. It began with his sermon for the feast of Saint Francis of Assisi in October of 1415, which defended the papacy—though not any of the three claimants to it. Dati's memoranda defending his sermon addressed the conciliarist use of Acts 15.[73] He argued that the role of James in the council did not undermine papal power. James had not delivered the sentence, as the text of Acts 15 seemed to say. Instead he had expressed approval of what Peter had said as the head of the

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[68] Franciscus de Zabarellis, *Tractatus de schismate*, p. 703.

[69] Franciscus de Zabarellis, *Tractatus de schismate*, pp. 703–04. Zabarella applied this example not just to the Schism but also to the future. On the concept of *status ecclesiae*, see Yves Congar, "*Status ecclesiae*," *Studia gratiana* 15 (1972), 1–31.

[70] Franciscus de Zabarellis, *Tractatus de schismate*, p. 704.

[71] Such reform proposals were made at Constance; see Phillip H. Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance (1414–1418)* (Leiden, 1993) pp. 245–49.

[72] Thomas M. Izbicki, "Reform and Obedience in Four Conciliar Sermons by Leonardo Dati, o.p.," in Thomas Izbicki and Christopher M. Bellitto, eds., *Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Studies in Honor of Louis Pascoe, s.j.*, (Leiden, 2000), pp. 174–92.

[73] A proposed papal oath of office drafted at Constance was based on a profession of faith falsely attributed to Boniface VIII, which supposedly was sworn not just to Peter but also to Paul, who had corrected the Prince of the Apostles; see Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance*, pp. 125–27.

Church. Peter had spoken first, and then James had concurred. This was Dati's way of ascribing the corporate pronouncements of councils to the authority of the pope. Peter had gathered the council, but he had attributed the judgment to the Spirit and the assembly. Peter and John had been chosen to go to Samaria, Dati added, when word was received of conversions there.[74] This had been decided by the counsel and deliberation, but not by the authority, of the council in Jerusalem. The authority had been Peter's alone. Here we are on the familiar ground of the papal apologists of the period before the Schism.

Dati revisited this issue in his sermon on the feast of the Circumcision, 1 January 1416. In that sermon, he addressed not Acts 15 but the text from Galatians. Dati constructed a case for restraint of a pope by his subjects. The rebuke of Peter by Paul featured prominently in this section of the sermon. Peter's failure had bordered on heresy by endorsing superseded rites, an opinion closer to that of Augustine than to that of Jerome. Baptism had replaced circumcision, and Peter had been wrong not to reject the old rite. The council at Jerusalem had addressed this issue. Peter had called the council but did not preside, because no one can judge his own case. Dati thus admitted that a council could be called when a pope was suspected of heresy. He denied, however, that this example could be applied to other crimes, even if they caused scandal. Dati also adopted the opinion, first offered by the decretist Huguccio of Pisa, that a pope who fell into heresy also fell from his see *ipso facto*. Loss of faith caused loss of office.[75]

There is no room here to pursue the use of these texts at the Council of Basel (1431–49) or in the polemics it provoked. Suffice it to say that conciliarists as far removed from the University of Paris, the seat of conciliar thought, as Poland used these texts to argue for conciliar superiority.[76] Papal apologists such as Antonio Roselli tried to restrict the applicability of the same texts to an undoubted pope like Eugenius IV (1431–49).[77] Juan de Torquemada, in his encyclopedic defense of the

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[74] *Acta concilii Constantiensis*, ed. Heinrich Finke, vol. 2 (Münster, 1923), pp. 722–23.

[75] Thomas M. Izbicki, "Leonardo Dati's Sermon on the Circumcision of Jesus (1417)," in Steven J. McMichael and Susan E. Myers eds., *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, (Leiden, 2004), pp. 191–98.

[76] Thomas Wünsch, *Konziliarismus und Polen* (Paderborn, 1998), pp. 209, 212, 246, 248.

[77] Thomas A. Weitz, *Die Traktat des Antonio Roselli "De conciliis ac synodis generalibus"* (Paderborn, 2002), pp. 165, 317.

ecclesiastical institution and its papal sovereign, the *Summa de ecclesia* (1453), argued that Peter had been Paul's hierarchical superior. Paul had offered a charitable rebuke that had been heeded by Peter. Torquemada, like Dati, employed Huguccio's argument that an erring pope fell from his see. There was no reason to call a council to judge him. A council, if called, simply declared the fact that the former Roman pontiff had ceased to hold office.[78]

The polemical use of these biblical texts on circumcision reveals much about the argument from authority. No text was given just one interpretation. Even the texts about Christ's giving the keys to Peter could be interpreted, through the lens of quotations from Augustine, as making the prince of the apostles receive this power as a representative of the Church, not just of the apostolic see.[79] Thus, in a more limited case, the text from Acts could be used to argue for the greater equality of bishops with the pope or for a council's superiority as the ultimate arbiter of disputes. It could also be interpreted as having been called by Peter and authorized by him. The rebuke of Peter in Galatians could support the action of a council or even of a theologian in confrontation with a superior. It could also be turned aside with a demonstration that Peter had repented. Also, it could be restricted to cases of papal heresy, not of bad conduct. These texts, however, were almost always interpreted as keeping power within the limited circle of prelates and well-informed theologians. Even the use of these texts by such dissidents as Ockham tended to presume the sanctity of clerical authority. Authors such as Marsilius of Padua, who used these texts to undermine not just the pope but also the clergy, were unlikely to receive a favorable hearing. Ecclesiastical authority, however it was defined, remained a constant in the polemics of the Schism and the subsequent argument over the authority of pope and council. This puzzled the Hussites of Bohemia, who were hard put to understand how the Council of Basel could resist the power of the pope and yet condemn the dissidents of Bohemia for rejecting that same power.[80]

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[78] Izbicki, *Protector of the Faith*, pp. 69, 91.

[79] Thomas M. Izbicki, "A Papalist Reading of Gratian: Juan de Torquemada on c. *Quodcunque* [C. 24 q. 1 c. 6]," in Kenneth Pennington, Stanley Chodorow, and Keith H. Kendall eds., *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Syracuse, 13–18 August 1996*, (Vatican City, 2001), pp. 603–34.

[80] E. F. Jacob, "The Bohemians at the Council of Basel," in R. W. Seton-Watson ed., *Prague Essays*, (Oxford, 1949), pp. 81–123.

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE (1414–18)
AND THE END OF THE SCHISM

Phillip H. Stump

The Council of Constance effectively ended the Great Schism. It succeeded when earlier efforts—war, arbitration, negotiation, mutual abdication of the contenders, and even earlier conciliar efforts—had failed. The story of its success is an improbable one. When one considers the many ways in which it could have and almost did go wrong, the many obstacles to its success, and the many fortuitous events that contributed to the final victory, one is amazed that the Schism was ever terminated. In telling the story, I will emphasize the major obstacles and the ways in which they were overcome, showing how the Council built on earlier developments, also avoiding some of the earlier pitfalls. At each point I will identify the most important secondary works, the major differences of opinion among previous scholars, and the primary sources on which their judgments are based. No attempt will be made in this short space to be exhaustive, nor will I reproduce the thorough bibliographies found in the two outstanding recent monographs on the council by Ansgar Frenken[1] and Walter Brandmüller.[2] This chapter owes an enormous debt to them.

Frenken's historiographical survey of 100 years of scholarship on the

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[1] Ansgar Frenken, *Die Erforschung des Konstanzer Konzils (1414–1418) in den letzten 100 Jahren* (Paderborn, 1995) [= *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 25 (1993)], pp. 1–512. This work was originally written as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Cologne, directed by Odilo Engels and Erich Meuthen. (The dissertation was submitted and defended in 1994.)

[2] Walter Brandmüller, *Das Konzil von Konstanz*, 2 vols. (Paderborn, 1991 and 1997). A revised edition of the first volume was published in 2000; the relevant revisions concern the abdication of John XXIII. See the criticisms of Brandmüller's ecclesiological interpretation by Thomas Rathmann, *Geschehen und Geschichten des Konstanzer Konzils: Chroniken, Briefe, Lieder, und Sprüche als Konstituenten eines Ereignisses* (Munich, 2000); and reviews of Brandmüller's work: Jürgen Miethke, *Deutsches Archiv* 47 (1991), 692–95 and 56 (2000), 313–14; Jiří Kejř, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 79 (1993), 494–98 and 117 (2000), 583–86; Klaus-Frederic Johannes, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 121 (2004), 605–08; and Andreas Kraus, *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 61 (1998), 455–63.

Council appeared in 1994, exactly halfway between the publication dates of the two volumes of Brandmüller's monograph on the Council (1991 and 1997). It provides thorough and balanced judgments of earlier interpretations, showing how the interpretations of historians in different European countries have diverged from one another and noting with approval the more recent internationalizing of scholarship. Frenken celebrates the earlier efforts in this latter direction made by Heinrich Finke, whose monumental scholarship unearthed and made accessible most of the remaining unknown manuscript sources of the council in the great *Acta concilii Constanciensis* (hereafter cited as ACC). In his survey of the scholarship concerning the council's efforts to end the Schism, Frenken underlines the council's systematic refusal to decide who was the legitimate pope, calling this the council's "pragmatism."[3] Even the leading theorists of the day were tired of useless theological discussions, says Frenken; now "the only issue was to get rid of the stiffnecked and unloved papal pretenders."[4]

Brandmüller often reiterates, but more ironically, this "famous pragmatism" of the Council. For him it becomes a "hard pragmatism," because of what it meant for the three papal contenders, all of whom he views with much more sympathy than Frenken.[5] Brandmüller's is the first complete modern history of the Council. It is based on exhaustive consultation of earlier and more recent scholarship and uses all the available primary sources, including many new manuscript sources that Brandmüller himself first identified in libraries and archives. Scholars of the Council's union efforts will want to compare his bold new interpretations with the major earlier studies, including Finke's relevant introductory sections in the ACC and the sources he edits there and the works of Noël Valois and Sebastián Puig y Puig, still immensely valuable even though these scholars often worked without

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[3] Frenken, *Erforschung*, p. 166: "Daß die Frage der Legitimität die Konzilsväter berührte, steht außer Frage. Zur Wiederherstellung der Union stellte dieses Problem jedoch ein nahezu unüberwindbares Hindernis dar. Pragmatisches Handeln, was konkret die Ausklammerung dieser Frage bedeutete, prägte daher das Verhalten des Konzils…"

[4] Frenken, *Erforschung*, p. 123: "es ging allein darum, die halsstarrigen und ungeliebten Papstprätendenten loszuwerden."

[5] Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 1:194, 196, 2:276. See also Brandmüller's recent critical review of the earlier literature concerning John XXIII, "Johannes XXIII. im Urteil der Geschichte— oder die Macht des Klischees," *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 32 (2000), 106–45.

the benefit of the sources unearthed by Finke.[6] Above all, scholars will want to return *ad fontes*.

To my knowledge, the word *pragmatism* does not occur in the documents from Constance. What the Council fathers did speak of was their willingness to place the common good, the *bonum commune*, of the Church and Christendom—which in this case was the reunion of the Church—above the individual legal claims of any of the papal contenders or their adherents. The Council did succeed in ending the Schism, but more as a mediator than as a judge. To achieve its end of reunion, it did ultimately have to judge and depose two of the contenders, and to do so it had to assert the Council's superiority in matters of faith, union, and reform (in the famous decree *Haec sancta*). Much of the interest of historians in the Council of Constance has focused on these actions because of their significance for ecclesiological questions. Conciliarists at Basel and later Gallicans made more far-reaching claims for conciliar superiority based on them; others have asserted the limits of the conception of conciliar authority at Constance by attempting to contextualize *Haec sancta* and the papal depositions as emergency measures.[7] It is possible to misinterpret the Council's success in ending the Schism by interpreting it too narrowly from the perspective of these ecclesiological issues. In this contribution I will instead focus on the Council's practical efforts that led to success.

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[6] Noël Valois, *La France et le grand schisme d'Occident*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1896–1902); Sebastián Puig y Puig, *Episcopologio Barcinonense: Pedro de Luna, último papa de Aviñón (1387–1430)* (Barcelona, 1920). See also the works of Finke's collaborators and students discussed by Frenken, *Erforschung*, pp. 84–88; and the more recent interpretations of Karl August Fink (very important), Jürgen Miethke, and Hartmut Boockmann. See especially the works of Alberigo, Goñi Gaztambide, and Suárez Fernández cited in nn. 7, 16, 82, and 90 below. On the working relationship between Finke and Valois, see Frenken, *Erforschung*, pp. 91–92. See also the recent study of Jean-Philippe Goudot, "La restauration de l'unité visible de l'église au concile de Constance (1414/15–1418)," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 128 (2006), 594–612, which considers the work of union almost exclusively from a theological perspective.

[7] The best study of the Council of Constance from an ecclesiological perspective is Giuseppe Alberigo, *Chiesa conciliare: Identità e significato del conciliarismo* (Brescia, 1981). Papalist historians and theologians beginning in the 15th century sought to challenge the doctrine of conciliar superiority while affirming the work of the Council in ending the schism; see the very helpful study of Thomas M. Izbicki, "Papalist Reaction to the Council of Constance: Juan de Torquemada to the Present," *Church History* 55 (1986), 7–20. For a survey of recent interpretations of *Haec sancta*, including the "emergency decree" theory, see Frenken, *Erforschung*, pp. 360–89.

EARLY ATTEMPTS TO END THE SCHISM[8]

The *via concilii*—the path of the general council—was one of the earliest methods proposed for ending the Schism;[9] the council was first envisaged as a judge that would determine which contender was legitimate. This path was not promising, for reasons outlined by Álvarez Palenzuela.[10] Instead, in this early period, rulers often supported one papal contender with military or political action against his rival; to the extent such efforts were aimed at ending the schism by forcing the contender's supporters to abandon him, they were referred to as the *via facti*. The Hundred Years' War between the kings of England and France seemed to dictate that England would support Urban VI against Clementist France, and Edouard Perroy in fact argued that this was the prime motive of the English support for Urban.[11] Against this, Margaret Harvey asserts that the English acted more because of their conviction that Urban was the legitimate pope and their distrust of the French cardinals.[12] Improved relations with France offered promise for ending the Schism. Harvey argues:

> from the early thirteen-nineties…a very fruitful source of theories was the Anglo-French peace negotiations, in which the kings were trying to combine political alliance with a plan to end the schism. In this climate was born the idea of *via cessionis*…[13]

The *via cessionis* was the way of mutual abdication of both popes. It emerged as the most promising method of ending the Schism, and one could even argue that it was this *via*, enforced by withdrawal of obedience from the papal contenders, that finally brought success when it was combined with a new variety of the *via concilii* at Constance.

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[8] Several excellent overviews of the era of the Schism in the history of the Church place the ending of the Schism in its wider context: Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela, *El cisma de occidente* (Madrid, 1982); C. M. D. Crowder, *Unity, Heresy, and Reform, 1378–1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (New York, 1977); *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, ed. Hubert Jedin, vol. 3: *Die mittelalterliche Kirche* (Freiburg, 1966–68); and Étienne Delaruelle et al., *L'église au temps du grand schisme et de la crise conciliaire (1378–1449)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1962).

[9] On the theories concerning the general council during the Schism, the indispensable survey is Hermann Josef Sieben, *Traktate und Theorien zum Konzil: Vom Beginn des großen Schismas bis zum Vorabend der Reformation (1378–1521)* (Frankfort, 1983).

[10] Álvarez Palenzuela, *Cisma*, pp. 93–96.

[11] Édouard Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme d'Occident* (Paris, 1933), p. 57.

[12] Margaret Harvey, *Solutions to the Schism: A Study of Some English Attitudes, 1378–1409* (St. Ottilien, 1983), pp. 4–6.

[13] Harvey, *Solutions*, p. 6.

The door was opened to it by the electoral capitulation sworn by the Avignon cardinals at the conclave that elected Pedro de Luna to succeed Clement VII in 1394. The cardinals, including Luna, swore that if elected they would pursue all means to end the Schism, including abdication, if the majority of the cardinals deemed this was necessary. And Luna, as Pope Benedict XIII, again swore this oath soon after his election. In this very same year a council of French clergy promoted the *via cessionis*, favoring it over its rivals, the *via concilii* and the *via compromissi*, because, unlike these, it did not involve a determination of legitimacy of the rivals (the *via compromissi* envisaged arbitration by a panel selected by both rivals). Then another French council in 1398 voted to withdraw obedience from Benedict XIII in order to compel him to keep his promise. Howard Kaminsky has argued that the chief architect of this strategy was Simon de Cramaud, who, acting on behalf of his patron, the duke of Berry, had set forth a complete justification of it in his tract, *De subtractione obedientie*, in 1396.[14]

The advice of the French clergy in 1398 was far from unanimous, however, as revealed by the ballots cast at the council, most of which were not simply yea or nay votes but, instead, sometimes were quite lengthy explanations of the voter's complete response to the proposed action.[15] A substantial minority opposed withdrawal of obedience. The French court was divided, with the dukes of Berry and Burgundy strongly supporting the *via cessionis* and the withdrawal of obedience and the duke of Orléans resisting these methods. The duke of Anjou's territorial ambitions in Italy also led him to oppose withdrawal of obedience. And support was divided geographically, with the majority of clergy in the south opposing withdrawal. All these divisions would continue and would remain obstacles to reunion at Constance.

Benedict XIII energetically opposed the withdrawal. When the withdrawal of obedience was accompanied by a siege of Avignon aimed at compelling Benedict to abdicate, the town was taken, but Benedict was

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[14] Howard Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud and the Great Schism* (New Brunswick, 1983), pp. 178–206. On the first Paris Council and the birth of the *via cessionis*, see Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, pp. 108–45. Kaminsky provides an abridged English translation of *De subtractione*, pp. 340–56. For a discussion of Kaminsky's work and reference to his edition of the *De substractione*, see Hélène Millet and Emmanuel Poulle, *Le vote de la soustraction d'obédience en 1398* (Paris, 1988).

[15] Millet and Poulle have provided both a critical and a facsimile edition of these ballots. Several scholars, including Valois, Haller, and Kaminsky have analyzed the ballots in order to determine whether the tally of the vote given by Cramaud at the Council was accurate.

able to hold out in the papal palace, and ultimately the siege was lifted. Suárez Fernández details Benedict's frenetic diplomatic activity during this and the succeeding period and also his continuation of the *via facti*, especially in Italy.[16] Cramaud had also been engaged diplomatically, because he realized the importance of winning over other secular rulers in both obediences to the idea of withdrawal of obedience. He was perhaps close to winning over King Richard II and the emperor-elect Wenceslas when the depositions of these monarchs in 1399 and 1400 dashed these hopes.[17] Alberigo notes that the solution of the Schism was thus postponed for almost two decades. And within France, the policy of the Orléanist faction gained the upper hand, leading to restoration of obedience in 1402. The restoration was motivated chiefly by political considerations, but Benedict's ecclesiastical supporters also had strong grounds for opposing withdrawal of obedience, because Boniface IX, the rival "Roman" pope, unlike Benedict, had made no promise to abdicate.

This situation changed dramatically in 1406, when Angelo Correr was elected by the "Roman" cardinals to succeed the short-lived Innocent VII, Boniface's successor. An elderly Venetian, the first non-Neapolitan pope of the "Roman" line, he took the name Gregory XII. At the conclave, the cardinals had sworn an electoral capitulation similar to the one the Avignon cardinals had sworn in 1394. These electoral capitulations proved to be of extraordinary importance in ending the Schism, because the failure of the popes to carry them out was later used as evidence for their abetting the Schism and, thus, as grounds for compelling them to abdicate or, if they refused, deposing them.

Benedict responded cautiously but favorably to Gregory's overtures, and the two planned a meeting at which they could talk face to face about methods for ending the Schism, a plan sometimes referred to as the *via conventionis*. The failure of these efforts, probably due above all to the opposition of Ladislas, king of Naples,[18] led finally to the *via concilii*, through the defections of the majority of each pope's cardinals, who then joined together to convoke the Council of Pisa. As Álvarez Palenzuela perceptively observes, the experience of the cardinals work-

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[16] Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: ¿Antipapa o papa? (1328–1423)* (Barcelona, 2002), pp. 175–79.

[17] Alberigo, *Chiesa*, pp. 71–75.

[18] Ladislas was the son of Charles of Durazzo (Charles III), who had been Urban VI's protégé to replace the pro-Clementist queen Joan I of Naples.

ing together in the negotiations between the rival popes concerning their meeting was a major factor in facilitating this cooperation. Simon de Cramaud now explicitly combined the two *viae*: When other efforts to end the Schism had been exhausted, he argued, a general withdrawal of obedience was permissible, creating an absolute vacancy in the papacy. In this situation a council could be convoked by an adequate authority—which the cardinals represented.[19]

The council met at Pisa in 1409; the papal contenders were summoned, and when they failed to appear, they were tried and deposed.[20] A new pope, Petrus Philargi, a respected Franciscan of blameless life, was elected in a combined conclave by the cardinals who had deserted the papal contenders; he took the name Alexander V. The views about the Council of Pisa of three great scholars—Valois, Álvarez Palenzuela, and Landi—differ markedly. Against Valois' contention that the charges of excessive French influence over the Council (first voiced by Gregory XII) were simplistic, Álvarez Palenzuela calls attention to French funding and promises of benefices and the leadership of Simon de Cramaud at the Council. He argues that the Council acted not as a deliberative body but as a court, and he points out the sharp anti-papal rhetoric and the exaggerated and even fantastical charges against the papal contenders—for example, when Benedict was charged with predicting the future by means of two demons he allegedly kept in a leather purse. Valois, in contrast, argues that the vast majority of the charges were factual and appropriate.[21] Landi also issues a more favorable verdict on the Council, pointing out the surprisingly large and geographically diverse attendance, despite threats of Ladislas, and the degree of unanimity in the Council's decisions.[22]

Landi and Alberigo point out that the Council of Pisa, though in many ways a failure (it did not gain the complete support of all the secular

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[19] On the Council, see Nelson Minnich, "Councils of the Catholic Reformation (Pisa I to Trent): An Historiographical Survey," *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 32 (2000), 307–09.

[20] Minnich, "Councils"; see the works he cites and also and the relevant sections in the surveys cited in n. 8 above.

[21] Valois, *La France*, 4:92, 97. Valois says that the basic charges were almost undeniable; then ten additional charges, which had to do with heresy, were added, more to be held in reserve than to be publicized.

[22] Aldo Landi, *Il papa deposto: L'idea conciliare nel Grande Scisma* (Turin, 1985); see also G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson, Apostle of Unity: His Church Politics and Ecclesiology*, trans. J. C. Grayson (Leiden, 1999), 162–66, who expresses judgments similar to Landi's.

powers and did not deal with reform) did win the obedience of a very large part of Christendom and, most important, it elected a pope who could convoke a council that would have a good claim to represent the Church, so that the situation in which the Church found itself on the eve of Constance was vastly different from that on the eve of Pisa. However, Alexander V died in less than one year, and his successor, John XXIII, was a decided mixed blessing. Baldassare Cossa had been both a cardinal and a *condottiere* and had made progress in regaining control of some parts of the Papal States, but the conduct of his life was highly questionable, and he did not enjoy the moral or spiritual authority of his predecessor. As pope he convoked a council at Rome to take further actions toward union and reform, but it was poorly attended and accomplished little. Even in his own obedience, his position was not strong, but an even greater problem was that his convocation of the Council of Constance would not be recognized by the other obediences, and this is why Sigismund's actions were so important in calling the Council into being.

Sigismund's *edictum universale* summoning people to attend a general council to be held at Constance preceded the official papal bull of convocation, *Ad pacem et exaltationem*, by more than one month (30 October and 9 December 1413, respectively). The decision that the council was to meet at Constance 1 November 1414 was made jointly by Sigismund and John XXIII's envoys in negotiations at Como in October 1413. Brandmüller argues that Sigismund's *edictum* merely announced this joint decision and he rejects earlier views that John XXIII was pressured by Sigismund into calling the Council, pointing out that John XXIII did desire a council in order to win further support for his legitimacy and to reinforce the measures against his rivals. Brandmüller presents evidence to show that in the months leading up to the Council of Constance, John XXIII was acting in an energetic, logical, and goal-oriented manner, not out of weakness caused by Ladislas's military advances in Italy or pressure from Sigismund. When John sent out copies of the bull of convocation for the Council, he also sent appeals for funds to finance military action against Ladislas.

Other scholars have argued for the strong role of Sigismund. Alberigo reminds us that Sigismund's choice was made in consultation with various German princes, and he stresses the importance of Sigismund's convocation of the Council in the minds of such contemporaries as Francesco Zabarella and Dietrich of Niem, who both argued at this time that a general council could legitimately be convoked by an emperor,

especially in an emergency situation like the one at hand. Dietrich presented historical precedents for the convocations of councils by emperors and argued that without the fear of imperial authority, the papal contenders would never come to an accord.[23]

Soon after his success at Como, Sigismund's position in northern Italy began to erode. But in the window of opportunity of late 1413, the Council had been convoked, and the plans thus set in motion became so firmly established throughout Europe, in large measure because of Sigismund's imperial prestige and support, that they could not be reversed, even if John XXIII had desired to do so as his situation improved in Italy in 1414, especially after Ladislas's death 6 August. So John XXIII traveled to Constance, where he presided over the opening of the Council on 5 November 1414. He had provided security for his travel to Constance and for his safety there by an alliance with Friedrich IV, the Hapsburg duke of Austria. Relations between him and Sigismund were strained because of Friedrich's efforts to assert his power in the Tirol. To provide security at the Council, Sigismund named the Count Palatine of the Rhine, Ludwig of Bavaria, as official protector, even though Ludwig still adhered to Gregory XII.[24] Though sparse at first, participation grew until the Council of Constance became the largest medieval Church council. The large representation from all parts of Christendom was one of the major reasons for the Council's success in ending the Schism.

The records of the council of Constance

The official acta of the Council were compiled by its notaries. They consist chiefly of the minutes of the 45 general sessions and the less formal congregations held between these. Alongside official decrees the acta include petitions and other documents submitted to the Council, as well as selected correspondence to and from the Council. The existing

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[23] Alberigo, *Chiesa*, pp. 129–34. Alberigo argues that, in spite of Dietrich's borrowing almost verbatim a large passage from Marsiglio of Padua, he was not proposing radical change but, rather, was attempting to deal with the emergency situation created by the Schism.

[24] Ludwig is often referred to as the duke of Bavaria in the conciliar documents, but to make matters confusing, there were at least two other dukes of Bavaria present at the Council: Duke Louis of Bavaria-Ingolstadt, who was also brother of the queen of France, Isabeau de Bavière, and chief of the French royal delegation at Constance; and Duke Friedrich of Bavaria-Landshut.

manuscripts of the official acta show some variation in organization and texts, because they were copied at different times by persons with different interests from the official acta as maintained by the notaries. Later, the Council of Basel made an epitome of the official Constance acta for use at that council, and the earliest printed edition of Constance acta was made from a manuscript of this epitome. The monumental collections of acta of the ecumenical councils compiled during the 16th and 17th centuries by Labbé, Hardouin, and others all used the Basel epitome as their core, supplemented by texts brought from manuscripts of the full official acta and other texts from various sources.[25] The great watershed was the edition of Hermann von der Hardt in the fourth volume of his *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense concilium*. Hardt had at his disposal three relatively complete and reliable texts of the full official acta, and he included in his edition all the texts from these that were not already included in the Basel epitome. He also included excerpts from many other texts, such as journals and private collections of acta, as well as his own rubrics, explanations, and commentary, which he unfortunately did not always clearly identify as his own. Despite the resulting confusion for the reader, Hardt's edition of the official acta is on the whole remarkably reliable, as C. M. D. Crowder has demonstrated in his splendid study of it.[26] One can generally identify texts drawn by Hardt from the official acta as the ones he cites *ex prima editione* (the Basel epitome) or *ex Manuscriptis Brunswicensis, Lipsiensis, et Gothensis* (his three manuscripts of the official acta).[27] Later Giovan Domenico Mansi, in his huge conciliar collection, took most of Hardt's texts into his edition of the Constance acta. Most works by modern scholars concerning the Council of Constance make reference to Mansi's edition for texts found in both Hardt and Mansi, because Mansi's edition is much more accessible to the reader.[28] Thus, it is important to know

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[25] Ansgar Frenken, "Die Quellen des Konstanzer Konzils in den Sammlungen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," *Annuarium historiae conciliorum*, 30 (1998), 416–39.

[26] C. M. D. Crowder, "Le concile de Constance et l'édition de von der Hardt," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 57 (1962), 409–45. Hermann von der Hardt, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense concilium*, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1692–1700).

[27] Hardt's MS Brunswicensis (B) is currently Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS Theol. 172. See Chris L. Nighman and Phillip Stump, "A New Bibliographical Register of the Sermons and other Speeches Delivered at the Council of Constance (1414–1418)," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 50 (2006), 71–83, at p. 76 n. 21.

[28] *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. Giovan Domenico Mansi (Paris, 1901–27; repr. Graz, 1961). See Phillip H. Stump, "The Official Acta of the Council of Constance in the Edition of Mansi," in *The Two Laws: Studies in Medieval*

that Mansi refers to the texts from Hardt's manuscripts of the official acta as *ex tribus mss. German.*, although not mentioning Hardt's edition explicitly.[29] In the other volumes of his great collection, Hardt edited other Constance materials drawn from numerous manuscripts at his disposal, organized according to major themes. The second and fifth volumes contain texts relevant to the Council's efforts to end the Schism (many of these are reprinted in vol. 28 of Mansi's collection).

In the centuries after Hardt's edition, other scholars edited individual texts related to the Council of Constance, until the indefatigable labor of Heinrich Finke provided a second major watershed in his *Acta concilii Constanciensis*.[30] Finke searched the libraries of Europe for new manuscript sources. In volumes 3 and 4 of the ACC, he published many documents pertaining to the ending of the Schism, organized topically, then chronologically within topics. In his introductions to each topical section, Finke and his co-editor Hermann Heimpel provided a survey of the events and documents.[31]

In volume 2 of the ACC Finke published a register of sermons and other speeches delivered at the Council and editions of selections from the sermons and speeches that had not yet been edited.[32] In this volume are also found editions of four "journals" of eyewitnesses: the German burger of Constance, Ulrich Richental;[33] the French cardinal, Guillaume Fillastre; the Italian papal notary, Iacopo Cerretani; and Guillaume de la Tour, the archdeacon of St. Flour in the diocese of Clermont. Richental offers insights into the relationship between the Council and the townspeople, but because he was a layman, his journal generally does

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Legal History Dedicated to Stephan Kuttner, ed. Laurent Mayali and Stephanie A. J. Tibbetts (Washington, DC, 1990). See especially pp. 233–34, for a chart that identifies the sources and current locations of the other texts included in Mansi.

[29] Stump, "Acta," p. 233. Texts from the official acta found in only one or two of Hardt's manuscripts are generally identified by Mansi by the name of the manuscript (e.g., *ex cod. ms. Lipsiensi*).

[30] *Acta concilii Constanciensis*, ed. Heinrich Finke, Johannes Hollnsteiner, and Hermann Heimpel (Münster, 1896–1928; repr. Münster, 1982) [hereafter ACC]. On Finke and his edition, see Frenken, *Erforschung*, pp. 17–89.

[31] Wherever relevant, Finke makes reference to documents pertaining to the pre-history of these relationships that he had edited in vol. 1 of the ACC.

[32] See Nighman and Stump, "Register." Finke's register is incomplete, and his editions of excerpts from the sermons usually provide only a fraction of the text.

[33] *Ulrichs von Richental Chronik des Constanzer Concils 1414 bis 1418*, ed. Michael Buck (Tübingen, 1882; repr. Hildesheim, 1962); see also the two-volume facsimile edition and critical study of this diary by Otto Feger, *Das Konzil zu Konstanz, MCDXIV–MCDXVIII* (Starnberg, 1964).

not provide new insights into the Council's deliberations, in which he did not participate. Fillastre, however, was intimately involved in the Council's work, often as a principal actor; his account is well-informed and accurate but must be read critically, because it reflects his own personal interests and feelings.[34] Cerretani had access to some of the most important conciliar documents,[35] which he reproduces in his diary, and he was knowledgeable about the events of the Council, but there are some inaccuracies in his statements about events in which he was not directly involved.[36] Finke edited these journals in the ACC, but only from selected manuscripts, and he did not reproduce the documents that the authors inserted into their journals if these had already been edited by Hardt and Mansi. Thus, the historian using Finke's edition of the journals will need to have a copy of Hardt or Mansi at hand. Excellent translations of both journals were made by Louise Loomis (as well as a translation of Richental's journal), and in some cases she did include the texts of the documents that Finke omitted.[37]

John XXIII and the council

John XXIII came to the Council expecting that it would confirm the decisions of Pisa and take definitive measures against his rivals, but within eight months he had been deposed by the council he had convoked. In early 1415, a growing consensus emerged that the *via cessionis* continued to be the most promising way of ending the Schism and that the Council must prevail on all three contenders, including John XXIII himself, to give up their claims. In December, Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly incurred John XXIII's wrath when he pushed the Council to extend full honors to Gregory XII's cardinals at the Council, even though

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[34] See *Humanisme et culture géographique à l'époque du Concile de Constance: Autour de Guillaume Fillastre: Actes du Colloque de l'Université de Reims, 18–19 novembre 1999* (Turnhout, 2002).

[35] These documents include texts of the sermons delivered at Constance; see Nighman and Stump, "Register," p. 73; and Frenken, *Erforschung*, p. 35 n. 64.

[36] After May 1415 the diary provides little more than copies of documents and speeches (however, often these are quite valuable because they do not appear in other sources); see ACC 2:9–10.

[37] *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church*, trans. Louise Ropes Loomis, ed. John Hine Mundy and Kennerly M. Woody (New York, 1961). Her judicious emendation, p. 358, of a serious error in Finke's text of Fillastre, ACC 2:108, is confirmed in a parallel text unearthed by Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 2:294.

they were still loyal to Gregory. After his arrival, Sigismund supported this action. These diplomatic gestures may have paved the way for a proposal presented 25 January by Count Palatine Ludwig of Bavaria, suggesting that Gregory would consider the possibility of a mutual abdication of all three contenders, provided that John XXIII was not presiding over the Council (Mansi 27:552–53). Here we can observe why the "dual convocation" of the Council by Sigismund and John XXIII was so significant. Building on the "door opened" by Gregory's proposal, Cardinal Fillastre called 30 January for the mutual cession of all the rivals, including John (Mansi 27:553B–555E). Brandmüller aptly describes the brilliant rhetorical strategy of this proposal, which affirms the legitimacy of Pisa and builds on an acknowledgement of John's right to the papacy but challenges him, for the sake of union, to be willing to give up that right, like the good shepherd willing to give his life for his sheep. At the same time, Fillastre's proposal brandished a threat: the Council under certain circumstances has the power to compel him to do so.[38] On the day following Fillastre's proposal, d'Ailly presented to the cardinals a draft formula for John's abdication (ACC 2:82–83).

John, of course, resisted these measures, with the support of most Italian prelates, who enjoyed a numerical majority at the council because of the larger number of bishoprics in Italy and the honorary prelates created by John. This potential obstacle was overcome by the Council's decision on 7 February to vote by nations, rather than by individual prelate, and that decision appears to have been made by the nations themselves, *de facto*, as Fillastre puts it. Delaruelle compares the revolution involved to the converse decision in the French Revolution of 1789 to vote by head rather than by estate.[39] Much has been written

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[38] Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 1:189–91. In his portrayal of these events, pp. 187–97, Brandmüller depicts John's downfall as the result of an increasingly well orchestrated plan, even a conspiracy engineered by Fillastre, d'Ailly, and Sigismund. This view is somewhat at odds with the evidence presented by Finke's student, H. G. Peter, *Die Informationen Papst Johanns XXIII. und dessen Flucht von Konstanz nach Schaffhausen* (Freiburg, 1926), which Brandmüller cites favorably in other respects; see Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 1:227 n. 5. Peter, pp. 100–11, depicts a more widespread call among the German, English, and French nations for abdication of all three popes. In his review of the first volume of *Konzil*, Jürgen Miethke (see n. 2 above) also contrasts Brandmüller's picture of these events with the expression of "öffentliche Meinung" evident at the Council. On d'Ailly, see the excellent study by Louis B. Pascoe, *Church and Reform: Bishops, Theologians, and Canon Lawyers in the Thought of Pierre d'Ailly, 1351–1420* (Leiden, 2005).

[39] ACC 2:19: "Interim nationes, videlicet Gallie, Germanie et Anglie, et ita postea Ytalie, per se ipsas se congregaverunt et deciderunt de facto questionem, utrum per

about the role of nations and nationalism at the Council of Constance.[40] The most balanced account is probably that of Heinrich Finke, written amazingly in 1937 at a time of intense German nationalism;[41] Finke argues that the conciliar nations had little to do with modern nations, since they were not based on national or political unity, but were rather conceived of as geographical regions corresponding to south (Italy), north (England), west (France) and east (Germany). However, early national feeling did find expression at the Council, especially between the French and English; Finke adds that it is amazing there were not outbreaks of violence among the nations at Constance, especially after France's humiliating defeat at Agincourt.

The adoption of the method of voting by nations weakened John XXIII's hand at the Council greatly and played a major role in his concessions concerning the formula for abdication. When John XXIII finally submitted a text for the abdication formula that the Council could approve, it was formally enacted in the second general session, 2 March (Mansi 27:568D–569C), and there was great rejoicing in the Council and in the town. However, tensions grew in the next days as the Council pressured John to name procurators for his abdication in the planned negotiations with Benedict XIII and especially wanted him to name Sigismund as one of these. At the general congregation held 16 March, John declared himself unwilling to accept a procurator; he wanted to go personally to Nice to negotiate with Benedict, and he also proposed transferring the council to Nice (Mansi 27:573D–575A).

Valois explains that John's increasing assertiveness was partly the result of increasing support within the French nation.[42] Earlier, the representatives of the University of Paris had lent their support to the plan

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nationes vel per capita singula procederetur. Et congregaverunt se separatim." See also Cerretani, ACC 2:211, who says the French nation voted to establish this method 7 February, as the German and English nations had earlier, and that this method "communi omnium sapientium sentencia reputatum est fore bonum inicium ad unionem ecclesie sancte Dei." See Delaruelle et al., *Église*, p. 173; and Peter, *Informationen*, pp. 75–88.

[40] See Frenken, *Erforschung*, pp. 352–57; and the works of Hollnsteiner, Loomis, Powers, and Gómez de Arteche y Catalina cited there.

[41] Heinrich Finke, "Die Nation in den spätmittelalterlichen allgemeinen Konzilien," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 57 (1937), 323–38; repr. in *Das Konstanzer Konzil*, ed. Remigius Bäumer (Darmstadt, 1977), pp. 347–68. Finke notes that the sources give little insight into the deliberations that preceded the 7 February decision. He thinks that the arrival of Robert Hallum must have played a role.

[42] See Valois, *La France*, 4:278–84.

for triple cession of the rival popes; the French nation cooperated closely with Sigismund, especially since it was led by Jean Mauroux, the patriarch of Antioch, who, after ardently supporting John XXIII earlier, had become one of Sigismund's closest allies. However, the French cardinals had begun to oppose this acquiescence starting around February 14; Valois speculates that they feared the growing power of Sigismund over the Council and their loss of influence within the French nation. The abdication by procurators would have put very great power in Sigismund's hands, especially if he were one of the procurators.

The envoys of the French court arrived 5 March. Valois points out the close ties of loyalty that each had with John XXIII and reports the suspicion at the Council that they had come with instructions to oppose the path of triple cession. The royal ambassadors did support John XXIII's desire not to appoint procurators for his abdication, and they even broached the idea of transferring the Council to Avignon. Sigismund was disturbed by the French nation's apparent change of course, and having secured the agreement of the German and English nations to a proposal requiring John XXIII to abdicate by procurators, he entered a meeting 18 or 19 March at which the French nation was deliberating with four cardinals.[43] Sigismund brought with him representatives of these two nations and powerful secular lords of the Empire to try to push the French nation to agree to the proposal. This effort at coercion backfired, and the nation refused to deliberate as long as the representatives of the other nations were present. After Sigismund and the others left, the French nation finished deliberations and voted; Valois says that the vast majority basically followed the lead of the royal ambassadors; i.e., the Council was not to be dissolved or transferred, but if it were transferred, it must be with the approval of the Council and of Sigismund and must be to a place within the empire; John XXIII was not to leave Constance without permission and was to give full powers to procurators named by Council, but they were not to act unless his rivals also agreed to abdicate by procurators (the royal envoys knew Benedict would not do so). Thus the envoys were continuing to do things that favored John but at the same time made

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[43] The incident is mentioned by Fillastre and Cerretani, ACC 2:23–24, 222–24, who date it to 19 March. Valois cites a French diary partially edited by Johannes Keppler, and in his *Additions et corrections*, 4:532, he identifies this as the diary of Guillaume de la Tour, from which Finke communicated the relevant information to him. The incident appears in de la Tour, ACC 2:357–58, where it is dated to 18 March.

considerable concessions to the Council. The cardinals, working with the royal envoys, managed to reach a compromise that would be a middle way acceptable to both the pope and the three nations.

John appears to have been frightened by this turn of events, and in the early morning hours of 21 March, he fled from Constance with the aid of Duke Friedrich IV of Austria to Friedrich's castle at Schaffhausen, disguised as a Landsknecht with crossbow.[44] John's flight was possibly the gravest threat the Council ever faced. It has been interpreted very differently by different historians. Brandmüller believes that John fled because he had real reason to fear for his safety and even his life; he does not think the flight seriously threatened the Council, especially since John maintained contact with the Council and explained that he had left in order to be able to carry out his abdication in freedom, which he did not enjoy at the Council. Brandmüller implies that Sigismund wanted John's escape, had tried to drive him to it, and did not try to prevent it even though he had been alerted to John's plan.[45] The flight left the Council in Sigismund's hands and gave him a "spectacular pretext for a now popeless council."

Alberigo, however, stresses the profound crisis created by the flight and argues that the pope had committed a major dogmatic act, "insane and theologically arrogant at once, by interrupting and refuting his communion with the council." The Council was in grave danger of dissolving and, challenged with this threat to its very identity, it was "constrained by the facts to give itself a soul, that is to find awareness as an assembly and a historical consciousness that up to this moment had existed in a latent state." He underlines the importance of the work of Sigismund in creating confidence and security, the diplomatic activity of the cardinals

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[44] Peter, *Informationen*, pp. 252–97, weighs the conflicting evidence of the numerous sources and concludes that John XXIII departed the city with Friedrich IV in the hour after midnight.

[45] Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 1:228 n. 6, 1:239. On p. 227 n. 5, Brandmüller cites Peter, *Informationen*, as the best study of the events connected with John XXIII's flight. However, his own interpretation differs from Peter's in several important respects. Peter argues, pp. 232–34, that John did not have reason to fear for his life at Constance; his real fear was that he would be compelled to follow through on his promise to abdicate, and that the dissolution of the Council was the only real goal of his flight (pp. 229, 235–40). Peter also argues that John's complaint about his lack of freedom at the Council appears somewhat hypocritical in light of John's own efforts to limit free deliberation in the early months of the Council (pp. 59–62, 238–41). Finally, Peter presents evidence that Sigismund, when informed of John's plan to flee on 20 March, did try to prevent it by posting sentinels (pp. 235, 296–97).

in trying to prevent complete rupture with John, and, above all, the work of the conciliar leaders, especially the theologians, in developing a thorough and satisfactory explanation of the Council's authority to meet and act in these unusual circumstances.[46]

Jean Gerson, the great theologian and chancellor of the University of Paris, played a decisive role. His sermon, *Ambulate dum lucem habetis*, preached 23 March, provided firm theological support for the Council's authority, received directly from God, to represent the universal Church and to meet and act even without the presence of the pope.[47] The sermon also contained ideas and words that would soon become part of the fundamental conciliar decree, *Haec sancta*, which was formally enacted 30 March (Holy Saturday) in the Fourth General Session. Intense negotiation preceded this session; delegations of cardinals traveled back and forth between the Council and the pope, bringing offers from the pope, while the nations deliberated about the wording of the measures that were to be included in the decree. About these deliberations we are poorly informed.[48]

Alberigo points to a draft of four propositions developed 29 March by the French, German, and English nations working with Sigismund;[49] he believes this draft formed the basis of *Haec sancta*. In a chart, Alberigo then compares the text of this draft with the two texts of *Haec sancta* (the first enacted in the fourth general session, the second in the fifth).[50] The most important clauses in the decree, in terms of their importance for ending the Schism, are the ones that assert the legitimacy of the Council, its authority received directly from the Holy Spirit, the fact that it represents the Universal Church militant, and the requirement that everyone (of whatever estate or dignity he be, even papal) obey the Council in matters pertaining to faith, to ending the Schism, and to general reform of the Church in head and members. The final phrase concerning reform was omitted by Cardinal Zabarella when he read

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[46] Alberigo, *Chiesa*, pp. 151–54.

[47] Alberigo, *Chiesa*, 154–60; Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson, Apostle of Unity*, pp. 192–95. On Gerson, see especially Louis B. Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform* (Leiden, 1974).

[48] Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 1:239 n. 1, observes that the accounts of Fillastre and Cerretani do not agree exactly, particularly about dates.

[49] Hardt, *Concilium Constantiense*, 4:81.

[50] The chart appears in Alberigo, *Chiesa*, pp. 168–73. On pp. 174–86, he then proceeds to a detailed textual analysis and comparison of the three texts, noting that the lacunae in our sources concerning the manner in which the texts themselves came into being make us aware of the "dimensione assembleare di queste decisioni."

the decree in the fourth session.[51] The uproar that ensued makes clear that the majority of the Council believed that these words were essential to the decree, and it was for this reason that the decree was enacted again in fifth session, 8 April, with the missing words restored. Again and again the Council fathers had stressed that effective reunion of the Church was impossible without reform. The way in which reform and union were to be linked would become a major point of contention again in 1417.

At first the cardinals and the envoys of the French king had maintained the hope of restoring the relationship between John and the Council, but when he left Schaffhausen and continued to move further from Constance, they appear to have abandoned this hope, and most of those who had joined him at Schaffhausen left him. The council's assertions in *Haec sancta* became all the more important as John's continued flight posed an even graver threat. The day before John left Schaffhausen, Sigismund declared war on Duke Friedrich of Austria, despite efforts of the cardinals and others to dissuade him. Fillastre says that John had become Friedrich's captive. When Friedrich continued to move away from Constance, taking John with him, Sigismund placed Friedrich under imperial ban.[52] This meant that all Friedrich's fiefs in southwest Germany were forfeited and could be confiscated by Sigismund. The Swiss aided Sigismund in his war and were rewarded with some of these lands, especially the Aargau. These developments show that an astute German king could still make effective use of residual powers of the empire.[53] Sigismund's Swiss allies had built a novel political system within the empire, using a highly effective combination of

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[51] Zabarella also appears to have omitted an entire clause in the decree that called for the punishment of everyone of whatever status ("etiam si papalis exsistat") who contumaciously refuses to obey the decrees of this or any other general Council. In any event this clause appears in the version of *Haec sancta* enacted in the fifth session. See Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 1:254–56, for his alternative translation of the phrase *etiam si papalis exsistat*.

[52] On these developments see Aegidius Tschudi, *Chronicon Helveticum, 8*, ed. Aegidius Tschudi, Peter Stadler, Bernhard Stettler, Christof Koch, and Christian Sieber (Basel, 1990), pp. 31*–40* and 29–33, nn. 23–24.

[53] Concerning Sigismund's use of such strategies, see Heinrich Koller, "Zur Reformpolitik Kaiser Sigmunds," in *Sigismund von Luxemburg: Kaiser und König in Mitteleuropa, 1387–1437: Beiträge zur Herrschaft Kaiser Sigismunds und der europäischen Geschichte um 1400*, ed. Josef Macek et al. (Warendorf, 1994), pp. 15–20; and idem, "Kaiser Siegmunds Kampf gegen Herzog Friedrich IV. von Österreich," in *Studia Luxemburgensia: Festschrift Heinz Stoob zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Friedrich Fahlbusch and Peter Johanek (Warendorf, 1989), 313–52.

war and mediation; could Sigismund have been influenced by their model in his actions of 1415? His successful campaign against Friedrich was followed up by the mediation of Duke Louis of Bavaria-Ingolstadt, whom Sigismund sent to gain Friedrich's submission. The success of this mediation then resulted in John XXIII's submission. In this way a grave threat to the Council was overcome, because John was planning to flee to France, probably with the hope of transferring the council to Avignon.

John sent letters to princes in France indicating his desire to flee into France; he told Duke John the Fearless of Burgundy that he planned to go to Nice and there to abdicate in person.[54] John XXIII had moved from Schaffhausen to Laufenburg, then to Freiburg, and finally to Breisach, very near the French border, where the duke of Burgundy had two thousand knights stationed on the other side of the Rhine. From Breisach, John XXIII could have crossed the bridge over the Rhine and sought the protection of the Burgundian forces, but the captain commanding the bridge refused him access. John XXIII then moved to Duke Friedrich of Austria's fortress at Neuenberg, hoping to cross the Rhine there, but by this time Friedrich had capitulated to Sigismund and would not allow John to enter the castle; Friedrich had him conveyed back to Freiburg.

John now expressed to the Council his willingness to abdicate immediately with no conditions. But the Council had already undertaken proceedings for his trial and deposition, which were carried through over the next two months. Charges were drawn up by a specially appointed commission and hundreds of witnesses were heard.[55] The charges especially concerned John's flight and the dangers it brought to the union efforts, his immoral and even criminal actions, and his maladministration of the Church, especially his simony. Charges of heresy were eventually abandoned for insufficient evidence. Some of the charges against John were tendentious and supported by little evidence; Brandmüller sharply criticizes the trial and argues that the deposition of John XXIII was unnecessary and unfair, since John had already

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[54] On these developments, see Valois, *La France*, 4:294–95, 302–05.

[55] For the charges, see Mansi, 27:662–73. Valois, *La France*, 4:309, first called attention to, and Finke later edited, a summary of the testimony as found in two manuscripts; see ACC 3:11–29 (introduction, with identification of the manuscripts on p. 29) and 157–209 (edition); later, he discovered and edited a protocol containing testimony of individual witnesses, from which he made a partial edition, ACC 4:758–891.

expressed willingness to abdicate without conditions. Brandmüller even proposes that John XXIII really abdicated, rather than being deposed.[56] The truth is that John XXIII both was deposed and abdicated. After his deposition, he signed a statement accepting the sentence completely and at the same time formally abdicating any right he had ever had to the papacy. This statement was of great importance to the Spanish in Sigismund's negotiations with them at Perpignan, as was the formal evidence of Gregory XII's abdication.

The abdication of Gregory XII

Carlo Malatesta, the lord of Rimini and Gregory's envoy with procuratorial powers to abdicate for him, arrived 15 June. After two weeks of intense negotiation, his agreement with the nations was formally ratified in the decrees of the fourteenth general session, 4 July, whose specific provisions offer insight into the complex diplomatic negotiations involved in ending the Schism.[57] When the session proceeded to action, Job Vener read Gregory XII's two bulls giving his procurators power to convoke the Council and to authorize its actions (Mansi 27:733–34). The second of these gave Carlo Malatesta complete powers to do whatever was necessary to promote union, and to name a person to execute these powers for him. Malatesta named Johannes Dominici, who then convoked and authorized the Council in Gregory's name.

In the further specific decrees (Mansi 27:741B–743A), two principal concerns of Gregory XII seem manifest: 1) that his abdication ultimately lead to the successful reunion of the Church; and 2) that his followers be fairly treated after his abdication. Thus, the Council confirmed all reasonable actions taken by Gregory as pope "in his real obedience." It promised to do its best [*quantum fieri poterit*] to resolve fairly [*ita quod una pars alia deterius non tractatibur*] conflicts among two or three rival candidates for the same office advanced by the rival

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[56] Frenken, *Erforschung*, p. 166, wonders whether other scholars will share without reservation Brandmüller's radical conclusion that "No true, legitimate pope was deposed at Constance."

[57] See ACC 3:337–39 for documents that give insight into these negotiations. Of fundamental importance here are documents collected by Job Vener, the protonotary of Count Palatine Ludwig; for all this see Hermann Heimpel, *Die Vener von Gmund und Strasbourg 1162–1447: Studien und Texte zur Geschichte einer Familie sowie des gelehrten Beamtentums und der Konzilien von Pisa, Konstanz, und Basel*, 3 vols. (Göttingen, 1982), 1:329–61.

popes. And it guaranteed that Gregory's cardinals and curial officials would retain their offices.[58] To insure the successful completion of the reunion, further decrees guaranteed that no one be allowed to leave the Council without permission until a new pope had been elected and that Sigismund should guarantee the security of the Council. The Council also decreed that the election of the new pope should take place only according to the form and method to be determined by the Council and should not take place without the Council's consent. After all these actions, Carlo Malatesta officially renounced the papacy in Gregory's name.

The wording of the decrees suggests that Gregory was (reluctantly) willing to abdicate before Benedict did because the Council insisted on it as absolutely expedient to reunion. (Malatesta, in turn, had insisted that the Council enact a decree stating its insistence.) The wording of the decrees further suggests that Malatesta placed pressure on the cardinals to agree to the decrees described above in order to insure a successful new election; most of the cardinals later alleged that they had agreed to these decrees under duress. Two who did not were Gregory XII's two cardinal nephews, Antonio Correr and Gabriele Condulmer (later Pope Eugenius IV); they interestingly became two of Sigismund's most loyal followers at the Council, often in opposition to the other cardinals.

Carlo Malatesta, who played a major role in the negotiations that led to these decrees,[59] is surely one of the individuals who deserve most credit for ending the Schism.[60] His family was one of great political and cultural importance in Italy, humanists with a history of devout belief. Malatesta himself was absolutely loyal to Gregory XII, and Gregory gave him extensive military commissions in the March of Ancona. Because of his absolute loyalty, he had won Gregory's complete confidence and was able to persuade him to abdicate and to trust Malatesta with very great powers to make decisions for him as his procurator at the Council. Malatesta seems never to have doubted that Gregory was the

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[58] No specific provision was made for Gregory himself at this time, except for an interesting statement that, should a decree be enacted forbidding Gregory to be re-elected pope after his resignation, the reason given in this decree would not be that Gregory was unfit for the office.

[59] See ACC 3:338–39, a protocol of deliberations of the nations which give "responsiones d. deputatorum de nacionibus, prout eis videtur procedendum circa ea, que magnificus d. Karolus de Malatestis obtulit ordinanda."

[60] On Malatesta and his role, see especially P. J. Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini: A Political History* (London, 1974), pp. 135–46.

legitimate pope, but he was also convinced that reunion could not occur without his abdication. He ardently pursued further efforts to complete the reunion after the abdication, by writing to Benedict and his supporters to urge his abdication and their withdrawal of obedience from him.[61]

The turning point: the *Capitula Narbonensia*

Two of Benedict XIII's leading supporters played a role analogous to Malatesta's in their obedience: King Ferdinand of Aragon, and the great Dominican preacher and saint, Vincent Ferrer. Ferdinand had made the arrangements for Benedict and himself to meet in Nice (a meeting later transferred to Perpignan) for negotiations with Sigismund and conciliar envoys. Benedict was a figure of enormous stature and prestige. Scion of an old and distinguished Valencian family, he was deeply loved in Spain, especially in Aragon, not least because he was the first Spanish pope. He had gained diplomatic experience in the service of Clement VII and was a tireless, eloquent, and learned defender of the legitimacy of the Avignon popes. The clergy of Spain was unswervingly loyal to him and was tied to him by many bonds of patronage. Ferdinand himself was deeply bound to Benedict by ties of affection and debt, for Benedict had organized the very reasonable process of arbitration known as the Compromise of Caspe, which had resulted in Ferdinand's peaceful choice in a disputed succession to the throne.[62] Ironically, the success of the Perpignan negotiations came to depend on Ferdinand's willingness to abandon his patron.

Ferdinand did ultimately withdraw his obedience from Benedict, because his commitment to reunion of the Church outweighed even his bonds to Benedict. Further, as Álvarez Palenzuela has observed, Ferdinand was able to effect the withdrawal of obedience of both Aragon and Castile, because Ferdinand was also the regent for his nephew, the young King Juan II of Castile. Despite his much younger age than Benedict's, Ferdinand was also a leader of great stature and was one of

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[61] ACC 3:340–51, letters of Malatesta to Benedict XIII and Ferdinand of Aragon.

[62] See Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII*, pp. 260–64, who notes the curious parallel between the procedure used here—appointment of a commission of legal experts drawn from each of the three kingdoms who would decide which candidate had the better legal right to the kingdom—and the *via justitiae* that Benedict proposed for ending the Schism.

the best loved and most capable kings of medieval Spain. His prestige and diplomatic skill enabled him also to win the support of the king of Navarre and the count of Foix for withdrawal. Ferdinand was able to achieve success in the negotiations in spite of a severe kidney ailment that brought him to Perpignan literally on his deathbed.

The major modern interpretations of the Perpignan negotiations diverge considerably, as do the sources themselves, and much work remains to be done. Valois saw Benedict's statements at Perpignan primarily as an effort to hold on to power, following a long practiced policy of verbal maneuvering when in difficulty.[63] Puig y Puig gives the most balanced picture of the negotiations; despite his admiration for Benedict, Puig was disturbed by his unwillingness to yield to the moving appeals of Saint Vincente Ferrer to sacrifice his rights for the good of the Church, for the union that all desired so urgently.[64] But Suárez Fernández questions the wisdom of such a sacrifice and interprets Benedict's actions as efforts to remain true to principle.[65] Brandmüller's judgment is closer to that of Suárez Fernández. He argues that Benedict and his followers did offer a variety of possible practical methods for insuring an undisputed election after his abdication, but that these were rejected by the conciliar envoys.[66]

The diverse modern interpretations in part reflect the sharply divided views of the sources. One group of sources was produced by Benedict and his entourage. These include Benedict's official statements (proposals and responses), the protocol of the negotiations maintained by

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[63] Valois, *La France*, 4:341: "Lisons maintenant les réponses faites à Sigismond par Benoît XIII…car, fidèle à une tactique dont il usait chaque fois qu'il se trouvait dans l'embarras, le vieux pontife varia son attitude à l'infini, multiplia les demi-promesses, presque aussitôt retirées, s'avança, se déroba, fit alterner les longs discours avec les scènes attendrissantes."

[64] Puig y Puig, *Pedro de Luna*, p. 292: "Unicamente Benedicto parecía sustraerse [from Saint Vincent's appeals], impenetrable, a la influéncia de la oración y de la gracia."

[65] Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII*, p. 290: "Se imponía, por razones de bien común, llegar a una solución en el Cisma, sacrificando los esquemas jurídicos en al altar de la urgente necesidad. Pero con ello se atentaba a la esencia misma del Pontificado istituido por Jesucristo—el poder de las Llaves—para convertirlo en Jefatura de una sociedad formada por la unión de los cristianos cuya expresión era el Concilio. Éste, dividido en naciones, otorgaba protagonismo tanto a los poderes eclesiásticos como a los soberanos temporales."

[66] Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 2:32: "Dieser ohne weiteres praktikable Vorschlag und auch die anderen erwecken samt und sonders den Einduck, daß es Benedikt und seiner Umgebung in der Tat um Rechtssicherheit bei dem Vollzug der Union ging, nicht aber um persönliche Interessen."

Benedict's secretary Rovira, advisory opinions of Benedict's followers, letters from Pedro Comuel to the bishop of Saragosa, Climent Zapera, Benedict's own detailed account of the proceedings sent to Bishop Zapera, and the chronicle of Martín de Alpartil. The viewpoint of Sigismund and the conciliar envoys is reflected in a report by Jacques Gelu, the archbishop of Tours to the Council, another report by John of Wales, Cerretani's journal, and letters of Johannes Wallenrode, archbishop of Riga, and of Sigismund himself to the Council. A third group of sources is more diverse: a diary found in the "Codex Victorinus," entries in the chronicle of the monk of Saint-Denis (see n. 96 below), documents in the Barcelona Crown Archive, and miscellaneous individual documents.[67] Suárez Fernández and Puig y Puig draw considerably from the 15th-century "Chronicle of John II" and from Hieronimus Zurita's history, sources that are in some degree problematic because of their later date and derivative character. The *Crónica del Rey Juan II* was originally attributed to Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, but it appears now that it is a composite work drawing from a number of earlier chronicles. One of these earlier chronicles was the *Crónica de Juan II*, written by Alvar García de Santa María. The unedited portions of this chronicle have recently been edited by Donatella Ferro.[68] García de Santa María was the official chronicler of the court, writing about contemporaneous events which he lived through and therefore knew in their smallest details and reported with detailed and responsible accuracy.[69]

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[67] See Finke's very condensed identification of these documents, ACC 3:378–79. To his statements the following should be added: "Ut appareat.", Benedict's own account of the proceedings, is edited in Hardt 2:494–95; also in Mansi 28:227–29. It appears also in Cerretani and in the Rovira protocol. See the reference in ACC 2:378 n. 2 to a document edited by Puig y Puig, p. 557; this appears to be a transmittal letter, not the document itself, as Finke's words imply. The Petersburg codex, which contained the report of John of Wales, was tragically destroyed in World War II; see Frenken, *Erforschung*, p. 41 n. 87 and 131. This manuscript, which belonged to a Polish representative at Constance, Petrus de Wolfram, contained unique and invaluable documents. Because Finke often omitted from his editions passages in manuscripts which he believed not to be relevant, some portions of the unique texts in this manuscript may be lost to posterity forever. The "Codex Victorinus" is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France [hereafter BNF], lat. 14557; see Stump, "Acta," p. 233 n. 30. The report of Jacques Gelu is found in Cerretani's diary; it was edited Hardt 2:486–87; also in Mansi 28:240–51.

[68] Donatella Ferro, ed., *Le parti inedite della "Crónica de Juan II" di Alvar García de Santa María* (Venice, 1972). Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 2:40 n. 153, calls attention to the importance of this source. It was not accessible to the earlier authors writing on the Perpignan negotiations, except in the truncated form of its text that appears in the Crónica published by Galíndez (see next note.)

[69] Ferro, *Crónica*, pp. xix–xx. The *Crónica* originally attributed to Pérez de Guzmán

The setting for the negotiations at Perpignan was replete with pomp and ceremony. It had once been the site of Benedict XIII's curia and of the council of his obedience held in 1408; he "dazzled the envoys with the palatine pomp of the Avignon curia" in his fortified castle there. For his part, Sigismund appeared with a huge retinue of 4,000 knights. Contemporary writers provide witness of the impressive ceremonies that greeted him along his way to Perpignan.[70] Large numbers of the highest dignitaries from the Spanish kingdoms were present, including three Cortes and two queens—a great European congress, Puig y Puig says.[71] At this congress Sigismund would need great diplomatic skill and strength in negotiating with Benedict, who had, as Brandmüller argues persuasively, constructed his legal case very carefully and was also prepared, with the help of his legal experts and cardinals, to offer many alternative solutions to the one clear choice of simple abdication that appeared to be the only one that Sigismund and the conciliar envoys were prepared to accept.[72]

Ferdinand thus was thrown into the role of mediator between two irreconcilable positions. Although Benedict initially appeared amenable to abdication, on 2 October he demanded, as a preliminary step to further negotiation, that the conciliar envoys repudiate the Pisan decrees. Sigismund seized the opportunity, promising this would be done if Benedict would abdicate immediately. Benedict asked for time to think, and after two weeks he presented his answer: Even though he preferred the *via iustitiae*, he was now willing to consider abdication, but only if he could be guaranteed that the election of the new pope would be canonical and that all the lands of Europe would accept that pope. A commission of mediators met to discuss the proposal and asked for more information. Benedict finally explained his conception of a canonical election: All the existing cardinals had been named by

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was first published by Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal in 1517; it reproduced Alvar García's chronicle for the period it covered. However, Galíndez greatly shortened or even omitted certain sections in this *Refundición*. Ferro edits these portions and provides a comparison of them with material in the *Refundición*.

[70] On the preparations to receive Sigismund and the conciliar envoys, see most recently Jacqueline Caille, "La conclusion des accords de Narbonne: Le contexte local," in *Le Midi et le grand schisme d'Occident* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux) 39 (Toulouse, 2004), pp. 487–516.

[71] Puig y Puig, *Pedro de Luna*, pp. 285, 289.

[72] Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 2:20–22. See Finke's judgment, ACC 3:379: "Die Verhandlungen waren von vornherein zum Scheitern verurteilt. Sigismund wollte nur den einfachen Verzicht Benedikts zulassen."

popes whose legitimacy was questioned by one obedience or the other, but he had been elevated to the cardinalate by Gregory XI before the Schism; thus, a canonical election in this case would be made by the sole indubitable elector—himself, of course—but in this one-person conclave he promised not to elect himself.[73] As a negotiating position, this was clearly a non-starter. He did propose an alternative: the naming of members of an electoral commission by himself and by the Council; these would undertake the election according to a complicated formula at a site agreeable to Benedict. The mediators rejected these proposals, and the conciliar envoys ignored them, instead offering their own proposal that again involved Benedict's unconditional abdication. When Benedict rejected this proposal, Sigismund was furious and announced his departure.

Finke also calls attention to a further complication involving efforts of French representatives at Perpignan to have the Council of Constance transferred to Provence, possibly with Benedict's collusion. Sigismund quashed these attempts, but rumors of French plans to undermine the council persisted.[74]

Ferdinand now stepped forward in a final effort to mediate. When Benedict rejected his new proposal and offered another alternate of his own, Ferdinand appears to have come to the conclusion that nothing further could be gained by such exchange of proposals. Ferdinand's trusted advisor, Felip de Malla,[75] having returned from a mission to Scotland, advised him to take decisive action to deal with the crisis created by Sigismund's departure for Narbonne, 6 November (was this departure a strategic expression of anger meant to move Ferdinand to action?). On 8 November, Ferdinand summoned the envoys of the princes and towns of Benedict's obedience, and they decided to demand Benedict's abdication. They would present this demand in three successive "requisitions" that would be delivered to him personally. On 13 November, Benedict departed Perpignan, claiming conditions there were no longer secure.

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[73] Martín de Alpartil reports that Benedict made this proposal at the beginning of the negotiations, 19 September; see Delaruelle et al., *L'église*, p. 184.

[74] ACC 3:381; see also ACC 4:75–76.

[75] On this important figure in the ending of the Schism, see especially *Felip de Malla, correspondència política*, vol 1: *Introducció*, ed. Josep Perarnau (Barcelona, 1978), pp. 21, 39–41, 59–60. Coming from a family of millers and jurists, he studied at the University of Paris and then "became a clerical version of a Renaissance man, dedicated to arms and letters."

On 25 November, Ferdinand summoned all the prelates of Benedict's obedience to a "concilium generale" to take action against Benedict. There it was decided that representatives would be sent to the Council of Constance, where Benedict would be deposed should he not abdicate (for his deposition a majority of votes of his obedience would be necessary), and a new election would follow.

The procurators of the secular princes of Benedict's obedience now asked for a meeting with the conciliar envoys. The *Chronicle of Juan II* by García de Santa Maria account gives unique insight into the negotiations that followed and led to the compromise that became the *Capitula Narbonensia* (hereafter CN).[76] The chronicle also shows the decisive role played by St. Vincent Ferrer in Ferdinand's difficult choice. When Ferdinand consulted him, St. Vincent replied that Ferdinand should wait for Benedict's answer to the third requisition; should it be negative, he should then not hesitate a moment to withdraw obedience from Benedict, because otherwise the Schism might become permanent.[77] Scholars still disagree about when Ferrer ceased to believe in Benedict's legitimacy.[78] But it may well be that he continued to believe in that legitimacy, even after he had reluctantly concluded that obedience must be withdrawn from Benedict.[79] García de Santa María then relates how a courier rode through the night to Sigismund to keep him from departing before Ferdinand's ambassadors arrived. The ambassadors themselves followed, also riding through the night by candlelight.

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[76] Ferro, *Crónica*, pp. 169–79. Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 2:40–42 provides a summary of these negotiations as reported in the Chronicle, drawing also on the reports in Cerretani's diary to reconstruct the events leading to the signing of the *Capitula Narbonensia* [hereafter CN].

[77] Ferro, *Crónica*, p. 175.

[78] Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, 2006), pp. 78–81, observes that in 1398 Ferrer was healed from a life-threatening illness by a vision; soon after this he withdrew from Benedict's court, despite Benedict's efforts to persuade him to stay, and became an itinerant prophetic minister dedicated to ending the Schism. She argues that the occurrence of these events just three months after the first French subtraction of obedience strongly suggests a crisis in Ferrer's faith in Benedict's legitimacy. She notes that Sigismund Brettle had argued that Ferrer ceased to accept this legitimacy between 1412 and 1415. In contrast, Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "El punt de ruptura entre Benet XIII i Sant Vicente Ferrer," in *Miscellània Angel Fàbrega*, ed. R. Corts i Blay (Barcelona, 1998), pp. 625–50, presents archival evidence to demonstrate that the final rupture occurred 12 November 1415.

[79] On the changes in St. Vincent Ferrer's ecclesiological conceptions that made possible his new stance, see the important work of Ramón Arnau-García, *San Vincente Ferrer y las eclesiologías del Cisma* (Valencia, 1987).

Six days of further negotiations followed, and then a draft agreement was sent to Ferdinand. He made some changes, which almost caused Sigismund and the conciliar envoys to reject the agreement, but finally they accepted and the CN were signed by the parties on 13 December. After Benedict's rejection of the third requisition Ferdinand formally withdrew the obedience of his realm from Benedict on Epiphany 1416; at Ferdinand's request, St. Vincent assumed the bitter duty of reading the document.[80]

The CN laid out the blueprint for the further action of the Council of Constance with regard to Benedict. The Council must first formally ratify the capitula and must not deal with any measures pertaining to Benedict's obedience other than the deposition of Benedict prior to the union of the representatives of Benedict's obedience with the Council. This union would occur in a two-fold process. First the Council would summon these representatives to appear in Constance within three months. Upon their arrival, they would first convoke the Council again and then would unite with the Council (they were required to unite immediately upon arrival at the Council). It is important to note the parallel of this procedure for union with that followed by Gregory XII's obedience (though in this case the Council was to be convoked by Benedict's obedience since Benedict had refused to do so). Other measures of the CN were similar to the measures Gregory XII's obedience had requested prior to their union; for example, the Council must provide for the clergy, curial officials, and cardinals of Benedict's obedience; all Benedict's grants up to the first requisition against him would be confirmed. All censures and other measures directed by the rival popes against members of Benedict's obedience since the beginning of the Schism would be declared null and void. The cardinals of Benedict's obedience would be allowed to participate in the Council either in person or by proxy in the same way as the cardinals of the other obediences. The CN were insistent that the election of the new pope not occur prior to the deposition of Benedict XIII by the Council. In the trial and deposition of Benedict, no mention would be made of the Pisan judgment against him, and the members of Benedict's obedience would not resist the Council's judgment of him.

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[80] Puig y Puig, *Pedro de Luna*, pp. 303–06. The text of the CN as ratified by the Council of Constance is in Mansi 27:812E–817B. See Caille, "Narbonne," pp. 501–02, concerning the ratification of the CN in Narbonne 13 December and the sources that relate to it.

The CN were a solid blueprint, the result of exceedingly difficult and complex negotiations and finely crafted compromises, an almost miraculous victory rescued from the jaws of defeat. They were ratified by the Council of Constance 30 January 1416 amid delirious rejoicing. Yet, many pitfalls lay on the path to their implementation.

Obstacles on the path to union in 1416

The final union of the Spanish delegates with the Council of Constance was not complete until more than 18 months after the signing of the CN. Why? In the winter of 1416, Ferdinand worked tirelessly as regent of Castile to win support of the Castilian court for withdrawing obedience and sending representatives to the Council, and in fact he died during these efforts, 2 April 1416 in Madrid. His son, Alfonso V "the Magnanimous," was also energetically committed to the efforts, but Alfonso was Ferdinand's successor only as king of Aragon, not as regent of Castile.[81] The resulting confusion in the Castilian court brought serious further delays, especially as the supporters of Benedict XIII exerted pressure on Catalina of Lancaster, the guardian of the young king Juan II. Their influence was counteracted by an embassy from the Council of Constance, but above all by Alfonso's representative, the skilful diplomat Felip de Malla, who finally succeeded in having the Benedictine forces ejected from the court. Yet, the Castilian decision to send envoys to the council took another four months.

Meanwhile, problems in Aragon were in some ways even greater, because of the resistance of almost all the Aragonese prelates to the implementation of the CN. The loyalty of the Aragonese to Benedict, the Valencian pope, was even greater than that of Castile; most of the higher prelates owed their offices to him, and all feared his reprisals for their defection. They held a meeting in Barcelona, which many called a provincial council, at which they actively opposed the decisions of Narbonne. Finally, Alfonso was reduced to sending a delegation to Constance that included no prelates and, thus, was ultimately weakened in the negotiations for union. However, Alfonso did have the support

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[81] On Alfonso, see Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396–1458* (Oxford, 1990). On the developments in Castile and Aragon, see Puig y Puig, *Pedro de Luna*, pp. 303–12; Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII*, pp. 298–302; and Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 2:235–46.

of the able and influential master-general of the Order of Mercedarians, Antonio Cajal, and he was able to send him as an advance envoy to the Council. Benedict continued to undermine other efforts by making his own proposals for union and simultaneously pursuing the *via facti* in Italy.

The Aragonese finally arrived at Constance 5 September.[82] At the twenty-second general session, 15 October, the decree of union was preceded by the unusual procedure called for in the CN: the earlier conciliar decree summoning the Aragonese to the Council was first read, and then the Aragonese envoys, on behalf of the "obedience of Benedict XIII," convoked the Council (Mansi, 27:949–51). Most modern authors refer to the uniting of the Spanish with the Council as "incorporation," but the conciliar documents themselves studiously avoided this term, because the Spanish did not regard Constance as a legitimate council of the three obediences until they had convoked it. Soon the envoys of the king of Navarre and the count of Foix arrived, and they united with the Council by the same procedure just described. Both these delegations included prelates, giving enhanced prestige to the rapidly forming Spanish nation at the Council. The envoys of Portugal had already joined the council; the Portuguese had withdrawn their obedience from Benedict XIII at the time of the Council of Pisa and had continued to support the Pisan line of popes. Now the Spanish nation was complete except for the envoys of Castile. The arrival of the Castilians was further delayed by their one-month sojourn at Peñíscola, where they made a final unsuccessful effort to persuade Benedict and his cardinals to send representatives to the Council. When they finally arrived at the Council on 29/30 March 1417,[83] amidst great rejoicing, Sigismund had already been back for two months.

When he returned, his relations with the English and French nations at the Council had been profoundly altered by the offensive military alliance he had entered with Henry V against Charles VI in the Treaty of Canterbury of 15 August 1415. How and why did he make this major

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[82] Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 2:251. On the Spanish representatives to the Council, see the invaluable studies of José Goñi Gaztambide, "Los españoles en el Concilio de Constanza: Notas biográficas," *Hispania Sacra* 15 (1962), 253–385 and 18 (1965), 103–58, 265–332 (also published as a separate volume, Madrid/Barcelona, 1966); and the eulogistic appreciation of his work by Johannes Grohe, "In memoriam José Goñi Gaztambide (1914–2002): Ein Meister der Konziliengeschichte und der Erforschung der kirchlichen Landesgeschichte Navarras," *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 34 (2002), 156–61.

[83] Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 2:287.

change that seemed to dash all hopes of bringing the peace between France and England that Sigismund himself had considered so essential to the process of union, and what effects did his actions have on the Council's efforts to end the Schism?[84]

After leaving Narbonne, Sigismund was entertained lavishly in Paris in April, even though at the time the king was "absent" (the euphemistic description of the periodic bouts of insanity suffered by Charles VI), and even more lavishly in London, where he went at French urging, to arrange for Anglo-French talks to negotiate a truce. But, even while negotiations were proceeding, the French troops under the count of Armagnac continued fighting, and the French, while they appeared to be bargaining in good faith, drew out the negotations and then cut them off. Sigismund was encouraged by Henry to see this as evidence of French duplicty. It was during this time, but probably before word arrived of the adjournment of talks, that Sigismund signed the treaty with Henry. Later, Sigismund complained about the deception but still appealed to Charles VI to make peace. Most of the sources and modern scholars are in agreement about these basic facts, but they have offered very different interpretations of their meaning.

In the earlier 19th century, historians blamed Sigismund for betraying the French king in the Treaty of Canterbury and, thus, abandoning the old family alliance between the Luxemburgers and the Valois dynasty. But J. Caro later exonerated Sigismund, on the basis of a study of documents from his chancery. Noël Valois, while arguing that the French actions were part of the normal tricks of diplomacy [*rouerie diplomatique*], acknowledged that the French did not weigh their impact on Sigismund and agreed that Sigismund acted out of anger at what he perceived to be French double-dealing, especially because he had undertaken the peace mission to England at urgent French request. But Valois believed Sigismund had reached his decision to ally with Henry earlier; he underlined the tragic results of Sigismund's choice for France, as well as the negative impact on the Council Sigismund

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[84] On these events, see Jörg Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund: Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, 1368–1437* (Munich, 1996), pp. 227–36; also Valois, *La France*, 4:355–68; and C. M. D. Crowder, "Henry V, Sigismund and the Council of Constance, a Re-examination," in *Historical Studies* 4 (1963), 93–110. See also the recent article by Ansgar Frenken concerning Sigismund and the Council, "Der König und sein Konzil—Sigmund auf der Konstanzer Kirchenversammlung: Macht und Einfluss des römischen Königs im Spiegel institutioneller Rahmenbedingungen und personeller Konstellationen," *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 36 (2004), 177–242.

exercised after his return in 1417 as a result of his open partisanship for the English nation and his slighting of the French. This damage was exacerbated by his decision to ally himself with the Burgundians against the Armagnacs. Jörg Hoensch believes that Sigismund signed the Treaty of Canterbury because he believed he had been duped and insulted by the French and because Henry played on his pride but that he also was swayed by Henry's unyielding claim to rule both France and England and saw in him a kindred spirit whose support he could win for war against the Turks. Martin Kintzinger's recent ground-breaking study of Sigismund's relations with France and England may well offer the best insights into his choices and their impact.[85]

According to Kintzinger, Sigismund had three major larger goals: the unity of the Church, peace among European powers, and reconquest of territories lost to the Ottoman Turks in the East. Many scholars have viewed these goals as utopian and have treated Sigismund as a quixotic dreamer and adventurer. Kintzinger argues that Sigismund's goals, though over-arching, were actually pragmatic and interdependent. Peace among European powers was essential to ending the Schism, and the achivement of both of those goals would make possible the third: a combined defense against the Turks. Kintzinger suggests Sigismund inclined toward Henry well before August 1416, because he could not rely on a stable French policy. He had earlier tried to overcome the problem of the king's frequent "absences" by negotiating with the princes, but the chaotic factional struggles in France meant agreements with them were written in sand.[86] So Sigismund shifted to a strategy of negotiation between kings, and here he found in Henry at least a consistent negotiating partner. Even when he signed the Treaty of Canterbury, Sigismund did not give up the hope of an eventual peace between France and England. The treaty was subject to ratification by

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[85] Martin Kintzinger, *Westbindungen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa: Auswärtige Politik zwischen dem Reich, Frankreich, Burgund und England in der Regierungszeit Kaiser Sigmunds* (Stuttgart, 2000). See also Michel Pauly and François Reinert, eds., *Sigismund von Luxemburg: Ein Kaiser in Europa: Tagungsband des internationalen historischen und kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Luxemburg, 8–10. Juni 2005* (Mainz, 2006); and Arnd Reitemeier, *Außenpolitik im Spätmittelalter: Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen dem Reich und England, 1377–1422* (Paderborn, 1999).

[86] The problem was made most evident by the king's "absence" during Sigismund's negotiations in Paris. But Kintzinger sees the first turning of Sigismund toward Henry at the time when peace was achieved between the rival factions in France in 1413, compromising Sigismund's efforts at a united front against Burgundy (see next note).

the German electors, which did not take place until the following May. And, in fact, Sigismund never delivered his promised military aid to Henry. Perhaps Sigismund planned to use the alliance with Henry as a negotiating card to bring Charles VI to the table.

Sigismund also had narrower territorial and dynastic interests in the lands of the old Middle Kingdom, and these were often at odds with his strategic choices in 1416. He was especially in conflict with Burgundy over his dynastic lands of Luxembourg and Brabant. For Sigismund, the enmity with Burgundy was one of the areas in which larger and narrower goals often coincided.[87] The anti-Burgundian developments in the French court in 1413 had fit nicely with these dual plans, but by October 1414, peace was reached between the princes and John the Fearless, leaving Sigismund in an awkward position. Kintzinger thinks he may have started moving away from France and toward alliance with England at this time. Sigismund's efforts to reassert imperial authority in French border regions caused resentment; for example, when Sigismund knighted the former seneschal Guillaume Saignet in the session of Parlement he attended, as though Saignet was a subject of the Empire.[88]

The latter incident was probably one of Sigismund's mistakes. He had many weaknesses, including his vanity, which made him too easily offended and led him to be wined and dined in Paris and flattered and deceived in London by Henry's extravagant gestures towards him and his innuendos against France. However, some of Sigismund's apparent errors may have been the result of his tactical decisions, calculated risks designed to further larger goals. Sigismund may have been asserting his imperial prerogatives even when they were resented, in order to use the aura surrounding the imperial office to bring change in accordance with his more universal goals. And his reluctant support of the Burgundians over the Armagnacs, which conflicted with his own narrower interests, may have resulted from his real concern that the Armagnac faction was working against re-union of the Church, possibly even working with Benedict XIII.

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[87] Kintzinger, *Westbindungen*, pp. 79–82.

[88] Sigismund had good reason to reward Saignet. See Nicole Pons and Hélène Millet, "De Pise à Constance: Le rôle de Guillaume Saignet, juge de Nîmes puis sénéchal de Beaucaire, dans la résolution du Grand Schisme," in *Le Midi*, pp. 461–86, who, through close archival research, were able to demonstrate that Saignet rendered many services to Sigismund during his stay in Provence in 1415.

The roles of the Armagnacs, and of the count of Armagnac in particular, in this respect are still far from clear. Count Bernard VII of Armagnac became *connétable* of France in 1415 and was leader of the Armagnac faction, a role he derived from his being the father-in-law of Charles, Louis of Orléans's son. He was the most powerful individual in the royal government in 1416 and 1417, but it is difficult to say how much his own personal policies concerning the Schism affected the government's policies. The Armagnacs were a diverse group, united mainly by their opposition to the Burgundians, the successors to the older group of supporters around the duke of Orléans before his assassination in 1407. We have seen that the Orléans faction had opposed efforts to end the Schism through subtraction of obedience and had generally tended to be more favorably disposed to Benedict XIII. The Armagnacs were in part heirs to these tendencies, which may have been strengthened by the count of Armagnac's own geographic base in the south. However, during the years of Armagnac ascendancy, the French royal government generally continued to support the Council of Constance and its efforts to end the Schism. The two men whom Charles VI appointed as his procurators to the Council in June 1416 were Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson, ardent patriots and supporters of the Armagnac cause but, equally, ardent supporters of reunion.[89]

How much did Sigismund's actions inflame national divisions at the Council? The renewal of the Hundred Years' War during the meeting of the Council did certainly cause tensions between the representatives there from the kingdom of England and the kingdom of France, but if anything, these had been more inflamed before Sigismund's return to the Council. The arrival of the Aragonese envoys sparked bitter rivalries over precedence.[90] On 1 October, Pierre d'Ailly published his *De ecclesiastica potestate*, in which he challenged the right of the English nation to exist separately at Constance and called for its merger with

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[89] On this appointment and the sympathies of these two prelates at the Council, see Bernard Guenée, *Entre l'église et l'état: Quatre vies de prélats français à la fin du moyen âge, XIIIᵉ–XVᵉ siècle* (Paris, 1987), pp. 286–91.

[90] See Valois, *La France*, 4:367–77 for this sequence of events. See also Luis Suárez Fernández, *Castilla, el cisma, y la crisis conciliar (1378–1449)* (Madrid, 1960), pp. 85–89. The president of the English nation had removed the seal of the president of the Spanish nation on a conciliar decree in order to place his own nation's seal above it. The Aragonese then lodged a protest against the English claim to precede the Aragonese. At this time the French nation had allowed the Aragonese representatives to sit with them. Soon after this English representatives arrived at their meeting place armed with swords.

the German nation, allowing the Spanish to form a new fourth nation.[91] Valois says that if the French nation had followed d'Ailly in this he does not know what would have happened to the Council, but that other voices in the French nation reminded d'Ailly that the king only wanted his subjects at the Council to concern themselves with reunion. Tensions continued and reached a climax 3 March 1417, when Thomas Campani, on behalf of Charles VI's ambassadors, attempted to read a proposal for revocation of England's status as a separate nation at the Council. He was shouted down, but the proposal was registered in the official acta (Mansi 27:1022–31). On 31 March, an English response was likewise registered in the Acta (Mansi 27:1056, 1058–70). After this, the national tensions, although they did not completely subside, did not fatally endanger reunion.[92]

It was finally Sigismund who stopped Campani from reading his protest, saying it would tend to dishonor and dissolve the assembly. Thus he quelled the open conflict, but in a way that seemed to favor the English over the French. On 22 March, he also issued a letter of defiance to Charles VI; many feared that he would make war on France and thus gravely endanger the Council's continued existence.[93] Valois argues that Sigismund's actions threatened to marginalize the representatives of the kingdom of France and were all the more unfortunate because of his efforts to control the Council.[94]

Sigismund pursued several strategies for this control. He sat personally in meetings of the German and English nations and appears to have had their full support. He also found supporters in each of the other nations; in particular he tried to insure that the president of each nation would by one of his men. In this way he could insure the support of

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[91] On the same occasion d'Ailly published his *De reformatione ecclesie*, in which he advocated among other things voting by ecclesiastical provinces instead of by nations at general councils. On these events, see Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 2:282–86; Finke, "Nationen"; Jean-Philippe Genêt, "English Nationalism: Thomas Polton at the Council of Constance," *Nottingham Historical Studies* 28 (1984), 60–78; and Valois, *La France*, 4:367–77.

[92] See the letter sent to the signore of Lucca, 6 April, by an Italian at the Council cited by Valois, *La France*, 4:377: "Adhuc discordia que est inter Anglicos et Gallos non est bene sedata. Tamen ista discordia propter hoc non poterit unionem Ecclesie impedire."

[93] For all this, see Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 2:283–84. A copy of the letter is found in the *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 7:340. It appears not, in fact, to have been sent to Charles, but copies were sent to Henry and to the duke of Savoy. See Valois, *La France*, 4:378 n. 1.

[94] Valois, *La France*, 4:379: "Cette hostilité déclarée devenait d'autant plus inquiétante que Sigismond, en attendant, s'efforçait de diriger le concile."

the Council's steering committee, the general deputies. Nevertheless, Sigismund still needed the support of the majority of members of each nation, and here he could only be certain of the German, English, and, at first, the Spanish nation. It is possible that he thought he could thus control the Council's decisions through a majority of three fifths among the nations; however, such an attempt would surely have failed. All important decisions at the council were made by unanimous consent of the four and later five nations; and any conciliar efforts to end the schism absolutely required this unanimity in order to preclude continued or new schism. But the arrival of the Castilians compromised even the three fifths majority.

Sigismund, the cardinals, and the Castilians

To what ends did Sigismund wish to control the Council, and who were his principal opponents? Most modern scholars, following Bernhard Hübler, have viewed Sigismund's goals and actions in 1417 as part of "priority struggles" concerning the ordering of the Council's agenda: Would the reform in head and members be completed prior to election of the new pope or after it?[95] I believe it is more accurate to see the events of the summer of 1417 as a number of interlocking struggles: the struggle between Sigismund and the cardinals for control of the Council discussed above; struggles for control within three of the conciliar nations; complex struggles among competing reform interests and reform conceptions; and, above all, struggle about who should elect the new pope, all interlocked with the "priority struggles" themselves. Any one of these could have derailed the union efforts.

The single most important primary source for these events is the diary of Cardinal Fillastre. He invites us to see the events in a polarized fashion: Sigismund vs. the cardinals. His clearly not disinterested view can be controlled by other sources, chiefly reports made by more or less impartial observers to their home constituencies, orations delivered at the Council, official statements in the conciliar acta, and observations of chroniclers not directly involved in the events.[96] The

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[95] On Hübler and later interpretations, see Stump, *Reforms*, pp. 31–44.

[96] The letters include those of Peter Pulka to the University of Vienna (Friedrich Firnhaber, "Petrus de Pulka, Abgesandter der Wiener Universität am Concilium zu Constanz," *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 15 (1856), 1–70; the letters of the envoys

orations are a very important source, but they have been incompletely and inadequately edited, sometimes with erroneous dates and ascriptions of authorship. Chris Nighman has made major corrections and new editions, especially of the crucial English orations, that suggest significant reinterpretations of the events.[97]

The foundations for a new interpretation were laid by Valois and Fromme.[98] In reconstructing the events, I will compare interpretations of Valois and Suárez Fernández with the most recent interpretation of Brandmüller, who also used new manuscript sources he had discovered. Fromme and Suárez Fernández have argued that the most important struggle was that over the election modus. The instructions the Castilian envoys carried with them to the Council commanded them not to unite with the Council until the question of voting was favorably settled.[99] The cardinals seized upon this opportunity to shift attention of the Council to the issue of election of the new pope and to impugn the election decree of the fourteenth general session (see above, p. 415). In answer to the Castilians' question about the security of the Council, the cardinals stated that passage of that decree had been the one occasion when the Council's freedom of deliberation had been impaired: they had agreed to the decree out of fear (caused not by Sigismund, but by Carlo Malatesta and the patriarch of Antioch, Jean Mauroux).[100]

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of the University of Cologne, in Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, eds. *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* 2 (Paris, 1717; repr. New York, 1968), letters to the Commune of Lucca, and a number of letters from Spanish envoys at the Council edited by Finke, as well as instructions of Ferdinand for his envoys; see Finke's important discussion of these, ACC 4:3–9. A very important source, but one often used uncritically by historians, is a report made by two squires in the service of the Castilian envoys found in Paris, BNF, lat. 1450 and edited ACC 4:77–81. The report is included in a letter written in Spain to another Spaniard by a Catalan adherent of Benedict XIII. The *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, ed. Louis-François Bellaguet, 5–6 (Paris, 1844–52) provides many insights but also must be read critically.

[97] See Nighman and Stump, "Register," and the references to Nighman's dissertation and articles there, especially "*Accipiant qui vocati sunt*: Richard Fleming's Reform Sermon at the Council of Constance," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51 (2001), 1–36.

[98] See Bernhard Fromme, "Die erste Prioritätsstreit auf dem Konstanzer Konzil," *Römische Quartalschrift* 10 (1896), 509–18; and *Die spanische Nation und das Konstanzer Konzil: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des großen abendländischen Schismas* (Münster, 1896).

[99] On these questions, see Fromme, "Prioritätsstreit," pp. 509–12; and Suárez Fernández, *Cisma*, p. 91 n. 18, who agrees with Fromme on this point.

[100] See Firnhaber "Pulka," p. 50: "Sed ipsi [castellani] forte ex dictis cardinalium moti se uniri nolebant." In his speech of 24 July 1415, recorded by Cerretanus, Zabarella had praised Sigismund in highest terms for making Constance a free meeting place (ACC 2:254).

Sigismund was deeply disturbed by this move of the cardinals. He now saw all his work endangered and refused even to discuss the election until after Benedict XIII had been deposed, saying he would rather be thrown into Lake Constance.[101] The cardinals in turn may have feared instead that he would try to have his own candidate for pope elected by conciliar acclamation immediately after the deposition of Benedict.[102] The cardinals took the initiative and on 29 May 1417 presented their own proposal for election modus. This proposal, drafted by d'Ailly and known by its incipit as *Ad laudem*, called for a conclave consisting of the Sacred College and an equal or lesser number of other electors; a two thirds majority of each group would be required for election.[103] Sigismund refused even to discuss *Ad laudem*.

After this, the cardinals sought to weaken Sigismund's influence over the general deputies. They probably played a role in unseating Bartolomeo de la Capra from the presidency of the Italian nation on 1 June 1417 and certainly were responsible for unseating Mauroux from the French presidency. Later, they also engineered Mauroux's removal from his important post as acting papal *camerarius* at Constance.[104] By attacking Mauroux, the cardinals also helped to drive a further wedge between Sigismund and the French nation.

The German and English nations, and the Aragonese at first, followed Sigismund in rejecting *Ad laudem*. However, on 25 June, the entire Spanish nation, including the Aragonese, approved the schedule, a bitter blow for Sigismund. The cardinals continued to demand a new guarantee of security, hoping to use such a new guarantee to impugn the election decree of the fourteenth session, but Sigismund continued to retain the phrase "decretis concilii semper salvis," or similar words, in each new draft. Finally, however, on 11 July, Sigismund offered a guarantee that the cardinals decided to accept, even though they still found it insufficient.

In this way, the first priority struggle was resolved by a temporary truce which allowed the Council to proceed to the deposition of Benedict XIII, as Sigismund wished, while leaving the cardinals the hope

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[101]   ACC 2:103.
[102]   ACC 2:101, 104. See also ACC 4:78–79; the Castilians said that Sigismund had told them he had the right to choose the new pope, since all the existing cardinals were illegitimate. See above, n. 95, concerning reliability of this source.
[103]   For Finke's edition of the schedule *Ad laudem* and other writings pertaining to it, together with introductory remarks on the events surrounding it, see ACC 3:613–71.
[104]   ACC 2:101–02, 131.

of retaining as much of their control over the election as possible. It was also agreed that reform of the Roman curia [*quoad curiam*] would precede the election, and both Sigismund and the cardinals agreed through proxies to a mutual promise that they would protect each other's rights and *status*.

Trial and deposition of Benedict XIII

The Council had begun its proceedings against Benedict XIII in late 1416.[105] On 5 November, he was formally charged with persistence in schism and perjury. Brandmüller believes that Fillastre drew up the initial list of 27 charges, which were mostly a chronological list of the events of the Schism and Benedict's role in impeding efforts to end it. After receiving testimony of witnesses, the Council published a bull summoning Benedict to appear before the Council to answer the charges. This bull was to be read in Constance and to Benedict in Peñíscola and was to be posted three times to the cathedral doors in Constance and Tortosa. Benedict was given 100 days to appear after the first reading in Constance. Two conciliar envoys bore the bull to Benedict XIII in Peñíscola. In his reply to the bull, 24 January, Benedict protested that he had done everything he could to end the Schism and had even offered to follow the *via cessionis* and was in fact still willing to do so under the same conditions he had stated at Perpignan the preceding year, but the conciliar envoys then had not even considered them. After receiving the envoys' report, when the prescribed 100 days had passed, on 1 April the Council formally declared Pedro de Luna to be contumacious. A commission of judges was established by the Council to draw up formal charges and to hear witnesses. In the final report, the 27 original charges had been increased to 82. No record has been found of the testimony of the witnesses like that for the witnesses in John XXIII's trial. By 22 April, the entire dossier was ready. However, the final sentence of deposition was not passed until 26 July, for reasons we shall soon observe.

The deposition of Benedict XIII was very different from that of John XXIII. The Council was clearly not enthusiastic about it, but the CN required deposition of Benedict prior to the election of a new pope.

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[105] On the trial of Benedict see Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 2:259–76; and Frenken, *Erforschung*, pp. 138–44, and the bibliography cited there.

The Council also respected the CN by making no reference in their charges against Benedict to the earlier trial and deposition at Pisa. It further made every effort to follow unexceptionable legal procedure and to document this exhaustively. In the formal charges against Benedict, no mention was made of horrendous crimes like those cited against John XXIII, for Benedict's mode of life had been exemplary. However, he was charged with perjury and violation of the oath he had sworn in his electoral capitulation and had sworn again after his election. His fomenting of schism and his inveterate persistence in schism were also cited as crimes. Above all, he was charged with acting against the welfare [*status, utilitas*] of the Church by refusing to take the one action that would effectively end the Schism (his abdication), even after having been repeatedly admonished to do so by almost all of Christendom. For all these actions he was described as incorrigible and a heretic.[106] All this terminology was drawn directly from the canonistic discussion of the famous "heresy clause" that was an exception to the principle stated in Gratian's *Decretum* that "prima sedes a nemine judicatur" [Gratian, *Decretum* D. 40 c. 6]. A pope who was found to be *a fide devius* could be judged and deposed by a general council according to the *opinio communis* of the canonists.[107] These canonistic teachings and complementary theological ones, such as those advanced by Gerson,[108] were of fundamental importance in the ending of the Schism.

Brandmüller refers to the Council's treatment of Benedict as "hard pragmatism." He argues that Benedict did make serious and sincere

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[106] See Mansi 27:1141, the decree of deposition, in which the Council declares Benedict to be "perjurum, universalis Ecclesiae scandalizatorem, fautorem et nutritorem inveterati schismatis et inveteratae scissurae et divisionis Ecclesiae sanctae Dei, pacis et unionis ejusdem Ecclesiae impeditorem et turbatorem, schismaticum et haereticum, ac a fide devium, et articuli fidei, *Unam sanctam catholicam Ecclesiam*, violatorem pertinacem, cum scandalo Ecclesiae Dei incorrigibilem, notorium, et manifestum…"

[107] Frenken, *Erforschung*, pp. 150–58, cites the ground-breaking studies of Walter Ullmann and his students and of Ludwig Buisson. Whereas earlier scholars had assumed that Marsiglio of Padua and William of Occam were the sources of the doctrines that supported the judgment and deposition of the papal contenders at Constance, Buisson and Brian Tierney demonstrated clearly that these doctrines were part of long traditions of mainstream canon law.

[108] Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 2:273, believes that Gerson's *Libellus* was probably published at the Council in this context. The canonistic teaching held that stubborn persistence in schism was equivalent to heresy. The language of the final decree that makes explicit reference to Benedict's heretical denial of belief in the unity of the Church was not present in the original citation and charges and may have been added with the help of Gerson's arguments.

efforts to end the Schism and that these were totally ignored by the Council. Brandmüller's interpretation here is at odds with much of the previous scholarship and should be compared with the recent statement of Dieter Girgensohn, who finds that Benedict, "through his clever political dealing was able to insure that he never had to offer proof to show whether his offers were honestly intended or were merely lipservice."[109]

The final compromises

Soon after the deposition, a new reform committee was formed, which began meeting 9 August. When its work bogged down, the cardinals began to urge that the nations at least discuss the method of election while the reform negotiations were going on, but Sigismund again balked. Another deadlock and priority struggle ensued. It is still hard to explain the gridlock that beset the Council in the summer of 1417 and also hard to explain how it was overcome. These are the last major questions upon which much further research is needed.

Three major reasons for the gridlock suggest themselves: 1) disagreement about the reforms to be enacted; 2) the struggle between the Aragonese and the Castilians in the Spanish nation; and 3) resistance to Sigismund's continued efforts to control the Council. Valois first pointed to the different interests in reform of different groups in the French nation, particularly the prelates and the university members. In my study of the Constance reforms, I found that there were even more diverse interests than Valois had suggested, and these did indeed prevent any easy agreement in the new reform committee and in the nations. The cardinals, particularly Zabarella, opposed reforms that would have hurt their interests. Bishop Robert Hallum of Salisbury favored the most far-reaching reforms, and he was a close ally of Sigismund, although Sigismund had much less influence over the reforms than Hübler thought.

Suárez Fernández has described the long simmering rancor between the Aragonese and the Castilians that began when the Aragonese, before

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[109] Dieter Girgensohn, "Ein Schisma ist nicht zu beenden ohne die Zustimmung der konkurrierenden Päpste: Die juristische Argumentation Benedikts XIII. (Pedro de Lunas)," *Annuarium historiae pontificiae* 27 (1989), 197–247 at pp. 230–31, cited by Frenken, *Erforschung*, p. 143.

the Castilians arrived, won passage of a conciliar decree giving them additional votes by proxy for all the prelates in the "overseas" possessions of the king of Aragon (chiefly Sardinia and Sicily). When the Castilians arrived, they sharply protested this decree because it violated the CN. The Council revoked the decree 28 July, but the Aragonese lobbied throughout the summer to have their additional votes restored to them. Finally, at the peak of tension in early September 1417, a dispute arose in the Spanish nation over the presidency, which normally rotated monthly among the three main groups. When the turn of the Portuguese candidate came, the Castilians protested on the pretext that he was a layman. On 11 September, the Castilians left Constance. Suárez Fernández argues that they did not intend to depart for good but, rather, sought to gain leverage over the Aragonese and the council; they had considerable bargaining power because of the fear at the Council that their departure could cause a new schism.[110] On 22 September, Cardinals Chalant and Foix succeeded in convincing them to return.

The Castilians' departure had occurred just as Sigismund's effort to control the Council was confronted by an increasingly united opposition. The refusal of the Spanish nation to seat Sigismund's preferred candidate as president 1 September had been followed 4 September by a much greater calamity, the death of Sigismund's leading ally at the Council, Robert Hallum. Three days later, while Sigismund was absent from Constance, the cardinals seem to have pressured the English nation finally to agree to send deputies to discuss the mode of election—at least, so Fillastre claims. The struggle reached a climax 9 September, when the cardinals and three of the nations tried to present to the Council a protest calling for it to proceed to the election or at least consider the mode of election. The protest was doubly unwelcome to Sigismund, not only because it implied that those who deliberately delayed the election might be guilty of abetting schism but also because it caught him at a very weak moment. A major confrontation ensued.

Over the next days and weeks, a series of compromises finally defused tension and led to sufficient agreement on reform and mode of election to enable the election finally to occur, ending the Schism. A number of factors facilitated the final compromises: 1) The arrival on the scene of new envoys from two powerful kings, Henry Beaufort, bishop of

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[110] Luis Suárez Fernández, *Cisma*, pp. 98–100.

Winchester,[111] for Henry V, and Matià des Puig for Alfonso of Aragon;[112] 2) the receding from the stage of three great leaders who had found it difficult to compromise, two through death (Hallum and Zabarella) and the third, Sigismund himself, who withdrew increasingly from active involvement in the Council's affairs; 3) the negotiations among the nations themselves through the committees on which they had equal representation—the general deputies, the reform committee, and the newly elected committee to establish the method of electing the new pope; 4) external dangers that may have increased the sense of urgency and willingness to compromise, including epidemic illness, Benedict's continued military actions in Italy, and the disorder in the Papal States;[113] and 5) the overwhelming desire in the Council for union.

The first and most important compromise was between Sigismund and the cardinals, 19 September; it was precipitated by the English nation's wavering loyalty to Sigismund mentioned above and perhaps facilitated by English negotiation. C. M. D. Crowder has argued that the English representatives wavered because they had received new instructions from Henry V commanding them not to support delay of the election any further.[114] The death of Sigismund's closest ally, Bishop Hallum, on 4 September, favored Henry's intentions. In his funeral sermon for Hallum, *Spiritus erit in gloria*, Richard Fleming suggested that the Council should not seek an "unlimited reform," which would delay the election unnecessarily. Crowder argued that the new stance was one of neutrality, designed to hasten the election without offending Sigismund. Chris Nighman has recently offered an important and convincing new interpretation of the change in stance of the English representatives at Constance: Hallum had succumbed to an infectious disease, and such disease had hit the English representatives particularly strongly. Nighman argues that they "were genuinely concerned that an outbreak of disease, probably pneumonic plague, could soon bring the council to a sudden, fruitless conclusion." This concern, rather than

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[111] On Beaufort, see most recently, Morimichi Watanabe, "Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of England, and Anglo-papal Relations," in *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert: Festschrift fur Erich Meuthen*, 2 vols., ed. Johannes Helmrath and Heribert Müller (Munich, 1994), 1:65–76, and the bibliography cited there, especially Gerald L. Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort: A Study of Lancastrian Ascendancy and Decline* (Oxford, 1989).

[112] ACC 4:5–7.

[113] Valois, *La France*, 4:390.

[114] Crowder, "Henry V," pp. 104–06. See Fillastre's account, ACC 2:147.

orders from Henry V, was what caused them to change their position (reluctantly) and advocate a compromise in the priority struggle.[115]

The most crucial element in the reconciliation on 19 September between the cardinals and Sigismund is revealed in a document that long remained hidden. In 1959, Professor E. Malyusz published the full text of this document, a charter signed 19 September 1417 by the 23 cardinals present at Constance at that time and addressed to Sigismund,[116] in which they promised to prevail upon the pope to give Sigismund substantial powers over the Church in Hungary. Through this charter, Sigismund must have hoped to salvage, for himself and his kingdom of Hungary, rights which he had abandoned hope of gaining through general reforms enacted by the Council.

The death of Zabarella 26 September must have facilitated agreement on reform. This was followed by the arrival of Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester and uncle to Henry V of England, in early October. Crowder argues that Henry sent Beaufort to secure a speedy conclusion to the Schism.[117] Contemporaries suggested that he hoped himself to be elected pope. Fillastre says that Beaufort came from neighboring Ulm to Constance at the request of the English representatives at the Council and that he played a key role there as mediator in the negotiations of Sigismund, the cardinals, and the national congregations—negotiations which produced the next great compromise sometime prior to 9 October. According to Fillastre, the compromise called for three things: 1) enactment of a conciliar decree in the form of a guarantee [*cautio*] that reform would be completed after the election; 2) enactment before the election of those reform measures upon which agreement had already been reached by all the nations; and 3) appointment of a commission

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[115] Chris L. Nighman, "*Prudencia*, Plague and the Pulpit: Richard Fleming's Eulogy for Robert Hallum at the Council of Constance," *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 38 (2006), 183–98. Nighman points to the lack of evidence for explicit instructions from Henry about change of policy in the priority struggle. Crowder had acknowledged that the only known new instructions, those of 18 July, merely called for the English representatives to act as a united body; he argued that more explicit instructions must have been sent separately, citing Fillastre for support (p. 107 n. 65). The reluctance of the English representatives to change policy is further suggested by Nighman's re-dating of *Spiritus* from 9 to 14 September.

[116] On the provisions of this document and recent studies of it, see Stump, *Reforms*, pp. 39–40; and Frenken, *Erforschung*, pp. 309–10.

[117] Crowder, "Henry V," pp. 105–06; Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort*, pp. 91–95, notes that resolving the deadlock between Sigismund and the cardinals would give the English "a good chance of thereby influencing the choice of the new pope and winning his gratitude."

to decide the method of election. After this, Sigismund's direct involvement with the Council declined.

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THE COMPROMISE CONCERNING THE ELECTION MODUS

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Brandmüller presents a masterful interpretation of this final compromise, using the Spanish documents published by Finke and an important Salamanca manuscript.[118] Equal representation of the nations was present in the new commission, established in the days after 11 October, to determine the mode of election: eight members from each of the five nations and eight cardinals. *Ad laudem* was still the basic document on the table, but several new proposals were also tabled. The first was a German proposal that would have established equality of nations in the conclave by giving each nation an equal number of electors (that nation's cardinals plus additional electors chosen by the Council to bring the number up to 15, making a total of 75 electors from the five nations). The Gregorian cardinals brought a proposal that would have given equal representation in the conclave to the three obediences. These proposals received little support. The Spanish nation would play a pivotal role in the final decision; would they give their support to *Ad laudem*?

Fillastre tells us they deliberated four days, but he gives no insight into these deliberations, which were made more difficult by the continued enmity between Aragonese and Castilians over the Aragonese additional votes. The Spanish documents edited by Finke in the fourth volume of the ACC illuminate the major role played at this time by the Alfonso's new envoy, Matià des Puig, on 15 October. His negotiations and Alfonso's new instructions brought enough agreement to enable the Spanish nation to work together to arrive at a common position regarding the election modus. After one last divisive effort by the bishop of Cuenca, the Spanish nation declared their tentative support for *Ad laudem*, unless a better proposal should emerge.

A better proposal did in fact emerge, from the French nation, presented by Jacques Gelu, archbishop of Tours, around 22 October.[119]

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[118] Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 2:322–35; UB Salamanca 2599.

[119] In Stump, Phillip H. *The Reforms of the Council of Constance* (1414–1418), Leiden: Brill, 1993, p. 41, I mistakenly said that this proposal was authored by Cramaud and was introduced by the archbishop of Bourges.

According to this compromise, the conclave would be augmented on a one-time basis with 30 additional electors, six from each of the five nations; to be elected, a candidate would have to receive at least two thirds of the votes of *each* nation's electors concomitantly with two thirds of the votes of the cardinals. We do not know how this proposal was developed, but Brandmüller suggests convincingly that arithmetic played a major role. It was the simplest numeric way to allow a two thirds vote to be registered in each of the nations. I would add that it was probably an effort to give equal representation to the nations in the conclave—not equal voting power, as the German proposal would have provided, but equal veto power. It was for this reason, I believe, that it received the relatively rapid approval of each of the nations in succession. It departed from *Ad laudem*'s requirement that the number of additional electors should not exceed the number of cardinals, and perhaps for this reason the cardinals strongly opposed it, saying it would engender strife among the nations and that it would allow any three individual electors to hamstring the decision of the conclave. But when the nations threw their unanimous support behind it, the cardinals also acceded.

The new mode of election was officially adopted by the Council 30 October in the fortieth general session amid great rejoicing in the town.[120] It was well suited to the election of a pope who would receive undisputed allegiance from all the former obediences and all the nations; it was also likely to produce a very long conclave. In the forty-first session, 8 November (Mansi 27:1167–71), the list of electors from the nations was published and decrees were passed forbidding pre-election agreements and the despoiling of the new pope after his election.[121] The electors entered the Constance Kaufhaus, which had been specially prepared for them with 56 separate cells, on 9 November. Felip de Malla was one of the Spanish electors, and he sent a report to Alfonso (ACC 4:147–155); another shorter report was sent by a Sienese doctor to his commune (he was an assistant to Cardinal Domenici).[122] The reports enable us to know the exact number of votes each person received in

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[120] Brandmüller, *Konzil*, 2:358–70, provides an excellent detailed analysis of the election using the earlier excellent studies of Fink and Girgensohn (see references, 2:366 n. 173) and all the major primary sources.

[121] Concerning such despoiling, see Joëlle Rollo-Koster, "Looting the Empty See: The Great Western Schism Revisited (1378)," *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 59 (2005), 427–80.

[122] It is edited by Karl August Fink as an appendix to his excellent article.

the two *scrutinia* that were held on 10 and 11 November, as well as the way in which the *accessio* occurred after the second *scrutinium*. In the first *scrutinium*, Saluces, Lando, Brogny, Colonna, and Fillastre in that order received the most votes among the cardinals, and the bishop of Geneva received the most among the non-cardinals. The two reports also agree in emphasizing the profound effect on the electors of the processions held in the city and the voices of the children's choir that could be heard inside the Kaufhaus on 11 November. The final *accessio* occurred with remarkable speed—less than 30 minutes—as the electors were praying after hearing this choir. Thus, amazingly, on the third day of the conclave, the cries of *Habemus papam* were heard as Odo Colonna emerged as the new pope, Martin V.

Conclusion

Sigismund had returned to the Council in time to play the role of chief guardian of the conclave's security. It was a largely ceremonial role. Any effort he had made to control the Council had failed, although he had enjoyed significant successes earlier when he had used his imperial authority to enhance his role as arbiter. The solution to the Schism was emphatically not one imposed from above or by one party over another. Major contributors were individuals such as Carlo Malatesta and St. Vincent Ferrer, whose deep loyalty to "their popes" ultimately was over-ridden by their desire for union and peace. And the obediences of the popes who lost their offices continued to exercise a powerful influence over the Council. The Gregorians insured that it would be the Council that would determine the election modus. And the Castilian adherents of Benedict insured that this modus would be defined before the reform was completed. The cardinals feared that the election modus the Council chose was likely to fail because any three individual electors could have stymied it. But, as K. A. Fink has argued convincingly, this veto power of individuals contributed mightily to the conclave's success in electing a pope that would be undisputed.[123] The image of the Council sitting as a stern tribunal, casting down princes of the Church, is surely an

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[123] Benedict XIII and his small band of followers at Peñíscola did, of course dispute it, but they had no impact. For the story of the final return of this group to Martin V, see Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela, *Extinción del Cisma de Occidente: La legación del Cardenal Pedro de Foix en Aragón, 1425–1430* (Madrid, 1977).

illusion. The truer images are of a European congress, of endless meetings of often nameless individuals to hammer out mundane details of agreements, and of endless processions and intercessions for peace followed by jubilant celebrations of each step that brought it closer. Recent research on the Council has yielded excellent insight into ecclesiological issues and conciliar theories, but the social, economic, and political factors that contributed to the desire for reunion need much further research. This chapter has focused on the diplomatic praxis that led to the success of the union efforts. Research is urgently needed to show how theory and praxis interacted. The complete publication and accurate dating and ascription of the speeches delivered at the Council will contribute greatly to such research. Meanwhile, many mysteries remain even concerning the praxis itself. As we have seen, the choices made by Sigismund and the internal dynamics within each of the conciliar "nations" are still very imperfectly understood. Insights are promised by local and prosopographical studies like the excellent ones of Hélène Millet and her colleagues. All in all, a rich field for further study.

CONCLUSION: THE SHADOW OF THE SCHISM

Thomas M. Izbicki

The Great Schism cast a long shadow. Martin V (1417–31) reigned with an eye on the dwindling number of Benedict XIII's supporters. He also followed a program of restoring papal power while respecting for the most part the decrees of the Council of Constance.[1] Eugenius IV (1431–47), although opposed to any reforms imposed on the Roman curia, was quick to seize on ecclesiastical unity as a cause he could promote legitimately. The brief-lived union of eastern and western churches made him seem like an architect of unity opposed to the schismatic tendencies of the Council of Basel.[2] Key figures at the Council of Basel (1431–49) had grown to adulthood in the later years of the Schism. It is no wonder that Nicholas of Cusa wrote about harmony in his *De concordantia catholica* [*On Catholic Concord*] and walked away from Basel when the Council refused to move to Italy to meet with the Greeks.[3] Juan de Torquemada, a Dominican theologian and cardinal, in his defense of the papacy, emphasized unity as the chief distinguishing character of the true Church. The very fact that Basel had begun a new schism was one of the chief objections of the Torquemada and other apologists for Eugenius against Basel's election of Amadeus VIII of Savoy to replace him as Roman pontiff.[4]

Torquemada was careful, in the interest of unity, not to choose between the competing obediences of the Schism. Instead, he claimed that the Council of Constance was a legitimate general council only after the three obediences assembled. This requirement for representation across the boundaries of the Schism invalidated the decree *Haec sancta*

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[1] Alexander L. Glasfurd, *The Antipope: Peter de Luna, 1342–1423: A Study in Obstinacy* (London, 1965), pp. 262–68; Philip H. Stump, *Reform in Head and Members: The Reform Ideas of the Council of Constance (1414–1418)* (Leiden, 1978), pp. 41–46.

[2] Joseph Gill, *Eugenius IV: Pope of Christian Unity* (Westminster, 1961).

[3] Morimichi Watanabe, *The Political Ideas of Nicholas of Cusa with Special Reference to his De concordantia catholica* (Geneva, 1963), pp. 61–114.

[4] Thomas M. Izbicki, *Protector of the Faith: Cardinal Johannes de Turrecremata and the Defense of the Institutional Church* (Washington, DC, 1981), pp. 12–17, 33, 36–37; Antony Black, *Monarchy and Community: Political Ideas in the Later Conciliar Controversy 1430–1450* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 85–129.

(1415), with its claim to conciliar power even over a pope in cases of heresy, schism, and reform, without rejecting the work Constance had done to reunite the Church.[5] Antoninus of Florence, like Torquemada a Dominican loyal to Eugenius IV, gave Torquemada's unwillingness to accept the act of a single obedience the perspective of history in his account of the Schism. In his *Chronicle*, he noted the volume of polemics written by the learned supporting either Urban VI or Clement VII. Antoninus was quick to affirm the belief that there was only one Church; but he did not regard the choice of one claimant or the other as a matter of faith. The faithful were permitted to follow their prelates in such a matter. They were not threatened with damnation if their prelates chose the wrong person to follow.[6]

A contrary opinion can be found in Roman circles. Antonius de Cannario, a jurist recruited by bishops who were in the personal circle of Eugenius IV, argued that the Roman line always was valid. Thus the Council of Constance only became valid when Gregory XII convoked it.[7] The humanist Platina offered a similar argument. In his biographical sketch of Urban VI, he treated Urban as true pope, despite his personal failings. He treated the cardinals who elected Urban and then Clement as guilty of sedition:

> Hence arose a great and a long quarrel in the Church of God, which they call a *Schism*; when part of the Christian Princes favour'd *Vrban*, and part favour'd *Cevennes*. Nor were these seditious Cardinals content with that, but sent the *Britains*, who had plunder'd and taken many Castles, Villages and Forts, against the Pope and people of *Rome*.[8]

Platina was writing for a curial audience during the reign of Pope Sixtus IV (1471–84). Even his dislike of Paul II (1464–71), who had imprisoned him during the Barbo pope's attack on the Roman Academy, did not cause him to adopt an attitude contrary to that of a part of his audience.[9]

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[5] Thomas M. Izbicki, "Papalist Reaction to the Council of Constance: Juan de Torquemada to the Present," *Church History* 55 (1986), 7–20 at pp. 9–12.

[6] Raoul Morçay, *Chroniques de Saint Antonin: Fragments originaux du titre XXII (1378–1459)* (Paris, 1913), p. 8.

[7] Izbicki, "Papalist Reaction to the Council of Constance," p. 12.

[8] Platina, *The Lives of the Popes from the Time of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to the Reign of Sixtus IV* (London, 1685), p. 325. Cited from *Early English Books Online*, accessed on 24 October 2008.

[9] Eunice D. Howe, *Art and Culture at the Sistine Court: Platina's "Life of Sixtus IV" and the Frescoes of the Hospital of Santo Spirito* (Vatican City, 2005), pp. 19–40.

Platina did not have the last word on the Schism, even in curial circles. The division of Christendom was not forgotten in the polemics and historiography of subsequent centuries. The issue of the validity of a particular papal line remained alive, and it eventually became tied inextricably to that of the legitimacy of the papacy itself. Conciliarist opponents of Rome, followed by the Gallicans and other foes of the curia, could point toward the papacy's past crisis and the role of Constance in ending it.[10] Even the Council of Basel continued being treated by some, especially in northern Europe, as a valid council, even after it broke with Eugenius IV. The question who was true pope during the Schism remained unanswered. Many of Rome's most zealous apologists, beginning with Torquemada and including Cajetan and Robert Bellarmine, avoided making a choice between Rome, Avignon, and Pisa.[11]

The Schism also entered into the polemics inspired by the Protestant Reformation. Martin Luther turned the language of schism back on his opponents by saying that they, not the Bohemiams or the Greeks, were the true schismatics:

> If any are to be called heretics and schismatics, it is not the Bohemians nor the Greeks, for they take their stand upon the Gospel. It is you Romans who are the heretics and godless schismatics, for you presume upon your figments alone against the clear Scriptures of God.[12]

Luther's polemic found its historiographic counterpart in the works of Protestant historians. Most notable of these was Mathias Flacius, whose *Magdeburg Centuries* drew a condemnatory picture of Church history, treating Rome's role as aberrant and anti-evangelical. Flacius pointedly sought out and used sources that put Rome in a bad light. This set off a historiographic war in which the Schism was but one more example of Rome gone wrong.[13]

The Protestant historiography of the Schism is well illustrated by two English polemical histories. John Bale's *The Pageant of the Popes* drew—possibly through intermediate sources—upon Dietrich of Niem and Platina to show the original claimants to the papacy, Urban VI and

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[10] Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition* (Oxford, 2003), p. 50.

[11] Izbicki, "Papalist Reaction to the Council of Constance," pp. 12–14.

[12] *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, excerpt in *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, ed. Timothy F. Lull (Minneapolis, 1989), p. 280.

[13] Gregory B. Lyon, "Baudouin, Flacius, and the Plan for the Magdeburg Centuries," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003), 253–72; Martina Hartmann, *Humanismus und Kirchenkritik: Matthias Flacius Illyricus als erforscher des Mittelaters* (Stuttgart, 2001).

Clement VII, in the worst possible light, especially in their exchanges of censures:

> These two Popes scattered about yᵉ world in diuers quarters their terrible and fearefull bulles, and spread abrode rayling bookes full of infamye, and defacing, backbytinge and excommunicating one another, callinge each other wᵗ sharpe despite and bitter reproche, Antichriste, scismatick, heretick, tyrant, theefe, traytour, vniust, wicked sower of darnel in Gods Haruest, and the cursed sonne of *Beliall*.[14]

John Foxe, the martyrologist, wrote in the same vein, concluding that "Judging by their fruits and proceedings, [the Christian reader] may see what difference is between these Popes and Christ and his apostles."[15]

These Protestant histories drew responses from Cardinal Caesar Baronius and the continuators of his *Annales ecclesiastici*.[16] One of the continuators, Oderico Rinaldi, replied on the topic of the Schism. He revived the curial argument that the Roman line of the Schism was the true one descended from Peter. This polemic, however, found few partisans in Roman Catholic circles. Major scholars of Church history and especially of the general councils, including Emmanuel Schelstate and Giovan Domenico Mansi, adhered to Torquemada's line of argument. They refused to choose between the obedience of the Schism.[17] Only after the French Revolution had destroyed Gallicanism and other revenants of conciliarism did the argument for the legitimacy of the Roman line, resisted by a schismatic Avignon line, gain the upper hand in Roman Catholic historiography. This is the work, mostly, of the polemicist Joseph de Maistre and of the German canonist Georg Phillips. Even the revival of interest in the conciliarist tradition fostered by the convocation of the Second Vatican Council (1962–65) did not bring about major changes in the assessment of the Schism itself.[18] It has been left to a newer generation of scholars, many represented in this volume, to bring new approaches, looking beyond the argument over legitimacy to assess the impact of prolonged division of the Church on Christendom and even on its Islamic neighbors.

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[14] John Bale, *The Pageant of Popes* (London, 1574), fol. 146v. Cited from *Early English Books Online*, accessed 24 October 2008.

[15] *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, ed. G.A. Williamson (Boston, 1965), p. 15.

[16] Cyriac Pullapilly, *Caesar Baronius, Counter-Reformation Historian* (Notre Dame, 1975), pp. 144–77.

[17] Izbicki, "Papalist Reaction to the Council of Constance," pp. 14–15.

[18] Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition*, pp. 173–78; Izbicki, "Papalist Reaction to the Council of Constance," pp. 16–20.

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