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HRISTIANITAS ROMANA. COLLECTED STUDIES IN HONOUR OF PROFESSOR ROMAN MICHAŁOWSKI

Studies collected in this volume are dedicated to Professor Roman Michałowski on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, presented by his students, former and current, who would like to show their appreciation of Professor's long and distinguished contribution to the field of medieval history and his tutorial achievements.

The volume starts with a biographical essay by Professor **Henryk Samsonowicz**, a colleague of Professor Roman Michałowski (*Roman Michałowski: the historian, researcher and the teacher*).

Judyta Szacilło (*Saints as tools of politics: Vita sancti Albei and the dynastic changes in the eighth-century Munster*) depicts how saint patrons, and especially their Lives, were used as political weapons in early medieval Ireland. St Ailbe was a Munster saint of the sixth century; his *Vita* was most probably written in the second half of the eighth century. The factor providing strong dating possibilities is the story of a certain political conflict, most probably reflected in the *Vita Albei*. In fact, this Life seems to be a product of a very careful and sophisticated propaganda and negotiation between two rival ecclesiastical centres, Emly and Armagh, and their secular patrons and protectors – the dynasties of the Eóganachta and the Uí Néill. The careful description of Ailbe as superior in many aspects to St Patrick, yet without open undermining of St Patrick's authority, is a sophisticatedly composed conciliation between the two saints that were patrons and representatives of the two rival dynasties.

Aneta Pieniǎdz (*In the house of a Christian, wife's fate shall not be worse than a slave's. Hincmar of Reims and his contemporaries about uxoricide*) argues that uxoricide was allowed and socially accepted in the early Germanic societies when adultery, an attempt on a husband's life or other exceptional circumstances had

taken place. Christian canonists and moralists, supported by secular authorities, aimed at eliminating this phenomenon from the life of the society. Hincmar of Reims (*De coerendo et exstirpando raptu viduarum*) argued against uxoricide in legal, theological and moral terms. However, the teaching of the Church was at variance with the traditional value system, according to which a woman, who had dishonoured her husband, deserved to die; thus, such teaching met considerable resistance. Also, the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, whilst enforcing the strict rule of indissolubility of marriage, actually caused increase of charges against (allegedly) unfaithful wives, as the rule of indissolubility made it impossible to get rid of an unwanted wife anymore. The authorities of the Church attempted to protect lives of accused women in various ways.

In the article written by **Szymon Wieczorek** (*Eschatological dimension of a saint patron's protection over his community: monastic tradition of the Abbey of St-Benoit-sur-Loire, ninth to eleventh centuries*) a certain miracle of an unusual vision is mentioned, which belonged to the monastic tradition of the St-Benoit-sur-Loire Abbey (Fleury). There St Benedict is described appearing to one of the monks and reassuring him that all the members of the monastery who had already been dead, gained salvation. This episode is to be found earliest in *Additamentum ad miracula sancti Benedicti* (i, c. 40) written by Adelerius of Fleury at the turn of the tenth century. Furthermore, the miracle was also mentioned by John of Salerno (*Vita sancti Odonis* iii, c. 11) in the first half of the tenth century, and by Theodoric of Fleury (*Illatio sancti Benedicti, pars posterior*, c. 2) in the first half of the eleventh century. The comparison of these three records, enriched with the analogies derived from the earlier (*Visio Baronti*, the end of the seventh century) and later sources (*Vita Gebehardi episcopi Constantinensis*, i, c. 25 and ii, c. 6, before 1134), allows to depict a special role of belief, which was held within the monastic community, in the existence of a significant relation between this community and its saint patron, where the patron exercised protection of eschatological character. In the unusual power and mercy of the saint patron, the monks of his were inclined to have seen their best chance, or even a 'guarantee' of salvation.

The subject of **Michał T. Szczepański's** consideration (*The prophecy and the promise: supernatural premises of the authority of the Ottonian dynasty in the light of the depiction by Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim*) is a political dimension of relations between the foundation in Gandersheim and its founders, the Saxon dynasty of the Liudolfings. According to Hrotsvitha, the author of the narration about the beginnings of the monastery (*Primordia coenobii Gandeshemensis*), the fate of the community and the prosperity of the dynasty are closely and mutually connected. This destiny had been revealed to the Liudolfings alongside the mission of the foundation of the convent. The piety of the nuns and their devotion to the service of God were the foundation of the extraordinary prosperity and success of the

dynasty, members of which were enthroned as emperors above kings. Yet, the convent required constant care and protection from the part of its founders and benefactors. The key factor in understanding the character of this relation is a condition under which the prophecy of the future splendour and might of the Ottonians was released to the mother of the founder. The author of this article attempts to analyse this passage through different approaches to and relations between the notions of *pietas* and *religio*. The narration of Hrotsvitha was written circa 970 and played an important role in the lively discussion about the foundations of the Ottonian power, which occurred in some of the Saxon historiographical sources of the second half of the tenth century. The narration originated in the very centre of the secular authorities, but served also the interests of the Gandersheim foundation itself.

Łukasz Kozak (*Cithara habet lignum crucis. The lyre of King David and the child Christ from the Golden Codex of Pułtusk*) analyses the Golden Codex of Pułtusk, which had been most probably brought to Płock by Władysław Herman. The codex contains a unique miniature, which opens the genealogical cycle of Christ. The miniature shows King David, surrounded by Moses and the other prophets, holding a lyre in his hand, and the child Christ on his lap who is trying to reach for the instrument. There are no known representations in iconography analogical to this one; therefore one may look for its sources in exegetics, in which *cithara* – the instrument of the biblical prophet-king – was regarded as a symbol of the cross. Thus, it seems that the miniature opening the genealogy of Christ contains also a presage of his passion, symbolised by the lyre of David.

Grzegorz Pac (*Genitrix Judith nomine. Judith of Bohemia and the context of her description in the Polish Chronicle by Gallus Anonymus*) points out that in the Chronicle by Gallus Anonymus three women, Rzepka, Dobrava and Judith of Bohemia, play a crucial role. The fact that their names were mentioned alone reflects their significance, as they are the only women named in the text. Judith deserves a special attention, for in the epilogue of the Chronicle she is compared to the biblical widow Judith. Yet it is not only the name which makes these characters similar: the person of biblical Judith strongly influenced the early medieval ideology of queenship. Judith was a symbol of chastity, a virtue valued especially highly in a queen. Above all, however – Gallus points it out – a queen is the one responsible for her people's salvation like biblical Judith, who saved Israel by killing Holofernes. The author of the Chronicle, depicting Judith, the mother of Bolesław the Wrymouth, underlined also her engagement in bringing help to poor and prisoners. This motif belongs to a long tradition of creating an image of a 'good queen'; the tradition, which was so intensely alive in the medieval hagiography.

The main purpose of **Aleksandra Czapelska** (*Æthelstan – the heir of Charlemagne? A history of certain relics*) is to offer a critical view on the picture of the reign of Æthelstan, the first king of England (924–939), presented in and shaped

by an outstanding work by William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (written in the first half of the twelfth century). The object of special interest is the 'gift story' (ii, c. 135), in which it is spoken of a legation received in 926 by the king from Hugo, duke of the Franks, who asked for a hand of the king's daughter in marriage. The author of this article, although she does not undermine the worth of William of Malmesbury's account, points at the elements of literary creation in this fragment, which – instead of being a reliable and faithful record of facts, based on some extinct tenth-century sources, as many historians claim – may have served the creation of an image of Æthelstan as a 'second Charlemagne'.

After Charlemagne's canonisation in Aachen in 1165, a hagiographical text was written, known as *De sanctitate meritorum et gloria miraculorum beati Karoli Magni*. It was composed most probably by orders of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, by a certain clergyman of an unknown name and associated with the Aachen ecclesiastical circles. This Life of Charlemagne is a subject of analysis found in the next two articles. **Krzysztof Skwierczyński** (*De sanctitate meritorum et gloria miraculorum beati Karoli Magni. Canonisation as a weapon in the clash of imperium and sacerdotium*) depicts importance of canonisation and promotion of cults of saints in the controversies between secular and ecclesiastical authorities of eleventh and twelfth centuries. Furthermore, he discusses the motif of Charlemagne, the emperor of the Franks, who is recalled in the literature which originated in the circles of both sides of the conflict. The cults of saints and the hagiographical literature were used as some of the most important weapons of politics and propaganda equally by the followers of the dominance of secular authorities and by those supporting the theocratic ambitions of the consecutive popes-reformers. Occasionally, the saints, their cults and the memory of them were subjected to alternating political circumstances and depending on the dominating side of the conflict at the time. Moreover, the saints were also made to fight between themselves. Thus, the Polish bishop Stanisław overcame the cult of Florian that had just started to flourish in Poland; and shortly after Thomas Becket's canonisation in 1173 and the quick popularisation of his cult in whole Europe, the saint 'claimed' the date of 29 December as his feast day (for he was killed on that day), despite the fact that 29 December was supposed to be a feast day of the canonisation of Charlemagne. **Jerzy Kaliszek** (*De sanctitate meritorum et gloria miraculorum beati Karoli Magni: a twelfth-century manuscript of the Polish National Library collection, BN II 12511*) shows that there are 35 manuscript records of *De sanctitate*, two of them (from the turn of the thirteenth century) considered as the most important, i.e. BNF MS Lat. 17656 and BNF St-Geneviève MS 1991. Yet there is another codex which remains unknown to the researchers of the field: BN MS II 12511, currently kept in the National Library in Warsaw, which may be dated to the last quarter of the twelfth century on the basis of its palaeographical and codicological features.

This codex originated in the north-west of Germany, perhaps in the territory of the archdiocese of Cologne. It is most probably the oldest preserved record of the first version of *De sanctitate* in our possession.

Jerzy Pysiak (*Charlemagne's Journey to the East and the miraculous curing of scrofula by the kings of France*) offers a discussion of a French adaptation (written shortly after 1200 by Pierre de Beauvais and, subsequently, by the Anonymus de Béthune) of an eleventh-century Latin text, originated in the St-Denis Abbey, under the title *Iter Hierosolimitanus Karoli Magni* (*Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus coronam et clavum Domini de Constantinopoli Aquisgranum detulerit...*). Its oldest version may be found in BnF MS Lat. 12711. In the *Iter Hierosolimitanus*, Charlemagne is recalled having brought the relics of the Crown of Thorns from his journey to Jerusalem and Constantinople. According to the authors of both versions of this text, the *virtus* of those relics (which presence in St-Denis Abbey is confirmed from the eleventh century and, after *Iter Hierosolimitanus*, they were transferred there from Aachen by Charlemagne) allowed, amongst other numerous miracles, many people to have been cured from scrofula. Neither Pierre de Beauvais, nor Anonymus de Béthune mentioned the ritual of curing scrofula by the kings of France. Until the seventies of the thirteenth century, the only record of this ritual is preserved in the late eleventh-or early twelfth-century work of abbot Guibert of Nogent. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the two abovementioned vernacular chronicles from the beginning of the thirteenth century contain evidence of attempts at finding Christian legitimisation for the miraculous powers of the Capetian dynasty. The healing power of the kings of France was to originate from the relics of the Passion of Christ, kept in the royal abbey of St-Denis.

The objects of **Marcin Pauk's** interest (*Monks, founders and writings. Cronica Domus Sarensis in the context of the monastic historiography of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries*) are various records of foundations of monasteries, written between eleventh and fourteenth centuries, mainly in the territory of the Holy Roman Empire. Yet the identification of the main currents of the monastic historiography and the summary of the principal corresponding research areas are merely an introduction to the actual analysis of a certain source originated in Moravia. The author of this article is interested mainly in the issues of relations between narratives of aristocratic families and monastic chronicle records of their founders. Furthermore, the author offers a discussion of the influence of crisis experienced within a monastic community over the process of writing accounts of beginnings of a monastery. The discussion is based on the analysis of the *Cronica Domus Sarensis*, a rhymed Latin chronicle by a Cistercian monk, Jindrich of Žďar, written in 1300. The conclusion drawn from this text is that it contains the account of the family of the founder, which has a very specific form, adjusted to the needs of the monastery. The role that the founders had played in the formation and

endowment of the monastic community, secured them a place in the foreground of the chronicle. Yet, after the first chapters, the main interest of the author of the chronicle turned to the listing of the abbots and describing the efforts of the monks, and the mentions of the members of the founding family are merely of commemorative character. The main purpose of the author of the chronicle was, above all, to give a testimony of the history of his own community and to preserve its memory.

Piotr Węcowski's starting point of discussion (*The loss of the royal crown after St Stanisław's death in the opinions of late medieval writers*) is the thirteenth-century work by Wincenty of Kielce, who introduced a motif of the loss of the crown, the decline of the dignity of the kingdom in Poland and the division and separation of the regions of the country. It was regarded as a punishment that God sent upon the Polish for the sins of their monarch, Bolesław the Munificent, who had killed the bishop of Cracow, Stanisław. This opinion was becoming quite popular already in the thirteenth century, and it was widely known and accepted in the fifteenth century. At that time other motifs appeared, of which the first version lacked: the episcopal throne in Cracow empty for four years, the interdict that was cast upon Poland, Polish kings deprived from the patronage over some ecclesiastical sites and the Teutonic Knights' attacks on Poland. However, this interpretation was not readily accepted by everyone, as it undermined the arguments of Polish diplomats in the territorial conflicts with the Order of the Teutonic Knights and with Masovia. Those arguments were based on another concept that the kingdom persisted and was to persist even without the kings. The motif of Stanisław's murder and its consequences was further developed by Jan Długosz (d. 1480). His work was widely accessible thanks to its printed editions, which appeared as early as 1511. Thus, Długosz's interpretation became a canonical text of the Polish history and remained implanted in the Polish historical consciousness until the nineteenth century.

(translated by Judyta Szaciłło)