



RENAISSANCE AND RENEWAL
IN
THE TWELFTH CENTURY



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Res Gestae, Universal History, Apocalypse

Visions of Past and Future

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The longest of the twelve chapters in Haskins's *Renaissance* bears the title "Historical Writing." My task is broader: to deal not only with historiography but also with the interpretation of universal history, which developed more from theology than from empirical history and which Haskins did not discuss.

In sheer quantity, historical writing—like all other written manifestations of intellectual life—increased enormously during the twelfth century. The Rolls Series alone, for example, contains some thirty volumes of narrative sources from the twelfth century, and they do not even exhaust the English sources. To these must be added those of other European countries, among them some that only began to contribute to historiography during the period in question. This discussion can do no more, therefore, than offer a few examples of the ways history was viewed and presented. The theme will be divided into three parts. The first will consider narrative works, *res gestae*, from England, Normandy, and Italy. The second will examine three works produced within the Holy Roman Empire which attempt to present a universal history from the Creation to their own time, or even to the end of the world. The third will be devoted to the theologians who, rather than narrating the course of history, sought to grasp its universal meaning, endeavoring thereby to establish the position of the present and to venture a glimpse into the future.

I. *RES GESTAE*

Historical writing in the twelfth century directly and uninterruptedly continued the historiography of the early Middle Ages, the origin of which goes back not to classical Antiquity but to early Christianity. Even in the twelfth century, the relationship to early Christian historiography lives on, while the classical authors—as in earlier periods—prove to be little more than stylistic models. All of this was already shown by Haskins and needs no further discussion here.

Great historical writing has always arisen from the experience of specific events. In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, historiography was

given a great impetus chiefly by three historic phenomena: the founding of an Anglo-Norman state by William the Conqueror and his successors; the crusades; and the rise of the communes, at first primarily in Italy.¹

ORDERIC VITALIS

The most outstanding of the Norman historians was Orderic Vitalis (1075–ca. 1142).² The work he himself described as an *historia ecclesiastica* is generally considered an excellent source as well as a good story, although its plan is “rather confused and badly arranged.”³ In fact, the organization of its contents is not easy to grasp; but it reflects the genesis of the work and, inherently, the history of the Normans as it gradually revealed itself to the author.⁴ Orderic was not himself a Norman. The son of a French priest who came to England with William, and an Anglo-Saxon mother, he was born in the neighborhood of Shrewsbury on the Welsh border, and at the age of ten was taken by his father to the monastery of St Evroul in southern Normandy (near L’Aigle). He spent the rest of his days there as a Benedictine, with no change in his outward life; from time to time he visited places in Normandy and Lorraine as well as Cluny and once, later, saw England again. “I was brought here as a ten-year-old Englishman from the outermost boundaries of Mercia, placed as a barbarian and ignorant foreigner among the clever inhabitants; now, with God’s help, I have undertaken to try to record in writing the deeds and history of the Normans for the Normans.”⁵ At the beginning of the twelfth century, probably it was only from a Norman monastery that one could turn his gaze in ever-widening circles to new lands almost without having to travel.

Orderic began by expanding and revising the history of the Normans written by William Calculus of Jumiège. Then in 1115 his abbot put him to the task of writing the history of St Evroul (which had been founded only in 1050).

¹Other events could of course also be mentioned, in particular the founding of the Norman state in Sicily. The concept of “Staufer historiography,” on the other hand, seems more problematic, since it actually boils down to Otto of Freising and Rahewin, who had no true followers. The poets of the *Carmen de gestis Frederici in Lombardia* and the *Ligurinus*, as well as Godfrey of Viterbo, can be counted as historians only with some reservations, and after Frederick I, court historiography and historiographical court poetry ceased altogether. The poetry at the court of Frederick II was not really historiographic.

²The new critical edition of Orderic, with an English translation, is now complete: *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (6 vols. Oxford 1969–81).

³Austin Lane Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087–1216*, *The Oxford History of England* 3 (2nd ed. Oxford 1955) 494.

⁴On Orderic and his work see Léopold Delisle in Auguste Le Prévost et al., eds., *Orderici Vitalis Historiae ecclesiasticae libri tredecim*, Société de l’histoire de France 13, 22, 39, 69, 79 (5 vols. Paris 1838–55) 5.i–cvi; Hans Wolter, *Ordericus Vitalis: Ein Beitrag zur kluniazensischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Wiesbaden 1955); Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London 1974) 151–65; and the introductions to the volumes of Chibnall (n. 2 above), esp. on the chronology of the composition of the individual books.

⁵“Tandem ego de extremis Merciorum finibus decennis Angligena huc aduectus, barbarusque et ignotus aduena callentibus indigenis admixtus, inspirante Deo Normannorum gesta et euentus Normannis promere scripto sum conatus,” *Ecclesiastical History* 5.1, ed. Chibnall (n. 2 above) 3.6.

He worked on it for decades, until shortly before his death, the last recorded event falling in 1141. But the work did not remain a mere history of a monastery, like so many written in the twelfth century. The very first decades of the monastery's existence forced Orderic to broaden his scope: abbot Robert of the noble family of Grandmesnil had been driven out by duke William, finding refuge with Robert Guiscard in Apulia, and monks had been leaving St Evroul for England since 1066; the monastery acquired rich possessions there, and it sent abbots to English monasteries and received English oblates, like Orderic himself, in Normandy. His report of these events was consistently set into a more general context, and the work rapidly expanded to become a history of the Normans in all countries without appropriating the literary tradition of the histories of the Germanic peoples—a tradition that extended from Jordanes and Isidore to Bede, Paul the Deacon, and Widukind of Corvey.

Orderic enlarged the spatial and temporal boundaries of his work in concentric circles, as it were. Book 5 looks back over the ecclesiastical history of Normandy since the first mission in northern Gaul. Epitaphs of bishops and abbots—some handed down, others composed by Orderic himself—adorn the work, which is written largely in the rhymed prose favored since the tenth century and so completely foreign to antique stylistic sensibility. Following the monastic and ecclesiastical history of Normandy, France, and England, book 7 makes a fresh start⁶ with Henry IV's expedition to Rome, moves quickly to the more important Robert Guiscard and his wars against Byzantium, then returns once more to the political history of England up to the death of William II. The horizon is expanded again with the history of the first crusade in book 10. The last four books, written about 1135–38 with supplements dating to 1141, relate in essentially chronological order the events of the first decades of the twelfth century, primarily in England, France, and the Holy Land; book 13 adds information on the beginning of the Reconquista in Spain.

Only after the work had gradually been turned into a universal history by tracing the steps of the Normans did Orderic finally set his world chronicle of books 1 and 2 at the head of the whole. Here he explicitly drew upon the literary tradition of Christian historiography, citing Eusebius, Jerome, Isidore, and Bede. But his own conception is highly individual. A detailed *Vita Jesu Christi* is followed by a chronicle of emperors that includes East and West, Byzantium and the Franks, but also mentions West Frankish, Anglo-Saxon, and other kings. The second book begins with the Lives of all the Apostles, leading us to various parts of the world as far as India and Ethiopia, and continues with a brief chronicle of the popes up to the present. Thus, not only emperors but the kings of many nations are placed in the line of succession from Christ, while the popes are given first place among the successors of the Apostles.

⁶For opposition to the older opinion that book 7 was not written until later, see Chibnall's introduction (n. 2 above) 4.xix–xxv.

In order to understand this work one must recall its genesis. It is not the chronology, the order of events, that is essential, but the narration itself, which leads inevitably from one theme to another—whether on the basis of written or of oral sources—because relationships and associations are found to exist everywhere. What ultimately results is an “ecclesiastical history” that is truly a universal history of a new and original kind, arising more from the historical experience and the narration itself than from a literary form and tradition or a theoretical conception. Comparatively often—and very characteristically for this self-aware twelfth-century author—Orderic speaks of himself. He mentions all the important dates in his life; we are told what he has seen with his own eyes, and a brief autobiography with a prayer (following the model of Bede) concludes his work.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY

Orderic gained a wealth of knowledge from his reading of historical literature, but he did not carry on its traditions. It was quite different with his younger contemporary, William of Malmesbury (ca. 1090–ca. 1142).⁷ He too was half continental—in fact, Norman—and half Anglo-Saxon in origin; but he lived in an English monastery, and Bede became his great model. English history seemed to have died with Bede: “Almost all knowledge of history up to our own time was buried with him.”⁸ To William, the Anglo-Saxon chronicles barely suffice to prevent the obliteration of several centuries, but he feels it better to remain silent about their Latin version. Even Eadmer reported only briefly about the time from the accession of Edgar to the conquest of William; for the time from Bede’s death to Edgar—223 years, as William calculates it—no historiographic presentation whatever existed.⁹ And so William felt called upon to renew an intellectual tradition interrupted 400 years before; and it must be acknowledged that he succeeded. His history of the English kings begins with the Anglo-Saxon immigration; the first book takes us as far as Edgar, the second to the battle of Hastings, the last three treat the first three Norman kings. The *Historia novella* carries events down to the civil war of 1142.

William studied every field of learning:

I have devoted my efforts to many *litterae*, though to each in a different way. For logic, which arms eloquence, I have only sampled, through lectures. Medicine, which heals the ailing body, I have taken in somewhat more fully. But into the fields of ethics I have

⁷William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque* and *Historiae novellae libri tres*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 90 (2 vols. London 1887–89); *De gestis pontificum Anglorum libri quinque*, ed. Nicholas E. S. A. Hamilton, RS 52 (London 1870); *The Historia novella*, trans. and ed. Kenneth Reginald Potter (London 1955). On William, see Gransden (n. 4 above) 166–85; Manitius 3.466–73; and esp. the introductions by Stubbs in *Gesta regum* 1 and 2.

⁸“Sepulta est cum eo gestorum omnis pene notitia usque ad nostra tempora.” *Gesta regum* 1.62 (n. 7 above) 1.66.

⁹*Gesta regum* 1 prologus (1.1–3).

penetrated very deeply, and I rise to its majesty, because it is accessible of itself to one who studies it and it prepares the mind for living well: history in particular, which through welcome knowledge of deeds develops manners and morals and through examples incites the reader to do good and avoid evil.¹⁰

William accordingly attributed his effort, his entire work, to ethics, and while he could believe himself on the strength of his origin to be a neutral judge between the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons,¹¹ he nonetheless considered the fall of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom to have been the direct result of a decline in morals and religion and the Norman victory to have been morally deserved.¹² The religious decay of the Anglo-Saxons had however gone hand in hand with the decline of education: "In the course of time, the striving for knowledge and theology had declined, . . . the clerics contented themselves with a superficial education and could scarcely babble the words of the sacraments. If, for a change, someone really knew Latin well, he was considered a miracle by the others and aroused astonishment."¹³ Education together with piety provided a standard; William made literary demands even on the king, and with Henry I he believed them to have been fulfilled. Under Henry, the Platonic maxim, Happy the state when the philosophers rule or the kings philosophize, came true; in the presence of his conqueror-father the young Henry (more insolent than philosophical) is said to have uttered the proverb, "An illiterate king is a crowned ass."¹⁴ Not even Cicero in prose or Vergil in verse, William believed, would have dared to describe such a king as Henry I.¹⁵

To be sure, remarks of this kind reveal the historian's own limitations as well; nevertheless, William was constantly striving for something higher. He worked hard to acquire a literary education, copying manuscripts of the ancient historians and even of the *Breviarium Alaricianum*.¹⁶ The chronological flow of events and deeds in his history of the English kings is interrupted time

¹⁰"Multis quidem litteris impendi operam, sed aliis aliam. Logicam enim, quae armat eloquium, solo libavi auditu; physicam quae medetur valitudini corporum, aliquanto pressius concepi; iam vero ethicae partes medullitus rimatus, illius maiestati assurgo, quod per se studentibus pateat, et animos ad bene vivendum comparat: historiam praecipue, quae, iocunda quadam gestorum notitia mores condiens, ad bona sequenda vel mala cavenda legentes exemplis irritat." *Gesta regum* 2 prologus (1.103).

¹¹*Gesta regum* 3 prologus (2.283).

¹²*Gesta regum* 3.245-46 (2.304-06).

¹³Ibid. (2.304): "Veruntamen litterarum et religionis studia aetate procedente obsoleverunt. . . . Clerici litteratura tumultuaria contenti, vix sacramentorum verba balbutiebant: stupori erat et miraculo ceteris qui grammaticam nosset."

¹⁴"Rex illitteratus, asinus coronatus," *Gesta regum* 5.390 (2.467). See Vivian H. Galbraith, "The Literacy of the Medieval English Kings," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 21 (1935) 201-38; Herbert Grundmann, "Litteratus-Illitteratus," *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, MGH Schriften 25 (3 vols. Stuttgart 1976-78) 3.1-66 at 11-13.

¹⁵*Gesta regum* 5 prologus (2.465).

¹⁶See the introduction by William Stubbs in *Gesta regum* 1.cxxxi-cxlvii; Manitius 3.468-69. For a comprehensive analysis of the numerous works with which William was familiar, as well as of the codices used by him, see Rodney M. Thomson, "The Reading of William of Malmesbury," *Revue bénédictine* 85 (1975) 362-94, with corrections and additions *ibid.* 86 (1976) 327-35 and 89 (1979) 313-24.

and again by anecdotes and tales of magic, not a few taking place in Rome and some connected with the history of such popes as Gerbert and Gregory VI.¹⁷ By no means all of them have a recognizable moral; often the report of their strangeness is an end in itself. Not only does William make room for Berengar of Tours, he also includes Hildebert's verses on the allegedly converted heretic.¹⁸ Significantly, however, the longest digression from the history of England is occasioned by the crusade of Robert, duke of Normandy. Robert passed through Rome, giving William the opportunity to include Hildebert's great poem, *Par tibi Roma nihil*, to which he appends a description of the twelve city gates.¹⁹ There follow excursuses on Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem, lists of the Byzantine emperors and the patriarchs of Jerusalem,²⁰ and finally the history of the first kings of Jerusalem.

William is only one of several English historians of the time. Besides him we find Eadmer, Simeon of Durham, and Henry of Huntingdon, and in the following generations English historiography reached its first high point with William of Newburgh and Roger of Hoveden. It should also be mentioned that Geoffrey of Monmouth presented his *Historia regum Britanniae*²¹ to that same Robert earl of Gloucester, son of king Henry I and patron of the young Henry II at the time of the civil war, to whom William dedicated his *Gesta regum* and *Historia novella*.²² In their saga of the ancient chivalric kings, Britons and Welshmen competed with the heirs of Bede, who, without questioning Arthur's standing as a historical figure, kept a suspicious distance from the *nugae Britonum* and *antiquitas naeniarum* regarding his return.²³ The British king met with unprecedented favor in the chivalric and courtly world, and fifty years after Geoffrey had completed his work, a grandson of king Henry II and presumptive claimant to his throne was christened Arthur.

¹⁷*Gesta regum* 2.169 (1.196ff.) on Gerbert's discovery of the treasures of Octavianus (*sic!*), followed by additional stories about treasures, magic, and the like. A miracle that occurred at the death of Gregory VI (2.203 [1.253]) occasioned the report on the witch of Berkeley, followed (2.206 [1.258-59]) by the story of the discovery of the body of Pallas, son of Evander, in Rome and by other memorabilia.

¹⁸*Gesta regum* 4.284 (2.338-40).

¹⁹*Gesta regum* 4.351 (2.402-08).

²⁰*Gesta regum* 4.355-56, 359, 367-68 (2.411-13, 415-16, 422-25).

²¹Geoffrey's *Historia* is available in several editions: Edmond Faral, *La légende Arthurienne* (3 vols. Paris 1929) vol. 3; Acton Griscom, *The Historia regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (London 1929; Latin and Welsh); Jacob Hammer, *Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia regum Britanniae, a Variant Version*, Mediaeval Academy of America Publication 57 (Cambridge Mass. 1951). On this see Robert W. Hanning, *The Vision of History in Early Britain* (New York and London 1966), Gransden (n. 4 above) 200-09, and C. N. L. Brooke, "Geoffrey of Monmouth as a Historian," *Church and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to C. R. Cheney on His 70th Birthday*, ed. C. N. L. Brooke et al. (Cambridge and New York 1976) 77-91. with additional bibliography.

²²*Gesta regum* (n. 7 above), dedicatory letter following book 3 (2.355-56); epilogue following book 5 (2.518-21); dedication of the *Historia novella* (2.525-56, = ed. Potter [n. 7 above] 1).

²³William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum* 1.8 (1.11-12), 3.287 (2.342).

ITALIAN URBAN ANNALISTS

We first encounter urban historiography in the Italian communes of the twelfth century, where lay education was very highly developed. The northern cities on the Scheldt, Meuse, and Lower Rhine could not yet compete with Italy in this area, and even Galbert of Bruges, who gives a stirring, graphic account from his own experience of the murder of count Charles the Good of Flanders and the subsequent civil wars cannot, for all his openness to the participation and interests of the citizens of Bruges, qualify as an historian of the town and its citizenry;²⁴ he remains a notary in the entourage of the count, and a man of clerical status.²⁵

As in other episcopal towns, historiography in Milan during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries was still entirely in the hands of the clergy.²⁶ To be sure, strong bonds between the clergy and the ruling class are unmistakable, and in the episcopal towns it was only a small step from the history of a bishopric or bishop to the history of a town. Still, it took the war of the Lombards against Frederick Barbarossa to inspire the new kind of annal writing by the unknown layman who depicted the Lombard struggle for liberty.²⁷ After the Romans (!), Goths, "Winili" (that is, Langobards), Franks, and Hungarians—so reads the introduction—the Germans have now invaded Lombardy: this should serve as a warning to the reader of the book against future danger and make him politically wise.²⁸

Milan at that time was ruled by an annually changing collegium of consuls,²⁹ among them several judges who were intellectual and political leaders; the most prominent were Oberto de Orto and Girardo Cagapisto. These jurists were famous in their time as outstanding authorities in feudal law and made a decisive contribution to the codification which was later put together as the *Libri feudorum* and which united with their writings the laws of their adver-

²⁴Galbert of Bruges, *Histoire du meurtre de Charles le Bon, comte de Flandre (1127-1128)*, ed. Henri Pirenne (Paris 1891); also useful are the translation by James Bruce Ross, with a detailed introduction and commentary: *The Murder of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders* (rev. ed. New York 1967), and various essays in Heinrich Sproemberg's posthumous book, *Mittelalter und demokratische Geschichtsschreibung: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen* (Berlin 1971). Not only is the concept of "democratic historiography" anachronistic when applied to the twelfth century, but the idea it seems to imply—that Galbert is a representative of the bourgeoisie—is, I believe, erroneous.

²⁵On Galbert's position see Ross (n. 24 above) 65-66; Sproemberg (n. 24 above) 240-41, 248-50.

²⁶On Arnulf, Landulf the Elder, and Landulf the Younger see Walther Holtzmann's summary in Wattenbach-Holtzmann (see the Bibliographical Note to this essay, below) 3.918-22.

²⁷*Gesta Federici I. imperatoris in Lombardia auct. cive Mediolanensi*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS rer Germ (Hanover 1892).

²⁸*Gesta Federici* prologus (14-16).

²⁹The best description of Milan's constitution in the twelfth century is to be found in the introduction to Cesare Manaresi, *Gli atti del Comune di Milano fino all'anno MCCXVI* (Milan 1919).

saries, the emperors.³⁰ The language and method of Oberto's writings are based on Roman law, though we do not know whether or not he studied in Bologna; his son Anselmo, in any case, lived there for some time but lost his political influence in Milan after collaborating with the Germans.³¹

The anonymous annalist was close to the milieu of these Milanese jurists, but neither his language nor any other clues suggest that he had a legal training. He was a sober, pragmatic thinker. The Church makes its appearance on the edge of political events—as when an archbishop promises God's help and urges war—but he shows no traces of clerical thinking. The wars and politics of his time are the subjects of his narrative; of the author's own involvement we learn only that during the siege of Milan he helped to ration out food.³²

At the same time as the Milanese annalist, Otto Morena, a judge in the neighboring town of Lodi, began a work dealing with the same material, but from the opposite political point of view.³³ For Lodi, Frederick I was a savior in a time of need resulting from Milan's oppression of neighboring cities. With the emperor's help Lodi was restored after its destruction, and in Morena's eyes the brutal demolition of Milan in turn was only deserved punishment. Otto Morena and his son Acerbo, who continued his work, bore the title of *iudex et missus imperatoris* and sometimes appeared as consuls. In other words, they belonged to the same class in Lodi as Oberto and Girardo in Milan, but their literary achievement lies in the field of historiography: they were the first jurists among the Lombard city historians, yet their subject was more *gesta imperatoris* than urban history. It has been observed that their style adopted turns of phrase used by jurists and in charters but was also influenced by Sallust, who was widely read during the Middle Ages.³⁴ Acerbo weaves in stylistically skillful portraits of German military commanders.³⁵

Even before the start of the crusades, Pisa could boast of great naval victories over the Saracens, who nevertheless remained her partners in trade. Her triumph over Palermo is glorified by an inscription in twenty-five leonine hexameters on the façade of the new cathedral, financed in 1063–64 by the spoils of the war.³⁶ An adjacent inscription places the victory within the tradition of

³⁰Karl Lehmann, *Das langobardische Lehnrecht* (Göttingen 1896), repr. with his *Consuetudines feudorum* and new intro. by Karl August Eckhardt, *Bibliotheca rerum historicarum* (Aalen 1971).

³¹*Gesta Federici* (n. 27 above) 50 for Anselmo's peace negotiations; 58 on the collaboration.

³²*Gesta Federici* 48; see introduction 5–6. There the earlier opinion is refuted that the writer was called Sire Raul (even today the text is sometimes still cited under this name); he was, instead, the copyist of a 13th-c. manuscript.

³³*Das Geschichtswerk des Otto Morena und seiner Fortsetzer über die Taten Friedrichs I. in der Lombardei*, ed. Ferdinand Güterbock, *MGH SS rer Germ n.s.* 7 (Berlin 1930); on the authors see the introduction, ix–xvii.

³⁴*Ibid.* xvi: "In der Form der Darstellung können sich diese Laienschriftsteller mit gleichzeitigen geistlichen Geschichtsschreibern nicht entfernt messen."

³⁵Acerbo, *ibid.* 166–71.

³⁶Giuseppe Scalia, "Epigraphica Pisana: Testi latini sulla spedizione contro le Baleari del 1113–15 e su altre imprese anti-saracene del secolo XI," *Miscellanea di studi ispanici dell'Istituto di letteratura spagnola e ispano-americana della Università di Pisa* (Pisa 1963) 234–86 at 253–64 (text 263–64) and pl. 2.

the naval campaigns that took place in 1006, 1016, and 1033, the last advancing as far as Bona in Africa.³⁷ A poem in seventy-three rhythmic strophes on the expedition of 1087 against Al-Mahdiya strikes a new note by comparing Pisa to Rome:

In writing the history of the illustrious men of Pisa,
I renew the memory of the ancient Romans:
For now Pisa continues the splendid renown
Which Rome once gained by conquering Carthage.³⁸

An otherwise unknown consul from the beginning of the twelfth century is celebrated in an inscription on the cathedral:

Here indeed you had a second Cato, Hector, Cicero—
In mind, in strength, in eloquence, one man the equal of three.³⁹

A few decades later a poet has the town speak as follows:

I am customarily called a second Rome,
I who am rich in charters from Frederick
Because of the barbarian peoples I have defeated everywhere.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, the war against Majorca in 1114–15 was extolled in an epic poem of more than 3500 hexameters.⁴¹ In these and related testimonies scholars have recognized a Pisan tradition of historico-political poetry which links the crusading theme to the idea of an *altera Roma* precisely on the basis of naval dominance.⁴² Not a single author is known by name, nor can we say whether this poetry, composed entirely in the service of the city and its naval wars, was in all cases written by clerics or was possibly the work of laymen.

The annals of Pisa are quite different. From a meager collection of brief notes they developed after 1136 into an impressive work giving precise reports

³⁷Ibid. 235–53, text 252–53.

³⁸ Inclitorum Pisanorum scripturus istoriam
antiquorum Romanorum renovo memoriam
nam extendit modo Pisa laudem admirabilem
quam recepit olim Roma vincendo Carthaginem.

Giuseppe Scalia, "Il carne pisano sull'impresa contro i Saraceni del 1087," *Studi di filologia romanza offerti a Silvio Pellegrini* (Padua 1971) 565–627, text 597–627; stanza 1 quoted here (597).

³⁹ Hic tibi nempe Cato fuit, Ector, Tullius alter
mente manu lingua, par tribus unus homo.

Giuseppe Scalia, "'Romanitas' Pisana tra XI e XII secolo: Le iscrizioni romane del duomo e la statua del console Rodolfo," *Studi medievali* 3rd ser. 13 (1972) 791–843 at 808.

⁴⁰Ibid. 805: Ego Roma altera iam solebam dici
que sum privilegiis dives Friderici
propter gentes barbaras quas ubique vici.

⁴¹*Liber Maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, ed. Carlo Calisse, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 29 (Rome 1904). On this see Giuseppe Scalia, "Per una riedizione critica del 'Liber Maiorichinus,'" *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo* 71 (1960) 39–112.

⁴²See especially the works by Scalia cited in the preceding notes. See also Craig B. Fisher, "The Pisan Clergy and an Awakening of Historical Interest in a Medieval Commune," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 3 (1966) 143–219.

of military campaigns, legations, and other political affairs of the city; beginning in the 1150s, lists were added of the consuls and in part of other officials, particularly judges.⁴³ The author of these annals was Bernardo Maragone, a jurist from the group called in Pisa *de usu scientes* and consequently eligible for election as *previsores*, judges at the court of customary law (*curia usus*), as distinguished from the *legis periti*, authorities in Roman law working at the *curia legis*.⁴⁴ Bernardo's son Salem, who prided himself on being an expert in Roman law, continued the annals after 1182.⁴⁵ The work thus arose in that circle of prominent Pisan jurists to which the translator Burgundio—a *legis peritus*—belonged⁴⁶ and which also produced the great statute book of 1160, the *Constituta legis et usus*.⁴⁷ Maragone considered it his main task to record the officeholders of the city and their official acts in chronological order, objectively and impersonally including his own name, sometimes as a *previsor*, elsewhere as an envoy to the Roman senate.⁴⁸ Strangely enough, the years are quite often repeated and occasionally even confused; it would appear that Maragone initially collected his material on slips of paper. But these annals do not yet constitute an official work.

It was in Genoa, rather, that this final step was taken. There, for the first time, a history of the city was written by a layman with the highest political responsibilities and was then given official status by the commune.⁴⁹ In 1152 Caffaro placed in the hands of the ruling consuls his record of Genoa's history

⁴³*Gli Annales Pisani di Bernardo Maragone*, ed. Michele Lupo Gentile, *Rerum italicarum scriptores* 6.2 (Bologna 1936). The work survives only in an abridged Latin version in which many of the lists of officeholders are omitted; there exists, besides, a 17th-c. Italian translation of the complete text, which in this edition—deficient in many other respects as well—is cited incompletely and confusingly. On Maragone see the introduction, v–ix.

⁴⁴Gioacchino Volpe, *Studi sulle istituzioni comunali a Pisa: Città e contado, consoli e podestà, secoli XII–XIII*, new ed. with intro. by Cinzio Violante (Florence 1970) 146–50. Peter Classen, "Gesetzgebung im 12. Jahrhundert: Die *Constituta usus et legis* von Pisa," *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter*, ed. Peter Classen, *Vorträge und Forschungen* 23 (Sigmaringen 1977) 311–17.

⁴⁵*Annales* (n. 43 above) 73, for the year 1182 Pisan style (1181 *stili communis*), which survives only in the Italian version: "Infino a qui ha fatto Bernardo di Maragone, homo buono savio et pronto in dicti et facti et in ogni opera per honor della città in terra et in mare, il quale visse anni octanta in bona vecchiaia et vide e' figlioli de sua figlioli, infino in terza et quarta generatione et tutte queste cose vidde et cognove per grazia et misericordia dello omnipotente Idio, et compose et fece questo regestiro insieme con Salem, suo figlolo, homo dottor in legge et savio buono, et pronto in praticar et giudicar, il quale Salém tenne le vestigie di suo padre et tanto più che lui era doctor di legge, pieno di scienza, homo di bona progenia nato et nobile cittadino della città di Pisa. Et da qui inanzi farà solo esso Salem, aiutandolo Idio il quale vive et regna per infiniti secoli Amen."

⁴⁶Peter Classen, *Burgundio von Pisa: Richter, Gesandter, Übersetzer*, SB Heidelberg, Philos.-hist. Kl. 1974 no. 4.

⁴⁷Classen (n. 44 above).

⁴⁸Maragone, *Annales* (n. 43 above) 13, 17 (codex A in footnote), 22, 31, and 32 (text, and additional comment from codex A in footnote) names himself in different offices as judge and envoy in 1151, 1159, 1161, and 1165.

⁴⁹*Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori dal MCXIX al MCCXCIII*, ed. Luigi Tommaso Belgrano and Cesare Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 11–14bis (5 vols. Rome 1890–1929).

from the year 1100. Caffaro had recorded "the names of the consuls, and the times and successions of the consulates and companies, and the victories, and the changes in coinage that occurred during each consulate."⁵⁰ The public scribe was now instructed by the consuls "to make a [fair] copy of the book compiled and annotated by Caffaro and to place it in the public archives, so that henceforth for all time the victories would be known to the people of the city of Genoa."⁵¹

Caffaro was born in 1080 and took part in the Genoese crusade to the Holy Land in 1099–1101. Already at that time, when the first *compagnia* was formed and its consuls chosen, he began on his own initiative to record the names and deeds of the consuls.⁵² In his record, the crusade, the creation of an association that became the nucleus of the city commune, and the first rudiments of urban historiography coincide. Simple lists of the companies (each sworn in for a term of four years) and their consuls form the early framework; beginning in 1112 these were replaced by lists of the annual consulates, in which Caffaro himself appears among the governing officials. Between 1122 and 1147 he was *consul communis* at least five times and *consul de placitis* twice; in other years he served the city as an envoy, ultimately in 1154 and 1158 to Barbarossa.⁵³ The skeleton of lists of officeholders was fleshed out—probably at a later date—by vivid recollections of such events as the vindication of the crusade in a dialogue with the Saracens⁵⁴ or the embassy to pope Calixtus II, who deprived the Pisans of their ecclesiastical supremacy over Corsica;⁵⁵ here, to be sure, Caffaro is silent about the payments to pope and cardinals which he himself had negotiated and for which we have exact documentary evidence.⁵⁶

Caffaro's originally private records, later rendered official by the consuls, initiate a new form of historical writing. It is not known how much the details and especially the language of the work in its present form are due to the city scribes who set it down. From 1154 on, continuations were added every year; these seem to have been read or explained by Caffaro to the city authorities before they were approved and incorporated into the official text. In the introductory phrases to each year's additions the notarial style is unmistakable.⁵⁷

⁵⁰"Nomina eorum [*scil.* the consuls] et tempora et uarietates consulatum et compagnarum, et uictorias, et mutationes monetarum in eodem consulatu factas, sicut subtus legitur, per semet ipsum dictauit, et consulibus . . . in consilio pleno scriptum istud ostendit," *Annali Genovesi* 1.3.

⁵¹"Consules uero . . . publico scribano preceperunt, ut librum a Cafaro compositum et notatum scriberet et in comuni cartulario poneret, ut deinceps cuncto tempore futuris hominibus Ianuensis [ciuitatis] uictorie cognoscantur," *Annali Genovesi* 1.3–4.

⁵²See the note on 1160, *Annali Genovesi* 1.59.

⁵³On Caffaro's life see Belgrano's introduction, *Annali Genovesi* 1.lxix–xc.

⁵⁴*Annali Genovesi* 1.9–12, for 1101.

⁵⁵*Annali Genovesi* 1.18–20, for 1122.

⁵⁶See the document in *Annali Genovesi* 1.20–21 n. 1.

⁵⁷See the supplements to 1154–63, *Annali Genovesi* 1.38, 41, 46, 48, 49, 53, 61, 63–64, 66–67, 74. On this see Girolamo Arnaldi, "Uno sguardo agli Annali Genovesi," in his *Studi sui*

The author himself was apparently neither a notary nor even trained in jurisprudence; not until the next generation did members of these professions, to which Caffaro's assistants belonged, assume the task of writing the history of their city. Caffaro made his last entry in 1163; in 1166 he died, and it was not until 1169 that the ruling consuls instructed the chancellor and former consul of the town, Oberto, to continue the work. From then until 1293 the annals of Genoa constituted an official work of urban historiography.

The Genoese annals certainly do not belong in the literary tradition stemming from Antiquity; they owe their origin not to scholarship and literature but to politics. And yet they deserve our attention here, for they have elements that recall the earliest historiography of Rome, with its *fasti consulares*, and because they offer the first significant example of the urban historiography that gradually began to spread over the whole of Europe in the twelfth century.

The examples from Milan, Lodi, Pisa, and Genoa show how the educational monopoly of the clergy was broken in the communes. In addition to their political and administrative duties, the officials—notaries, judges, and sometimes the ruling consuls themselves—took over the recording and transmitting of *acta* and *gesta* in the Italian communes; in Genoa this actually became one of their public functions. The present was consciously being made a monument for the future, but inevitably linked with this was the question of the past, its models, and its traditions. History and reflection on history could thus become a theme of political ideas and actions. Pisa's politico-historical poets adopted Roman tradition; Milan kept to its own past. A relief of about 1171 on the Porta Romana in Milan depicts the reentry of the citizens into the city after its rebuilding in 1167 under the protection of the confederated communes; beside it, however, appears a representation of St Ambrose and his struggle against the Arians.²⁸

II. UNIVERSAL HISTORY

Virtually all the works discussed in part I take their point of departure from the experience of political actions in the authors' own time. The great world chronicles, on the other hand, were based far more on literary tradition, even though their authors certainly dealt with contemporary politics—in some cases, indeed, rather polemically. Two works from the turn of the eleventh and twelfth century may serve as examples. Significantly, both were written within the Empire, whose self-conception offered the most fertile soil for the literary composition of a universal history: the Salian emperors and their Staufer suc-

cronisti della Marca Trevigiana nell'età di Ezzelino da Romano, Studi storici 48–50 (Rome 1963) 225–45.

²⁸Illustrations of the remarkable sculptures of the Porta Romana, which are now in Castel Sforza and have accompanying verse inscriptions, can be found throughout vol. 4 of the *Storia di Milano* (16 vols. Milan 1953–62); I know of no historical or art-historical interpretation of them.

cessors were looked upon, after all, as emperors of the Romans and the successors of Augustus.

SIGEBERT OF GEMBLoux

Sigebert (ca. 1030–1112), a monk in the Benedictine monastery of Gembloux in the diocese of Liège—and therefore a Walloon-speaking inhabitant of the Empire—shared the allegiance to the Empire of many of his peers during the Investiture Controversy.⁵⁹ His world chronicle goes back directly to Jerome and, drawing on many sources, attempts to expand the synchronization of reigns in the manner of Eusebius.⁶⁰ For the fourth and fifth centuries he was able to record eight or nine simultaneous *regna*; in the following periods some of these collapsed and the others were scarcely mentioned in the sources. For the early ninth century he names only Romans (= Frankish emperors), Franks (= West Frankish kings), Constantinopolitans, Saracens, and Bulgarians. The latter two disappear after 821, and after 977 the Byzantines as well, due quite simply to lack of information; so that eventually *Romani* and *Franci*, that is to say Germans and French, are all that remain—a rather sad remnant that seems to reflect a provincialism in the “world chronicle” of late Salian times. In 1067 the English are added and in 1100 the Jerusalemites, but neither the Spanish kingdoms nor the Scandinavians, Poles, or Hungarians appear in Sigebert’s field of vision; information on the Byzantine emperors does not reappear even for the time of the crusades. Was Sigebert unaware that a universal history of his own time restricted to the Empire could no longer fulfill its purpose?

FRUTOLF OF BAMBERG

Sigebert continued the work of Jerome, beginning with the year 381. His presumably younger contemporary, Frutolf (d. 1103), a Benedictine of Michelsberg Abbey in Bamberg, was more ambitious: he reexamined everything, beginning with the Creation, and filled in the chronological framework—which seemed less important to him—with quantities of material of all kinds.⁶¹ The libraries of Bamberg were no less rich than those of Liège. Frutolf

⁵⁹On Sigebert see most recently Jutta Beumann, *Sigebert von Gembloux und der Traktat de investitura episcoporum*, Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband 20 (Sigmaringen 1976). Her edition of the treatise, which she ascribes to Sigebert, is in DA 33 (1977) 37–83.

⁶⁰*Sigeberti Gemblacensis chronica cum continuationibus*, ed. Ludwig K. Bethmann, MGH SS 6 (1844) 268–474; text of Sigebert’s chronicle (up to 1111) 300–74. The supplements were in part separately edited later. On Sigebert as a chronicler see Heinrich Sproemberg in Wattenbach-Holtzmann (see Bibliographical Note) 2.727–37.

⁶¹Frutolf’s chronicle, together with Ekkehard’s continuations, were edited by Georg Waitz under Ekkehard’s name: *Ekkehardi Uraugiensis chronica*, MGH SS 6 (1844) 1–267. That its core was the work of Frutolf was first recognized by Harry Bresslau, “Die Chroniken des Frutolf von Bamberg und des Ekkehard von Aura,” *Neues Archiv* 21 (1896) 197–234. New edition of the section from 1001 on in Franz-Josef Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott, *Frutolfs und Ekkehard’s Chroniken und die anonyme Kaiserchronik*, Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe 15 (Darmstadt 1972); the introduction includes a summary of recent scholarship on the versions and authors of the chronicle, but essentially with reference only to the closing section. See also Wattenbach-Holtzmann (see Bibliographical Note) 2.491–506.

tried to make his chronicle readable by incorporating stories from various sources. When introducing a new people, he adds a comprehensive *origo gentis*—as for the Franks, Goths (among whom, following Jordanes, he includes Huns and Amazons), Lombards, and Saxons. Great rulers such as Alexander, Theodosius, Charlemagne, and Otto the Great are given extensive *vitae* taken more or less verbatim from the sources. But Frutolf was also interested in intellectual achievements: for the year 365 A.U.C., for example, he inserts information (taken essentially from Augustine) on Socrates, Plato, and Pythagoras; and wherever his sources permit, he names poets, Church Fathers, and saints, and occasionally uses their *vitae*. Probably more than any other medieval author before or after him, Frutolf made an attempt to describe in detail and bring together in a comprehensive presentation covering the entire course of time every conceivable piece of historical information known to him—a kind of universalism that marks an end rather than a beginning. Frutolf's work found continuators in Germany, and Sigebert's in France and the Netherlands; but no truly new world chronicles were composed. Otto of Freising's great work attempted to reshape the traditional material of world history intellectually, rather than to enlarge it.

OTTO OF FREISING

With the title *Historia de duabus civitatibus*, bishop Otto of Freising (ca. 1112–58), the French-educated half-brother of king Conrad III, directly linked his work to that of Augustine;⁶² but this should not blind us to the fact that the connection is in one particular idea only—and even that received a different accent—not in the substance of the work itself. The chance events of human history had never particularly attracted Augustine; he left this theme to his pupil Orosius, with whom Otto is really more closely linked as a writer of history. Otto's division of history into three parts—*exortus, procursus, et debiti fines*—was taken over from Augustine; but Augustine had devoted to the *procursus* only a third of his narrative (*De civitate Dei*, books 15–18), and thereby restricted himself almost exclusively to depicting the first phase of the heavenly *civitas* named in his title. In contrast, Otto's true theme is the *progressus*:⁶³ it fills seven of the eight books, with the earthly *civitas* and its *regna* clearly in the foreground. Otto conceives the *civitates* as visible communities

⁶²*Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, MGH SS rer Germ (2nd ed. Hanover 1912), cited from this; on the title see Hofmeister, introduction x–xii. Edited by Walther Lammers, with German trans. by Adolf Schmidt, Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe 16 (Darmstadt 1960); trans. Charles Christopher Mierow, *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D., by Otto, Bishop of Freising* (New York 1928). The literature is extensive, especially in German; for a summary see now Wattenbach-Schmale (see Bibliographical Note) 1.48–55.

⁶³Otto writes *progressus* (prologus to book 1 [9]) instead of Augustine's usual *procursus* or *excursus*. However, Otto does not mean a qualitative "progress" but—like Augustine—only a temporal progression.

and consequently can describe two separate *civitates*—the chosen people of the Old Testament and the Church of Christ on the one hand, and the heathen kingdoms on the other—only in the first three books; that is to say, up to the turning point under Constantine. With Constantine, or definitively with Theodosius, begins the history of the one *civitas Christi*, called *ecclesia* and embracing both *imperium* and *sacerdotium*—a *civitas permixta*, to be sure, combining both wheat and chaff. This means, however, that the two *civitates* were no longer a true subject of discussion since they no longer stood in opposition to each other—until the conflict between Henry IV and Gregory VII, when they again threatened to separate.⁶⁴

Besides the image of the *civitas* we find other principles of theoretical order, based only in part on a chronological structure of world history. Again and again Otto deplores the *mutabilitas rerum*—from which, after all, the historian gets his material—as *miseriae mutationum*;⁶⁵ in long *exclamationes* he contrasts the changeable world of human miseries with the unchangeable heavenly goal. The books are divided primarily according to the low points in the history of human events: the destruction of Babylon, the death of Caesar, the end of the Roman Empire in the West, the collapse of the Frankish empire, and the death of Gregory VII. Otto recognizes various classifications of change: the coordination of the seven *aetates* with the days of Creation, with the Apocalyptic trumpets, or with the gifts of the Holy Spirit;⁶⁶ the three ages *ante gratiam, tempus gratiae, post praesentem vitam*;⁶⁷ and the four persecutions that mark the history of the Church (“*cruenta sub tyrannis, fraudulenta hereticorum, ficta hypochritarum, ultima tam violenta quam fraudulenta fictaque sub Antichristo*”).⁶⁸ All this serves primarily to identify the end of the world as history’s main objective. Earthly history is in turn presented as the history of the four universal empires and of the “transfers” (*translationes*) from one to the next. Otto of course was acquainted through Jerome with the visions of Daniel and their significance; but he observed history too closely to place much value on the quadripartite scheme. What is important is that the empires change, that the first empire in the East, Babylon, was the beginning and that Rome in the West is the end. They are the *potentissima regna*;⁶⁹ how one organizes the intervening empires of the Chaldeans, the Persians, the Medes, and the Greeks is a secondary problem, one which Otto solves inconsistently.⁷⁰ The element of change, the *translatio*, is more important than the number of *regna*. In the case of the first *translatio*, for instance, Otto sur-

⁶⁴For Otto’s chief references to the *civitates* in their historical manifestation see *Historia* (n. 62 above) 1.1 (38), 4.4 (188–90), 5 prologus (228), and 7 prologus (308–10).

⁶⁵On the *miseriae mutationum* see e.g. *Historia* 1.5 (43), 1.32 (66), 2 prologus (67–68), 2.51 (128–29), 4.4 (189–90), and 4.31 (222–24).

⁶⁶*Historia* 8.14 (411–12).

⁶⁷*Historia* 8 prologus (391).

⁶⁸*Historia* 8.1 (393).

⁶⁹See Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 18.2.

⁷⁰*Historia* (n. 62 above) 2.12–13 (80–82).

mounts the problem of several *regna* by assuming that the empire remains "in name" (*nomine*) with Babylon, but is transferred "in fact" (*re*) to the Chaldeans and "in authority" (*auctoritate*) to the Medes.⁷¹ It is even more complicated when we reach the continuing Roman Empire: Constantine transferred only the *sedes regni* to the Greeks,⁷² or else the empire was transferred *sub Romano nomine ad Graecos*,⁷³ and later *sub Romano nomine ad Francos*.⁷⁴ After the decline of the Franks the Roman Empire went to the Lombards (that is, Berengar and his successors) and to the Germans—or else back to the *teutonici Franci*. Thus, just as Babylon had once succumbed to the Medes and Chaldeans, Rome was now succumbing to inferior peoples, to Greeks and Franks.⁷⁵

We sense Otto's efforts to preserve the theory of the *regna* without doing violence to the facts. The direction of movement, to be sure, is set; it goes from East to West, toward the end of time. But now, parallel to the *regna*, *sapientia* or *scientia* also moves from Babylon and the Chaldeans to Egypt, to the Greeks and the Romans, and most recently to Gaul and Spain in the far West.⁷⁶ Finally *religio* takes the same path, from the Egyptian monastic fathers to Gaul.⁷⁷

The *translatio* of knowledge and wisdom to the far West, to Spain and Gaul, is evidenced by the names of Berengar (of Tours), Manegold (of Lautenbach), and Anselm (of Laon): they were the teachers of those Gallic teachers whose lectures Otto himself had heard. That the far West, the ends of the earth, had been reached indicated to Otto that the end of time was now also at hand. To be sure, he was more disturbed by the conflict between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* which was dividing the *ecclesia* and threatening to separate the *civitates*, united since Constantine; and not least troubling was the accompanying decline of the "Roman" Empire, ruled at the time by Otto's own brother, king Conrad, who was never to win the imperial title.⁷⁸ This point of view certainly shows no understanding for the multiplicity of European *regna*: they were marginal phenomena, not the representatives of universal history, even though their right to exist was in no way contested.

At the end of his seventh book Otto explains that the spiritual renovation of the much-subdivided monastic and religious orders is the only force that can still assure the survival of the morally fallen world.⁷⁹ The eighth book, with the continuation of history to its *debiti fines*, is modeled on the works of

⁷¹*Historia* 1.32 (66); cf. p. 13.

⁷²*Historia* 4.5 (191). Cf. the inexact rendering, p. 10.

⁷³*Historia* 5 prologus (227).

⁷⁴*Historia* 5.31 (256–57); 5.36 (260–61).

⁷⁵*Historia* 6.22 (285); cf. 1 prologus (7).

⁷⁶*Historia* praefatio (8); 5 prologus (226–28).

⁷⁷*Historia* 7.35 (372).

⁷⁸Anxiety about the present permeates the entire book; it is especially apparent in the famous chapter 6.35 on the excommunication of Henry IV and in the following conclusion to book 6 and prologue to book 7 (304–10).

⁷⁹*Historia* 7.34–35 (368–74).

theologians since Augustine; among the chroniclers only Bede had been courageous enough to draw the logical conclusion and to include in his narrative not only the beginning of universal history but also its end.⁸⁰

No historical work before Otto (and very few after him) combined theoretical reflection and the narration of the actual course of events with such keen penetration. We have seen that his basic ideas were borrowed from Christian Antiquity, although they were independently reworked in accordance with the requirements of the material itself: unlike Augustine and Orosius, who wrote scarcely a century after the reconciliation of the Empire with the Church, he was writing more than eight hundred years after the event. Added to this, however, was his intensely personal experience of the historical present, his pessimism born from the conflict between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* as well as from the decline of the Empire in the war between the Staufer and Guelphs.

Whereas Sigebert's and Frutolf's works could at least be continued, if not enlarged upon, to continue Otto's *Historia* was scarcely conceivable. Indeed, he began anew when he wrote his *Gesta Friderici* in a more positive mood—despite the failure of the crusade—and even before the accession of his nephew, Frederick, whom he could afterwards celebrate as the bringer of peace.⁸¹ The Hippocratic principle "better in the climb than on the summit"⁸² could now serve as theoretical basis for an account that began with the low point reached under Henry IV and had as its object the ascent that became fully apparent under the youthful emperor Frederick I. But even in this work, whose subject is the *gesta imperatoris*, Otto wanted to do something for the philosophically inclined reader. For this reason he combined the judicial trials of theologians in France with the history of the emperor in an essentially superficial union of *res gestae* and *subtilitatis sublimitas*.⁸³ For the problem of universal history, the second work of the bishop of Freising, however instructive it may be as an example of *gesta*, offers no new point of view.

III. APOCALYPSE

No other historian of the twelfth century so imbued the stuff of world history with theology as Otto of Freising did. In spite of this, however, he remained a historian who took as his point of departure the historical (and in particular the political) facts, narrating, connecting, and interpreting them. But he and

⁸⁰Bede, *Chronica* 68–71, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH AA 13.322–27.

⁸¹Otto, GF (see list of Abbreviations for this volume), cited from this; ed. Franz-Josef Schmale with German trans. by Adolf Schmidt, Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe 17 (Darmstadt 1965); trans. Charles Christopher Microw, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa, by Otto of Freising and His Continuator Rahewin* (New York 1953). On this see Wattenbach-Schmale (see Bibliographical Note, below) 1.56–60, with bibliography.

⁸²"Melius est ad summum quam in summa," GF 1.4 (16); Josef Koch, "Die Grundlagen der Geschichtsphilosophie Ottos von Freising," *Geschichtsdenken und Geschichtsbild im Mittelalter*, ed. Walther Lammers, Wege der Forschung 21 (Darmstadt 1965) 321–49.

⁸³"Sic enim non solum hi, quibus rerum gestarum audiendi seriem inest voluptas, sed et illi, quos rationum amplius delectat subtilitatis sublimitas, ad eiusmodi legenda seu cognoscenda trahuntur." GF prologus (12); cf. Vergil, *Eclogue* 2.65: "trahit sua quemque voluptas."

other thinkers cannot be understood without taking theology into consideration. Even if early scholasticism proceeded from the habit of distinguishing, from dialectic, and strove toward systems that were not primarily historical in structure, the biblical, Augustinian view of salvation as an historical interaction between God and man was never lost and can be recognized even in the structure of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. Every church offered pictorial representations of the principal stations on the way to human salvation: from the creation of Adam to the Incarnation as shown in the Annunciation to Mary, and from Christ's redemptive death on the Cross to the Last Judgment. In the twelfth century the question concerning the place of the present in the history of salvation was posed more emphatically than ever; to the point where Joachim of Fiore believed that the very end of the age initiated by the New Testament had been reached. We will begin with a look at two theologians of an earlier generation whose methodology was influential: abbot Rupert of Deutz (ca. 1070–1129) and Hugh of St Victor (ca. 1096–1141).

RUPERT OF DEUTZ

Rupert was the great exegete who brought the tradition together and deepened it through meditation; the "fondateur de la théologie biblique"⁸⁴ whose works were widely disseminated, especially in Germany, the Netherlands, and France. In recent scholarship Rupert, who made the ambitious claim that he was digging fountains in the field of Holy Scripture "with the plowshare of my own talent" (*proprii vomere ingenii*),⁸⁵ has been wrongly characterized as a conservative theologian. In spite of the fact that his method borrowed much from and continued earlier biblical scholarship, and as much as the new schools, especially in Laon, displeased him, he still dared to question the authority of Augustine and bravely defended his point of view against the masters of Laon even when he was threatened with a trial for heresy.⁸⁶

⁸⁴Ceslaus Spicq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au moyen âge*, Bibliothèque thomiste 26 (Paris 1944) 117. Rupert's numerous works are printed in PL 167–70. Eight volumes of the new edition by Rhaban Haacke are now available: CCL cm 7, 9, 21–24, and 26, as well as *De victoria verbi Dei*, ed. Haacke, MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 5 (Weimar 1970). Of the recent wealth of literature on Rupert the following may be mentioned: Mariano Magrassi, *Theologia e storia nel pensiero di Ruperto di Deutz* (Rome 1959); Horst Dieter Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter: von Tyconius zum deutschen Symbolismus*, BGPTMA n.s. 9 (Münster 1973) 178–235; Herbert Grundmann, "Der Brand von Deutz 1128 in der Darstellung Abt Ruperts von Deutz," DA 22 (1966) 385–471. On the question whether Rupert wrote an early historical work see John Van Engen, "Rupert von Deutz und das sog. *Chronicon S. Laurentii Leodiensis*: Zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites in Lüttich," DA 35 (1979) 33–81; Van Engen is preparing a biography. On the wide dissemination of Rupert's writings see Rhaban Haacke, "Die Überlieferung der Schriften Ruperts von Deutz," DA 16 (1960) 397–436 and "Nachlese zur Überlieferung der Schriften Ruperts von Deutz," DA 26 (1970) 528–40. Rupert's influence on other 12th-c. authors has been little investigated. Gerhoch was certainly highly dependent on him, as were other South German 12th-c. authors; see Classen (n. 107 below) in the Index s.v. Rupert. But it is still uncertain whether Rupert influenced Hugh of St Victor, Bernard of Clairvaux, and other authors living in France.

⁸⁵Dedication of the commentary on the Apocalypse to archbishop Frederick of Cologne, PL 169.825–26.

⁸⁶Commentary on the *Regula S. Benedicti*, book 1, PL 170.492–98.

Nowhere in his writings does Rupert enter into a theoretical discussion of the historical interpretation of salvation, but it is taken for granted throughout his exegesis. Again and again his exegetical works address major theological themes; for instance, his commentary on St John's Gospel treats the Incarnation and the sacrament of the Eucharist.⁸⁷ Rupert's most comprehensive exegetical work, *De sancta trinitate et operibus suis*,⁸⁸ treats the greater part of the Bible, associating the Three Persons of the Trinity with the principal epochs of history: the Father with Creation, the Son with Redemption (which begins already with the expulsion from Paradise and culminates in the Incarnation), the Holy Spirit with the history of the Church. In the thirty-two books devoted to the Old Testament, for example, the exegesis of the Psalms establishes historical connections with David and the Books of Kings. Only one book deals with the Gospels, on which Rupert had written separate commentaries; the last nine books deal with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit in descending order, and only at this point is the history of the Church included, in an allegorical exegesis of the Bible, its epochs organized in accordance with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit:⁸⁹

<i>prudentia</i>	the Passion
<i>intellectus</i>	Pentecost
<i>consilium</i>	the Gathering of the Apostles at Jerusalem, admission of the heathens
<i>fortitudo</i>	the Martyrs
<i>scientia</i>	the Doctors of the Church
<i>pietas</i>	the conversion of the Jews at the end of Time
<i>timor</i>	the Last Judgment

Typology traditionally establishes links between the Old and the New Testaments, but also between the Bible and the institutions, sacraments, and liturgy of the Church. Rupert, however, constructs a succession of epochs—though indeed he only manages to illuminate the early period on one side and the end of time on the other: the vast period between the patristic age and the present remains undifferentiated. Taking up where Rupert left off, Gerhoch of Reichersberg and Anselm of Havelberg went further along this path. In comparison, Rupert himself was very cautious in his interpretation of more recent Church history. His discussion of the liturgy, for example, recognizes typological relationships to the Bible and genetic explanations taken from the history of the Church,⁹⁰ but does not become involved with interpretations of the history of the Church as such or even with interpretations of the present.

⁸⁷Rhaban Haacke, ed., CCL cm 9 (1969).

⁸⁸Rhaban Haacke, ed., CCL cm 21–24 (1971–72).

⁸⁹Synopsis of *De sancta Trinitate* 34.31, = *De operibus Spiritus Sancti*, 1.31, CCL cm 24.1860–61; details in the following books.

⁹⁰For example, *De divinis officiis* 2.21, 5.16, 8.2, 9.5, ed. Rhaban Haacke, CCL cm 7 (1967) 50–52, 170, 263, 311–12.

HUGH OF ST VICTOR

Like the exegete Rupert of Deutz, the teacher and systematic theologian Hugh of St Victor also based his scheme of theology on a historical concept. Widely disseminated, his principal work, *De sacramentis*, is divided into two books, in analogy to the Holy Scriptures: one on the *opus conditionis*, the other on the *opus restorationis*. The first runs *a principio mundi usque ad Incarnationem Verbi*, the second *ab Incarnatione Verbi usque ad finem et consummationem omnium*.⁹¹ A glance at the systematic works from Abelard's theological treatises and Peter Lombard's *Sentences* to the *summae* of high scholasticism reveals how far from self-evident such a historical division is, in a work that seeks to represent the totality of Christian doctrine. It hardly does justice to Hugh's point of view, however, to maintain that Hugh the chronicler was an influence here on Hugh the scholastic.⁹² Hugh was never a chronicler, even when he collected historical material. It served him as a basis for exegetical theology and for theology in general; for Hugh's systematic theology develops from his exegesis. His basic pedagogical work, the *Didascalicon*, thus argues emphatically that every hasty allegory must fail if it lacks a basis in historical exegesis. "The basis and beginning of the holy doctrine is history. . . . When you begin to build, first lay the historical foundation, then erect the spiritual structure through typological meaning into a citadel of the Faith, lastly decorate the building by painting it with glorious color, so to speak, through the grace of moral sense."⁹³ These are the rules of biblical exegesis which were pointedly directed against the arrogant despisers of history and of the literal or historical sense—against hasty and unreliable allegorical interpretation. "I do not believe that you can achieve perfect subtlety in allegory if you have not first found a basis in history. Do not despise this."⁹⁴ The diligent pursuit of small, seemingly unimportant and contingent matters precedes the erection of the lofty edifice. "Learn everything; you will see later that nothing is superfluous. Limited knowledge is unsatisfactory."⁹⁵

Hugh intended his (still largely unpublished) work *De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum, id est personis, locis, temporibus* to be a great collection

⁹¹PL 176.173–618; cf. bibliography, cols. 173–74 and prologus 2, col. 183. Of the extensive literature on Hugh, especially noteworthy for our subject is Joachim Ehlers, *Hugo von St. Viktor: Studien zum Geschichtsdenken und zur Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden 1973).

⁹²Cf. Martin Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* (2 vols. Freiburg 1909–11; repr. Berlin 1956) 2.256, giving in general a very good introduction to Hugh's method.

⁹³"Fundamentum autem et principium doctrinae sacrae historia est. . . . Aedificaturus ergo primum fundamentum historiae pone; deinde per significationem typicam in arcem fidei fabricam mentis erige; ad extremum vero per moralitatis gratiam quasi pulcherrimo superducto colore aedificium pinget." *Didascalicon* 6.3, PL 176.801C–D, and ed. Charles Henry Buttmer (Washington D.C. 1939) 116.

⁹⁴"Neque ego te perfecte subtilem posse fieri puto in allegoria, nisi prius fundatus fueris in historia. Noli contemnere minima haec!" *Didascalicon* 6.3, PL 176.799C, Buttmer 114.

⁹⁵"Omnia disce, videbis postea nihil esse superfluum. Coarctata scientia iucunda non est." *Didascalicon* 6.3, PL 176.801A, Buttmer 115.

of historical material, which—though destined ultimately to serve theological allegory and morality—must initially be learned.⁹⁶ His program reads: “But we now have history in our hands, like a foundation of all learning that must first be imprinted on the memory.”⁹⁷ The reader of this preamble then finds himself rather helplessly confronted by seventy-five closely written pages filled with lists of names and numbers—did Hugh really intend them all to be memorized? Not only are there curiosities such as the names of the seventy fathers who accompanied Jacob to Egypt (Gen. 46), but also the first attempt, to the best of my knowledge, at a synchronized table of the Merovingian kings residing in Soissons, Paris, Metz, and Orléans; the successions of Vandal, Visigothic, Lombard, and Norman rulers; and the up-to-date list of the emperors of Constantinople that Sigebert had not succeeded in compiling. The work thus evidences both a collector’s zeal and assiduous research. To be sure, all this becomes history only when the three questions it deals with—by whom, where, and when (*a quibus, ubi, quando*)—are accompanied by a fourth, *quid gestum sit*, what happened, which in the *Didascalicon* appears as the first question of history.⁹⁸ In the last pages of his tabular synopsis Hugh does, it is true, include annual lists with dates from imperial and papal history, but this does not make him a chronicler.

It is Hugh’s didactic and theological works and not this “chronicle” that make him one of the outstanding teachers of his century: the theory and practice of his allegorical and typological interpretation of the Church, its sacraments, institutions, and liturgy were widely disseminated and imitated. But unlike Rupert of Deutz, Hugh never thought of articulating the history of the post-Pentecostal Church according to typologically determined periods.

ANSELM OF HAVELBERG

In his *Liber de una forma credendi et multiformitate vivendi*, which introduces his dialogue with the Greeks written in 1151,⁹⁹ bishop Anselm of Havelberg

⁹⁶The introduction is found in William M. Green, “Hugo of St. Victor, *De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum*,” *Speculum* 18 (1943) 484–93; part of the text ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 24 (1879) 90–97; I have used BN lat 15009 fols. 1–40. See Ehlers (n. 91 above) 53–55; Grover A. Zinn, Jr., “Hugh of Saint Victor and the Art of Memory,” *Viator* 5 (1974) 211–34.

⁹⁷“Sed nos hystoriam nunc in manibus habemus, quasi fundamentum omnis doctrinae primum in memoria collocandum,” Green (n. 96 above) 491. This is preceded by statements on the value of memory and the technique of memorizing, and is followed by a rationalization for the tabular brevity of the ensuing work: that way the material can be learned by heart!

⁹⁸*Didascalicon* 6.3, PL 176.799, Buttmer (n. 93 above) 114. Here *negotium* is discussed in addition to *persona*, *tempus*, and *locus*.

⁹⁹The work, entitled *Anticimenon* (ἀντικείμενον), still must be used in the edition of PL 188.1117–1248; text of the first book, with French translation and short commentary, ed. Gaston Salet, *Anselme de Havelberg, Dialogues, Livre 1: Renouveau dans L'Eglise*, Sources chrétiennes 118 (Paris 1966). On the preparation of a new edition see Johann Wilhelm Braun, “Studien zur Überlieferung der Werke Anselms von Havelberg, I: Die Überlieferung des Anticimenon,” DA 28 (1972) 133–209, where the important recent literature is cited (134 n. 3), including Kurt Finz, “Anselm von Havelberg,” *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 32 (1956) 69–101, 33 (1957) 5–39

(ca. 1095–1158) sought to prove that the diverse styles of life among the religious orders, especially the new ones, did not contradict the unity of the faith and consequently did not split the Church but rather enriched it. This gave him a basis for his discourse with the Greeks, whose deviations from the forms of the Latin Church created no obstacles, Anselm believed, to a unified faith. He justified the “innovations that enter in everywhere in the course of time”¹⁰⁰ by pointing to the advances made by the faith in Old Testament times, especially in the great *transpositiones* from idolatry to the Law, and from the Law to the Gospel.¹⁰¹ “The wisdom of God gradually brought about a great change. . . . By removing, transforming, and organizing little by little, it furtively, as it were (*quasi furtim*), led away pedagogically and medicinally (*paedagogice et medicinaliter*) from idolatry to the Law, and from the Law, which, after all, did not yet create perfection, to the perfection of the Gospel.”¹⁰² Now, these sentences were taken verbatim from Gregory of Nazianzus’s *Orationes theologicae*,¹⁰³ which Anselm also used in other parts of his work; but so far scholars have not been able to determine which Latin translation was available to him.

The education of mankind continued after the Pentecost. The Old Testament had presented the Father overtly, the Son in veiled form; the New Testament revealed the Son and intimated the divinity of the Holy Spirit. This pattern continues throughout the history of the Church: “Afterward the Holy Spirit is preached, bestowing upon us a clearer manifestation of its Godliness.”¹⁰⁴ However, Anselm does not expect this revelation of the Spirit—which goes beyond the New Testament—in the future but recognizes it in the past history of the Church. Using the images of the seven seals and the four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, he interprets the epochs of mankind: the white horse represents Christ and the first growth of the Church, the red horse

and 268–301, and 34 (1958) 13–41; Wilhelm Berges, “Anselm von Havelberg in der Geistesgeschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts,” *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 5 (1956) 39–57; and the titles given in n. 103 below. For a survey of Anselm’s life and works see now Johann Wilhelm Braun in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* 1, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (2nd ed. Berlin 1978) 384–91.

¹⁰⁰“Novitates passim ubique per successiones temporum,” *Liber de una forma* prologus, PL 188.1141B–42A. Polemics against *novitates* were also popular in the 12th c. in reference to 1 Tim. 6:20, “devitans profanas vocum novitates.”

¹⁰¹“Duae transpositiones factae sunt . . . ab idolis ad legem . . . a lege ad Evangelium,” *Liber de una forma* 1.5, PL 188.1147B.

¹⁰²“Divina sapientia tanta varietate paulatim usa est . . . ; paulatim subtrahendo, et transponendo, et dispensando, quasi furtim ab idolorum cultura ad legem, a lege autem, quae quidem ad perfectum non duxit, ad perfectionem Evangelii paedagogice et medicinaliter deduxit,” *Liber de una forma* 1.5, PL 188.1147C–D.

¹⁰³Established by M. van Lee, “Les idées d’Anselme de Havelberg sur le développement des dogmes,” *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 14 (1938) 5–35. On this see Salet (n. 99 above) 58; Amos Funkenstein, *Heilsplan und natürliche Entwicklung: Formen der Gegenwartsbestimmung im Geschichtsdenken des hohen Mittelalters* (Munich 1965) 65–67, 183–86.

¹⁰⁴“Praedicatur postea Spiritus sanctus, apertioem nobis tribuens suae Deitatis manifestationem,” *Liber de una forma* 1.6, PL 188.1147D–48A.

the era of the martyrs, the black that of the heretics, and the dun-colored that of the hypocrites. The Church survived each of these three crises and in the process not only grew outwardly but gained *patientia*, *sapientia*, and *tolerantia*. Anselm associates the fifth seal with an indeterminate time of waiting, the sixth with the Antichrist, the seventh with the end of the world, and an eighth with eternal bliss.¹⁰⁵

The unfolding of the Spirit and the progress of the Church down to the present and beyond—these are novel ideas that contrast sharply with the almost contemporaneously expressed fears of the bishop of Freising; common to both is the positive evaluation of the diversity of religious orders in present times. But Anselm's work seems to have aroused little interest: his manuscripts began to be copied only in the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁶

GERHOCH OF REICHERSBERG

A few words about Gerhoch, the willful, prolific provost of Reichersberg (1093–1169), must suffice.¹⁰⁷ He tried to force the whole world to lead a regulated monastic life and fought stubborn battles with the new French schools, especially with Abelard and Gilbert but also with Peter Lombard. In this connection his talent for historical and philological criticism is particularly noteworthy: entirely for polemical reasons he managed to distinguish the Ambrosiaster (so called since Erasmus) from St Ambrose;¹⁰⁸ to interpret correctly from their context disputed passages in Hilary, which were quoted from collections of sentences;¹⁰⁹ and, by consulting his *codices emendatiores*, to correct an Augustinian text that Peter Lombard had quoted as incorrectly as had all those before and after him who relied on such collections—from Alger of Liège and Ivo of Chartres to Gratian and Thomas Aquinas.¹¹⁰

Gerhoch's theology of history depended on Rupert for its methodology and for many of its details. Rupert's division of Church history into seven periods is repeated in Gerhoch's *Libellus de ordine donorum Spiritus sancti* (1142) with a more concise, and above all more incisive, emphasis on the present.¹¹¹ His last work, written in 1167, is based on a four-part typological division in accordance with the four vigils of Matthew 14:25.¹¹² It recognizes four

¹⁰⁵*Liber de una forma* 1.6–12, PL 188.1148–60.

¹⁰⁶See Braun, "Studien" (n. 99 above) 136–37.

¹⁰⁷On Gerhoch and his work see: Erich Meuthen, *Kirche und Heilsgeschichte bei Gerhoch von Reichersberg* (Leiden 1959); Damien van den Eynde, *L'oeuvre littéraire de Géroch de Reichersberg* (Rome 1957); Peter Classen, *Gerhoch von Reichersberg: Eine Biographie mit einem Anhang über die Quellen, ihre handschriftliche Überlieferung und ihre Chronologie* (Wiesbaden 1960).

¹⁰⁸Classen (n. 107 above) 94–96.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.* 173.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.* 173, 261–62.

¹¹¹*Gerhohi praepositi Reichersbergensis opera inedita*, ed. Damien and Odulphe van den Eynde and Angelin Rijmersdael (2 vols. in 3 Rome 1955–56) 1.63–165; interpretations are found in Meuthen (n. 107 above) 120–30 and Classen (n. 107 above) 108–14.

¹¹²*De quarta vigilia noctis*, ed. Ernst Sackur, MGH LdL 3.503–25; on this see Classen (n. 107 above) 292–97.

Antichrists, as had Otto of Freising before him.¹¹³ In complete contrast to Anselm, but in agreement with Rupert—and in part with Otto—Gerhoch sees a decline in the Church, rather than progress, from early Christianity to the present. Most important for our discussion is his work on the detection of the Antichrist (1160–62).¹¹⁴ Here Gerhoch primarily tries to show that all biblical predictions about the Antichrist *might* be considered as already fulfilled and that we have to reckon today, without any further precursors, with the Second Coming and the Last Judgment.¹¹⁵ Of course, Gerhoch does not maintain that the predictions *have* been fulfilled; he is interested only in offering an interpretation—based on a comparison of scriptural evidence with the history of the Church—that could be correct but does not claim to be the only possible one. The important thing is man's readiness here and now for the end. Gerhoch's method consists in comparing the biblical prophecies with history, in particular the history of the preceding century with Henry IV, who is conceived in apocalyptic terms.

The book on the Antichrist offers the most concentrated example of an exegetical method that Gerhoch applies throughout his writings: allegorical-typological and moral exegesis relating the history of the Church, and particularly its most recent phases, to the Bible. Thus the Bible becomes the instrument for a criticism of his own time. In the second book of *De investigatione Antichristi*, moreover, Gerhoch devises two great systems of typological triads, the first dealing with Christ as *via*, *veritas*, and *vita*, and the second with the Persons of the Trinity. He concludes with a discussion of the divine verdicts pronounced *ante legem*, *post legem*, and *sub gratia*. In the first of these periods the Father passes judgment with the Flood, the Son with the confusion of languages, and the Holy Spirit with the burning of Sodom; in the period *sub lege* the Father judges the Egyptians in the Red Sea, the Son judges Israel through its partition, and the Holy Spirit judges Jerusalem through its captivity. Finally, in the period *sub gratia*, the Father judges the persecutors of the Church and the Son the heretics. All this lies in the past. Gerhoch does not mention the judgment of the Holy Spirit, but his system demands the expectation in the near future of such a judgment over the contemporary unclean Church of the simoniacs—apparently, he did not dare to express his anticipation of an approaching judgment of the Spirit.¹¹⁶ The association of the

¹¹³See above at n. 68.

¹¹⁴Franz Scheibelberger, ed., *Gerhohi Reichersbergensis praepositi opera hactenus inedita*, vol. 1: *De investigatione Antichristi* (Linz 1875); book 1 only, ed. Ernst Sackur, MGH LdL 3.305–95.

¹¹⁵*De investigatione Antichristi* 1, praefatio, MGH LdL 3.307–08; see Classen (n. 107 above) 222–23, 228–29, in part interpreted differently from Rauh (n. 84 above) 446–67, who gives no evidence for his opinion (448) that Gerhoch expected a personal Antichrist.

¹¹⁶*De investigatione Antichristi* 2 and 3 passim, ed. Scheibelberger (n. 114 above) 186–373; the conclusion of the work either has not survived or was never written. Most important to our discussion are the chapters on the judgments, 2.29–30 and 3.3–7; on this see Classen (n. 107 above) 229–34.

judgments with the Persons of the Trinity is abandoned in Gerhoch's late work on the vigils. Here he presents a quaternary rhythm; but here too it is evident that while the schism continues Gerhoch expects no earthly improvement or help for the Church, but only the end and the conquest of Christ's enemies through his return.¹¹⁷

JOACHIM OF FIORE

Gerhoch's ideas were not widely influential, but they show how allegorical and typological interpretations of history could serve the criticism of present times, help to determine the place of the present, and indicate the future. With his anticipation of a judgment by the Spirit—and with the help of a similar methodology—Gerhoch came closer than any other theologian to the conclusions drawn by Joachim of Fiore. Unlike Joachim's, however, his picture of history remains unqualifiedly Christocentric.

Haskins did not mention Joachim of Fiore, who represents an area until his time studied only, if at all, by theologians.¹¹⁸ And yet Joachim's influence on the future was like that of no other author of the twelfth century. He has been acclaimed as a prophet of religious movements and eschatological, revolutionary visionaries; and even in our own century—or, rather, once again—he has been alluded to as the herald and "leader" of a mystical "third empire"¹¹⁹ on the one hand and the discoverer of a "new law" of revolution on the other.¹²⁰ This history of Joachimism, important and rich in conse-

¹¹⁷See n. 112 above.

¹¹⁸In this context we can take only a brief look at Joachim's principal works: *Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti* (Venice 1519), *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (with *liber introductorius*) (Venice 1527), and *Psalterium decem cordarum* (Venice 1527), all reprinted (3 vols. Frankfurt 1964–65); cited according to the pagination of this edition. The *Liber figurarum* must be omitted here.

Modern Joachim scholarship began with a book published in the same year as Haskins's *Ren*: the dissertation by Herbert Grundmann, *Studien über Joachim von Fiore*, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance 32 (Leipzig 1927; repr. Darmstadt 1966). Only a few titles from the vast literature will be cited: Ernst Benz, *Ecclesia spiritualis: Kirchenidee und Geschichtstheologie der franziskanischen Reformation* (Stuttgart 1934); Herbert Grundmann, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (n. 14 above) vol. 2, *Joachim von Fiore*; Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford 1969); Delno C. West, ed., *Joachim of Fiore in Christian Thought: Essays on the Influence of the Calabrian Prophet* (2 vols. New York 1975); Bernhard Töpfer, *Das kommende Reich des Friedens: Zur Entwicklung chiliastischer Zukunftshoffnungen im Hochmittelalter* (Berlin 1964) 48–103. The change in direction in modern scholarship initiated by Grundmann's dissertation is partially responsible for the present paper's divergence of approach from that of Haskins's comparable chapter.

¹¹⁹"Joachim ist sich durchaus bewusst, dass er selber in der Linie Benedikt-Bernhard und des kommenden Dux, des geistigen Führers der neuen Zeit, in der Vorbereitungszeit des dritten Reiches steht." Alois Dempf, *Sacrum Imperium: Geschichts- und Staatsphilosophie des Mittelalters und der politischen Renaissance* (Munich 1929) 271, without reference to sources. Dempf consistently translates *status* as "Reich." Joachim mentions the *novus dux* who will appear in the coming 42nd generation in reference to Apoc. 7:2 (*Concordia* 4.31 [n. 118 above] fol. 56b), without giving special or repeated emphasis to this idea.

¹²⁰Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *Die europäischen Revolutionen und der Charakter der Nationen* (Stuttgart 1951) 21: "Joachim de Fiore hat mit seiner Lehre vom Weltalter nachkirchlicher Erfüllung einfach recht. Er hat das neue Gesetz, dessen letzter Vollstrecker Lenin hat werden

quences though it is, lies outside the scope of our discussion, for it begins only decades after Joachim's death (about 1240) and bears a highly ambivalent and not easily perceived relationship to Joachim himself.

Joachim worked with a method of typological exegesis that does not differ in principle from those of Rupert, Anselm, and Gerhoch. Whether he was directly inspired by one of these, or by other theological interpreters of history, has so far not been established with any certainty. The only author—indeed, the only twelfth-century figure of historical importance—whom he mentions specifically by name and with emphasis is Bernard of Clairvaux,¹²¹ not, however, as an exegete or theologian but as an outstanding leader of monasticism.

Joachim's advance over his predecessors lies in his having systematically extended typology beyond the New Testament to the history of the Church after Pentecost, an extension only intimated by Rupert and expanded upon by Anselm and especially by Gerhoch. In general, Joachim built his typological edifice in a more consistent and methodical manner than did the earlier exegetes, ultimately serving a single, often-revised and repeated idea: the doctrine of the three "conditions" or *status*, which in the long run only derives its meaning and fulfillment from the expectation of the third *status*.¹²²

No one in the twelfth century was so vividly aware of the impending end as Joachim. To be sure, he expected not the end of the world but the end of the present *status*.¹²³ Hugh of St Victor had spoken of various *status* of mankind before and after the Fall and before and after Redemption;¹²⁴ Anselm of Havelberg, of the *status ecclesiae*;¹²⁵ and Otto of Freising, of the *status civitatis*.¹²⁶ Joachim speaks of *status mundi* or simply *status*. The triad is derived from the Trinity and is a principle immanent in the deity and all its creation. Joachim tries again and again to reveal the typological concordance of the first two *status*. Not only does he discover the rhythm of the forty-two generations in the first *status* (from Abraham to John the Baptist or Christ) and in

müssen, erkannt. Er hat dabei die erste Revolution notwendig mit dem ganzen Jahrtausend revolutionärer Dialektik identifiziert. . . . Neben seiner grossen Geistestat verblasst der moderne Streit über den Beginn der Renaissance."

¹²¹*Concordia* 4.38 (n. 118 above) fols. 58d–59c. The analysis of the separate generations (4.21–23, fol. 53b–c) is of course also accompanied by references to the popes of the 12th c. as the representatives of generations 38 to 40, but they are conspicuously brief.

¹²²The principal places where the *status* doctrine is summarized are *Concordia* 2.1.4–5 (fol. 8a–d), 5.84 (fol. 112a–d), and *Intro. in Apoc.* 5 (n. 118 above) fols. 5b–6b.

¹²³This has rightly been emphasized by Grundmann (n. 118 above) 56–59 and passim. One should not overlook the fact that the third *status* is apparently something quite different from the "world" experienced so far and that even Joachim occasionally moves the end of the world very near to the transition to the third *status*, e.g. at the place quoted in n. 134 below.

¹²⁴E.g., *De arca Noe mystica*, PL 176.684–86, and *De sacramentis* 1.8.11, PL 176.313.

¹²⁵In the *Anticimenon*, 1.6–13, PL 188.1148–59, Anselm divides the history of the Church into seven successive *status*.

¹²⁶E.g., *Historia* (n. 62 above) book 4 prologus (183); 4.4 (189), summary discussion of the *civitas Christi* and *civitas perversa* in each of three successive *status*: *ante gratiam*, *sub gratia*, *post praesentem vitam*; book 8 prologus (390–91).

the second (every thirty years from Christ to about 1260)—each *status* preceded by a period of preparation that causes the two to overlap and the second to overlap the anticipated third—but he also compares each generation in the first and second *status*.¹²⁷ There are other divisions besides, related to the seven days of Creation, the trumpets of the Apocalypse, and other images.¹²⁸ But the temporal typologies are carried through only in the two-part cycle of the first two *status*; they extend to the third *status* only insofar as they apply to the preparatory period initiated by Benedict of Nursia.

The third *status* anticipated by Joachim was to begin, according to the law of numbers, after the forty-second, thirty-year generation, that is, in the year 1260. But Joachim repeatedly gives reasons for combining the last three generations and thus for expecting the new *status* to begin in the forty-first generation, about the year 1200: the change was at hand, even if an exact computation of the time was not possible.¹²⁹ The third *status* relates to the Holy Spirit. Following the *coniugati* of the first and the *clerici* of the second, the *monachi* have preeminent standing in the third.¹³⁰ This *status* would begin after the *plenitudo gentium (et conversio Israel)* had brought the present (second) *status* to a close as foretold by Paul (Rom. 11:25–26).¹³¹ Above all, true understanding, *spiritualis intelligentia*, not one bound to the letter of the Scriptures, was to reveal God to mankind—which, however, was not to entail a change in doctrine or an advance in faith.

In all of this, Joachim tells us nothing about the temporal passage of the third *status*. Whereas the typological relationships in the history of the first two *status* are discussed in great detail, the actual duration of the third—which had to begin at the latest in 1260—is never even hinted at. One may well ask if changes, history, generations, states, organized Church, or sacraments will then exist at all.¹³² Does Joachim believe that this *status* will not endure for

¹²⁷*Concordia*, book 4 (n. 118 above) fols. 42d–53c.

¹²⁸*Concordia* 3.2.1–7 (fols. 39a–42a), and often in *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (n. 118 above).

¹²⁹*Intro. in Apoc.* 7 (fol. 9c), *Expos. in Apoc.* (fol. 57c), and *Concordia* 4.31 and 33 (fol. 56b–d), 5.20 (fol. 70a–b), and *passim*.

¹³⁰*Concordia* 2.2.5 (fol. 21c), 4.33 (fol. 56d), and *passim*.

¹³¹*Intro. in Apoc.* 5 (fol. 6b). The conversion of the Jews is one of the biblical prerequisites for the end of the world which became part of the medieval literature on the Apocalypse and the Antichrist. Cf. the place in Rupert cited in n. 89 above.

¹³²The debate over this question was prompted by Grundmann (n. 118 above) 113–18 and later was stimulated especially by the discovery of the *Liber figurarum*. See the detailed discussion by Töpfer (n. 118 above) 52–81 with the conclusion (80) that the third *status* “is a monastic Church, blessed by a degree of understanding surpassing everything that came before, in which there is no longer any papacy and probably also no clergy, and in which the hermits hold the leading position . . .” (“eine mit allem alles Bisherige übertreffenden Erkenntnisgrad begnadete Mönchskirche, in der es kein Papsttum und wohl auch keinen Klerus mehr gibt und in der Eremiten die führende Stellung innehaben”). Peace and justice will reign, the power of the state will vanish altogether, etc. At issue is also whether, according to Joachim, marriage—and consequently the natural propagation of mankind—will still exist. In various works Marjorie Reeves has accepted as Joachim’s image of the third *status* a purely spiritual change without direct consequences for the institutions of the Church, e.g. *Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages* (n. 118 above) 126–32.

any appreciable length of time,¹³³ or has the category of time and history lost its relevance in this perfect state? Joachim's basic concept is not *aetas* but *status*, which is independent of time. At any rate, the final end of the world—the *consummatio seculi*—and the *vera contemplatio* will only come after the third *status*.

“One must change one's life, because the *status mundi* will inevitably change, so that after the journey through the desert, as it were, we can attain to that godly rest which those who do not believe the teachers and claim that anyone who speaks of the end of the world is totally mad do not deserve to enter.”¹³⁴ The coming of the third *status* certainly does not mean a revolution. When Joachim demands a change in one's life he means a personal, spiritual consecration, which he expects his monks of Fiore to carry out more strictly than was usual in the Cistercian Order. For the law of history is not determined by mankind but by God; mankind becomes aware of it, can recognize it perhaps through a study of the Scriptures, but can in no sense control it.¹³⁵



We have been able to give only a few examples of historical thought and writing in the twelfth century. In retrospect, the reader may be particularly struck by the omission of the history of the crusades. Almost every historian and theologian mentioned here probably in one way or another included in his thought and writings the collective experience of western Christendom struggling to free the Holy Sepulchre. Not only did it open new dimensions in *gesta*, in war, and in adventures undertaken for a holy cause, but suddenly Christians could feel themselves, in a way previously unknown, to be the representatives and executors of divine action in history. Any disappointments or setbacks they experienced were rationalized as punishment for sins. Strange lands were described with amazement; but only slowly and much later were men's eyes opened to the peculiar character of distant countries and people of a different faith through the historiography of the crusades. The adventures of Alexander the Great may have particularly inspired some poets of the age of the crusades, but in the last analysis this merely heroic conqueror of distant lands remains completely foreign to the protagonists of the concept of waging war by God's orders for the Holy Sepulchre and Holy City. It is precisely the crusades which show most clearly how far removed the twelfth century was from Antiquity—even from Christian Antiquity.

¹³³Thus, I think correctly, Töpfer (n. 118 above) 83–88.

¹³⁴“Oportet ergo mutare vitam, quia mutari necesse est statum mundi, ut quasi per transitum deserti perveniamus ad illam requiem Dei nostri, quam intrare non sunt digni, qui non credunt dicentibus [*read* docentibus?], qui loquentes de fine mundi putant omnino deinsanire.” *Concordia* 2.2.5 (n. 118 above) fol. 21c.

¹³⁵The difference between *oportet* and *necesse est* in the preceding note should be heeded: one means man's obligation, especially the monk's, the other the divine law of history, which is not in human hands.

Let us look back, therefore, and ask once again, summarily, about the motifs of a "renaissance." Throughout the literature surveyed here—with the sole exception of the histories of the communes—the tradition of Antiquity lives on. It may sometimes grow stronger but it never differs essentially from what it had been in the eleventh century. Rome was the model for cities; the Roman Empire was the bearer of universal history; and Cicero, Sallust, Suetonius, Vergil, Ovid, and Lucan were the much-read, often-cited models for literary style. All this and much more does not, essentially, take us beyond the previous century. When a relationship to Antiquity was consciously established, it was always to Christian Antiquity, which offered continuity and models. Eusebius—as he was transmitted to the histories of the Church and to world chronicles through Rufinus and Jerome—Orosius and Cassiodorus, Augustine and Bede were the literary predecessors and true teachers of our writers, historians as well as theologians. The humanism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has been explained as a return to Jerome and Augustine;¹³⁶ this cannot be discussed here, but certainly twelfth-century historical thought grew up entirely on the ground plowed by Augustine, and historical narrative writing remained equally close to him. Only that Italian city historiography which was written by laymen for laymen, totally in the service of the political present and future, is different in character, and precisely in this respect it is remarkably reminiscent of early Roman historiography.

Bibliographical Note

The writing and the interpretation of history have seldom been undertaken by the same person. As a result, medieval historical writing and the interpretation of medieval history have consistently been treated in different books, even though in more recent years not only theologians (and philosophers) but historians as well have concerned themselves with theological views of history. Since the imaginative but problematic work of the philosopher Alois Dempf, *Sacrum Imperium: Geschichts- und Staatsphilosophie des Mittelalters und der politischen Renaissance* (Munich 1929; 2nd ed. Darmstadt 1954), which spans the long period from early Christian times to the sixteenth century and focuses primarily on the Empire as the bearer of history, only one book on the twelfth century has appeared, to the best of my knowledge, that consciously compares theologians and historians: Johannes Spörl, *Grundformen hochmittelalterlicher Geschichtsanschauung: Studien zum Weltbild der Geschichtsschreiber des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Munich 1935). Spörl devotes one chapter each to Anselm of Havelberg (under the title "Entwicklungsgedanke"), Otto of Freising ("Reichsmetaphysik"), Orderic Vitalis ("Nationalstaat"), and John of Salisbury ("Humanismus und Naturalismus"). Under the general title "Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing," Richard W. Southern's presidential addresses to the Royal Historical Society form a series of short but valuable essays on conceptions of history and historiography: "The Classical Tradition from Einhard to Geoffrey of Mon-

¹³⁶Giuseppe Toffanin, *Geschichte des Humanismus*, trans. Lili Sertorius (Amsterdam 1941) of *Storia del umanesimo* (Naples 1933).

mouth," TRHS 5th ser. 20 (1970) 173-96; "Hugh of St Victor and the Idea of Historical Development," 21 (1971) 159-79; "History as Prophecy," 22 (1972) 159-80; and "The Sense of the Past," 23 (1973) 243-63.

The literature on medieval historiography is vast, but to date almost no one has dared to present all the available material as a related whole. The only attempt at a comprehensive picture known to me is volume 1 of the American historian James Westfall Thompson's *A History of Historical Writing* (2 vols. New York 1942). Herbert Grundmann presents a brief but thorough survey, well worth reading: *Geschichtsschreibung im Mittelalter: Gattungen, Epochen, Eigenart* (2nd ed. Göttingen 1965). In 1853 the Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen arranged a competition for a critical history of historiography in Germany. The prize was won by Wilhelm Wattenbach, the successive revised editions of whose book (which first appeared in 1858) are still today the foundation for any study of German medieval historiography. His book includes valuable chapters on Italy, England, France, and other neighbors of the Holy Roman Empire, but it is an introduction to the historical sources rather than a history of historiography, as Wattenbach was well aware. The following are now standard for the twelfth century: Wilhelm Wattenbach and Robert Holtzmann, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: Die Zeit der Sachsen und Salier*, new ed. Franz-Josef Schmale, volumes 2 (Darmstadt 1967, unrevised repr. of nos. 3 and 4, which first appeared in 1940-43) and 3 (Darmstadt 1971, containing supplements to the earlier volumes, as well as chapters on Italy and England); Wilhelm Wattenbach and Franz-Josef Schmale, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: Vom Tode Kaiser Heinrichs V. bis zum Ende des Interregnums 1* (Darmstadt 1976); volume 2, in preparation, will contain chapters on the neighboring countries and Lower Lorraine. Besides these studies of source material it is useful to consult Manitius, volume 3, which offers a wealth of relevant material from all over Europe. An extremely helpful, complete survey of English historiography that has appeared in recent years is Antonia Gransden's *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London 1974), a work which can be compared in some respects to Wattenbach's. The author writes (p. xi): "My approach to each author is pragmatic, not theoretical." One of the more prominent works dealing with specific forms of historiography is Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken's valuable study of universal history: *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik bis in das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising* (diss. Münster; Düsseldorf 1957).

Among authors who have written about the interpretation of history should be mentioned in particular the notable philosopher Karl Löwith, *Meaning in History* (Chicago 1949; German ed. *Weltgeschichte und Heilsgeschehen*, Stuttgart 1953), who begins with Burckhardt, Marx, and Hegel, then takes us back to Joachim, Augustine, and Orosius. A selection of more recent essays on medieval historical thought by various authors is found in *Geschichtsdenken und Geschichtsbild im Mittelalter*, ed. Walther Lammers, *Wege der Forschung* 21 (Darmstadt 1961). The early Christian origins and medieval influence of the theological doctrine of the ages of the world have been investigated by Roderich Schmidt in "Aetates mundi: Die Weltalter als Gliederungsprinzip der Geschichte," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 67 (1955-56) 288-317. For the theological interpreters of history prior to Joachim of Fiore who focused their attention on the end of the world, see Wilhelm Kamlah's *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie: Die mittelalterliche Auslegung der Apokalypse vor Joachim von Fiore*, *Historische Studien* 285 (Berlin 1935) and Horst Dieter Rauh's *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter: Von Tyconius zum deutschen Symbolismus*, *BGPTMA n.s.* 9 (2nd ed. Münster 1979), which, despite its title, is overwhelmingly devoted to the German theologians of the twelfth century. Bernhard Töpfer's *Das kommende Reich des Friedens: Zur Entwicklung chiliastischer Zukunftshoffnungen im Hochmittelalter* (Berlin 1964) is an historical study of the social and political implications of chiliastic expectations. In his

introduction Töpfer discusses the twelfth century, but the main stress of his book is on Joachim and the time following. A brilliant but difficult book concerning the theological and philosophical place of the present in the works of medieval theologians and historians is Amos Funkenstein's *Heilsplan und natürliche Entwicklung: Formen der Gegenwartsbestimmung im Geschichtsdenken des hohen Mittelalters* (Munich 1965); of primary relevance to our subject are its sections dealing with Frutolf, Otto of Freising, and Anselm of Havelberg.

From the abundant literature available on individual writers and problems only a few titles of particular importance to the present study have been cited in the notes.