IDEOLOGY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

APPROACHES FROM SOUTHWESTERN EUROPE

Edited by

FLOCEL SABATÉ

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Introduction

IDEOLOGY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

FLOCEL SABATÉ

> The Cardinal responded: Our mother Church tells you expressly: "Beware! don't feel afraid. Only she has the power to dispense good, to defend her sons, to pardon the faults. Serve her humbly and you shall be rewarded."[1]

EUROPE IS A combination of many and diverse cultures. However, in the Middle Ages the powerful reach of the Christian religion imposed an ideology which united European society under a common and coherent understanding of its physical surroundings, social order, and the power of the rulers. Flourishing other cultures, such as those of the Jews and Muslims in southern Europe, were given a secondary place under the growing articulation of society under predominantly Christian rulers.[2] The scope of our task is to analyse why and how Christianity attained this leading position in the Middle Ages and, in this sense, became an ideology: a set of beliefs or principles organizing the whole of a society. Focusing especially on southern Europe, we wish to analyse the ways Christian ideology adapted to the evolution of social and economic circumstances during the

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1 *"Coms," ditz lo Cardenals, "santa Gleiza'us somon / Que non aiatz temensa ni mala sospeison, / Qu'ela a poder que·us tola e ha poder que·us don / e poder que·us defenda e poder que·us perdon; / e si bé la sirvetz auretz ne gazerdon."* Cited from *Chanson de la croisade albigeoise* (Paris, 1989), 458.

2 This unequal relation has been the object of important studies. Among many others: David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1996); Ana Echevarría, *The Fortress of Faith: The Attitude towards Muslims in Fifteenth Century Spain* (Leiden, 1999); Anna Sapir Abulafia, ed., *Religious Violence between Christians and Jews: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives* (New York, 2002); John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002); Flocel Sabaté, Claude Denjean, eds., *Chrétiens et juifs au Moyen Âge: sources pour la recherche d'une relation permanente* (Lleida, 2006); Maria Filomena Lopes de Barros, José Hinojosa Montalvo, eds., *Minorías étnico-religiosas na Península Ibérica* (Lisboa, 2008); Flocel Sabaté, Claude Denjean, eds., *Cristianos y judíos en contacto en la edad media: polémica, conversión, dinero y convivencia* (Lleida, 2009); Klaus Herbers, Nikolas Jaspert, eds., *Integration—Segregation—Vertreibung. Religiöse Minderheiten und Randsgruppen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (7.–17. Jahrhundert)* (Berlin, 2011); José Martínez Gázquez, John Victor Tolan, *Ritus infidelium. Miradas interconfesionales religiosas en la Edad Media* (Madrid, 2013); Sarah Rees Jones, Sethina Watson, eds., *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: The York Massacre of 1190. Narratives and Contexts* (York, 2013); Elisheva Baumgarten, Judah D. Galinsky, *Jews and Christians in Thirteenth-century France* (New York, 2015); Ephraim Shoham-Steiner, ed., *Intrincate Interfaith Networks in the Middle Ages: Quotidian Jewish-Christian Contacts* (Turnhout, 2016); Nora Berend, Youna Hameau-Masset, Capucine Nemo-Pekelman, John Tolan, eds., *Religious Minorities in Christian, Jewish and Muslim Law (5th–15th Centuries)* (Turnhout, 2017).

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medieval millennium, combining with diverse bases of thought and adapting these to relevant social groups. Christian ideology underwrote collective understandings of society's memory and orientated the narratives of identity expressed by otherwise disparate medieval communities. Using case studies grounded in perspectives from southern Europe, and thus focusing our work on Western (Roman) Christendom as opposed to the Eastern (Orthodox) Church, this volume interrogates the workings of ideology in the medieval world, with a view to complicating and enriching scholarly understanding of its diverse and sophisticated effects.

Drivers of Christian Ideology

In 1974, Gonzalo Puente Ojea published the work *Ideología e historia: La formación del Cristianismo como fenómeno ideológico*, stating that he began from the "conviction that without an 'ideological reading' it is impossible to reveal the 'sense of history'."[3] For the historian, ideology should not be a tool but rather a perspective that informs the subject of study. In other words, in conducting analysis of the reasons for the behaviour of the men and women who preceded us, the focus of the study must be placed on the ideology that dictated what was accepted as normal and correct in the society in question. As the legal historian Jesús Lalinde put it, ideology is the narrative that connects the ideal with reality.[4] Our interpretation of a historical reality is thus more comprehensive if we can grasp the governing ideological factors that drove those in authority at various levels.

In this sense, Charles Davis warned that, "Medieval Christianity was the first attempt, an imperfect Christian order," based on a "cultural faith" (*fe cultural*) which meant, depending on each social context, that "the Christian tradition, understood superficially, was accepted simply as part of the culture in which one lived, maintained in deference to the social context."[5] This pre-eminence was justified by divine favour, as Bossuet proclaimed in the seventeenth century.[6] However, in the eighteenth century, Gibbon demanded that it should be interrogated using scientific approaches: "our curi-

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3 *Convencimiento de que sin una "lectura ideológica" no es posible desvelar el "sentido de la historia."* Cited from Gonzalo Puente Ojea, *Ideología e historia. La formación del Cristianismo como fenómeno ideológico* (Madrid, 1984), 7.

4 Jesús Lalinde, "Notas sobre el papel de las fuerzas políticas y sociales en el desarrollo de los sitemas iushistóricos españoles," *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 46 (1978): 252–53.

5 *El Cristianismo medieval fue el primer intento, imperfecto de un orden cristiano; la tradición cristiana, entendida superficialmente, era acceptada simplemente como parte de la cultura en la que uno vivía, mantenida por deferencia con el contexto social.* Cited from Charles Davis, *La gracia de Dios en la historia* (Bilbao, 1970), 69.

6 Then everything would be the responsibility and will of "God, who gives all his advice to the preservation of his Holy Church and who, rich in means, guides all things towards his hidden ends" (*Dieu, qui rapporte tous ses conseils à la conservation de sa sainte Église, et qui, fécond en moyens, emploie toutes choses à ses fins cachées*). Cited from Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, *Oraison funèbres* (Paris, 1929), 81.

osity is naturally prompted to inquire by what means the Christian faith obtained so remarkable a victory over the established religions of the earth."[7]

This requires historians to provide a clear articulation of the Christian Church as an institution of power and to analyse it.[8] In this sense, from around the year 150 CE/AD (hereafter we have preferred "CE" for this dating convention), the Church took advantage of political attitudes that facilitated an ideological cohesion with which to overcome internal disparity and impose opposition to the "other."[9] At the same time, a clear hierarchization of the Church was being adopted.[10] This approach enabled the Church to assume greater control over its exclusive claim on "the truth."[11] From the third century, a potentially undermining link between Judaism and Christianity was overcome by the Church's appropriation of biblical discourse. As Raúl González Salinero states, "Christians began the process of Christianizing history to the detriment of the Jewish people, who, by disassociating themselves from the Roman tradition, no longer found a place in the history of salvation."[12] Thus, the history of salvation, the history of Christianity, and the history of humanity became merged together into a coherent whole. In this way, the imposition of Christianity as an official religion across the Empire in 380 as a result of Theodosius's famous edict of Thessalonica enabled other beliefs in the Empire to be countered and annihilated.[13] Beyond the social repercussions of the political decision, an intense conceptual transition took place, sanctioning "the substantial construction of the world by the will of the God," in the expression of Luigi Leoncini Bartoli.[14] Furthermore, from the 370s, this ideological strengthening coincided with the entry of greater numbers of the rich into the Church. This benefited the Church economically, to the detriment of the state;[15] it also reframed history through a Christianized understanding of humanity as one engaged on a path to salvation, and helped to justify the existing social order.[16] The edict of 380 reaffirmed this tendency across the different provinces of

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7 Edward Gibbon, *The Christians and the Fall of Rome* (London, 2004), 2.

8 Gonzalo Puente Ojea, *El Evangelio de Marcos. Del Cristo de la fe al Jesús de la historia* (Madrid, 1992), 54–127.

9 Elaine Pagels, *Los evangelios gnósticos* (Barcelona, 1982), 170–205.

10 Fe Bajo Álvarez, "Orígens i desenvolupament del cristianisme," *L'Avenç* 54 (1982): 47.

11 Michael Arnheim, *¿Es verdadero el Cristianismo?* (Barcelona, 1985), 119–227.

12 *Los cristianos comenzaron el proceso de cristianización de la historia en detrimento del pueblo judío que, al disociarse de la tradición romana, no encontraba ya lugar en la historia de la salvación.* Cited from Raúl González Salinero, "La idea de 'Romanitas en el pensamiento histórico-político de Prudencio," in *Toga y daga. Teoría de la praxis de la política en Roma*, ed. Gonzalo Bravo, Raúl González (Madrid, 2010), 350.

13 Philip Ellaby Cleator, *Los lenguajes perdidos* (Barcelona, 1963): 44–45.

14 *La costruzione sostanziale del mondo come voluta da Dio*. Cited from Luigi Leoncini Bartoli, *Tempo e potere* (Perugia, 2001), 19.

15 Georges Depeyrot, *Crisis e inflación entre la antigüedad y la edad media* (Barcelona, 1996), 98.

16 Peter Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD*, (Princeton, 2012), 31–90.

the Empire, where Christianization took root among the ruling classes.[17] In this context, between the fourth and fifth centuries "Christianity played a very major role in social change," in the words of Averil Cameron, who draws attention to its visual expression in the form of new temples occupying the public arena, along with the profiling of different models of religious life, the increasingly prominent role exerted by the bishops, and the growth of a mix of private and public religious observance.[18]

Beyond this identification between Empire and Christianity, the conversions of the kings of the Franks in 498 and of the Visigoths in 589, promoted by the respective regional bishops, helped the great popes of the fifth and sixth centuries (Leo I, Gelasius I, and Gregory I) promote catholic universality into these kingdoms. Their position was based on the Roman *ius gentium* and which recognized each king as *rex gentis* and through him the respective dynasty and its rights over the respective *natio*.[19] Christianity and royal power were intertwined everywhere: sovereigns imposed Christian belief, in all its facets, violently if necessary.[20] From the seventh century onwards, both domestic policy and the extension of frontiers, as we see with the Franks, entailed imposing Christian faith in its spiritual component which, at the same time, served as a means of justifying and uniting society.[21]

Christianity started to give sense to all aspects of medieval society. It worked to adapt behaviours, fears, and beliefs and drew directly from popular or traditional beliefs,[22] especially regarding the interpretation of nature, the environment, and interaction with the afterlife.[23] Sovereigns and lords not only enjoyed power through divine will but also became responsible for supervising the religious obligations of the people and the behaviour of the clergy, as Carolingian theocracy and its *pax Christiana* expressed to the full.[24] Extending one's territorial domains was to extend Christendom: war-mongering and evangelization went hand in hand on all the frontiers of the tenth and eleventh centuries, whether those established by the Vikings in Normandy[25] or in the Iberian

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17 Luis A. García Moreno, "España y el Imperio en época teodosiana. A la espera del bárbaro," in *I Concilio Caesaraugustano. MDC aniversario*, ed. Guillermo Fatás (Zaragoza, 1981), 29–30.

18 Averil Cameron, *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity AD 395–600* (London, 1993), 57–80.

19 Émilienne Demougeot, *L'Empire Romain et les Barbares d'Occident (IVe–VIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1988), 327–35.

20 Noël-Yves Tonnerre, *Être chrétien en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1996), 11–25.

21 Bruno Dumézil, *Les racines chrétiennes de l'Europe. Conversion et liberté dans les royaumes barbares Ve–VIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2005), 359–466.

22 Michel Rouche, "Alta Edad Media Occidental," in *Historia de la vida privada*, ed. Philippe Ariès, Georges Duby (Madrid, 1992), 94–137.

23 Flocel Sabaté, *Vivir y sentir en la Edad Media* (Madrid, 2011), 47–50.

24 Eugen Ewig, "La época de Carlomagno (768–814)," in *Manual de Historia de la Iglesia*, ed. Hubert Jedin, 10 vols. (Barcelona, 1970), 3:184–94.

25 Samantha Kahn Herrick, "Heirs to the Apostles: Saintly Power and Ducal Authority in Hagiography of Early Normandy," in *The Experience of Power and Medieval Europe, 950–1350*, ed. Robert F. Berkhofer III, Alan Cooper, Adam J. Kosto (Aldershot, 2005), 11–24.

Peninsula.[26] In short, the strengthening of society, the expansion of Europe, and Christianization became synonyms.[27] This melding of Christian and political power meant a society of private churches and monasteries with an aristocracy whose lineages fed the ruling caste and the senior clerical ranks, and thus led to constant interweaving of the political and religious spheres.

In Walter Ullmann's apt expression, progressive consolidation of the papacy was based on generating a specific ideological memory of the invocation of papal continuity and the memory of the strength of some papal figures.[28] This was combined with an increasing centralization of the Church's structures, and increased conviction concerning its intervention over Christendom, and its power of coercion.[29] While invoking a *restauratio* or *renovatio*,[30] the policies of the Church from the mid-eleventh century did not relate so much to reform of a deformed model, as traditional historiography has reiterated,[31] as to a change of model. If Christianity is understood as having taken control of society in the sixth century, from the eleventh century we might say that the Roman Church then took control of Christendom.[32] From here on, local autonomy disappeared and there would be no churches or monasteries outwith the central authority of the Church.[33] Increased political influence at regional and local levels, the incorporation of Christian doctrine within different aspects of moral philosophy and everyday life, the intensification of the spread of parishes, the growth of a celibate clergy in charge of the ecclesiastical heritage, enhanced access to individual conscience, and increased control over normative models of social behaviour, led to far greater ecclesiastical influence not only over rulers but also, very directly, over the population.[34]

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26 Flocel Sabaté, "Occuper la frontier du nord-est péninsulaire (Xe-XIIe siècles)," in *Entre Islam et Chrétienté. La territorialisation des frontières, XIe–XVIe siècle*, ed. Stéphane Boisellier, Isabel Cristina Ferrreira Fernandes (Rennes, 2015), 84–105.

27 Robert Bartlett, *La formación de Europa. Conquista, colonización y cambio cultural, 950–1350* (València, 2003), 323–37.

28 Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages. A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power* (Ann Arbor, 1962), 262.

29 Herbert Edward John Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085* (Oxford, 1998), 584–607.

30 Javier Faci, "Reforma gregoriana, reforma eclesiástica," in *Espacios de poder y formas sociales de la Edad Media. Estudios dedicados a Ángel Barrios*, ed. Gregorio del Ser Quijano, Iñaki Martín Viso (Salamanca, 2007), 78–80.

31 Augustin Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne (1057–1123)* (Paris, 1950), 12–478.

32 At the end of the process "the Papacy rose institutionally over Christendom" (*o Papado ascendeu institucionalmente sobre a Cristiandade)*, as Rust concluded: Leandro Duarte Rust, *Colunas e Sâo Pedro. A política papal na Idade Média Central* (São Paulo, 2011), 513.

33 José Manuel Nieto, *El Pontificado Medieval* (Madrid, 1996), 21.

34 This is clearly perceived when analysing society in different areas. In the case of Catalonia, the Church "embraced Gregorian reform as a means of strengthening the Church's power; it bolstered its physical presence with a wave of newly created parishes; and it provided the discourses on social and political legitimacy and from this stance accentuated its influence over the population, conditioning its consciences, modulating its world view and imposing a model of family based on

In large parts of Europe, with a new feudal setting becoming consolidated in the eleventh century,[35] the Church imposed a model of the family that was based on monogamous, indissoluble, and exogamic marriage[36] and moreover, it took charge of its application, with the corresponding rites of passage. Varied but vital ceremonies of the social structure such as the knighting ceremony (*adoubement*) and marriage, had been essentially secular ceremonies till 1100,[37] apart from in exceptional cases where clergymen played a minor role or offered some basic liturgical rituals for marriage. A century later, in contrast, the Church played a central role, with a well-structured ceremony, especially for weddings.[38]

In reality, the Church was taking over intermediation with the divinity, and this turned the clergy into the middlemen required by each individual in order to obtain the sought-after divine favour. This not only gave new impetus to the numerous religious communities where clergy constantly prayed for the souls of their donors, it became a matter regulating personal conscience from the twelfth century. As a result of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 all Christians were obliged to make annual confession. Jean Delumeau emphasizes the importance of this ruling:

> The formalization of this pressure already in force in some dioceses, transformed the religious and psychological life of men and women in the West and weighed enormously on mentalities until the Reformation in the Protestant countries, and until the twentieth century in those that remained Catholic.[39]

Throughout the Late Middle Ages, the Christian message spread by the preachers, especially the mendicants in urban areas,[40] would gradually focus on civic and personal demands. This provoked distress because any deviation from the divine will was said to provoke "the wrath of God,"[41] and lead to a corresponding punishment, frequently

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monogamous, indissoluble and exogamous marriage." From Flocel Sabaté, "The Catalonia of the 10th to 12th centuries and the historiographic definition of feudalism," *Catalan Historical Review* 3 (2010): 44.

35 Flocel Sabaté, *La feudalización de la sociedad catalana* (Granada, 2007), 190–91.

36 Flocel Sabaté, "La sexualitat a l'època medieval," in *Sexualitat, història i antropologia*, ed. Xavier Roigé (Lleida, 1996), 39.

37 Dominique Barthélemy, "Note sur l'adoubement dans la France des XIe et XIIe siècles," in *Les ages de la vie au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1992), 113.

38 Dominique Barthélemy, "Parentesco," in *Historia de la vida privada*, ed. Phlippe Ariès, Georges Duby, 10 vols. (Madrid, 1992), 3:125–59.

39 *La generalización de este apremio, ya en vigor antes en varias diócesis, modificó la vida religiosa y psicológica de los hombres y mujeres de Occidente y pesó de forma enorme sobre las mentalidades hasta la Reforma en los países protestantes y hasta el siglo XX en los que permanecieron católicos.* Cited from Jean Delumeau, *La confesión y el perdón* (Madrid, 1992), 15.

40 Jean Longère, "La prédication d'après les status synodaux du Midi au XIIIe siècle," in *La prédication en Pays d'Oc (XIIe–début XVe siècle)* (Toulouse, 1997), 251–74 and Jean-Arnault Dérens, "La prédication et la ville: pratiques de la parole et 'religion civique' à Montpellier aux XIVe et XVe siècles," in *La prédication en Pays d'Oc (XIIe–début XVe siècle)* (Toulouse, 1997), 335–62.

41 *La hira de Déu.* From Carme Olivera, Antoni Riera, Jeròme Lambert, Enric Banda, Pierre Alexandre, *Els terratrèmols de l'any 1373 al Pirineu: efectes a Espanya i França* (Barcelona, 1994), 64.

manifested in bad harvests and other natural calamities. This is what the municipal government of the Valencian town of Elche confirmed in 1379: "For consenting to these sins, pestilences came to our town and our lord God deprived [us] of rain and good weather."[42] Aristotelian realism that came to dominate late medieval theology contributed to increasing popular fears associated with the religious experience. People feared eternal condemnation if death came while they were with sin, or without access to the sacraments as a result of being excommunicated or interdicted. This was frequently the case because the Church used these spiritual arms against individuals or groups in any kind of conflict, including economic demands or jurisdictional disputes.[43] Religion became a guarantee that, in exchange for certain behaviour, one was awarded passage to eternal life. By the end of the Middle Ages, religion had become mainly a system of atonement managed by the Church through its clergy, which is why there was so much focus on confession, indulgences, and purgatory.[44]

This consolidated the powerful influence of the Christian Church on popular behaviour and confirmed the Church as mediator, through the clergy, in all important affairs in the everyday human life. There is no better example than the preoccupation with death.[45] Only one good way of dying was accepted, one described by the Castilian chronicler Diego de Valera when he criticized the carelessness of King Enrique IV of Castile because "no mention was made of confessing nor receiving the Catholic sacraments, nor of making a will or codicil, that is general custom of all men to do in these times."[46] This was normalized behaviour that, at the end of the fourteenth century, the Viscount of Perellós summarized as, "everything those men do who through illness or other dangers await death."[47]

Directive behaviour from the Church affected all aspects of life. Significantly, attempts to remove education from ecclesiastical control generated strong tensions,[48] especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when municipal governments

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42 *Per tals pecats a consentir vinguin pestelènçies en la vila e nostre senyor Déu priva pluja e bon temps.* Cited from Pedro Ibarra, "Elig. Noticia de algunes instituciones y costumbres de la Edad Media," in *III Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Julio de 1923)*, 2 vols. (València, 2004), 2:39.

43 Flocel Sabaté, "L'Església secular catalana al segle XIV: la conflictiva relació social," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 28 (1998): 776–77.

44 Claude Carozzi, *Visiones apocalípticas en la Edad Media. El fin del mundo y la salvación del alma* (Zaragoza, 2000), 175.

45 Johan Huizinga, *El otoño de la Edad Media* (Madrid, 1988), 194.

46 *Ninguna mención hizo de confesar ni rescibir los cathólicos sacramentos, ni tampoco hacer testamento o codicilio, que es general costumbre de todos los hombres de tal tiempo hacer.* Cited from Diego Valera, "Memorial de diversas hazañas," chap. 100 in *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. Cayetano Rosell, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1953), 3:94.

47 *Tot ço que fan aquests hòmens que per malaltia o per altres perills esperen la mort.* Cited from Ramon de Perellós, "Viatge del vescomte Ramon de Perellós i de Roda fet al Purgatori nomenat de Sant Patrici," in *Novel·les amoroses i morals*, ed. Arsenio Pacheco and August Bover (Barcelona, 1982), 33.

48 Flocel Sabaté, "La formació de la personalitat a l'edat mitjana," in *La formació de la personalitat a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Lleida, 2016), 14.

worked to gain control of grammar schools[49] and the control of university study was disputed at various levels across much of Europe.[50] Similarly, the consolidation of group identities, either municipal or those relating to trades, offered opportunities for charitable actions as an alternative to ecclesiastical control of charity in the Late Middle Ages;[51] this led to municipal control of hospitals and charitable bodies.[52] Disputes could even extend to concerns with the control of time, and its potential secularization. In València in 1378 the bishop obtained the king's support to prevent the municipal government from having "a bell for the clock that was in the council chamber," because the clock had to be built in the cathedral, so making it an ecclesiastical and not a civil competence.[53]

All this confirms that Christianity acted as a driving doctrine of the Middle Ages and also that the social model envisaged by the Church can be defined as "assisted society," because men and women of the period, under this model, constantly required the help of the clergy and ecclesiastical institutions.[54] Indeed, they could do nothing important without the assistance of the Church via its clergy, from each step in one's life—birth, marriage, and death—to control over knowledge and relief provided by charity.

This domain of the Church not only involved people's livelihoods but also extended to all the lands and countries of the world, since all was created by God. The pope, as representative of Christ on earth, could not only sanction the dethroning of the Merovingians and anoint the new Pippinid monarch in the mid-eighth century,[55] but could also determine to whom territories should belong. In reality, the fate of territories—and, its corollary, the subservience of their rulers to the papacy—were continuously impacted by the will of the Church from the eleventh century until the end of Middle Ages through three arguments: the false donation of the Western Roman Empire to the Roman Church by Emperor Constantine,[56] the assumption by the papacy of feudal domains[57] and the duty to expand Christianity.[58] We can cite here the demand

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49 Lluís Cifuentes, Gemma Escribà, "El monopoli de la paraula: cura d'ànimes, educació i fe pública a la parròquia de Santa Maria de Piera durant la baixa edat mitjana," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 28 (1998): 811–19.

50 Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1978), 283–87.

51 Suzanne F. Roberts, "Les consulats de Rouergue et l'assistance urbaine au XIIIe et au début du XIVe siècles," in *Assistance et charité* (Toulouse, 1978), 131–35.

52 Flocel Sabaté, "Assistència a l'edat mitjana," in *Assistència a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Lleida, 2017), 32–34.

53 *Una campana per alarotge que estigués en la Sala del consell*. Cited from Agustín Rubio Vela, *Epistolari de la València medieval* (València, 1985), 76–77.

54 Sabaté, "Assistència," 40–43.

55 Thomas F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter. The birth of the Papal state, 680–825* (Philadelphia, 1991), 67–71.

56 Johannes Fried, *Donation of Constantine and Constitutum Constantini. The Misinterpretation of a Fiction and its Original Meaning* (Berlin, 2007), 7–114.

57 Augustin Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne*, 111–18.

58 Flocel Sabaté, *Fin del mundo y Nuevo mundo. El encaje ideológico entre la Europa medieval y la*

for the vassalage of the Hispanic kingdoms,[59] the enfeoffment of Aragon,[60] involvement in Sardinia,[61] incentives for conquests in the Holy Land[62] and the Iberian Peninsula,[63] guarantee of the domains conquered by the king of Portugal,[64] support for the English conquest of Ireland,[65] the assumption of England and Ireland as enfeoffments,[66] dis-position of the domains and jurisdictions of the lords who had collaborated with the Cathars in Occitania,[67] successive enfeoffments of Sicily,[68] the creation of the *Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae*,[69] donations and arbitrages in the Atlantic expansions of Castile and Portugal[70] and, finally, the 1493 papal concession, in the name of "vicar of Jesus Christ performed on the world," of the new lands beyond the Atlantic to the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, given that their sovereigns had shown such zeal in expelling the "tyranny of the Saracens" from the Iberian Peninsula through the conquest of Granada.[71]

This ongoing catalogue of deeds demonstrates the pre-eminent position for the Church, concordant with the power of the clergy within society. It makes it imperative to analyse now the interpretative capacity and far-reaching effects of Christian ideology in the European Middle Ages.

América moderna en Nueva España (siglo XVI) (Ciudad de México, 2011), 17–22.

59 Demetrio Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (956–1216)* (Roma, 1955), 42.

60 Paul Kehr, "¿Cómo y cuándo se hizo Aragón feudatario de la Santa Sede. Estudio diplomático?," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 1 (1945): 285–326.

61 Luciano Gallinari, "Les judicats sardes: Un modèle de souveraineté medieval?" (PhD diss., École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 2009), 117–36.

62 Nikolas Jaspert, *Die Kreuzzüge* (Darmstadt, 2003), 33–34.

63 Flocel Sabaté, "Frontera peninsular e identidad (siglos IX–XII)," in *Las Cinco villas aragonesas en la Europa de los siglos XII y XIII. De la frontera natural a las fronteras políticas y socioeconómicas (foralidad y municipalidad)*, ed. Esteban Sarasa (Zaragoza, 2007), 80–82.

64 Maria Alegria F. Marques, "A bula 'Manifestis probatum'. Ecos, textos e contextos," in *Poder espiritual / Poder temporal. As relaçôes Igreja – Estado no tempo da monarquia (1179–1909) Actas do Colóquio*, eds. Manuela Mendonça, Maria de Fatima Reis (Lisboa, 2009), 114–15.

65 Giraldus Cambrensis, "De rebus a se gestis," in *Giraldo Cambrensis opera*, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores (Rolls Series), ed. J. S. Brewer, James F. Dimock, Georges F. Warner, 8 vols. (London, 1861), 1:62.

66 Martin Aurell, *L'Empire des Plantagenêt 1154–1224* (Paris, 2003), 144.

67 Jean-Louis Biget, "La dépossession des seigneurs méridionaux. Modalités, limites, portées," in *La Croisade Albigeoise*, ed. Michel Roquebert (Carcassone, 2004), 263–64.

68 Francesco Giunta, *La Sicília catalana* (Barcelona, 1988), 5–9.

69 Francesco Cesare Casula, *La Sardenya catalano-aragonesa. Perfil històric* (Barcelona, 1985), 13–16.

70 Julieta Araújo Esteves, "Portugal e Castela: o início da disputa pelo Atlântico. Contributo para um estudo," in *Raízes medievais do Brasil moderno*, ed. Margarida Garcez, José Varandas (Lisboa, 2008), 246; Eduardo Aznar, *Evangelización y organización eclesiástica em Canarias (siglos XIV–XVI)* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 2007), 12–14.

71 *Vicariatus Ihesu Christi qua fungimur in terris […] tyrannide sarracenorum*. Cited from Pedro Fernández del Pulgar, *Tropheos gloriosos de los reyes catholicos de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1951), 2:20.

Holistic Christian Ideology

We can define Medieval Christian ideology as holistic because it provided the basis and justification of everything that affected humans in their understanding of their surroundings: world view, social order, belief systems, cultural expressions, and identity. This homogeneity brought social cohesion and facilitated strong individual and collective security. However, the flip side of this was intolerance towards those minorities that were not assimilable to the dominant discourse.

During the Early Middle Ages, religious centres took increasing control of structures of knowledge and thought,[72] while the clergy were the channel for intermediation with the afterlife,[73] bringing systems of knowledge, culture, and religion closer together. The Church thus became the fundamental source of ideas explaining the natural world, the social order, and common-sense beliefs involved in everyday life. From the second half of the eleventh century and into the twelfth, the Gregorian Reform's consolidation of the involvement of the Church in dictating social behaviour and imparting a holistic worldview that incorporated the family and all elements of society, marked a step-change. The clericalization of society and the widespread acceptance of the Church in all domains was remarkable. Conversely, the harshness of the response to religious expressions outwith the Church increased, including those whose thoughts identified them as heretics, non-Christian minorities like the Jews, and enemies of the faith like the Muslims.[74] This change of attitude was particularly marked on the southern frontiers of Europe,[75] and became more pronounced in popular experience of Christianity and attitudes to non-Christian societies abroad in the twelfth century.[76]

The Church did not hesitate to declare a crusade against the (Cathar) heretics in Occitania in 1208,[77] nor to map out a framework for Christian life in 1215, at the Fourth Lateran Council, which included discriminatory measures against the non-assimilable Jews. It was a set of perspectives that gradually became more ingrained in society over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries through ecclesiastical *pressure*.[78] This change included the growing role of preachers in disseminating to the population a new holistic Christian framework for living, which marked a further consolidation of Christian ideology's influence on society.

Christianity was, of course, based on a book of wisdom. Given that the Holy Scriptures did not supply a code of behaviour, but rather, forced one to deduce this from various narratives framed as history, the basis for interpreting religion lay in applying the hermeneutic with which to convert biblical and evangelical narratives into norms of

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72 Jacques Paul, *La Iglesia y la cultura en Occidente (siglos IX i XII)*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1988) 1:63–89.

73 Oronzo Giordano, *Religiosidad popular en la alta edad media* (Madrid, 1983), 36–38.

74 Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure. Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'Islam (1000–1150)* (Paris, 2000), 103–359.

75 Sabaté "Frontera península," 80–81.

76 André Vauchez, *La espiritualidad del Occidente medieval* (Madrid, 1985), 89–120.

77 Martín Alvira Cabrer, *12 de Septiembre de 1213. El Jueves de Muret* (Barcelona, 2002), 102–6.

78 Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIth Century*, 2 vols. (New York, 1989).

behaviour. Consequently, the philosophical basis of thought conditioned interpretation and oriented religious messages in one or another sense. This is why it was significant that the main line of Christianity from the thirteenth-century scholastics was developed on the basis of Aristotelian realism.[79] From this point on, the focus shifted from duality between the spiritual and the worldly, to teleology, in other words, the explanation of phenomena of the world in terms of the purposes they served according to the will with which God created the world. According to this school of thought, at the moment of creation, absolutely everything was instilled with the divine will's purpose, and thus, everything in the world was implicitly good, it simply had to be adapted to its corresponding purpose. Thus, for instance, sexuality need no longer be distrusted as the fleshly part of human nature that needed to be side-lined in favour of the spiritual. Sexuality could now be appreciated as a creation of God that simply needed adapt to the purpose for which it was created, that being none other than procreation to guarantee human survival.[80] Conversely, if knowing the divine will enabled a better appreciation of God's purpose, it also meant greater confidence in rejecting what went against God's wishes, such as male homosexuality. Thus, male homosexuality was not only punished with severe late medieval punishments[81] but also with capital punishment in the form reserved for the most serious offences, namely death at the stake.[82]

An important sector of thirteenth-century Christian scholarly thought rejected this dependence on the thoughts of pagan figures like Aristotle, as the Franciscan theologian Peter John Olivi (ca. 1248–1298) explicitly indicated.[83] This school of thought was the root for a separate spiritualist movement, one particularly attentive to divine signals expressed through dreams, revelations, or mystical experience.[84] Although apparently contradictory, both paths—realism and spiritualism—came together in experiencing, in different ways, a proximity to divine thinking that became a fear of provoking God's wrath by opposing his will.[85] Popular behaviour and the actions of leaders, not least municipal authorities, worked to incorporate the Christian dictates in law in response to fear of eternal condemnation or divine punishment.[86] This led to the marginaliza-

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79 Étienne Gilson, *La filosofía en la Edad Media. Desde los orígenes patrísticos hasta el fin del siglo XIV* (Madrid, 1989), 538–47 and Gilles Perceville, "Entre lógica y mística. La teología universitaria," in *Historia de la teología*, ed. Jean-Yves Lacoste (Buenos Aires, 2011), 210–14.

80 Flocel Sabaté, "Evolució i expressió de la sexualitat medieval," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 23 (1993): 169–70.

81 Mark D. Laertes, *La invención de la sodomía en la teología cristiana* (Barcelona, 2001), 51–72.

82 Flocel Sabaté, "La pena de muerte en la Cataluña bajomedieval," *Clio & Historia* 4 (2007): 197–98.

83 François-Xavier Putallaz, *Insolente liberté. Controverses et condamnations au XIIIᵉ siècle* (Fribourg, 1995) 143.

84 José Maria Pou, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes (siglos XIII–XV)* (Madrid, 1991), 9–33 and Elémire Zolla, *I mistici dell'Occidente* (Milano, 1977).

85 André Vauchez, *Saints, prophètes et visionnaires. Le pouvoir surnaturel au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1999), 95–219 and Flocel Sabaté, "L'Església secular catalana al segle XIV. La conflictiva relació social," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 28 (1998): 785–87.

86 Flocel Sabaté, "L'ordenament municipal de la relació amb els jueus a la Catalunya baixmedieval,"

tion, and legal condemnation, of any expression of a relation with the divinity besides through channels established by the Church. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this resulted in accusations of sorcery and witchcraft, while incriminations for heresy were trivialized.[87]

From the thirteenth century on, Thomist thought (based on the works of Thomas Aquinas) enabled faith and reason to be clearly separated. Faith and reason were not in contradiction because each complemented the other due to the shared basis in Aristotelian realism.[88] Even the most specific precepts of faith were explicable by reason: for instance, five rational arguments proved the existence of God.[89] The central tenet of the Catholic Church, the real presence of God within the Eucharist, was reached by the simple application of a law of physics in line with the Aristotelian scheme,[90] transubstantiation was nothing other than the maintenance of form while material composition underwent change.[91]

The supernatural regimes of Heaven and Hell also operated in accordance with physics, as part of a complex universe consisting of seven heavens and three other zones—the circle of the fixed stars, an area of water, and the last, without bodies but responsible for rotations—which opened the way to the Heaven of the blessed, where the souls of the saints lived.[92] Hell was situated inside the Earth in accordance with a belief[93] in the progressive increase in temperature as one penetrated more deeply towards the fiery bowels of the planet. Aquinas did not hesitate to affirm that the passages in the Scriptures referring to suffering physical punishment in Hell, including torment by fire, were

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in *Cristianos y judíos en contacto en la Edad Media: polémica, conversión, dinero y convivencia*, ed. Flocel Sabaté, Claude Denjean (Lleida, 2009), 758–75.

87 Sabaté, "La pena de muerte en la Cataluña bajomedieval," 184–85.

88 Maurice de Wulf deduced this: "No one has emphasized the distinction between reason and faith to a greater extent than Thomas [...]. The one is not the other. But reason leads to faith, philosophy to theology": Maurice de Wulf, *The System of Thomas Aquinas* (New York, 1959), 150.

89 Étienne Gilson, *El Tomismo. Introducción a la filosofía de Santo Tomás de Aquino* (Pamplona, 2002), 71–102. See English version: Étienne Gilson, *Thomism. The Philosophy of Thomas Aquinas* (Toronto, 2002).

90 Rafael Gómez Pérez, *Introducción a la metafísica. Aristóteles y Santo Tomás de Aquino* (Madrid, 1991), 90–100.

91 Marilyn McCord Adams, *Some Later Medieval Theories of the Eucharist. Thomas Aquinas, Giles of Rome, Duns Scotus, and William Ockham* (Oxford, 2012), 85–176.

92 Giordano Berti, *Les mondes de l'au-delà* (Paris, 2000), 36–49.

93 "The conception of Hell was related to that of the Last Judgment, that is to say, to places where man necessarily arrived after his earthly death. This conception is universal and present in almost all the world religions. This world of below is a place without life, a place of shadows and confusing disorder." (*La conception de l'Enfer était rattachée à celle du Jugement dernier, c'est-à-dire à des parages ou l'homme arrivait nécessairement après sa mort terrestre. Cette conception est universelle et présente dans presque toutes les religions mondiales. Ce monde d'en-bas est un lieu sans vie, lieu des ombres et du flou informel*). Cited from Martin Zlatoblávek, "Les éléments iconographiques du jugement dernier," in *Le Jugement dernier*, ed. Martin Zlatohlávek, Christian Rätsch, Claudia Müller-Ebeling (Lucerne, 2001), 220.

to be understood literally.[94] To appreciate these torments more fully, Hell was often interpreted as being divided into seven halls, coinciding with the seven deadly sins (lust, gluttony, greed, sloth, wrath, envy, and pride), so that each of the condemned could receive an eternal torture in line with the sin of which he or she was most culpable, as depicted in great detail, for example, in the fresco of the Last Judgment in the cathedral of Albi, dating from around the turn of the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries.[95] Hell was a place conceived as full of activity,[96] in contrast to the passivity associated with purgatory.[97]

Nor did anybody doubt the physical aspect of the other spiritual places, beginning with purgatory, well defined at the start of the Late Middle Ages as a place where minor sinners were temporarily punished, with one entrance on the Irish Station Island on Lough Derg and another on the volcano Etna.[98] The same applied to the other intermediate places, the limbos, defined since the thirteenth century as two rooms, one occupied by the souls of children who died before being baptized and the other, the room of Abraham, for those who lived honestly but before the coming of Christ could redeem them.[99]

In 1396, Juan (John) I of Aragon died suddenly, potentially leading to his eternal damnation through not having been able to prepare for a good death. This was the excuse that the enemies of his circle of councillors had been waiting for to accuse them of negligence with the worst consequences: the king could be in Hell.[100] One of the accused, Viscount de Perellós, travelled to Lough Derg and entered purgatory, only returning after having interviewed the dead king, who assuaged his fears of possible eternal misery: "I talked a lot with the king, my lord, who, by God's grace, was on the way to salvation."[101] It is a very similar story to the journeys of the Cistercian monk Henry of Saltrey, which had been repeated since the twelfth century,[102] which arose from the need to influence the pro-

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94 "Texts that announce corporal punishment, such as those that predict that the condemned will be tormented by fire in Hell, must be understood literally" (*Quare animabus damnatorum praenuntiant poenas corporeas, utpote quod ad igne inferni cruciabuntur, sunt secundum litteram intelligenda*). Cited from Thomas Aquinas, *Compendium Theologiae.* chap. 179, ed. F. J. H. Ruland (Paderborn, 1863), 152.

95 Jean-Louis Biget, *La cathédrale Sainte-Cécile* (Graulhet, 1998), 9–31.

96 Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, *La mort au Moyen Âge, XIIIᵉ-XVIᵉ siècle* (Paris, 1998), 276–89.

97 Anca Bratu, "L'ici-bas et l'au-delà en image: formes de représentation de l'espace et du temps," *Médiévales. Lange, textes, histoire* 20 (1991): 88–90.

98 Jacques Le Goff, *El nacimiento del Purgatorio* (Madrid, 1985), 205–39.

99 Jerôme Baschet, *Le sein du père. Abraham et la paternité dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 2000), 229–349.

100 Flocel Sabaté, "El poder soberano en la Cataluña bajomedieval: definición y ruptura," in *Coups d'État à la fin du Moyen Âge? Aux fondements du pouvoir politique en Europe occidentale*, ed. François Foronda, Jean-Philippe Genet, José Manuel Nieto Soria (Madrid, 2005), 509–15.

101 *Parlí molt ab lo rei, mon senyor, lo qual, per la gràcia de Deu, era en via de salvació*. From Perellós, "Viatge del vescomte Ramon de Perellós," 41.

102 Maria Teresa Ferrer, "Activitats polítiques i militars de Ramon de Perellós (autor del *'Viatge al Purgatori de Sant Patrici'* durant el regnat de Joan I)," in *Medioevo Hispano. Estudios in memoriam del Prof. Derek W. Lomax* (Madrid, 1995), 159–60.

cess against the members of the deceased king's royal council.[103] Indeed, another of the accused, the writer Bernat Metge, also interviewed the deceased (although in this case in dreams),[104] who exonerated him from any responsibility by stating that "the cause of my death [...] was that the deadline stated by Our Lord God arrived at that moment."[105]

The intersections between these spaces was the reason behind the prayers and donations offered by the living to shorten the time spent by their relatives in these intermediate places:[106] "Confronted with this unavoidability of 'post mortem' punishment, and burdened by sin, human beings clearly needed assistance in this world as much as the next."[107] Given the Church's status as intermediary, this need justified both the function of the clergy and the piety of the faithful. The role of relics and the cult of the saints[108] wove an intimate relation between people's everyday problems and these intercessors, rendering them an elemental constituent of medieval belief.[109] Similarly, angels and demons intervened in interrelations between the tangible physical world and spiritual matters, in accordance with Gregory the Great's explanation at the end of the sixth century that God created spirits without flesh, spirits with flesh, and flesh without spirit, in other words, angels, persons, and animals.[110] These intermediate beings inhabited complex societies which were not that different from human society: the angels occupied a strict hierarchy,[111] and a similar arrangement was in place in the regime of the devil.[112]

The coherence between the physical and the spiritual, between scientific explanation and religious discourse, extended to all of creation. The Earth was at the centre of the Universe, in accordance with the special status with which God had endowed man. The sphere with its Outer Ocean held three continents, consistent with the post-Flood biblical narrative: the world repopulated by the human race, with each of Noah's three

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103 Marina Mitjà, "Procés contra els consellers, domèstics i curials de Joan I, entre ells Bernat Metge," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 27 (1957–1958): 375–417.

104 Joan Mahiques, "'Lo somni' de Bernat Metge i els tractats d'apareguts," *Llengua & Literatura* 16 (2005): 7–28.

105 *La causa de la mia mort—dix ell—és estada per tal com lo terme mi constituït per Nostre Senyor Déu a viure, finí aquella hora*. From Bernat Metge, *Lo somni* (Barcelona, 1980), 61.

106 Jean-Loup Lemaitre, "La commémoration des défunts à Saint-Pons de Thomières"; Daniel Picard, "Les suffrages prescrits pour ls défunts par les chapitres provinciaux des dominicains du Midi," in *La mort et l'au-delà en France méridionale XIIᵉ-XVᵉ siècle* (Toulouse, 1989), 77–102; 103–120.

107 Robert N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215 – c. 1515* (Cambridge, 1994), 35.

108 Patrick J. Geary, *Furta sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990), 3–43 and Pierre Jounel, *Le culte des saints dans les basíliques du Latran et du Vatican au douzième siècle* (Roma, 1977), 97–185; Éric Palazzo, *Liturgie et societé au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2000), 177–93.

109 José Antonio. González Alcantud, "Seres intermedios: decadència y retroceso en la modernidad," in *Seres intermedios. Ángeles, Demonios y Genios en el Mundo Mediterráneo*, ed. Aurelio Pérez Jiménez, Gonzalo Cruz Andreotti (Málaga, 2001), 11–14.

110 Gregorius I, *Moralia*, chap. 16, 20 (cited from the online Patrologia Latina Database)

111 Claude Carozzi, "Hiérarchie angélique et tripartition fonctionelle chez Grégoire le Grand," in *Hiérarchies et services au Moyen Âge*, ed. Claude Carozzi, Huguette Taviani-Carozzi (Aix-en-Provence, 2001), 31–51.

112 Alfonso M. di Nola, *Historia del Diablo* (Madrid, 1992), 269–71.

sons presiding over a continent: Japheth in Europe, Shem in Asia, and Ham in Africa.[113] This world's centre was Jerusalem and the Mediterranean, while, certain islands, deserts, and mountains, often at the margins or furthest reaches of the world, hosted a wide variety of curious beings: plants (like the mandrake with anthropomorphic roots), animals (basilisks, and manticores, and so on),[114] and mythical humans (pigmies, giants, amazons, cynocephaly, blemmyes, sciapods, and so forth).[115] These lands—such as the Fortunate Islands or the places encountered by St. Brendan in the West,[116] or the land of ferocious and even anthropophagic biblical characters of Gog and Magog, concordant with the prophecies of Ezekiel in the Old Testament, in the East—[117] were believed to exist by virtue of tales, but proved difficult to place. These places were thus relegated to the extremities of the earth by travellers in the thirteenth century, but not denied entirely by them; quite the contrary, their narrations often elaborated with detailed descriptions of sightings of fantastic animals, strange and pagan peoples, and even demons.[118] Such images were edifying to Christians[119] because they reminded them of the evangelizing work that remained to be done given the evidence that there were still "huge regions that were entirely foreign to Christianity."[120]

Moreover, it was believed to be possible to find the place where God had located the earthly Paradise. Belief in the story of Genesis as historical fact left no room for doubt that Paradise inhabited a specific physical and earthly reality.[121] Thus, during the Middle Ages, diverse hypotheses for defining the precise location of Paradise were pursued,[122] whether in an island setting or land-locked, in the Far East, India, Mesopotamia, or

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113 Pascal Arnaud, "'Plurima orbis imago'. Lectures conventionnelles des cartes au Moyen Age," *Médiévales* 18 (1990): 33–51.

114 Claude Kappler, *Monstruos, demonios y maravillas a fines de la edad media* (Madrid, 1986), 36–41.

115 Juan Casas, "Razas humanas portentosas en las partidas remotas del mundo (de Benjamín de Tudela a Cristóbal Colón)," in *Maravillas, peregrinaciones y utopías: Literatura de viajes en el mundo románico*, ed. Rafael Beltrán (València, 2002), 253–90.

116 Kevin R. Wittmann, *Las islas del fin del mundo. Representación de las Afortunadas en los mapas del Occidente medieval* (Lleida, 2016), 23–111 and Benedeit, *El viaje de San Brandán* (Madrid, 1983), 1–60.

117 Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Espacios del hombre medieval* (Madrid, 2002), 32–33.

118 Felicitas Schmieder, "Travelling in the 'Orbis Christianus' and beyond (Thirteenth–Fifteenth Century): What makes the difference?," in *Identities on the Move*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Bern, 2014), 41–42.

119 Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, "L'exemple des peuples d'ailleurs," in *En quête d'Utopies*, ed. Claude Thomasset, Danièle James-Raoul (Paris, 2005), 183–94; Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, "Ailleurs, d'autres vies exemplaires (dans quelques encyclopédies et récits de voyage)," in *Utopies i alternatives de vida a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Flocel Sabaté, (Lleida, 2009), 111–25.

120 Schmieder, "Travelling," 43–51.

121 Jean Delumeau, *Une histoire du paradis. Le jardin des délices* (Paris, 1992), 11–35.

122 Felicitas Schmieder, "Paradise Islands in East and West. Tradition and Meaning in some Cartographical Places on the Medieval Rim of the World," in *Isolated Island in Medieval Mind, Culture and Nature*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz, Torstein Jørgensen (Budapest, 2011), 3–22.

Armenia, though it was suspected by some that it may not have survived the Flood. The search for the lost kingdom of the legendary Christian patriarch Prester John, which was first imagined in Asia and finally agreed to be traceable to Ethiopia, was often linked to a belief that it was located next to Paradise.[123] In any case, it was logical, according to the medieval world-view, to include in depictions of the Earth a place that corresponded to Paradise, although it might be imagined to be somewhere so well protected that super-human resources were necessary to visit it.[124] Late medieval literature contributes various stories of visits to Paradise depicted in matter-of-fact fashion and including detailed visions of the Tree of Good and Evil mentioned in Genesis, or the Tree of Salvation, whose wood was used to make the cross of Jesus Christ, as well as the source of the four great rivers of the world.[125]

Given the assumption that the Earth was a sphere, the possible existence of human habitation at the antipodes, on the lower part of the globe, had to be entertained. The main problem was that any humans on the other side of the world had to be connected monogenetically to Adam in order to benefit from God's work and Christian redemption. On the basis of the fact that the Holy Scriptures could not lie, Augustine of Hippo proposed the following:

> For Scripture, which proves the truth of its historical statements through the accomplishment of its prophecies, gives no false information; and it is too absurd to suggest that some men might have taken ship and traversed the whole wide ocean, crossing from this side of the world to the other, and that thus even the inhabitants of that distant region are descended from that one first man.[126]

The Aristotelian explanation of magnetic attraction, accepted by Thomas Aquinas's mentor, Albert the Great (ca. 1200–1280), dissipated doubts about the physical sustainability of humankind on the opposite side of the world, while increased sea travel led people to reason that these human beings would not be so isolated as at first believed, and thus it was likely that they too were descendants of Adam, and worthy of Christ's

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123 John Roland Seymour Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe* (Oxford, 1998), 144–45.

124 "The maps of the Middle Ages offer us some of the same materials: paradise is situated to the east, surrounded by a wall or mountains, and sometimes separated by an ocean. Although the barriers hindered access, this region was a place that in reality was located somewhere on the globe, and was thus, somewhere that could be visited, although one had to resort to supernatural means." (En los mapas de la Edad Media nos ofrece algo de los mismos materiales: el paraíso se sitúa al oriente, rodeado por una muralla o montañas, y a veces separado por un océano. Aunque las barreras le hicieran difícil el acceso, esta región era un lugar que en realidad se localizaba en alguna parte del globo, y por tanto, era un lugar que podía visitarse, aunque se tuviera que recurrir a medios sobrenaturales.) Cited from Howard R. Patch, *El otro mundo en la literatura medieval* (Ciudad de México,1983), 161.

125 Patch, *El otro mundo*, 173–75.

126 *Quoniam nullo modo Scriptura ista mentitur, quae narratis praeteritis facit fidem, eo quod eius praedicta complentur: nimisque absurdum est, ut dicatur aliquos homines ex hac in illam partem, Oceani immensitate traiecta, navigare ac pervenire potuisse, ut etiam illic ex uno illo primo homino genus institueretur humanum.* Cited from Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei*, bk. 16, chap. 9, in various online locations (e.g., accessed April 22, 2019 at https://la.wikisource.org/wiki/De_civitate_Dei/Liber_XVI) and with various English translations online.

redemption. Nevertheless, in the fifteenth century, Alonso Fernández de Madrigal (ca. 1400–1455), Castilian bishop and writer, continued to doubt the existence of the antipodes stating that if they did exist, they would have received the attention of the apostles, who travelled all over the world to spread the Gospel, and that there was no evidence that any of them went to the antipodes.[127] At the same time, however, Prince Henrique de Portugal (1394–1460), commonly known as Henry the Navigator, invoked scientific curiosity and the duty to evangelize to justify the Portuguese campaigns of expansion:

> Being convinced through philosophy and cosmography that there were lands below the line of the equinox, and other peoples hidden from us, determined the principle of curiosity and zeal to increase the faith of Jesus Christ in discovering lands.[128]

In the sixteenth century, at the Spanish conquest of America, Francisco López de Gómara remarked that the capacity of the Spanish vessels meant the prior supposition that the antipodes were unreachable could be overcome, confirming that they were also human beings destined to receive the Christian message: "I well believe that they never knew the way from them, as they, the Indians, who we call antipodes, did not have enough ships for such a long and hard sail as the Spanish do in the Ocean."[129]

The coherence between spiritual and physical spaces allowed for a level of permeability, which was the reason why it was easy to believe that God used nature, and especially the celestial spaces, to send messages. The heavenly bodies not only influenced the tides and the growth of plants, but also, according to interpretations of a blend of astronomy and astrology, determined the *fastus* and *nefastus* days.[130] The Holy Scriptures demonstrate how God revealed the relation between the terrestrial and celestial spaces in dreams: Genesis explains the dream in which God showed Jacob the ladder to heaven, which became a symbol of the path to progressive perfection and a route for the blessed according to it featuring regularly in iconography.[131] God also used stars to send specific messages: the Gospel according to St. Matthew describes the "wise men" (Magi) reaching Jesus guided by a star, as repeatedly recounted in the Middle Ages (and beyond).[132] It is no surprise that all unexpected events in the sky and nature were inter-

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127 Nelson Papavero, Jorge Llorente-Bousquets, David Espinosa, *Historia de la biología comparada desde el Génesis hasta el siglo de las Luces*, 8 vols. (Ciudad de México, 1995), 3:54.

128 *Avendo entendido por la philosophia y cosmographia que avía otras tierras de baxo de la línia equenocial y otras gentes ascondidas a nosotros detreminó al principio por curiosidad y después por selo de aumento de la fee de Jesú Christo descubrir tierras*. Cited from Jerónimo Román, *História das Ínclitas Cavalarias do Cristo, Santiago e Avis* (Porto, 2008), 120.

129 *Bien creo que nunca jamás se supiera el camino por ellos, pues no tenían los indios, a quien llamamos antípodas, navíos bastantes para tan larga y recia navegación como hacen españoles por el mar Océano*. Cited from Francisco López de Gómara, "Hispania victrix. Primera y segunda parte de la Historia General de las Indias," in *Historiadores Primitivos de Indias,* ed. Enrique de Vedia, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1852), 1:160.

130 Flocel Sabaté, "The King's Power and Astrology in the Crown of Aragon," forthcoming.

131 Gérard de Champeaux, Sébastien Sterckx, *Introducción a los símbolos* (Madrid, 1984), 198 and Matilde Battistini, *Simboli e Allegorie* (Milano, 2003), 238–40.

132 Franco Cardini, *Los Reyes Magos. Historia y leyenda* (Barcelona, 2001), 57–163.

preted as direct warnings about great events. What was required was to know how to interpret these signs appropriately, although, in some cases immediate events provided a meaning: a whale stranded at the mouth of the Llobregat in Barcelona in June 1458, brought an omen that was explained a few weeks later when news arrived from Naples concerning the death of King Alfonso the Magnanimous.[133] Messages from the other side harnessed the fascination of medieval men and women for the marvellous, as is the case of comets,[134] where information could either be interpreted as negative, or as something positive, as the announcement of the Magi in the Gospel. The famous Bayeux Tapestry related the crowning of King Harold on January 6, 1066 and the passing of Halley's comet across the English sky on April 24.[135] Rather than bringing bad news for King Harold, the *stella* could be seen as announcing the good news of the coming invasion by William the Conquer. This is the reason why the comet was incorporated in the tapestry that was created, probably at Bayeux itself, as promotion—indeed propaganda—for the new Norman ruler.[136]

The concordance between the physical world and explanations derived from the Holy Scriptures could be extended to all creation, because nature had arisen from the divine design. In line with Aristotelian reasoning, the qualities of each natural element could be learned and, from this, the corresponding interpretation deduced. Lapidaries, herbaries, and bestiaries warned about the properties inherent in each thing.[137] For example, wearing an emerald neutralized poison ingested, or from the bite of an animal, but care had be taken because this protection was destroyed if a maiden lost her virginity while she was wearing the gem.[138] In fact, care was needed to avoid the erroneous use of many products: an inadequate ingestion of plants before sexual relations could mean spawning malformations or dwarfism, for instance.[139] At the same time, all living things carried a specific meaning, which conferred symbolic efficacy on them, as is especially clear with regard to the animal kingdom: the elephant, the beaver, and the unicorn, for example, symbolized chastity.[140] Not only did they represent archetypes, but their qualities as beings created by God, each with its respective characteristics, referred to values interpreted as those of Christian society.[141]

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133 Flocel Sabaté, *Lo senyor rei és mort!* (Lleida, 1994), 21–22 and *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya*, ed. Josep Maria Sans, 10 vols. (Barcelona, 1994–2007), 1:142.

134 Jacques Le Goff, *Lo maravilloso y lo cotidiano en el Occidente medieval* (Barcelona, 1985), 9–17.

135 Montserrat Pagès, *El tapís de Bayeux, eina política? Anàlisi de les imatges i nova interpretació* (Barcelona, 2015), 51–52.

136 Xavier Barral i Altet, *En souvenir du roi Guillaume. La broderie de Bayeaux* (Paris, 2016), 91–97.

137 Lluís Cifuentes, *La ciència en català a l'edat mitjana i el Renaixement* (Barcelona, 2001), 274–88.

138 Joan Gili, *Lapidari. Tractat de pedres precioses* (Oxford, 1977), 1–30.

139 J. Ramón Gómez, *Las plantas en la brujería medieval (propiedades y creencias)* (Madrid, 1998), 79–108.

140 Robert Delort, *Les animaux ont une histoire* (Paris, 1990), 76–84.

141 Gerhard Jaritz, "Oxen and Hogs, Monkeys and Parrots: Using 'Familiar' and 'Unfamiliar' Fauna in Late Medieval Visual Representation," in *Animal Diversities,* ed. Gerhard Jaritz, Alice Choyke (Krems, 2005), 107–22.

It was believed that in creating each of these living things, God used different combinations of the four elements: earth, water, fire, and air, corresponding to the four qualities of material: cold, humid, dry, or hot.[142] Knowing the combination of each thing enabled its qualities to be revealed, this being the task of physics, although at the time this was based on observation, as Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon stressed in the fourteenth century.[143] Abiogenesis, or spontaneous generation, which was thought to enable worms to be born from earth, flies from rotting meat, and eels from the earth, was an extreme example of the combining of elements. The ability to correctly interpret dreams or diagnose digestive issues provided access to each person's predominant combination. Everything was explained through the same framework of reasoning: sexual attraction was the combination of the woman's cold womb and the man's hot sperm;[144] and the differences between Spaniards and French, as Munzer would state in the sixteenth century, were related to the hotter and drier temperament of the former compared to the cold, humid one of the latter.[145] Everything thus depended on the right balance, as for medicine, which combined four humours concordant with the elements: black bile, blood, bile, and phlegm.[146] Illnesses were imbalances and bleeding had to be applied, but also purgatives, and in other cases, aids to sweating and sneezing in order to restore balance.[147] Imbalance could also occur in nature as a result of human activity, and thus polluting the water or the air through craft activities was seen as a serious issue, especially when, from the thirteenth century on, increases in production led to dumping waste including lime, oil, or the by-products of tanneries, in the elements.[148]

Imbalances in nature were thought to lead to droughts, excessive rains, or even earthquakes, all very significant for a society highly dependent upon nature. Given the link made between natural and spiritual environments, these imbalances were interpreted as punishment for the behaviour of humans and, thus, expressions of anger on the part of an anthropomorphized God annoyed because his dictates were not being followed or due to excessive complicity with his enemies, including the non-assimilable religious minorities. As Joëlle Ducos stated, "meteorology is therefore the sign of the power of

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142 Edward Grant, *La ciencia física en la edad media* (Ciudad de México, 2016), 145–54.

143 Manuel Sanromà, "El camino hasta el Big Bang," in *La cosmología hasta el siglo XXI: entre la física y la filosofía*, eds. Juan Arana et al. (Tarragona, 2011), 20.

144 Danielle Jacquart, Claude Thomasset, *Sexualidad y saber médico en la edad media* (Barcelona, 1989), 45–82.

145 Alexandra Testino-Zafiropoulos, "Representaciones imaginarias de España en Francia en el siglo XVII. Del saber enciclopédico a los relatos de viaje," in *L'imaginaire du territoire en Espagne et au Portugal (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)*, ed. François Delpech (Madrid, 2008), 25.

146 Luis García Ballester, *La búsqueda de la salud. Sanadores y enfermos en la España medieval* (Barcelona, 2001), 129–76.

147 Antoni Cardoner, *Història de la medicina a la Corona d'Aragó (1162–1479)* (Barcelona, 1973), 128–52.

148 Jean-Pierre Leguay, *La pollution au Moyen Âge dans le royaume de France et dans les grands fiefs* (Paris, 1999), 6–62.

God, a sign sometimes terrible as the flood or, conversely, as beneficent as manna."[149] So, municipal authorities tended to respond to each natural misfortune by calling for divine mercy through the usual devotional practices, beginning with processions and continuing by attempting to correct the customs, while conceding "that God in his mercy wants to bring us this bad weather."[150] It was especially important to find out what had been done wrong and correct it. Faced with the above-mentioned climatic problems suffered in Elche in 1371 and in 1379, the town council discerned that the divine punishment was due to the high number of adulterous women and clergymen who had sexual relations in the town.[151] Late medieval preachers, who travelled around the towns and cities whose people lived in fear of such natural phenomena, helped to root out the causes of divine wrath, often blaming excesses of blasphemy, gambling, or prostitution. The welfare of society depended on not provoking divine wrath. As the famous Dominican Vicent Ferrer stated, the aim was for human behaviour to evoke the opposite response in God: "Our Lord God will say: I like this, I am happy."[152] Given the consequences, the rulers had to take great care, as Ferrer continued, "because some have to account for themselves and others, because they are councillors from villages."[153] The councillors were therefore expected to legislate, for example, to avoid coexistence with God's enemies. Consequently, fears grew about tolerating male homosexuals or coexisting with Jews, and this led to rising levels of tension towards these groups, who found themselves accused of provoking divine wrath.[154]

These fears increased towards the end of the Middle Ages, since millenarian fears[155] were fuelling concerns about the world reaching the end of time without God's people having achieved the evangelical mandate enabling them to be united in obedience to the Church of Christ: "there will be one flock and one shepherd."[156] This led to reflec-

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149 *La météorologie est donc bien le signe de la puissance de Dieu, signe parfois redoutable comme le déluge ou au contraire bienfaisant comme la manne.* Cited from Joelle Ducos, "Le temps qu'il fait. Signe de Dieu ou de mal. La métereologia du Bourgeois de Paris," in *Le mal et le diable. Leurs figures à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Nathalie Nabert (Paris, 1996), 96.

150 *Que Déus per la sua mercè nos vuylle aquesta mal temps levar.* Cited from Olivera, Riera, Lambert, Banda, Alexandre, *Els terratrèmols*, 64.

151 Ibarra, "Elig," 2:37–9.

152 *Dirà nostra senyor Déus: 'Plau-me, jo só content.* Cited from Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons*, ed. Gret Schib, 6 vols. (Barcelona, 1971–1988), 3:11.

153 *Per què són alguns que han a retre compte de si matex e de altres, axí com regidors de viles.* Cited from Ferrer, *Sermons*, 3:13.

154 Flocel Sabaté, "Les juifs au moyen-âge. Les sources catalanes concernant l'ordre et le désordre," in *Chrétiens et juifs au Moyen Âge: sources pour la recherche d'une relation permanente*, ed. Flocel Sabaté, Claude Denjean (Lleida, 2006), 124–36.

155 Marjorie Reeves, "Pauta y propósito en la historia: los periodos de la baja Edad Media y el Renacimento," in *La teoría del apocalipsis y los fines del mundo*, ed. Malcolm Bull (Ciudad de México, 1998), 109–32.

156 Γενήσεται μία ποίμνη, είζ ποιμήν (*fiet unum ovile et unus pastor*). From the Gospel of John 10:16.

tions about how to achieve the necessary unity.[157] Roger Bacon (ca. 1220–ca. 1292), the English scholastic philosopher and Franciscan friar, anticipated the return of the Greeks (the Eastern Church) and the conversion of the Tartars, but saw no other solution for the recalcitrant Muslims than their destruction.[158] Thus, fear became embedded in a medieval society as an adjunct of its absolute coherence. This fear contributed to intolerance towards that which was not assimilable.

This attitude to otherness was part of the same sense of security that articulated medieval society around its beliefs. We might assert that the strength of the medieval world was not in its physical power or the status of its rulers but in its intellectual mind: people felt sure they were part of a single coherent entity: environment, social order, power, and the concordance between spiritual and physical spheres. All was integrated.

Thus, we can interpret the end of the Middle Ages as the progressive demolition of a well-structured edifice. This can be perceived as part of a long path from the fifteenth to the twentieth century through a sequence of new thoughts symbolized by Copernicus, Luther, Kant, Darwin, and Freud. Certainly, Copernicus's displacement of the Earth from the central position it was previously assumed to inhabit in the universe, meant an end to understanding the universe as an expression of the circular movement of the celestial bodies. Disavowing, with Luther, the central tenets of expiatory religion (confession, indulgences, and purgatory), the physical reality of Paradise and Hell, and the presence of God in the Eucharist, destroyed the central knot of belief that justified the position, power, and behaviour of the Church. Later, following Kant, interpreting the world from the perspective of the subject, Aristotelian realism was displaced as the basis for religion and the interpretation of the world; explaining all living beings, including humanity, through an evolutionary framework, as Darwin did, displaced the central role of creation; and finally, Freud's influential discourse on conscious and unconscious levels of the human mind destabilized our view of human autonomy. At this point, the whole edifice of medieval certainties had collapsed.

With the disavowal of central axes, a variety of truths were destabilized. Thus, in the seventeenth century, Kepler broke with the celestial symbolism based on circular orbits, undisputed synonym of perfection in the medieval sky, and presented the heavenly bodies following elliptical orbits; Reti questioned spontaneous generation; Harvey reconfigured the workings of the body through the circulation of blood; and Boyle questioned a nature explained by the combination of the four elements, which was to be finally displaced by Cavendish and Lavoisier in the eighteenth century. Also in that century, Cuvier would question the Flood and Linnaeus advanced towards a taxonomic classification of animals. Condorcet broke with the identification between universal history and the history of Christian salvation and introduced a new teleology into history, based on the concept of progress. In the nineteenth century, Pasteur discarded spontaneous generation entirely and moved forward with microbial explanations. And in the

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157 Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages. A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969), 399.

158 Aleksey Klemeshov, "The Conversion and Destruction of the infidels in the Works of Roger Bacon," in *Religions and Power in Europe*, ed. Joaquim Carvalho (Pisa, 2007), 23.

twentieth century, Bultmann could imagine God without breaking the cosmic weave to intervene in human affairs.[159]

Even geography has changed: the island of St. Brendan ceased to be depicted on maps from the seventeenth century onwards, in 1790 the entrance to purgatory in Lough Derg was destroyed, and in 2007, Pope Benedict XVI recognized that limbo did not exist. The earth no longer had unknown extremes or wondrous islands. It was well charted by the twentieth century, enabling Paul Valéry to proclaim:

> The era of vacant land, free territories, places that are nobody's, and thus, the era of free expansion, is closed. No more rocks without a flag or blank places on the map [...]. The time of the completed world begins.[160]

Adaptable Christian Ideology

The establishment of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire from 380 sanctioned the use of religious ideology to justify political ends. From then on, as Averil Cameron explains, "emperors undoubtedly involved themselves in religious matters for reason of state."[161] The intertwining of affairs of Church and State involved the acceptance of Christian dictate by the sovereign and legitimized Christianity as the ideology on which the exercise of power was founded and from which the maintenance of social order was derived.

In symbolic terms, the acceptance of Christianity by the Germanic kingdoms converted religion into the backbone of political management and social behaviour: "the State religion in the barbarian kingdoms represented the fundamental pact between the people and the divine."[162] The exercise of power through the Church in the Early Middle Ages can thus be defined as "the formation of the political-religious ideologies of the West."[163] The Carolingian culmination not only brought political power and religious discourse into close conjunction but also charged the clergy with elucidating ideology, as Georges Duby observes: "in the Carolingian tradition, the episcopate is the natural producer of ideology."[164]

Evolution towards a feudal society arose from specific social, economic and, political developments.[165] However, this tended to solidify in a social model clearly defined

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159 Sabaté, *Vivir y sentir*, 98–99.

160 *L'ère des terrains vagues, des territoires libres, des lieux qui ne sont à personne, donc l'ère de libre expansion est close. Plus de roc qui ne porte un drapeau; plus de vides sur la carte [...]. Le temps du monde fini commence.* Cited from Paul Valéry, *Regards sur le monde actuel*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1962), 2:923.

161 Cameron, *The Mediterranean*, 69.

162 *La religion d'État dans les royaumes barbares représente le pacte fondamental qui unit le peuple au divin.* Cited from Dumézil, *Les racines chrétiennes*, 181.

163 *La formación de las ideologías politicoreligiosas de Occidente.* Cited from Paul, *La Iglesia*, 7.

164 *En la tradición carolingia, el episcopado es el productor natural de ideologia.* Cited from Georges Duby, *Los tres órdenes o lo imaginario del feudalismo* (Barcelona, 1983), 37.

165 Georges Duby, *Guerreros y campesinos. Desarrollo inicial de la economía europea (500–1200)*

through the ideological contribution of the Church. The arguments flowed from the ecclesiastic environment, continuing the earlier tradition. This made sense because, as Miguel Ángel Ladero has highlighted, "at that time the clergy were the only group with the intellectual capacity to interpret society according to an ideological framework."[166] It was ecclesiastical authors, beginning with Adalberon of Laon and Gerard of Florennes, who first established the idea of society as articulated in three groups, arguing that this tripartite order was God's natural order.[167] The first group ruled and fought, the second prayed, and the third group worked the land. This distilled society to three essential functions (*pugnare*, *orare*, *agricolari–laborare*) which, as Georges Duby remarked, was a specific view of society "in the service of an ideology."[168]

The traditional definitions of feudalism from the nineteenth century[169] and those related to the so-called feudal revolution elaborated in the second half of the twentieth[170] presented the medieval Church as an antidote to the excesses of barons or a victim of the process of change. However, analysis of documentary evidence concerned with specific territories, such as Catalonia, shows that the Church played a central role in the adoption of new legal and formal frameworks with which to adapt to new circumstances.[171] Thus the Church was able to intervene decisively in new social and political structures thanks to the so-called Gregorian reform. This can be seen as "a turning point in the long and painful process of adapting pontifical power to the socio-political reality that engulfed the Church in the middle of the eleventh century,"[172] but especially as an adaptation by the Church which enabled it to maintain ideological power over society.

Implementation of the reform of the Church spread throughout the twelfth century, coinciding with the diffusion of Roman law around Europe,[173] which structured the new

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(Madrid, 1985), 7–197; Jean-Pierre Poly and Éric Bournazel, *El cambio feudal (siglos X al XII)* (Barcelona, 1983), 3–237.

166 *El clero era entonces el único grupo con capacidad de definición ideológica y a través de su mirada intelectual se contemplaba al resto de la sociedad*. Cited from Miguel Ángel Ladero, *Católica y latina. La cristiandad occidental entre los siglos IV y XVII* (Madrid, 2000), 20.

167 Marc Bloch, *La société féodale* (Paris, 1994), 395–493.

168 *Está al servicio de una ideología*. Cited from Duby, *Los tres órdenes*, 26, 33.

169 Flocel Sabaté, "Une histoire médiévale pour l'identité catalane," in *Intégration et disintégration en Europe central et orientale*, ed. Sergiu Miscoiu, Nicolae Päun (Paris, 2016), 47–48.

170 Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xᵉ à la fin du XIᵉ siècle,* 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1976), 2:550–52.

171 "The Church played a crucial role here: having clearly benefitted from the previous process of encastellation and seigneuralization, it became a pioneer in using the formulations of feudal links and relationships; its rights and revenues benefitted from a veritable clericalización of justice; it protected itself using mechanisms like sanctuary and peace and truce of God, which simultaneously enhanced its social clout." Sabaté, "The Catalonia of the 10th to 12th centuries," 44.

172 *Um ponto de inflexâo do longo e penoso processo de adaptaçâo do poder pontifício à realidade sócio-política que envolveu a Igreja em meados do século XI*. Cited from Rust, *Colunas de Sâo Pedro*, 513.

173 André Gouron, "Un assaut en deux vagues: la diffusion du droit romain dans l'Europe du XXe siècle," in *El dret comú i Catalunya. Actes del Ier Simposi internacional (Barcelona, 25–26 de maig de*

realities and facilitated new social and political frameworks.[174] The Church participated fully in this dynamic, consolidating canon law and articulating a comprehensive legal presence that invigorated the everyday expression of power. The intermixing of law and theology was far-reaching in its effects, as Paolo Grossi argues: "the canonists were able to achieve the result that those who deployed civil law could not because they had an extra arrow in their quiver: the familiarity with explicitly theological reasoning."[175] Certainly, the incorporation in law of concepts borrowed from theology, such as the *corpus mysticum*, strengthened the conceptual toolkit, and was soon accepted by all those involved in the political game.[176]

The legal framework adopted by the Church, the *Codex Iuris Canonici*, included most of the decrees passed by the Fourth Lateran Council IV held in 1215, which ensured the durability of its influence.[177] In fact, the Council was intended to show the power and influence of the papacy over all Christendom,[178] and adapt religion to its contemporary challenges. Certainly, Church and Christianity continued to be authoritative thanks to an extensive set of measures: assuring the full rights of ecclesiastical courts in their sphere; reinforcing episcopal powers; controlling the clergy; using excommunication as a threat in conflicts against civil authorities; stressing the model of the family by imposing exogamic, public, and Christian marriage; permeating the conscience of the faithful through annual confession and Easter communion; articulating a practice of social assistance including the spiritual treatment of the sick by medics; and regulating relations with non-assimilable minorities, like the Jews, who would henceforth be compelled to wear badges on their clothing.

The progressive implementation of these demands, accepted by rulers and disseminated among the population by preachers, was a reflection of the influence of the Church over the people. At the same time, it also showed the Church's enduring capacity for adaptation, both regarding its discourse of self-justification and the model of religion it spread among the populace. We see this in the example of how attitudes towards the wealthy evolved, affecting attitudes to merchant. At the start of the thirteenth century, the devil was described as entering the city of Lleida disguised as a merchant: "he was a devil, who resembling a merchant, entered the city and procured here everything he could."[179]

1990), ed. Aquilino Iglesia (Barcelona, 1991), 47–63.

174 Paul Freedman, "Catalan Lawyers and the Origins of Serfdom," *Mediaeval Studies* 48 (1986): 283–314 and Dieter Mertens, *Il pensiero politicomedievale* (Bologna, 1999), 85–93.

175 *Los canonistas alcanzan el resultado al que no llegaron los civilistas porque tienen una flecha de más en su arco: la familiaridad con razones exquisitamente teológicas*. Cited from Paolo Grossi, *El orden jurídico medieval* (Madrid, 1996), 218.

176 Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), 195–270.

177 Hans Wolter, "El Pontificado en la cúspide de su poder (1198–1216)," in *Manual de Historia de la Iglesia*, ed. Hubert Jedin, 10 vols. (Barcelona, 1966–1987), 4:290–91.

178 José Orlandis, *El pontificado romano en la historia* (Madrid, 1996), 141.

179 *Ere un diable, lo qual en semblanza de mercader se n·entrà en una ciutat e procurava aquí tot al que podia*. Cited from *Miracles de la Verge Maria*, ed. Antoni Maria Parramon (Lleida, 1976), 42.

The activity of the merchant was viewed with distrust, and on nearing death some merchants were thus moved to compensate in their wills for the *lucrum* they had earned in life.[180] As a response to this, by the end of that century a model of behaviour was dictated by Ramon Llull who explained that after his son's education was completed, the burgher Evast, who, through inheritance from his father, was "very wealthy in material riches," donated his assets to the poor and dissolved his marriage, for he moved into a monastery and his wife into a nunnery.[181] However, around this same time in Paris, *Le dit des marchéans* not only praised the merchants but also gave them precedence: the "Holy Church was first established by Merchants."[182] This conceptual path culminated in the fourteenth century with views such as those of the Catalan moralist Francesc Eiximenis, who stated that, after the clergy, the most esteemed by God were the merchants, because they were the basis of the wealth necessary for society and the public sphere to exist:

> The moralist Philogolus explained that the merchant must be stressed among the different jobs that put the *res publica* on a good level, because the land where trade runs profusely is always full, fertile and in a good state. Accordingly the same author stated that merchants should be favoured over any other people in the secular world, because, he said, the merchants are the life of the land on which they reside; treasure of the *res publica*; the food of the poor people; and the arm of any good business and fulfilment of all affairs. Without merchants, the communities fall, princes become tyrants, the young are losers, and the poor cry. This situation is reached because neither knights nor citizens living off the rent give large alms; only merchants are generous in giving alms and they become great parents and brothers of the *res publica*, especially when they are good men and have a good conscience.[183]

So much so that the same writer concluded that "all the *res publica* should pray at all times, especially for the merchants."[184] In fact, it was then widely understood that it was good that the bourgeoisie were rich. In 1376, the members of the municipal government of Balaguer expressed this as a matter of fact to their lord, the count of Urgell: "The *res publica* has a strong interest in its citizens, from which it is supported, maintained and

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180 Lleida, Arxiu Capitular de Lleida, calaix 20, num. 4685.

181 *Molt abundós de les temporals riquees*. Cited from Ramon Llull, *Llibre d'Evast e Blanquerna* (Barcelona, 1987), 31.

182 *Sainte Yglise premierement fu par Marchéanz establie*. Cited from Anatole de Montaiglon, Gaston Raynaud, *Recueil Général et compet des fabliaux des XIIIᵉ et XIVᵉ siècles* (Paris, 1877), 44.

183 *Posa ací Filògolus, moralista, que entre los altres oficis que posen la cosa pública en bon estament són los mercaders, car terra on mercaderia corre e abunda, tostemps és plena, e fèrtil e en bon estament. Per tal, los mercaders diu que deuen ésser favorits sobre tota gent seglar del món, car diu que los mercaders són vida de la terra on són, e són tresor de la cosa pública, e són menjar dels pobres, e són braç de tot bon negoci, de tots afers compliment. Sens mercaders les comunitats caen, los prínceps tornen tirans, los jóvens se perden, los pobres se'n ploren. Car cavallers ne ciutadans que viuen de rendes no curen de gran almoines; solament mercaders són grans almoiners e grans pares e frares de la cosa pública, majorment quan són bons homens e ab bona consciència*. Cited from Francesc Eiximenis, "Dotzè del Crestià," chap. 399; Francesc Eiximenis, *Lo Crestià (selecció)*, ed. Albert Hauf (Barcelona, 1983), 223–24.

184 *Tota la cosa pública deuria fer oració tostemps especial per los mercaders*. Cited from Eiximenis, "Dotzè del Crestià," chap. 399; Eiximenis, *Lo Crestià (selecció)*, 224.

raised, being rich and prominent in temporal wealth, because otherwise, if they are poor, the *res publica* decays and dies."[185]

The public sphere and all the levels of government benefited if its subjects were rich, as the representatives of all the estates in Catalonia—nobles and barons, churchmen, and the men of cities and towns—stated in the court held in Monzón in 1362, concerning negotiations regarding the financial backing demanded by the sovereign: "it is good, for the princes and for the *res publica* that the inhabitants and others who dwell within their kingdoms, principalities, and lands are abundant in wealth and in large quantities of coins."[186]

The wandering friars, in particular the Franciscans, came up with a new definition and specific language adequate for encompassing a public urban space embodying Christian doctrine, a collective expression of identity and the new economic reality.[187] Thus "the conscious effort made by the Friars Minor to annex, re-think, codify, and institutionalize, in both positive and negative terms, both political and economic behaviour, which, up to that point had been on the margins of Christian discourse," can be appreciated.[188] In this way, the Christian ideal became mixed with the public body, a political concept increasingly identified with the municipal.[189] This was justified by the *utilitas rei publicae*, which included, in the words of Thomas Aquinas, the *commune bonum mercatorum*.[190] All components of the equation participated in the ideal of the *bonum commune*,[191] which came to be understood as being as "synonymous with the Christian town as 'Corpus Christi'."[192] In this context, each human being was valued as an indi-

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185 *Sie gran interès de la cosa pública que·ls singulars per sufragi e ajuda dels quals és sostinguda, mantinguda e exalçada sien richs e abmidats en béns temporals, car per lo contrari, com són empobrits, la cosa pública pereix e decau*. Cited from Dolors Domingo, *Pergamins de Privilegis de la ciutat de Balaguer* (Lleida, 1997), 138.

186 *Als prínceps e a la cosa pública sia profitós que·lls habitants e domiciliats dins los regnes e terres e principats d'aquells sien habundants en riqueses e en grans quantitats de monedes*. Cited from Josep Maria Pons Guri, *Actas de las Cortes Generales de la Corona de Aragón de 1362–63* (Madrid, 1982), 72.

187 The people of that time perceived this; for instance, since 1261 St. Francis of Assisi had become patron and protector of the merchants of Pisa. Lester K. Little, *Pobreza voluntaria y economía de beneficio en la Europa medieval* (Madrid, 1983), 267.

188 *Lo sforzo fortemente consapevole compiuto dai Minori di annettere, risemantizzare e, per questa via, codificare ed istituzionazzare in positivo, o in negativo, comportamenti politici, ed economici, sino a quel momento ai margini della dicibilità cristiana*. Cited from Paolo Evangelisti, "I 'pauperes Christi' e i lingiaggi dominative. I franciscani come protagonisti della costruzione della testualità politica e dell'organizzazione del consenso nel bassomedievo. Gilbert de Tournai, Paolino da Venezia, Francesc Eiximenis," in *La propaganda politica nel Basso Medievo. Atti del XXXVIII Convegno storico internazinale, Todi, 14–17 ottobre 2001* (Spoleto, 2002), 392.

189 Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Universitas. Expressions du movement communautaire dans le Moyen-Âge latin* (Paris, 1970), 271–84.

190 Giacomo Todeschini, "'Ecclesia' e mercato nei linguaggi dottrinali di Tommaso d'Aquino," *Quaderni storici* 35, no. 105 (2000): 614–16.

191 Matthew S. Kempshall, *The Common Good in Late Medieval Political Thought* (Oxford, 1999).

192 *Synonyme de la ville chrétienne en tant que 'Corpus Christi'*. From Giacomo Todeschini, "Participer au Bien Commun: la notion franciscaine d'appartenance à la 'civitas'," in *De Bono Com-*

vidual, although personal identity was understood as inextricably part of the identity of the community to which they belonged.[193] So, the proper development of professional responsibilities benefited both the soul of the individual and that of society because "a good reputation based on daily professional virtue" became "a reason for success and at the same time, salvation for lay people."[194]

The economic activities of those lay people who dominated urban life, guided by the economic norms established by Christian ethics (sound currency, fair prices, credit, and the circulation of capital),[195] produced the profit that benefited the political *caritas* and, at the same time, the *res publica*, which is the object of the redemptive mercy of Christ.[196] In this context, among their Christian duties good rulers included concern for the economic benefits of their subjects, as acknowledged by such authors as Gilles of Rome (ca. 1243–1316), bishop of Bourges and writer on philosophy and theology, who insisted that "the Prince, given his eminence, should run and control the activity in his territory."[197] The ideal of personal poverty and concern for the common good were linked to Christian social care, but "the ideology of poverty" became subsumed within a "reorganization of the public order," which was able to incorporate the new social and economic stimuli.[198] This, then, was the Christian market economy, in the excellent definition by Giacomo Todeschini.[199]

This was the model of society defined by the challenges of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by mendicant theologians and accepted by the Church, with the purpose of maintaining, duly adapted, the fit between socio-economic reality and Christian ideological authority. A model of Christian society focused on the traits of the towns and

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muni. The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th–16th c.) ed. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, Anne-Laure Van Bruaene (Turnhout, 2010), 231.

193 Flocel Sabaté, "Identities on the move," in *Identities on the Move*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Bern, 2014), 14–22.

194 *Buona reputazione fondata sulla quotidiana virtù professionale*; *una ragione del successo e al tempo stesso della Salvezza per i laici*. From Giacomo Todeschini, "Guardiani della soglia. I Fratri Minori come garanti del perimetro sociale (XIII secolo)," *Reti medievali. Rivista* 8 (2007): 15.

195 Flocel Sabaté, "El temps de Francesc Eiximenis. Les estructures econòmiques, socials i polítiques de la Corona d'Aragó a la segona meitat del segle XIV," in *Francesc Eiximenis (c. 1330–1409): el context i l'obra d'un gran pensador català medieval*, ed. Antoni Riera (Barcelona, 2015), 119–31.

196 Paolo Evangelisti, "Per un'etica degli scambi economici. La funzione civile del mercato in Eiximenis e nella pedagogia politica francescana (1273–1493)," *Caplletra* 48 (2010): 211–36.

197 *Le Prince, du fait de son éminence, doit dirigir et gouverner l'activité de son territoire*. Cited from Alain Bourreau, *La religion de l'état. La construction de la République étatique dans le discours théologique de l'Occident medieval (1250–1350)* (Paris, 2006), 269.

198 *La ideologia della povertà [...] riorganizzazione dell'ordine pubblico*. Cited from Giacomo Todeschini, "Povertà, mancanza, assenza come criteri di legittimazione del potere alla fine del Medioevo," in *La légitimité implicite: actes des conférences organisées à Rome en 2010 et en 2011 par SAS en collaboration avec l'École française de Rome*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, 2 vols. (Paris, 2015), 1:207–8.

199 Giacomo Todeschini, *Richesse franciscaine. De la pauvreté volontaire à la société de marché* (Lagrasse, 2008)*.*

cities that dominated economy and society coalesced. It was the ideological adaptation of Christianity to the society of the Late Middle Ages that lasted until the Reformation and the Council of Trent, the latter attempting to reach a renewed Christian paradigm adequate for new challenges.[200]

In summary, Christian ideology sustained medieval civilization in the West from the fourth-century Edict of Thessalonica to the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century precisely because, as a framework maintaining a body of norms, it was sufficiently flexible to adapt to contemporary social and economic change.

Christian Ideology for Each Social and Political Group

A narrative reiterated at the end of the Middle Ages stated that a peasant married a woman of a higher social status, who cooked him the meals she knew but that caused him painful indigestion. Her mother made her see that those recipes were too refined and delicate for him, and he had to be fed with food typical of people of lower status, like beans, peas, and bread soaked in milk. When she cooked these things, all the problems ended, because the trouble was that the farmer had tried to elevate himself to a higher plane than his true status.[201]

The Christian model encompassed all society but precisely described behaviour appropriate for each social group, in a fixed and unyielding way, with little permeability. All behaviour, including personal attitudes, eating habits, and dress codes was adapted to fit the corresponding group, and was seen as an expression of a society based on three estates: society operates harmoniously when each person acts according to the order to which he or she is attached.[202] Thus, there was a model of behaviour for each social group affecting all areas of activity and expression.

The social structure accorded with the order desired by God, and each group had its own specific traits in accordance with religious dictates. The clergy spread this ideology, duly adapted to each social group. Thus, for example, under feudalism, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) could trust that the Christian doctrine would lead the *malitia* (bad qualities) of the knights to be tamed to make a *militia Christi*, thus improving the condition of men at arms and leading to the "incompatibility of malicious warriors with knighthood."[203]

As authors like Linda Paterson and Mary Hackett have warned, care must be taken not to project behaviour onto the past that was not noted by contemporaries.[204] In the

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200 Odd Langholm, "Economic Ethics of the Mendicant Orders: a Paradigm and a Legacy," in *Etica e Politica: le teorie dei Frati Mendicanti nel Due e Trecento. Atti del XXVI Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 15–17 ottobre 1998)* (Spoleto, 1999), 156–57.

201 Paul Freedman, "Els pagesos medievals. Imatge d'ells mateixos en relació amb el règim senyorial," in *L'Edat Mitjana. Món real i espai imaginari*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Catarroja, 2012), 95–96.

202 Duby, *Los tres órdenes*, 113–18.

203 Areyh Grabois, "Militia and Malitia: The Bernardine Vision of Chivalry," in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York, 1992), 55.

204 Linda Paterson, "Knights and the concept of knighthood in the twelfth-century Occitan epic," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 17, no. 2 (1981): 115–30.

end, during the central Middle Ages, "the man is judged not according to some knightly code, but by whether he is, according to his station, a good vassal or a good lord."[205] However, it is clear that the development of the idea of particular virtues inherent to the respective status of particular groups generated and consolidated specific codes appropriate to each group. As Richard Kaeuper explains, with regard to "knightly ideology," a religious underpinning was precisely what supplied the necessary moderation: good vengeance is valorized, but the knight had to balance this with "an economy of mercy, imitating their Ultimate Lord in their earthly combats."[206] Of course, there were duties, accepted as Christian, that marked out the behaviour of the knights, beginning with maintaining justice, protecting the weak, and upholding the law.[207] Thus knights developed specific forms and cultural values, as Thomas Bisson shows through discussion of twelfth-century Catalan barons and nobles, for whom he notes that customary solidarities and moralities included faith, honour, and shame.[208] This instilled in them virtuous traits: "Knights must have four principal virtues; the good customs those men possess are called virtues and among these, four take precedence: wisdom, fortitude, temperance, and justice."[209]

Linda Paterson stressed the influence of town and bourgeois wealth over knighthood in the southern model of feudalism of twelfth-century Occitania, showing some "types of urban knights."[210] Nevertheless, and especially in northern France between the twelfth century and thirteenth century, those poets who praised the actions of knights, were, at the same time, harshly critical of the bourgeoisie.[211] For instance, the famous Knight of the Lion had to free three hundred maidens imprisoned in a castle in the service of a duke who had been subjected to carrying out tasks with urban links: submitted to a regime of poverty, they had to weave and embroider luxury cloth with gold or

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205 W. Mary Hackett, "Knights and knighthood in Girart de Roussillon," in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood, II Papers from the Third Strawberry Hill Conference, 1986*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge, 1988), 41.

206 Richard Kaeuper, "Vengeance and Mercy in Chivalric 'Mentalité,'" in *Peace and Protection in the Middle Ages*, ed. Tom B. Lambert, David Rollason (Durham, 2009), 174, 179.

207 Elspeth Kennedy, "The Quest for identity and the Importance of Lineage in Thirteenth-Century French Prose Romance," in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood, II Papers from the Third Strawberry Hill Conference, 1986*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge, 1988), 81.

208 Thomas N. Bisson, *Tormented Voices. Power, Crisis, and Humanity in Rural Catalonia 1140–1200* (Cambridge, MA, 1998), 116–38.

209 *Com los cavallers deuen haver en si IIII virtuts principals; les bones costumes quels homes han en si són appellades virtuts e entre totes son IIII les majors axí com són saviesa, fortalesa, temprança i justícia*. Cited from Próspero de Bofarull, *Procesos de las antiguas Cortes y parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón y Valencia custodiados en el Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, 8 vols. (Barcelona, 1850), 4:36.

210 Paterson, "Knights and the concept of knighthood," 126.

211 Peter S. Noble, "Knights and Burgesses in the Feudal Epic," in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood. Papers from the First and Second Strawberry Hill Conferences, 1986*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge, 1986), 104–10.

silk threads.[212] The opposition between the values of the knights and those of the urban populace were highlighted when, in the mid-fourteenth century the former advised King Peter the Ceremonious that the privileges given to the latter led to the worst situations in the world, thinking, especially, of the urban militia who use arms that were traditionally a preserve of the barons.[213]

In any case the Church favoured the notion of authority. Consequently, it backed the position of the lords, while making clear that God had appointed lords to maintain order and justice.[214] It was a rather generalized perspective. In the Catalan town of Valls, in 1357, it was explained as natural that taxes were paid to the lords in exchange for their services of protection and justice: "this is the reason why lords are put in cities, towns, and neighbourhoods and the revenues are given to them, to defend their subjects and do justice against malefactors."[215] These recognitions of corresponding jurisdictional authority were in harmony with the development of municipal power. Concordant with favourable legal, philosophical, and theological guarantees that promoted municipal groups in the Late Middle Ages,[216] the Church, thanks especially to the role of the mendicant orders, was fully involved in urban society, to the point that Comblin estimates that "never did the Church identify itself so deeply with a social regime."[217] Late-medieval urban life, with all its inter-meshings, generated a full civic code,[218] a veritable model of behaviour that embraced all aspects of the connection between the individual and society through specific virtues associated with good citizens and, by extension, with good men.[219] This is coherent with a fully developed medieval European ideal of *civilitas*,[220] shared by

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212 Chrétien de Troyes, *El caballero del león* (Madrid, 1986), 90–94.

213 "Those who make evil must be punished by the king or his officials, and not by farmers nor a riot of people without any right. It is due to similar determinations and affronts that all the communes that exist have come into the world" (*Aquells qui mal faran, degen esser punits per lo dit Senyor Rey e per sos oficials e no per avalot de pageses ne per gens ses tota raó; per semblants empreniments e ontes sien vengudes totes les comunes que vuy són en lo món*). Cited from *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña*, 26 vols. (Madrid, 1896), 1:444.

214 Tàrrega, Arxiu Comarcal d'Urgell, pergamins, Caixa 5, 1345.

215 *Per ço són possats los senyors per les ciutats, per les viles e per los calls e·ls són dades les rendes, per tal que deffenen los lurs sotmesos e façen justícia als mal faytors*. From Valls, Arxiu Comarcal de l'Alt Camp, pergamins, num. 84.

216 Flocel Sabaté, "Municipio y monarquía en la Cataluña bajomedieval," *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante* 13 (2000–2002): 276–79.

217 *Nunca la Iglesia se identificó tan profundamente con un régimen social*. Cited from José Comblin, Francisco Javier Calvo, *Teología de la ciudad* (Estella, 1972), 287.

218 Daniela Romagnoli, "La courtoisie dans la ville: un modèle complexe," in *La ville et la cour. Des bonnes et des mauvaises manières*, ed. Daniela Romagnoli (Paris, 2005), 25–87.

219 Xavier Renedo, "Francesc de Vinatea, el ciutadà ideal segons el Dotzè del Crestià de Francesc Eiximenis," in *Utopies i alternatives de vida a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Lleida, 2009), 215–52.

220 Paolo Evangelisti, "Construir una identidad: Francesc Eiximenis y una idea europea de 'civilitas'," in *La construcción d'identitats imaginades. Literatura medieval i ideologia*, ed. Julián Acebrón, Isabel Grifoll, Flocel Sabaté (Lleida, 2015), 125–65.

dispersed and diverse experiences of bourgeois governments.[221]

Thus, given the plurality of power-holders, each well justified by a particular discourse, late medieval political practice forced the respective holders to come together, as reflected in the expression "mixed constitution"[222] or *souveraineté partagée*,[223] to define medieval power as an imposed consensus. The government had to continually renew and adapt the ongoing pact between different groups with access to power, configuring the political community to allow for them all.[224] The parliament based on estates of the realm is the best example of this kind of participative government.[225] In parliament, perhaps rather than detailed negotiation between the estates, the most important factor was the justificatory arguments and discourses for creating and holding a notion of "representativity" (or representativeness). This became the key concept around which political community was organized and the name under which it could speak.[226]

The vision of power vested in different holders allowed a general acceptance of different forms of government, either jurisdictional lordships or autonomous urban governments, in each case under the corresponding legal, philosophical, and theological guarantees. The Christian framework and the Romanist legal base were the foundations of specific discourses for each group, justifying a supposed mission and claims for political capacities and aspirations: the sovereign strove to strengthen his position;[227] the nobles reinforced their jurisdictional dominions,[228] the municipalities developed wide autonomy and even full capacities to rule as a political community.[229] Between the thir-

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221 John Watts, "The Commons in Medieval England," in *La légitimité implicite: actes des conférences organisées à Rome en 2010 et en 2011 par SAS en collaboration avec l'École française de Rome*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, 2 vols. (Paris, 2015), 2:211–22.

222 James M. Blythe, *Ideal Government and the Mixed Constitution in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1992).

223 Diego Quaglioni, "La souveraineté partagée au Moyen Âge," in *Le Gouvernement mixte. De l'idéal politique au monstre constitutionnel en Europe (XIIIᵉ-XVIIᵉ siècle)*, ed. Marie Gaille-Nikodimov (Saint-Étienne, 2005), 15–24.

224 Antony Black, *Political Thought in Europe, 1250–1450* (Cambridge, 1992), trans. as *El pensamiento político en Europa, 1250–1450* (Cambridge, 1992), 20–62.

225 Bertie Wilkinson, *The Creation of Medieval Parliaments* (New York, 1972), 55–83.

226 Michel Hébert, *Parlementer. Assemblées representatives et échange politique en Europe occidentale à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2014), 81–274.

227 Jacques Krynen, "Droit romain et état monarchique. À propos du cas français," in *Représentation, pouvoir et royauté à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Joël Blanchard (Paris, 1995), 13–24.

228 José Ángel Sesma, "La nobleza bajomedieval y la formación del estado moderno en la Corona de Aragón," in *La nobleza peninsular en la Edad Media. VI Congreso de Estudios Medievales* (Ávila, 1999), 372–7.

229 Georges Jehel, Philippe Racinet, *La ville médiévale. De l'Occidenet chrétien à l'Orient musulman Vᵉ-XVᵉ siècle* (Paris, 1996), 285–300; Ricardo Furini, "Politique et représentation dans le théâtre citadin. L'essor de Florence comme pouvoir souverain au début du XVᵉ siècle," in *Représentation, pouvoir et royauté à la fin du Moyen Âge,* ed. Joël Blanchard (Paris, 1995), 109–18; and Ennio Igor Mineo, "Cose in commune e bene commune. L'ideologia della comunità in Italia nel tardo medioevo," in *Languages of Political Society. Western Europe, 14th–17th Centuries*, ed. Andrea Gamberini, Jean-Philipe Genet, Andrea Zorzi (Roma, 2011), 39–67.

teenth and fourteenth centuries, the respective institutions used these discourses to sta-
bilize their bases, and a framework for action and political management was generated.[230]
In each case, a political language was consolidated, which, as Jan Dumolyn commented,
reflected and blended elements of a specific political ideology.[231]

These approaches obliged the exercise of a policy that included deals and concord
among the holders of power, sometimes emblematically between the sovereign, nobles,
and municipalities.[232] In particular, it obliged each holder of power to seek a connection
with the corresponding population. It was not only that the *populus* had to be taken into
account explicitly, as stated prior to the end of the twelfth century by authors such as
Peter the Chanter, Stephen Langton, or Radulphus Niger.[233] The same expression, from
the thirteenth century, had also became an agent of political action, one that could be
mobilized, agitated, or even for uprising, as shown by a growing number of episodes,
especially in urban scenarios.[234] This meant discourse needed to be addressed to the
population, to convince them, as the king in Catalonia did in the second half of the four-
teenth century, attempting to persuade the people that royal jurisdiction was a "sweet
lordship" in contrast to rule by the nobles, which would be arbitrary: the nobles would
offer "many oppressions, humiliations, and abuses," according to the king.[235]

In this same late medieval context appeals were made to emotions, and fear and
terror were invoked,[236] expressions that were managed through visualization to help
ensure their political efficacy.[237] This was consonant with late medieval society's under-
standing that sentiments and sensations should not be hidden, but rather shown and
displayed.[238] So, for instance, on the death of the sovereign, it was expected that even
the animals should neigh and howl in pain, like the rest of the population. If the peo-

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230 John Watts, *The Makings of Polities. Europe, 1300–1500* (Cambridge, 2009), 263–425.

231 "I shall equate the notion of 'ideology', which I personally prefer, with the one of 'political
language'." Cited from Jan Dumolyn, "Urban Ideologies in Later Medieval Flanders. Towards an
Analytical Framework," in *Languages of Political Society. Western Europe, 14th – 17th Centuries*, ed.
Andrea Gamberini, Jean-Philipe Genet, Andrea Zorzi (Roma, 2011), 71.

232 Flocel Sabaté, "Estamentos, soberanía y modelo político en la Cataluña bajomedieval," *Aragón
en la Edad Media* 21 (2009): 245–78.

233 Philippe Buc, "'Principes gentium dominantur eorum': Princely Power Between Legitimacy
and Illegitimacy in Twelfth-Century Exegesis," in *Cultures of Power. Lordship, Status, and Process in
Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995), 325.

234 Vincent Challet, "Une stratégie de la peur? Complots et menaces populaires en Languedoc à la
fin du Moyen Âge," in *Por política, terror social*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Lleida, 2013), 153–71.

235 *Dolça senyoria [...] moltes opressions, vecsacions e mals tractaments*. Cited from Flocel Sabaté,
"Discurs i estrategies del poder reial a Catalunya al segle XIV," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25,
no. 2 (1995): 642–43.

236 Flocel Sabaté, "L'abus de pouvoir dans la couronne d'Aragon (XIIIe-XIVe siècles): pathologie,
corruption, stratégie ou modèle?," in *La pathologie du pouvoir: vices, crimes et délits des gouvernants.
Antiquité, Moyen Âge, époque modern,* ed. Patrick Gilli (Leiden, 2016), 304–20.

237 François Foronda, *El espanto y el miedo. Golpismo, emociones políticas y constitucionalismo en
la Edad Media* (Madrid, 2013), 75–200.

238 Sabaté, *Vivir y sentir*, 75–80

ple did not behave in this way, the authorities demanded or concealed it, according to whichever was more useful to the political image.[239] Each of those involved in these late medieval power games used festivals, rituals and symbols as ways of expressing, visualizing, and disseminating power but also unifying identity and consolidating the inherent ideological content of the message.[240] It was a veritable theatricalization of power, as a means of representing a specific political estate, a prevailing code of values and a decisive ideology of power.

The different social and political groups were not internally homogeneous; they were divided into different kinds of subsections. We see this expressed in the efforts of the barons to have their own say in the Catalan court, separate from the nobles in the fourteenth century, reflecting not only differences but also tensions resulting from the intended rise of some and the corresponding efforts of those at higher levels to limit them.[241] Much stronger, clearer, and more widespread were tensions in urban contexts, where socially emerging groups everywhere demanded participation in the political body, generating strong social tensions,[242] augmenting the marked fragmentation within bands,[243] and very often combining with the claims of the political space itself against the corresponding holder of the suzerainty.[244]The corresponding rationalizing discourse in all cases came loaded with formal and legal arguments to be used against opponents.

The marked urban segmentation offers examples of progressive adaptation to the reality of power at each level. Urban social and economic evolution facilitated distinct social and political frameworks and groupings that were rigorously policed and maintained. In the Crown of Aragon, for instance, this took the form of division into three groups, called "upper hand," "middle hand," and "lower hand" (*mà major*, *mà mitjana*, *mà menor*) formally these divisions were seen as distinguishing different trades but really this involved different levels of economic capacity, each having different degrees of access to municipal administration.[245] The marked stratification meant a clear and ostentatious separation, defining specific categories, activities, and codes of behaviour for each group, visible in all activities and even in physical appearance.[246]

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239 Flocel Sabaté, *Cerimònies fúnebres i poder municipal a la Catalunya baixmedieval* (Barcelona, 2003), 15–76.

240 Paola Ventrone, "La construzione dell'identità cittadina in Italia tra XIII e XV secolo: feste, rituali, simboli," in *Identitats*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Lleida, 2012), 225–54.

241 Francisco Luis Pacheco, "'No y ha bras, no y ha bras, que bones sentencies ni ha'. Las Cortes Catalanas y el problema del cuarto brazo," *Initium* 7 (2002): 99–138.

242 Rodney Hilton, *Les ciutats medievals* (Barcelona, 1989), 43–61.

243 Marco Gentile, *Fazioni al governo. Politica e società a Parma nel Quattrocento* (Roma, 2009), 269–87.

244 Jan Dumolyn, "Privileges and novelties: the political discourse of the Flemish cities and rural districts in their negotiations with the dukes of Burgundy (1384–1506)," *Urban History* 35, no. 1 (2008): 5–23.

245 Flocel Sabaté, "Oligarchies and social fractures in the cities of Late Medieval Catalonia," in *Oligarchy and Patronage in Late Medieval Spanish Urban Society*, ed. María Asenjo-González (Turnhout, 2009), 9–19.

246 Flocel Sabaté, "Ejes vertebradores de la oligarquía urbana en Cataluña," *Revista d'Història*

In another example, in 1447, the municipal government of Barcelona wrote to the council and bishop of Lleida, as being the bodies responsible for the *Studium generale* in Lleida, because in that university tensions had arisen because the upper-level burghers could not sit with the lower-level of the nobility, although they were considered of equivalent social categories:

> They had understood that the students who were sons of knights had their own bench and did not want to sit with the sons of citizens and men of honour of the cities and towns, despite the fact that citizens and men of honour of cities and towns by constitution are of the same degree with knights, in war and in all acts of chivalry.[247]

So, in the Middle Ages, far beyond simple division into estates, people lived in marked stratospheres that affected all aspects of everyday behaviour, where claims for recognition were acknowledged, but not claims for change. It was a sequence of circles that required precise articulation and imposed precise behaviour which was impossible to avoid, as Paolo Grossi stated:

> The protagonist is order, a force from which nothing escapes, the supreme organization of the whole society dominated by a profound diffidence for every individuality and oppressed by a tension to incorporate each individuality into a relational network, that is a communitarian network, to neutralize the subversive charge that the individuality is carrying.[248]

One can nevertheless talk of an organic society, because social behaviour adapted to bodies that fitted together and organized themselves, under the benchmark of the estates, thanks to them sharing the same ideological framework, which did not dilute the existing segmentations, but rather quite the contrary, justified and reinforced these. In that process, the Church supplied the ideological backbone and also the semantics of the discourse, in line with the assessment of Dominique Iogna-Prat: "in a heteronomous world where the social has long been entangled with the ecclesial, any organization or regulation of society (state and city) necessarily evolves in the semantic field of the religious."[249]

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medieval 9 (1998): 133–40.

247 *Havien entès que los estudiants fills de cavallers feyen banch de per sí y que no volian seure ab fills de Ciutadans y de homens de honor de Ciutats y Viles, majorment que Ciutadans y homes de honor de Ciutats y Viles, per constitucions són de un mateix grau ab Cavallers, axí en guerra com en tots actes de Cavalleria.* Cited from Rúbriques de Bruniquer, *Ceremonial dels Magnífichs Consellers y Regiment de la Ciutat de Barcelona*, ed. Francesc Carreras Candi, Bartolomeu Gunyalons, 9 vols. (Barcelona, 1916), 5:153–54.

248 *Protagonista è l'ordo', una forza a cui nulla sfugge, organizzazione suprema della intiera società dominata da una profunda diffedenza per ogni individualità e sorreta da una tensione a inglobare ogni individualità in tessuti relazionali, cioè communitarii, valevoli a neutralizzare la carica eversiva di cui l'individualità è portatrice.* Cited from Paolo Grossi, "Il sistema giuridico medievale e la civiltà comunale," in *La civiltà comunale italiana nella storiografia internazionale*, ed. Andrea Zorzi (Firenze, 2008), 8–9.

249 *Dans un monde hétéronome où le social se confond longtemps avec l'ecclésial, toute instance d'organisation ou de régulation de la société (l'Etat et la cité) évolue nécessairement dans le champ sémantique du religieux.* Cited from Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Cité de Dieu, cite des homes. L'Église et l'architecture de la société* (Paris, 2016), 137.

The adaptability of these governing ideas, given changing economic and social stimuli, picked out a singular path through the Middle Ages and prefigured a heritage that would continue to influence, and in part condition, later centuries, including the weight exerted by the Church.[250] The most emblematic expressions in immediately subsequent centuries, beginning from what historiography knows as the modern State, were only able to flourish in response to different kinds of evolution, development and contrast from the medieval ideological legacy.[251]

Conclusions

Christianity can be defined as the ideology that brought much of medieval society together, forming its identity, and supplying parts of a common memory. Medieval society, at least in the areas that are the subject of this book, in south-west Europe, might be termed an "assisted society" because all important activities and action, whether individual or collective, needed the intermediation of the Church, which could only be provided by the clergy. Society gained a certain coherence because the whole physical environment (the universe, the Earth and its elements, the human body, and so on) was explained in a way that conformed with the spiritual components of the Christian religion. Ways of thinking and the social order could be manipulated and justified as the Church and its ideology proved capable of adapting to different social and economic stimuli across the medieval millennium. This ideology also offered a specific orientation for each social group at different times. Its historical legacy has been a deep influence on political forms in modern society but, especially, over the European mind and thought. This is the reason why the end of the Middle Ages proved itself far from the conclusion of this medieval ideological coherence.

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250 Jean-Philippe Genet, "Le problème du pouvoir dans le Moyen Âge latin," in *El poder a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Lleida, 2004), 42.

251 Marie Gaille-Nikodimov, ed., *Le Gouvernement mixte. De l'idéal politique au monstre constitutionnel en Europe (XIIIe-XVIIe siècle)* (Saint-Étienne, 2005).