

Mediterranean Europe: Pilgrims and warriors, warrior pilgrims

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Summary: The article begins with an analysis of the relation between space, time and pilgrimage within “various strata and social classes”. From these considerations there first and foremost derives a clear division between on the one hand rural pilgrimage, linked to production from the land, and therefore of a religious nature, and on the other urban pilgrimage, that of merchants related with manufacture, and therefore of a lay nature. There is also a third case, that of judicial pilgrimage, which was particularly common in 14th century Flanders. Secondly, the space is geographically and culturally defined as Mediterranean, determined by the universal character of the Christian religion. Finally, the author deals with the unity of the “Christian space” over the centuries and its repercussion on pilgrimages from the 11th century onwards, when conflict with the Moors and the defence of the unity of the church gave rise to the idea of holy war. During this period the insecurity of the land and sea routes leading to the pilgrim destinations led to the birth of the monastic military orders, with the appearance for the first time of the *monachus-miles* and the crusader, a phenomenon analysed in the texts by William of Tyre, in Bernard of Clairvaux’s *Liber ad milites Templi*, and in the *Chanson de Roland*.

Key words: Pilgrimage; Mediterranean; space; time; pilgrimage; Jerusalem; Rome; Santiago; holy war; crusaders; *militia Christi*; monastic military orders; “Euro-Mediterraneity”.

Distance, observed Paolo Caucci on the occasion of the congress held in Todi in 1995 on *Spazi, tempi e percorsi nell'Europa del Bassomedioevo*, has, for pilgrims in the Middle Ages, a particular relevance for questions of a practical nature such as the criteria used for measuring time and space, the best time of the year to commence a journey with the resources of the time and the problems of lodging, hospitality and food.¹ At no other time or occasion during one’s lifetime than that of pilgrimage

¹ CAUCCI VON SAUKEN, P., “Le distanze dei pellegrinaggi medievali”, in *Spazi, tempi, misure e percorsi nell'Europa del Bassomedioevo*, (Proceedings of the XXXII International History Conference, Todi, 8-11 October 1995), Spoleto 1996, p. 313. For these questions of a practical nature, see PEYER, H.C., *Viaggiare nel Medioevo. Dall'ospitalità alla locanda*, Rome-Bari 1977, in particular p. 125-147 in the chapter *L'ospitalità ecclesiastica: «Xenodochia», monasteri, ospedali e ospizi*: “La duplice funzione di alloggio per pellegrini e stranieri da un lato e ricovero per poveri e malati dall'altro rende particolarmente difficile determinare il ruolo svolto da ospizi e xenodochio nell'ambito specifico del movimento dei viaggiatori” (p. 127).

did the distance to be travelled acquire such an outstanding practical importance, as well as a profoundly spiritual significance. This is not only due to the nature of the destination, but also to the special character of an experience that meant abandoning one's belongings and land. Space and time – obviously – are, in the case of pilgrimage, more closely related than ever, with distance signifying the time taken to travel it, and the time spent travelling being comparable to distance. And especially so when the only auxiliary motive power that lay more or less within everybody's reach was that provided by animals.

The exhaustive and authoritative literature on pilgrimage has analysed this phenomenon of medieval culture and spirituality in its various forms and in relation to the times and also to the various itineraries and routes. What we would like to propose is only concerned with some considerations on the notion of 'space' as a dimension that is intimately linked to the condition of being a pilgrim, as a physical reality that expands in the profound dimension of the spirit, assuming bounds that exceed the material nature of distances and measures of time.

Thus, Gurevič's well-known works on the categories of medieval culture raised questions on the existence of differences of perception of space and time in the "various strata and classes" of society;² and whether these differences already existed or appeared with the transition from a peasant society with an agrarian economy to an urban society with a manufacturing and commercial economy.

With reference to the first question, it is necessary to observe that the pilgrim cannot be compared with a social class,³ as a contingent condition that concerns society on a transversal level, an experience in which one shares everything when taking part, although, as has already been pointed out, in the pre-Constantine period pilgrimage was essentially a phenomenon of the *élite*,⁴ since it involved individual believers, whose motivations "a parte la devozione-consistevano nella necessità di chiarire a se stessi o per conto di altri certe questioni bibliche o teologiche".⁵ Furthermore, "il primitivo pensiero cristiano tendeva ad accentuare la divinità e l'universalità di Cristo, piuttosto che la sua umanità".⁶

2 Gurevič, A. Ja., *Le categorie della cultura medievale*, Turin 1983, c. 37.

3 On the identity of the pilgrim, see the work by SENSI, M., "Il pellegrinaggio a Santiago attraverso i testamenti dei pellegrini italiani", in *Santiago e l'Italia* (Proceedings of the *Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, Perugia, 23-26 May 2002), Perugia 2005, p. 695-726, completed by a documentary annex on the 14th and 15th centuries (p. 727-789). In n. 26 Sensi refers to CAUCCI VON SAUKEN, P., *Il cammino italiano a Compostella. Il pellegrinaggio a Santiago di Compostella e l'Italia*, Perugia 1984, p. 82-82, which highlights the importance of testaments, of archival documentation, as privileged sources "per la identificazione del pellegrino, ma anche per la natura stessa del pellegrinaggio" (p. 701).

4 The elitist aspect, the connotation of a solitary experience as lived as an inner dialogue, and therefore in isolation, does not exclude the fact that the phenomenon saw a large participation of masses of pilgrims making for the Apostolic Sees and the Holy Places, above all.

5 CARDINI, F., *Il Pellegrinaggio. Una dimensione della vita medievale*, Manziana 1996, p. 9.

6 RUNCIMAN, S., *Storia delle crociate*, I, Turin 1966, p. 36.

The second question may perhaps respond to a particular type of pilgrimage, which was particularly widespread in Flanders in the 14th century, the *judicial pilgrimage*.

The conversion of the penitential nature of the pilgrimage into a judicial element, with an equivalence established between penitence and sentence, is of particular relevance for the evolution of the phenomenon from a free, personal and authentically religious experience towards a sanction for civil and penal offences, which could at times be converted into a fine. Indicative of this is the urban context, with large-scale commercial and industrial development, in which this process matures. The pilgrim, in this latter case, is the thief, murderer or bandit; the exponent of a patrician class in political or economic ascent who knows no limits in his career to turn his projects into reality, the violent or turbulent person, who endangers social harmony and is therefore condemned by the city courts.⁷ In this new context, the perspective in which the culture of the High Middle Ages, the preferably sedentary culture of an agrarian society, regulated by the natural rhythms of the seasons marked by the sun, introduced the dimension, the category, of space and time, is different from that of the mercantile culture, a totally mobile one, which covers large spaces (think here of the Polo family) as a pilgrims in the High Middle Ages, but in relation to a tempo marked by the competition of the markets. As a result, distances, difficulties, fatigue and dangers are no longer lived as an itinerary of perfection, but rather as obstacles that have to be overcome, and in the swiftest possible manner.

Time and space, no longer as converging routes in the immaterial nature of things in which they were transmitted by the culture of the High Middle Ages, but as dichotomous categories, since the manufacturing or 'pre-industrial' society is unable to tolerate the rhythms of the spirit that coincide with natural tempi.

There can be no doubt about the significance of the faculty envisaged and put into practice in the form of a *judicial pilgrimage* or *imposed pilgrimage*, of undertaking it by combining the condition of penitence with that of sentence through the medium of an appropriately rewarded third person ('substitutus'). And this was not just a way of avoiding inconveniences. Coinciding with Arsenio Frugoni we can say that it represented "*la fine della grande esperienza medioevale*".⁸ This illustrious academic was considering a different problem, namely that of the rates envisaged and put into practice for the granting of an indulgence to pilgrims travelling to the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul, but which had the same effect as in the aforementioned case, in other words the removal of the essence of the pilgrimage, which was also a *militia Christi*.

7 With regard to this argument see the PhD thesis by VANTAGGIATO, L., *Da Gand al santuario di San Nicola di Bari. Pellegrinaggio e mondo urbano nella Fiandra del XIV secolo*, supervised by Prof. Benedetto Vetere, Università del Salento.

8 FRUGONI, A., *Pellegrini a Roma nel 1300. Cronache del primo giubileo*, edition by F. Acrocca, Casale Monferrato, 1999, p. 50.

Beyond the specific, but also contingent, interests of each person and category of persons involved, there forcibly emerges a new type of culture that had ripened in an urban atmosphere that places at its centre man with his consequent impulses, in the lay sense, these being found above all in the very motivations that lay behind the phenomenon.

Judicial pilgrimage was also a means of getting undesirables out of the way⁹, albeit only for a certain period of time (however long it may have been), but at all events it

9 In Bernard of Clairvaux's *Liber ad milites Templi* on the constitution of the new militia, the spiritual one, in opposition to the *militia saecularis*, this aspect of the question appears with relative clarity in the express opportunity of removing persons responsible for serious offences, such as murder, for long periods of time by sending them as pilgrims to far-distant sanctuaries, thereby establishing – even though it had not yet been accepted as a custom, although very occasionally in the statutes of a city – the equation between the seriousness of the offence and the duration of the sentence by means of the exhausting fatigue of an extremely long journey with all its concomitant risks. In this regard cf. BERNARD, St., *Liber ad milites Templi. De laude novae militiae*, edition by C.D. Fonseca, in *Opere di San Bernardo*/I, Trattati, Milan 1984, V, 10, p. 454-456: “*Quodque cernitur iucundius et agitur commodius, paucos admodum in tanta multitudine hominum illo confluere, nisi utique sceleratos et impios, raptores et sacrilegos, homicidas, periurios atque adulteros, de quorum profecto projectione, sicut duplex quoddam constat provenire bonum, ita duplicatur et gaudium, quandoquidem tam suos de suo discessu laetificant, quam illos de adventu quibus subvenire festinant*”. The *paucos admodum in tanta multitudine hominum illo* – in the Temple of Jerusalem, in other words – *confluere* confirms that it refers to pilgrims and pilgrimages intended to liberate the Holy Places. Similarly, the passage *de quorum ... projectione ... constat provenire bonum ... et gaudium, quandoquidem tam suos de suo discessu laetificant ...* explains how in these kinds of pilgrimage in the 12th century there already began to be seen an opportunity to be rid of undesirables, even if only temporarily, without excluding the possible consequences of the ever-present dangers on the roads. Bernard's standpoint is that of redemption from one's errors, one's sins: “*Itaque laetatur Aegyptus in projectione eorum, cum tamen de protectione eorum nihilominus laetetur mons Sion et exultent filiae Iudae*” (p. 456). Another testimony from the 12th century, the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, provides us with a further example of the equivalence between the seriousness of the offence and the length of the pilgrimage to be undertaken. In this regard cf. *Il Codice Callistino*. First complete edition in Italian of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, by V.M. Berardi, I, II, chap. II, p. 345-346 [Centro Italiano di Studi Compostellani, *Studi e Testi*, 3]. In this case we also have a person tainted by murder who is sent by his confessor to undertake an expiatory pilgrimage from Italy to Galicia, in Spain, i.e. to the shrine of St James in Compostela. In this regard the ending of the above chapter is significant: “*Questa testimonianza ci è data perché noi possiamo credere che otterrà certamente la cancellazione in eterno dei peccati chiunque si sia pentito sinceramente e sia giunto da terre lontane in Galizia per implorare il perdono di Dio e l'intercessione del suo santo apostolo*” (for the *Codice Callistino* see the work by VAN HERWAARDEN, J., *L'integrità del testo del Liber Sancti Jacobi vent'anni più tardi*, in *Santiago e l'Italia*, op. cit., p. 271-284. A Flemish source, the *Zoendicbouc*, of great interest and completely unpublished, related to the records of punishments has been studied by Lorenza Vantaggiato (cf. n. 5 above). In this text there is a certain preference, in the case of serious offences, for the shrine of St Nicholas of Bari, undoubtedly quite a distant destination for Flemish pilgrims and thus confirmation of the close connection between distance and the seriousness of the offence. Distance, therefore, was assumed in the case of ecclesiastical and civil punishments alike to be proportional to the sentence imposed. The fact that the choice of the Apulian shrine was equivalent to distance in the Flemish case is clearly confirmed by the same type of punishment that imposed pilgrimage to the shrine in Santiago de Compostela. In this regard see CUOZZO, L., *Il pellegrinaggio a Santiago di Compostella*, Vatican City 2004; particularly p. 113: “*Il pellegrinaggio come pena comminata dall'autorità civile, apparve per la prima volta nei principati ecclesiastici dei Paesi Bassi dove l'influenza canonica era più forte. Così, nel principato ecclesiastico di Liegi, nel sec. XV, all'autore di violenze o ferite gravi all'interno di una chiesa, era comminata la condanna a due pellegrinaggi a Santiago di Compostella, una a beneficio della chiesa, e l'altra a favore della parte pregiudicata ... È difficile precisare quando sia stato introdotto il pellegrinaggio come sentenza civile*”, although according to some scholars such as Cauwenberg it is possible to determine the stages of evolution from the willingness of the culprit to indemnify the aggrieved party, in other words from a stage of a purely private nature, to the public stage in which the city council or the baron intervenes to decide and impose sentence. “*Questa preferenza dei Fiamminghi per il santuario di San Giacomo si spiega con la loro devozione per l'apostolo. Già alla metà dell'XI secolo, infatti, alcuni pellegrini di Liegi si vantavano di essere ritornati in patria dopo aver trafugato la reliquia di un braccio del Santo*” (Cuozzo, *Il pellegrinaggio a Santiago di Compostella*, op. cit., p. 117). The documented “judicial pilgrimages” from Ghent to San Nicolás de Bari in Apulia does not allow the exclusion of the choice of these two destinations being dictated precisely by their great distance, by the opportunity they provided, as has been stated, of getting undesirables out of the way for a long period of time.

was a way of controlling the political strength of entire social classes responsible for the political life of cities, in which politics was mixed with the economic interests of families, social classes and corporations.

In this way we move from time as experienced by the peasant, linked with the earth's production, and therefore religious, to time as experienced by the merchant, linked with the factory, with manufacturing, and therefore lay, because it is governed by the clock, not by the sun¹⁰, a creature of God ("frate Sole").

As early as the 12th century, with tremendous concern for the possible loss of the conformity of the figure of the pilgrim *par excellence* (Jesus Christ) inherited from the spirituality of the High Middle Ages and brought to its maximum expression by St Francis of Assisi (1183-1226), the question was being asked: "*cosa accadrà a quelli che si recano sulle loro tombe con il denaro acquisito fraudolentemente, con la violenza o con l'usura, o che li giungono abbandonarsi ad atti impuri, a menzogne, a parole oziose, a discorsiderisori, o all'ubriachezza e alle canzone profane?*"¹¹

If the 14th-century pilgrims from Ghent who on their way to the shrine of St Nicholas in Bari had to cross Western Europe from one end to the other, pilgrims such as Egeria in the 4th century "*preso a girare in lungo e largo per il mondo fino a pervenire ai Luoghi Santi, in Palestina*"¹², living the experience of travel as a *peregrinatio eremitica* which from the Scriptures lead to directly visiting the aforementioned places. Egeria's *peregrinatio* lasted three years, "*dalla Pasqua del 381 a quella del 384*"¹³; perhaps also because of her fame, the way in which Egeria herself lived this experience, and a series of elements that characterised her adventure, this pilgrimage is of particular interest. The distance of the journey, which lasted three years, from Galicia in the west to Palestine in the east is undoubtedly related to the time taken to travel it. From Galicia to Thebes, in Egypt, land of hermits and reminder of the exile of the Hebrew people, to the summit of Mount Sinai where God manifested himself through the Word of the Law, to the places of the Mosaic tradition, to the places where Jesus lived, to Cilicia in modern-day Turkey, finishing in Tarsus.¹⁴ The Mediterranean and the lands surrounding it, the Dead Sea, Mt Sinai and the Egyptian desert become for the Christian pilgrim an almost natural environment, one on which he bestows an identity, the identity of their context, stage for the theological project from the Creation to the Flood, the Tablets of the Law given to Moses, the Word made flesh, the

10 Cf. Gurevič, *Le categorie della cultura medievale*, op. cit., p. 37.

11 *Il Codice callistino* cit., l. I, c. XVII, p. 223-224.

12 CARDINI, F., "Egeria. La pellegrina", in *Medioevo al femminile*, edition by F. Bertini, Rome-Bari, 1989, p. 4.

13 *Ibidem*, p. 12.

14 *Ibidem*, p. 4-5 & 16. On the route taken by Egeria during her pilgrimage, see CARDINI, F., *Il pellegrinaggio*, op. cit., p. 66-800. For other testimonies of pilgrimages undertaken by important persons such as St Basil of Caesarea (c. 350 AD), St Jerome and St Gregory of Nazanzus (to Jerusalem, c. 372 AD), or John Cassian to Bethlehem (c. 380 AD), or such as that by the Emperor Theodosius, according to the *Compendium historiarum* by Georgius Cedrenus, (to Jerusalem c. 386 AD), also see CARDINI, F., *Il pellegrinaggio*, op. cit., p. 11-16.

Passion of the Cross. Here the places are themselves relics, in that they are testimonies that undoubtedly appeal to memory, but particularly as places in which the visible and the invisible come together¹⁵. The *ipsissima loca*, as they were known, constituted a tranquillising environment for pilgrims in the High Middle Ages, since they were testimony to the victory over death as demonstrated by the empty tomb.

The perception of this space, which is geographically and culturally Mediterranean, delimited and designed by the universal character of the Christian religion throughout the confines of the multi-ethnic Roman Empire, at the same time possesses a real and transcendent depth because of the «*l'intervention... des vertus*»¹⁶, supernatural in nature, of God and his martyrs. A depth in which space and time are assumed in the static dimension of the spirit.

This is why for Egeria space is the *terra sancta* within the aforementioned bounds. In her *Peregrinatio* she seeks the historical references for her faith, the proof of the testimonies in the Scriptures. All the tension of her spirit resides in being able to exclaim and make it known that “they exist”, that “they are not a mythical territory”, and thus belong “to history”, and “can”, therefore, “be travelled, described, measured”. “*La loro esistenza*” – this is the essential reason for her pilgrimage, which in this regard is enriched by the value of her investigation – “*è una prova in più della realtà, della storicità del messaggio divino*”.¹⁷

For Christian pilgrimage, because this is the destination of the few reflections made in the present study, the Mediterranean has to become the space for the guiding lines that lead to the sources of faith, to the testimonies before which one has to pause in meditation and exclaim that all was true, as Egeria means.

Cardini, when he stresses the importance of the *Itinerarium* attributed to Egeria in the formation – in literary testimonies also – of an awareness in Western Europe of a space that is the stage for the projection of Christianity from the Middle East, its cradle, to Latinised Europe, surpassing in the order of time the line of Rome and Constantinople, refers to travel literature, in other words “*testi redatti da pellegrini occidentali*” between the 4th and 7th centuries, such as the *Itinerarium a Burdigala Hierusalem usque* (4th C.), or the *Breviarium de Hierosolyma* (6th C.), or *De situ Terrae Sanctae* by the archdeacon Theodosius, or *Antonini Placentini itinerarium* (6th C.), and even *De locis sanctis* by Peter the Deacon (1107-1159)¹⁸.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

¹⁶ GAUTIER DALCHÉ, P., “La représentation de l'espace dans les Libri miraculorum de Grégoire de Tours”, in *Le Moyen Age. Revue d'Histoire et de Philologie*, 3-4, 1982, p. 414. In this case the specific reference consists of ancient Gallia, in the times of Gregory of Tours, which was then the *Regnum Francorum*. The device with which the borderline between what is real and transcendent dissolves is the main reason related to apostolic testimony and the life of Christ. This is why the coming of the divine into human space divests it of the dimensions of “milieuconcret” and turns it into a “cadre très abstrait”; *idem*, p. 412.

¹⁷ CARDINI, F., *Egeria, op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 16. See VARIOUS AUTHORS, *Les pèlerinages de l'antiquité classique à l'occident médiéval*, Paris, 1973.

Nevertheless, it was to be the vicissitudes of the 11th and 12th centuries that would change the perception of the Mediterranean as an immaterial space, albeit the stage for extraordinary and supernatural events, crossed first of all, during the Apostolic period, from south to north, from Palestine to Europe, and then later in the opposite direction, from Europe to the places that were the cradle of Christianity.

An awareness of the earliest centuries, her way of seeing the events of the past from the present moment, facilitates this identification of the ecumenist with the Christian space, with obviously cultural connotations, with all the implications of historical and political scope. It would not be long before the shipowners of the Italian maritime republics, in addition to pilgrims, were to ferry to Palestine armies of Crusaders and members of the monastic military orders of the time, a phenomenon of enormous relevance from the cultural point of view due to the evolution of pilgrimage it represented, with the evident refusal to share with others (the *infidels*) the places of origin of the Gospel, the routes along which it travelled and was disseminated. From the north of France and from Germany, Templars and Teutonic Knights were to make for Palestine with the order «*terram sanctam recuperare*»¹⁹. But even before then, in the late 1120s to be precise, in a document that has become well-known thanks to Jean Leclercq in particular, and according to one hypothesis written by Hugo de Payns, «*le maître des Templiers*»²⁰ and aimed at the knights living in the Temple in Jerusalem in order to encourage them²¹, those who dedicated their lives to maintaining the status of that *terra sancta* were seen in European eyes as “*Christi milites*”, whose vocation was “*pugnare et vincere et coronari in Christo Jesu Domino nostro*”.²² The text, despite being “*parfois fautif*”,²³ as Leclercq has pointed out, anticipates this spread of Christianity to spaces beyond its places of origin within the Roman *Mare nostrum*, to European countries. The sense of belonging, explicitly expressed by the word “*recuperare*” in the Prologue of the Rules of the Teutonic Knights, reveals an awareness of a single culture nourished – in the sharing of the values and foundations of a common feeling and a common faith – by the pilgrim routes that enabled a continuous flow of the living elements of a creed through the renovation of the status of ξενιτεια; it reveals the Christian view of life as a continuous “*peregrinare su questa terra... lontano dalla patria*» per «*preparare il proprio ingresso in quella celeste*»²⁴. Furthermore, the “Nîmes Manuscript” signals the moment when Christian pilgrimage foretells the combatant

19 “Di Kapitel, die Regel, die Gesetze und Gewohnheiten”, in VON PERLBACH, M.; HALLE, A.S., *Die Statuten des deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten handschriften*, 1890, p. 24.

20 For the attribution and dating of the said document, known as the Nîmes Manuscript, see LECLERCQ, J., “Un document sur le début des Templiers”, in *Recueil d'études sur Saint Bernard et ses écrits*, Rome, 1966, p. 87-99, particularly p. 91 [Storia e Letteratura, 101].

21 *Ibidem*.

22 *Ibidem*, p. 93.

23 *Ibidem*, n. 1.

24 CARDINI, F., “Egeria...”, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

hermit – under the urgency of the motivations assumed by ecclesiology in the second half of the 11th century – together with the itinerant hermit. The unity of the “*Christian space*”, of that Euro-Mediterranean soil, thus coincides from a historical viewpoint with the space of the Church under the teaching of the Pope in Rome. At the centre of this ecclesiology was that unity of the Church that could not be resolved within itself alone and with the perspective of a person such as Humbert of Silva Candida; the unity that also took shape in the Christian world of the European Mediterranean, whose lymph flowed through the arteries that led to the places of its origin, where the theological project acquired historical form. In a very effective way pilgrimage is put forward in India under the image of a river to be travelled upstream towards its source²⁵ with a clear sense of purification, of freedom from pain, common to Christianity, for which the guilt from which we are rescued signifies pain, Buddhism and Islam, which in the halt before Mount Arafat, the “*montagna di Dio*”,²⁶ determines “*il momento culminante del pellegrinaggio ..., che dà a tutti il senso della grandezza di Allah ma anche il sentimento della forza e dell'unità della comunità, l'umma mussulmana*”.²⁷

“*Dall’XI secolo quattro cammini di Santiago attraversavano la Francia raccogliendo i pellegrini giunti tramite innumerevoli percorsi, dalla Francia e da tutta l’Europa, da Inghilterra, Scandinavia, Germania, Svizzera e Italia. Su ognuno di questi lunghi percorsi vivono una vera avventura biblica, liturgica e culturale, che li porta da un ospizio a un monastero, da un rifugio a un santuario a una cattedrale incontrata lungo la via. Ogni volta fanno l’esperienza dell’accoglienza, della celebrazione eucaristica, della preghiera e degli incontri con altri pellegrini. In un simile contesto l’itinerario è sacralizzato e l’universo sembra divenuto veramente armonico*”²⁸.

For practical and contingent reasons, as well as for devotional reasons, Romanesque art contributed to the consecration of the Christian space through the production of the signs of that common awareness that the main arteries of pilgrimage to Santiago, Rome and Jerusalem helped to consolidate after the “*periodo compreso fra la riorganizzazione costantiniana dei Luoghi Santi e la grande offensiva persiana del secondo decennio del VII secolo*”, the cause, “*almeno dal punto di vista monumentale*” of “*grossi danni ai santuari della Terra Santa*”²⁹.

The ‘foundation’ of Jerusalem as a ‘city-shrine’ towards which the whole of Christendom looks and to which all Christians travel goes back as far as the 4th century, to Helen, the mother of Constantine³⁰. The numerous pilgrimages undertaken during

25 RIES, J., “Pellegrinaggi pellegrini e sacralizzazione dello spazio”, in *Il mondo dei pellegrinaggi. Roma Santiago Gerusalemme*, edition by P. Caucci von Saucken, Milan, 1999, p. 20-21.

26 *Ibidem*, p. 33.

27 *Ibidem*.

28 RIES, J., *Pellegrinaggi, pellegrini e sacralizzazione dello spazio*, op. cit., p. 20.

29 CARDINI, F., “Egeria...”, op. cit., p. 16.

30 See *ibidem*, p. 7. Also see another work by CARDINI, F., *Gerusalemme d’oro, di rame, di luce. Pellegrini, crociati, sognatori d’Oriente fra XI e XV secolo*, Milan, 1991, particularly the chapter on *La devozione a Gerusalemme in Occidente e il “caso” sanvivaldino*, p. 154-203.

this period, in many cases even by women who were at times of high social rank³¹, and the *Itineraria romana* that were defined in these centuries between the end of the Roman Empire and the High Middle Ages, when “*le tombeau des apôtres saint Pierre et saint Paul à Rome a commencé à attirer des foules nombreuses*”³², opened up the ways that allowed pilgrims from the north of France and the British Isles to reach Rome.

It was the works of the Fathers of the Church that drew the attention of the Christian population to the sources of their faith, to the places that bore witness to the materialisation of the eternal, the manifestation of the Eternal to man as historical time. It was also the momentum provided by the contextual effort produce by paganism to contain the expansion of Christianity that mobilised Christians to seek the historicity of the Holy Places, as Egeria was to testify to. Christian space, therefore, as a cultural context that looked out over the Mediterranean from Galicia to Rome, to Jerusalem, to Egypt, to Cilicia, and which projected itself over the Mediterranean from the westernmost tip of Europe to Greece, to ancient Illyria, and, rising up through the European countries along the Danube, to Germany and France. The Via Francigena would thus be the great artery that linked this community with Northern Europe. “*Le basiliche si moltiplicano, prende avvio il culto dei martiri e dei santi, i pellegrinaggi cominciano a mobilitare il popolo cristiano. Il culto peregrinante dell’Occidente cristiano si nutre del fervore per le tombe dei martiri e dei santi, a cominciare da quelle di Pietro e Paolo a Roma*”.³³ The Via Francigena, bringing together widely differing kinds or people from all over the Christian world but who nevertheless shared a common destination, transmitted and embodied better than anything else the social significance of a universal religion such as Christianity, which had found its area of circulation and its context in the universality of the Roman world.

The loss of the ethical impulse, which had given life to the Republic of Rome, had no repercussion on its social sense. This constituted a favourable condition for the propagation of a religion like Christianity, which, precisely in the collective bond provided by pilgrimage, experienced one of its moments of maximum expression through the communal travelling of a single route, the choral participation in the same rituals, the pull towards a single religious idea³⁴. ‘National’ religions like those of Greece or Rome shared with Christianity this communal bond provided by the experience of pilgrimage. If the whole of Greece recognised itself in the pilgrims – who every four years travelled the sacred way to the Olympian plain, dominated by the sacred woods and the temple of Zeus – through their participation in the religious

31 See *ibidem*, p. 7-8. Also see RICHARD, J., *Les récits de voyages et de pèlerinages*, Brepols, 1981, p. 19-20.

32 RICHARD, J., *Le récit de voyages*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

33 RIES, J., *Pellegrinaggi, pellegrini e sacralizzazione dello spazio*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

34 Above all, in the High Middle Ages pilgrimage was confirmed as a ‘mass movement’, except in the case of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, reserved particularly for the rich because of its high financial cost (in this regard cf. HERBERS, K., “Pellegrini a Roma, Santiago, Gerusalemme”, in *Il mondo dei pellegrinaggi*, *op. cit.*, p. 127-134).

festivals and the games, in the case of Christian shrines (renowned and consecrated through memory, or through the relics of saints or martyrs) religious feeling found its fulfilment in the transcendence of the divine, present for that very reason, in which the infinite found itself as an act of the theological project that exalted the central position of man, an immortal reality in the continuity of the act of creation.

Thus, if the 4th century represents a particularly significant chronological period for Christian pilgrimage with the 'invention' of the Cross thanks to Helen, mother of the Emperor Constantine, the 11th century was to constitute an extremely important moment for its effects on Christian thought, on the position of the Church – which was thenceforth to call itself the Church of Rome after the schism in 1053 – and the posture adopted by the West with regard to the Moslem world. Certain motivations of the theology and ecclesiology of Gregorian and pre-Gregorian times have to be interpreted in accordance with the events that occurred during the second half of this century, which cannot be ignored.

The central problem was that of the primacy of Rome and the resolution of the conflict that had been unleashed between the spiritual power and the temporal power. Works such as Bonizone di Sutri's *Liber ad amicum* or *De unitate ecclesiae conservanda* (1090/1093), whose authorship is uncertain but was possibly written by Waltram, Bishop of Naumburg, should be understood as conscious testimonies, albeit with different opinions and postures, of the need to distinguish between the two powers, since interferences were the cause of conflict and affliction to Christianity.

In such a climate it is possible to understand the postures and concerns expressed in the *Liber ad amicum*, the *De unitate*, and even in the *De ordinando pontifice*, which converge in the conception of the uniqueness of the role of the spiritual authority; together with a view of the Church as a highly hierarchical organisation, the proposal of a *christianitas* of Humbert of Silva Candida, disposed, as was Peter Damian, to collaboration between the two powers. We should not forget that Bonizone wrote his *Liber ad amicum* in 1086, nor that the *Unitate ecclesiae conservanda* was written between 1090 and 1093. In the very same year that the *Liber ad amicum* was penned, Anselm of Lucca wrote his *Liber contra Wibertum*, i.e. against Guibert of Ravenna, member of the Correggio family, otherwise known as Antipope Clement III (1080-1100), chosen by the twenty-five bishops forming the synod of Brizen, called by Emperor Henry IV after he had deposed Gregory VII for the second time.

The dates of 1086 and 1090/1093 are of great importance; the first refers to the explosion in all its violence of the anti-Guibert polemic; the second to the vision of a *christianitas* in the Humbertine mould founded, as Peter Damian had previously noted, on the *glutinum caritatis*³⁵, i.e. on the bond that should have cemented the

35 DAMIANI, P., "Disceptatio sinodalis", edition by DE HEINEMANN, L., in M.G.H., *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum*, t. I, Hannoverae 1891, p. 93: "ita sublimes duae personae tanta sibimet invicem unanimitate iungatur,

convergent action of Church and Empire on the relationship between a mother and her child.³⁶

In a highly effective manner, around the year 1052 Peter Damian, in another text concerning the validity of the offices performed by priests appointed by those guilty of simony, stresses the real problem facing the Church in the second half of the 11th century, namely the question of *libertas ecclesiae* within the space of the Church, understood as a universal community (*ecclesia*), when universal coincides with the Roman *ecumene*: “*sed omnis ecclesia catholica per Romani fines imperii circumquaque diffusa de vinculis antiquae damnationis velut ex orrendo ac profundissimo carcere liberatur*”.³⁷

This *omnis ecclesia catholica*, in other words the Christian space, would coincide with the *fines Romani imperii* by an intense labour of evangelisation undertaken during the first centuries of the Middle Ages, extending the activity of missionaries such as St Patrick (4th-5th C.) in Ireland, St Columba in Scotland (6th C.) and of the pilgrim routes that had designed the network of the flows of the new faith from its centre in the Mediterranean, Rome-Jerusalem, to the periphery of the Roman-Christian world. And, like in a real system of waterways, the so-called lesser shrines (that of St Martin of Tours; that of Chartres (continuing the tradition of Druidism in Gaul); that of Mont-Saint-Michel in France; that of Aix-la-Chapelle; that of Cologne, with its relics of the tunic of the Boy Jesus, the white tunic of the Virgin, the shroud of St John the Baptist, in Germany; that of Canterbury, with the tomb of St Thomas à Becket, in England; that of Downpatrick, with its relics of the most important Irish saints, in Ireland; those of St Michael Archangel and St Nicholas of Bari, in Italy) would for their part constitute a network of secondary routes, tributaries of the great routes leading to the Apostolic Sees and the Holy Places.

The time when *De unitate ecclesiae* was written, which as we have said was around 1090-1093, and with which it appears an appeal was being made to the Damianesque

ut quodam mutuae caritatis glutino et rex in Romano pontifice et Romanus pontifex inveniatur in rege, salvo scilicet suo privilegio papae, quod nemo preter eum usurpatur permittit”. It would appear to have been written in 1062 as a result of the schism that opened up on the succession of Alexander II (1061-1073) to the papacy and the election in Basle (28 October 1061) of an Antipope in the person of Cadalus, who probably came from a Lombardy family and took the name of Honorius II, and who was deposed in 1064, dying in 1073. Bonizone, even though he bases the substance of his argument on the *bellum iustum*, proposes a reading of the theme, at least in linguistic terms, from a perspective of the law and ethics rather from that of the canon. He in fact expresses himself in terms of legality (“*si licuit vel licet christiano pro dogmate armis decertare*”). With the priority accorded to the perfect tense *licuit*, Bonizone appears to ask for the support of the *autoritates*. For the problem of war *in utroque iure* see the above-mentioned work by Cassi. Also see CARDINI, F., *Gerusalemme d'oro, di rame, di luce*, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

36 In this regard cf. the thinking of St Ambrose (4th C.) in his *Sermo contra Auxentium*, 36: “*Quod cum honorificentia imperatoris dictum nemo potest negare. Quid enim honorificentius, quam ut imperator Ecclesiae filius esse dicatur? ... Imperator enim intra Ecclesiam, non supra Ecclesiam est; bonus enim imperator quaerit auxilium Ecclesiae, non refutat*”, and that of Gelasius I (492-496): the emperor “*Filius est, non praesul Ecclesiae; quod ad religionem competit, discere ei convenit, non docere*” (*Epist.*, X, 9), cf. ROBERT, W. & CARLYLE, A. J., *Il pensiero politico medievale*, edition by L. Firpo, I, Bari 1956, p. 200 & 206.

37 DAMIANI, P., “*Liber gratissimus*”, edition by DE HEINEMANN, L., in M.G.H., *Libelli de lite*, *op. cit.*, XXXVIII, c. 72.

image of the *omnis catholica ecclesia... circumquaque diffusa*, comes after Bonizone's defence of extreme Gregorian positions, and shortly before the First Crusade was launched by Pope Urban II (1088-1099). The spirit that encouraged the fight against the internal dangers within the Church (remember the election of Peter Cadalus as Antipope Honorius II, or that of Guibert of Ravenna as Antipope Clement III) appears to have a knock-on effect on other problems of the time, amongst which, regardless of whether it was true or only used as an excuse, were the difficulties and dangers faced by pilgrims making their way to the Holy Land.

The preaching of the crusade by the Pope, with all the doctrinal, cultural and ideological implications that it could, and indeed did, suppose, needed, in fact, the adoption of a position of enormous relevance with regard to the awareness of the Mediterranean as a 'Christian space' defined within those *finis Romani imperii* that made it the very same *Mare Nostrum*. The end of the 11th century saw an increasing number of testimonies regarding the awareness by the West of the presence in this space of another religion, namely Islam, which as far back as the 8th century had been able to spread outwards with the conquest by the Arabs of the countries of origin along the north of Africa and then into Spain, with even an attempt to reach into France that was blocked by Charles Martel (689-741), who halted its advance at Poitiers in 732 but was nevertheless unable to expel the invaders from Aquitaine and the Rhône valley. If the Arab advance was a military one, their presence in Christian territory and on Christian soil would have been much more dangerous, because of its cultural and religious nature. The very country of origin of Egeria, and even the shrine at Santiago de Compostela, found themselves cut off and open only to the Atlantic by the extent to which Islam penetrated the Iberian Peninsula.

Christianity, the Church, therefore, seemed not to have reacted until the 11th century, when the dangers that beset pilgrims on their way to Palestine, denounced by Byzantine envoys sent to Pope Urban II (1088-1099), can be said to have profoundly shaken the Christian West, which in 1095 would be called, at the Council of Piacenza, to rise to arms in order to free the Holy Places from Islamic rule.

It should be noted that even towards the end of the 12th century a Muslim writer and traveller born in Spain in 1145, Ibn Giubair, was able to observe "*i resti dell'Islàm siciliano sotto la illuminata tolleranza normanna*", recording "*con compiacimento*", as Francesco Gabrieli has pointed out, "*la sopravvivenza, pur avvertendone poi non lontana l'estinzione*".³⁸ If Ibn Giubair's testimony referred to the situation in Sicily, an undoubtedly restricted and confined, the events of the conquest of Jerusalem by Caliph Omar in 638 AD offer a very different scenario, on which at the same time bears witness to the possibilities of peaceful coexistence between Muslims and

38 GABRIELI, F., *Viaggi e viaggiatori arabi*, Florence, 1975, p. 83.

Christians, precisely with regard to religion, the key issue of the whole question.³⁹ “*Il profeta in persona*”, Runciman has observed, “*aveva ordinato che, mentre ai pagani doveva venir offerta la scelta fra la conversione e la morte, al Popolo della Bibbia, cioè ai Cristiani e agli ebrei... venisse concesso di conservare i loro luoghi di culto e di usarli senza restrizioni*”, although they were expressly forbidden to preach their religion.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, this proves the existence of a state of hostility between the Moslem and Christian worlds, which increased around the 4th century and culminated in the following century when the Empress Eudoxia moved to Jerusalem, followed by “*molti pii membri dell’aristocrazia bizantina*”⁴¹, from where she sent an authentic collection of relics to Constantinople, amongst them “*ritratto della Vergine dipinto da san Luca*”.⁴² Pilgrimages were a “*rari*” in the “*albori cristianesimo*”, at that time emphasising “*il pensiero cristiano la divinità e l’universalità di Cristo piuttosto che la sua umanità*”.⁴³ The dates of the conquest of Jerusalem (638) by Caliph Omar, that of the battle of Poitiers (732), which determined the boundary of the expansion of Islam in the north-west, and that of the outbreak of hostilities between the Christian West and Arabic Islam (1095), thus correspond to a difficult period from any point of view, characterised by the progressive closing in on itself of a profoundly impoverished Western world. They also correspond to a period in which, concurrently with the above circumstances, there is a change in “*lo spunto ecumenico di un Tertulliano*”,⁴⁴ who in his work *De corona* defends the categorical

39 RUNCIMAN, S., *Storia delle crociate*, I, *op. cit.*, p. 7 ff.

40 *Ibidem*.

41 *Ibidem*, p. 38.

42 *Ibidem*. During this period, the middle of the 5th century, the “interest for Jerusalem reached its peak” (p. 37)

43 *Ibidem*, p. 36.

44 CASSI, A. A., “Dalla santità alla criminalità della guerra. Morfologie storico-giuridiche del bellum iustum”, in «*Guerra giusta?* Le metafori di un concetto antico, Naples, 2003 [Seminari di Storia del Diritto, III], p. 114. See also CALORE, A., Introduction: «*Guerra giusta?* tra presente e passato, in «*Guerra giusta?*», *op. cit.*, p. VII-XXXIV, particularly p. XIX ff. on the evolution of the basis of the ‘justice’ of war from Tertullian to Augustine and the interpretation in the light of the law of warfare, in virtue of which a *bellum iustum* was such provided it was a *bellum solemne*, “*dove la solennità era conferita dalla decisione presa dalle massime autorità istituzionali di muovere guerra*” (here cf. n. 53 on the figure of the *bellatores Domini*) “*e dal rispetto delle ritualità belliche prescritte*” (p. XXI). And also, on the same page, n. 56: “*Per avere una “guerra giusta” occorre che: sia proclamata da soggetti muniti di imperium, inteso quest’ultimo come “sovranità”. Per cui i combattenti devono essere hostes giuridicamente riconosciuti*”. With Gratian canonical thought also formulates the problem of how to convert the original aggressive instinct to kill into a conscious act, because it is so decided by the authorities in order to protect or obtain a higher good due to its nature as a common interest. “*Si ergo viri sancti*”, therefore “*et publicae potestates bella gerentes non fuerunt transgressores illius mandati: ‘Non occides, quamvis quosque flagitiosos digna morte perimerent; si miles suae potestati obediens non est reus homicidii, si eius imperio quemlibet flagitiosum interfecerit; si homicidas, et venenarios punire non est effusio sanguinis, sed legum ministerium’*” (“*Decretum Magistri Gratiani*”, edition by FRIEDBERG, Ae., in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, Graz 1959, Secunda Pars, C. XXIII, Q. V, c. XLVIII, col. 945). Gratian himself immediately wonders “*si contingat aliquos malos puniri ab hiis, qui non habent legitimam potestatem, an sint rei effusi sanguinis hii, per quos puniuntur*” (col. 945). On the basis of the thought of Ambrogius (specifically with regard to the story of Cain and Abel), Gratian makes war, in short, a disciplined act (as has been seen above) in its execution from a position of obedience to legitimate ‘power’ (Secunda Pars, C. XXIII, Q. V, c. XLIX, col. 947): “*Apparet ergo, quod aliquando per legitimam potestatem gerentes, aliquando per populos divino iussu excitatos, mali pro peccatis suis non solum flagellantur, sed etiam rite perduntur*”. On the meaning of *rite* = according to the established forms, see the work by Valvo referred to in note 53 below.

imperative of the Christian, of the “*discepolo di Cristo*”, of not being able “*negare il Vangelo, nemmeno in caso di necessità o di legittima difesa; pace, dunque, a costo del martirio*”.⁴⁵

In spite of the pilgrimages that became famous as a result of the *récits* that have come down to us, such as that of Egeria or that of the pilgrim from Bordeaux who set off on his journey on his return from Palestine, in spite of the favourable opinion of St Jerome, who settled in Palestine followed by the “*circolo di donne ricche ed eleganti che si riuniva attorno a lui in Italia*”⁴⁶ regarding the value of prayer in the places where Christ had lived as an act of faith, in spite of the boost given to this phenomenon by the *inventio* of the relics of the Passion by Empress Helena, Christian pilgrimage was only to really expand in the 10th century, when there began to be attributed to the Holy Places with which the pilgrim came into “mystical contact” the power to redeem sins through divine forgiveness. This period saw the establishing of the itineraries of Christendom *par excellence*, one towards Spain through Santiago de Compostela, another towards Italy, through Rome and through Monte Sant’Angelo in Apulia, and a third towards Palestine through Jerusalem and the other Holy Places. But it was also the recovery of a safe and tranquil passage by sea after the Byzantine military successes that led to the recovery of control of the Mediterranean that, together with increased trade, favoured the reappearance of the long-distance voyages from Europe, from Northern Europe, to the Holy Places, represented above all by the Apostolic Shrines and by the places of the life of Christ, from Bethlehem, where He was born, to Golgotha, the memory of His Passion. From the 4th century onwards the Mediterranean became the space in which the *virtus* of Christ occurs, with the announcement of the Word and the swift spread of evangelisation. A sacred, and also holy⁴⁷ space for Christians; a religious and political space for Muslims.

Pilgrimages, together with the vicissitudes that marked the life of the countries bordering the Mediterranean, contributed to the consolidation of this framework, this state of affairs, at least until the beginning of the 11th century, when the fall of the Abassid dynasty brought negative consequences not only for trade between Iraq and western merchants but also for safety along the caravan routes. “*La potenza abbaside... per*

45 *Ibidem*, p. 109.

46 RUNCIMAN, *Storia delle crociate*, I, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

47 With regard to the meaning of ‘holy’ referring to the places or spaces that were witness to the historical nature of the vicissitudes of Christianity and of its origins, in contrast to ‘holy’ referring to places that had become famous due to the presence of relics, see CARDINI, “Gerusalemme”, in *Il mondo dei pellegrinaggi*, *op. cit.*, p. 334: “... il pellegrino cristiano volge i suoi passi verso le testimonianze storiche del passaggio di Gesù sulla terra, verso la memoria di quell’evento tutto speciale della Redenzione che è l’Incarnazione del Figlio di Dio: il punto nel quale il Divino ha fatto in modo centrale e definitivo irruzione nella storia santificando la stessa natura umana e in un certo senso accorciando la distanza esistente tra il Sacro e l’Umano nella dimensione dello scambio, della contiguità, del dialogo fondato sull’adeguazione del modello: il dialogo che è appunto la sostanza della santità. Per questo correttamente infatti noi parliamo non già di luoghi sacri per indicare quelli santificati dal passaggio di Cristo, bensì di luoghi santi”.

tutto il mondo mediterraneo aveva rappresentato”, indeed, “una difesa esterna contro i barbari dell’Asia centrale”.⁴⁸ The defeat of the Byzantine army at Manzikert in 1071, obliged to attempt the re-conquest of Armenia in order to ensure the survival of the empire, marked a point of no return for relations with the West. Between Manzikert (1071) and the Council of the Crusade (Piacenza, 1095) there was a period of almost five years marked by the wars fought on Spanish soil between the Christian kingdom of Aragon, with Ramiro I at its head, and the Moors in Spain. These wars were recognised by Pope Alexander II (1061-1073) with an indulgence for those who “avrebbero combattuto per la croce”⁴⁹ and followed by the appeals made by Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) “ai principi della cristianità” to free Spain, which belonged to the “sede di san Pietro”, so that “i cavalieri cristiani avrebbero potuto godere il possesso delle terre che avessero conquistato agli infedeli”⁵⁰.

The papacies of Alexander II and Gregory VII towards the end of the 11th century materialised the idea of a holy war (in that it was a necessary war), accepted by the Church under Urban II (1088-1099) as an inevitable act (“si trucidasse contingit”)⁵¹ for the *libertas ecclesiae*

48 RUNCIMAN, *Storia delle crociate*, op. cit., p. 52. “Inoltre, i disordini nelle estreme province dell’impero abbaside provocarono l’interruzione dell’antica strada carovaniera che dalla Cina, attraverso il Turkestan e la Persia settentrionale, raggiungeva l’Armenia e poi il mare di Trebisonda. L’altra strada, che passava a nord del Caspio, non fu mai a lungo sicura”.

49 *Ibidem*, p. 79.

50 *Ibidem*. On the development of the church in Santiago, and therefore of pilgrimage to the tomb of the Apostle, between the 9th and 11th centuries, and also on the position of the See of Rome during the period of reform, see HERBERS, K., “Il papato e Santiago – Santiago e il papato”, in *Mobilità e immobilità nel Medioevo europeo*, (Proceedings of the 2nd Study Seminar of the Medieval Doctoral Research Courses of the Universities of Lecce and Erlangen, Rome, Istituto Storico Germanico, 1-2 April 2004), compiled by H. Houben and B. Vetere, Galatina, 2006, p. 69-78. This academic takes up the question, on the one hand of the situation of the Spanish Church between the Carolingian period and the 11th century (i.e. the time during which the Moors conquered most of the Iberian Peninsula), and on the other of the caution and attention with which Rome treated the success of the *inventio* of the relics of St James the Apostle at a time of the moment of maximum interest by the Popes in the second half of the 11th century, from Leon IX to Urban II, including the papacies of Alexander II and Gregory VII, in affirming the primacy of Rome, based on the founding of the See by St Peter, and thus heir to the specific mandate in this regard of Jesus Christ himself. So “fu il “papato in Santiago”, oppure furono “Santiago e il papato” a influenzare il corso degli eventi fino alla fine del sec. XII?” (p. 77). Herbers, in the importance given to the differences between the two Apostolic Sees, that of Rome and that of Spain, and manifested by the reserves shown by Gregory VII towards the preaching of the pilgrimage to Santiago, especially when compared with the Pauline pilgrimage to Rome (p. 76), concludes the debate in favour of the broad perspective of the Church of Rome “per le capacità di dominare e superare gli interessi particolari e le possibili sollecitazioni provenienti da vicende particolari”. (p. 78) On the problem of the “unità del mondo cristiano” based on the “petrinità dei secoli del primo e dell’alto medioevo”, see the recent work by CAPITANI, O., “«Reformatio Ecclesiae»: a proposito di unità e identità nella costruzione dell’Europa medievale”, in *Studi Medievali*, Serie Terza, a. XLVII, fasc. 1 (2006), p. 1-27, and that by MACCARRONE, M., *Romana Ecclesia-Cathedra Petri*, 2 vol., Rome, 1991, and particularly «Sedes Apostolica-Vicarius Petri». *La perpetuità del primato di Pietro nella sede e nel vescovo di Roma (secoli III-VIII)*, p. 1-101, quoted by Capitani.

51 *Decretum*, Secunda pars, C. XXIII, q. V, C. XLVII, col. 945. See S. Anselmi Lucensis Episcopi *Collectio canonum*, in P.L., 149, l. XIII, c. 1, col. 533: “Quod Moyses nihil crudele fecit quando praecepto Domini quosdam trucidavit”; cf. CAPITANI, O., “Sondaggio sulla terminologia militare in Urbano II”, in *Militia Christi’ e Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII* (Proceedings of the Eleventh International Study Week, Mendola, 28 August – 1 September 1989), Milan 1992, p. 181 ff. [Vita e Pensiero – Scienze Storiche, 48]. By the same Anselm, “or whoever”, as Capitani observes “the author of Book XIII may be” (181), see l. XIII, 4, col. 533: “Quod militantes etiam possint esse iusti; et quod hostem deprimeret necessitas non voluntas debet”. On Anselm’s authorship of Book XIII of the *Collectio canonum*, see PÁSZTOR, E., “Lotta per le investiture e ius belli: la posizione di Anselmo da Lucca”, in *Sant’Anselmo, Mantova e la lotta per le investiture*, ed. P. Golinelli, Bologna 1987, p. 376, n. 5. Ovidio Capitani, referring to the considerations by Edith Pásztor, stressed the “l’originalità della

compilazione presente nel libro XIII della Collezione attribuita ad Anselmo nell'impianto dell'ecclesiologia sottesavi: non si può infatti dimenticare che ... ci sono significativi parallelismi tra il ... *Liber contra Wibertum e i passi del libro XIII*". I refer not only to to themes taken from St Augustine regarding the fight against the schismatics, but to the "visuale del primato della Chiesa di Roma secondo la più autentica dottrina gregoriana" (Pásztor, *Lotta per le investiture e ius belli*, op. cit., p. 377). Pásztor's comments refer to Becker's standpoints with regard to the same argument, as expressed in *Papst Urban II.*, Stuttgart 1988, p. XVI-XLII [Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 19]. See Anselmi Lucensis Episcopi *Liber contra Wibertum*, edition by BERNHEIM, E., in M.G.H., *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum*, I, Hannoverae, 1891, p. 525: "*Defendere pupillum et viduam armis etiam carnalibus, tueri sanctam ecclesiam, non eos, qui in causa sunt, sed nisi pro communi republica, sub quorum regimine sunt universales ecclesiae, cupimus*". On the recurring image of *arma carnalia* in the authors *qui a partibus Gregorii VII pontificis stabant* see *Liber canonum contra Heinricum quartum*, edition by THANER, F., in M.G.H., *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum*, op. cit., p. 482. The author of the *Liber* (regarding his identity, see the above-mentioned volume ed. Thaner, p. 471-472) expresses the same concept by means of the image of the *visibile gladium*, itself a version of the "ecclesiastica prelia" mentioned by Gregory the Great (cf. n. 70 below). Also see Bonizonis Episcopi Sutri *Liber ad amicum*, edition by DÜMMLER, E., in M.G.H., *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum*, op. cit., p. 618: "*Sed quia superius a me quesisses ... si licet cristiano armis pro veritate certare, historiam petebas. Quam nunc contexui ... ut conoscas, quia, si licuit unquam christiano pro aliqua re militare, licet contra Guibertistas*", i.e. against the factions, the defenders of the schismatic Pope, Clement III, "*omnibus modis bellare*", where the concrete nature of the term *bellare* replaces the *certare*, *certamen*, which can also have the meaning of a dialectical opposition, and therefore of confrontation, of debate. In this regard see LECLERCQ, J., "*Militare Deo' dans la tradition patristique*", in *Militia Christi' e crociata nei secoli XI-XIII*, op. cit., p. 3-18, particularly p. 5: "*Le terme de miles en vint à désigner tout fonctionnaire qui, sans porter les armes, exerce un office dans la vie civile, comme en rendant la justice ou en jouant quelque autre rôle de caractère public, ou encore tout athlète qui, dans l'usage de sa force physique, fait preuve de courage et de discipline. Cette acception très large, et même très vague, vaut pour quiconque, sans être militaire, est militant pour une cause profane ou religieuse. Il était normal que l'on trasposât ce vocabulaire au niveau de la vie chrétienne, dans la mesure où le fait de servir Dieu exigeait un effort*". Thus for Leclercq the image of the *militare Deo* has only a single meaning, the allegorical one: "*Elles*", referring to "*ces images*", "*font partie d'un langage*", precisely "*auquel chaque milieu donne une nouvelle capacité d'évocation*" (p. 9). The position of this illustrious academic concerns the clear distinction – referring always to the problem of war – between monks, the clergy and the lay population. Nevertheless, there still remains the problem of legality for the "*Christian*", regardless of whether or not he has taken the vow, of overcoming the commandment, even in defence of the revealed Truth (*pro dogmate*), of the Church, of the faith, *non occides*, obviously more peremptory in the case of monks and priests. As it has already been attempted to demonstrate, this problem was provided with a favourable solution in the 11th century, in the sense that it would be lawful to have recourse to all means, including bloody ones (*omnibus modis bellare*), to defend the unity of the Church, the mystical body of Christ. Referring to St Bernard in the debate following his introductory text to the Congress on *Militia Christi e crociata nei secoli XI-XIII*, Leclercq underlined the different types of content and language used by St Bernard when he addressed monks and those who were neither monks nor priests, observing that the Templars "*non sono monaci*", but "*soldati di professione per una causa religiosa*". In any event, these professional soldiers are Christians who kill (*contingit trucidasse*) albeit for a religious cause, as Bonizone admitted, and as St Bernard would later admit, in his address to the Templars ("*melius est ut occidantur*"). The difference in the register of the language used by St Bernard in his addresses to monks is undeniable; this is seen quite clearly in the letter he wrote to his nephew Robert, who passed from the Order of Cister to that of Cluny. Indeed, in this case the Abbot of Clairvaux has recourse to the image of the *militia Christi* (*Epistola I*, in P.L., 182, col. 78) instead of that of the soldier who fights *omnibus modis* for the cause of a Church threatened by schism (this is case of the impassioned tone used by Bonizone) through the presence of an Antipope, Clement III. The soldier – and this must be emphasised – nevertheless continues to be a Christian. The oft-quoted canon 7 of the Council of Chalcedon (451), taken up again by Burchard (Burchardi Wormacensis Ecclesiae Episcopi *Decretorum libri viginti*, in P. L., 140, l. VIII, chap. 4, col. 793) does not resolve the question, with monks and priests being clearly prohibited from taking up arms: "*Qui semel in clero deputati sunt, aut monachorum vitam expetiverunt, statuimus neque ad militiam, neque ad dignitatem aliquam venire mundanam: sed hoc tentantes et non agentes poenitentiam, quo minus redeant ad hoc propter Deum primitus elegerunt, anathematizari*" (cf. *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, edition by G. Alberigo, Giuseppe L. Dossetti, Perikles-P. Joannou, C. Leonardi, P. Prodi, Bologna 1991, *Concilium Chalcedonense*, VII, p. 90). Pope Pelagius I (556-560), in his 2nd epistle to Narses, mentioned by Anselm of Lucca in his *Contra Wibertum* (p. 524), reserved for the secular authority the function of executing the sanction, or rather, reserved for it the role of protecting the integrity of the Church: "*Nec putetis alicuius esse peccati, si huiusmodi nomine comprimuntur. Hoc enim et divinae gratiae et mundanae leges statuerunt, ut ab ecclesie unitate divisi a saecularibus etiam potestatibus comprimantur*". What is interesting is not the

mention of *auctoritates*, but the time when the quotation was made, namely the second half of the 11th century, which would see how the Church was to replace the *saecularis potestas* with the appeal for a general call to arms of Christendom in the armed struggle against not only the infidels but also the dangers facing the Church from within, such as the aforementioned defenders of the schismatic Pope, the heretics (the “divisi”), the infidels; that was also to see how the Church recognised the *nova militia*, which is nothing more than the *militia saecularis* and not even the *militia Christi*. *Nova militia*, which if “initially” it did not constitute “un Ordine vero e proprio, ma una ‘fraternitas’ con spiccate connotazioni penitenziali, pure l’esperienza spirituale si inseriva in quella temperie di partecipazione dei laici alla vita religiosa che segnatamente nei primi decenni del secolo XII si sarebbe concretizzata nel decisivo sviluppo dell’istituto dei ‘conversi’ legati sia ai monasteri che alle comunità canonicali. (...) Si trattò, quindi, non di una generica ‘conversio morum’ né di una partecipazione imperfetta alla vita religiosa, ma dell’assunzione di un preciso ‘status vitae’, pur nel rispetto della peculiarità cavalleresca dell’istituzione. Non a caso il Rousset definisce il Templare una espèce de croisè à vie, moine armé, laïc religieux” (C.D. Fonseca, Introduction to the “Liber ad milites Templi. De laude novae militiae”, in *Opere di San Bernardo*/I Trattati, Milan, 1984, p. 428-429). For St Bernard the *miles Templi* combines the two natures, that of the monk and that of the *miles*: “Ita denique miro quodam ac singulari modo cernuntur et agnis mitiores, et leonibus ferociore, ut pene dubitem quid potius censeam appellandos, monachos videlicet an milites, nisi quod utrumque forsan congruentius nominarim, quibus neutrum deesse cognoscitur, nec monachi mansuetudo, nec militis fortitudo” (*Liber ad milites templi*, IV, 8, p. 452). And also: “Vivitur in communi ... absque uxoribus et absque liberis. Et ne quid desit ex evangelica perfectione, absque omni proprio habitant unius moris in domo una, solliciti servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis. Dicas universae multitudinis esse cor unum et animam unam: ita quisque non omnino propriam sequi voluntatem, sed magis obsequi sategit imperanti ... et quaequae postremo facienda Magistri voluntas et communis indicit necessitas ... Capillos tondant, scientes, iuxta Apostolum, ignominiam esse viro, si comam nutrierit” (IV, 7, p. 450). The model of the *Regula Benedicti* is clear. Cf. *La Règle du Temple* published by the Société de l’Histoire de France and edited by H. de Curzon, Paris, 1886, 1, p. 11: “Nos parlons primierement a tous ceaus qui mesprisent segre lor propres volentés ... “. See the text of the original Latin version attributed to St Bernard, or that which he defended at the Council of Troyes (1128): “Omnibus in primis sermo noster dirigitur quicumque proprias voluntates sequi contemnunt ...”. Also see *Die Regel*, 1, p. 29: “Tria vero sunt, que omni religioni substantialia sunt et inter praecepta regule continentur, votum videlicet perpetue continencie, abrenunciatio proprie voluntatis, que est obediencia usque ad mortem, et tertium, quod est votum paupertatis, ut sine propria vivat is, qui suscipit habitum religionis”. Also see the reason for the constitution of the Order of Teutonic Knights in the Prolog, 3, p. 24: “Hec enim milicia celi et terre typo prefigurata sola et precipua est esse videtur, que vicem Christi in opprobrio sue crucis doleat et terram sanctam Christianis debitam recuperare ab oppressione gentilium se devovit”, where the presence of the model of the Rule of the Templars seems to be clear, as well as that of the *Liber ad milites Templi* – in an attempt to define the identity of this military religio: *milicia celi et terre typo prefigurata sola et precipua esse videtur (Die Regel) — nisi quod utrumque forsan congruentius nominarim (Liber ad milites Templi)*, i.e. monk and *miles* – and that of their common Benedictine background. See SUCHIER, H., Introduction to *Die Regel*, p. XXXII: “Die Hauptquelle der Deutschordensregel ist aber die Regel der Tempelherren ... und die ihrerseits wieder auf der Benedictinerregel beruht”. Suchier mentions a letter by Pope Innocent III dated 19 February 1199 (included in the *Tabulae ordinis theutonici*, Berolini, 1869, n. 297) in which he refers to the ordination of Teutonic Knights according to the custom of the Templars: “ordinationem factam in ecclesia vestra iuxta modum Templariorum in clericis et militibus et ad exemplum Hospitaliorum in pauperibus et infirmis” (Einleitung cit., p. XXXII e n. 20). Mention must also be made of the extremely clear terms in which Claudio Leonardi states the problem: “Il problema non è quello di rendere cristiana la guerra o di rifiutarla in nome del cristianesimo, ma è piuttosto quello di vivere nel mondo non essendo del mondo, accettare la guerra sapendo che è a un tempo inevitabile e carica di ogni violenza” (LEONARDI, C., “La tradizione guerresca e San Bernardo”, in *I Templari. Una vita tra riti cavallereschi e fedeltà alla Chiesa* (Proceedings of the I Congress “I Templari e San Bernardo di Chiaravalle”, Certosa di Firenze 23-24 October 1992, Certosa di Firenze 1995, p. 15). Edith Pásztor, referring to c. 5 of Anselm, observed how “... nel Vangelo il mestiere del militare” is “tra quelli leciti” (PÁSZTOR, *Lotta per le investiture e “ius belli”, op. cit.*, p. 392). Cf. also c. 5 in the edition of I. XIII of the *Collectio* by Pásztor herself (p. 408), “Gravi de pugna conqueris: dubites nolo, utile tibi tuisque dabo consilium. Arripe manibus arma, oratio aures pulset Auctoris, quia quando pugnatur, Deus apertis celis spectat et partem, quam aspicit iustam, defendit”. See the *Liber contra Wibertum*, p. 524. In both the *Collectio* and the *Contra Wibertum* the references refer to Augustine, and in particular the spurious letter no. 13 *ad Bonifacium* (cf. the edition of the *Contra Wibertum*, p. 524, n. 1) With regard to the problem of war and Christianity of particular interest are c. 4: *Quod militantes etiam possunt esse iusti* and c. 12: *Ut mali non occidantur, sed corrigantur* in I. XIII of the *Collectio*. In order to fully comprehend and understand the coherence between the two arguments, Pásztor appropriately observes, one needs to consider the historical context of an 11th century marked by a climate of tension with the “Donatists” and the “guerra ai disobbedienti alla Chiesa Romana”

“*de vinculis antiquae damnationis*”⁵². Those who sacrificed themselves in battle (including those who broke the categorical precept of *non occides*) for the love (“*zelo ... ardentis*”)⁵³ of the mother

(p. 376), rather similar to the reality of the 5th century, which was equally marked by heresies. Reading the said *capitula* of the *Collectio* not only reveals the analogies with St Bernard (*Liber ad milites Templi*, I, 1, p. 440: “*Securi ergo procedite, milites, et intrepido animo inimicos crucis Christi propellite*” which carries forward to l. XIII, 31, p. 482: “... *ut in omnibus sit ipse benedictus, qui docet manus vestras ad proelium et digitos vestros ad bellum*”), but more particularly the type of response given in these key centuries (12th and 13th) to the troubled conscience in the face of the death of one man at the hands of another, even if the former were an enemy of God, whose creature he also is despite the deviation of his mind and spirit. For this reason the event of death *ferenda vel inferenda*, as St Bernard puts it, is a cause of agitation in spite of the efforts made to provide a motivation that would ease the conscience. Awareness of this fact is demonstrated by the series of arguments put forward by the treatises in this regard, and the need to find support in the *authoritates*. An indication of this obstacle is the appeal (which was mandatory) to the *corrigerere* as the path that Christians had to follow precisely against the *mali*, in other words those ‘who had fallen into error’, and were therefore potential enemies of the Church (heretics, emperors who created conflicts by opposing the Church, infidels). In the *Contra Wibertum*, echoing St Augustine, Anselm draws attention to the Christian God as the God of love, and thus of life (“*Noli existimare neminem Deo placere posse qui armis bellicis ministrat*”, p. 524), whilst in c. 4 of the *Collectio* the metier of arms could be a just métier. The distinction between ‘will’ and ‘need’ for the violent action is considered to be the only key to the whole question: “... *et hostem deprimerere necessitas non voluntas debet*”. The official thought of the Church, through its most authorised exponents, is quite clear and linear with regard to the peremptory manner in which the problem of war was expounded in the 11th and 12th centuries. Anselm’s discourse in the *Collectio* (c. IV), in consonance with that of the *Liber contra Wibertum* (p. 524), approaches the just reasons for war from the ‘need’ to resort to arms: “*Utinam una fides esset in omnibus, quia et minus laboretur et facilius diabolus cum suis angelis vinceretur*”. And, as Edith Pásztor observes, there is clearly a permanent, “*la consapevolezza della conflittualità*”, in Anselm, “*tra comportamento cristiano e ricorso all’intervento armato, che è problema tuttora aperto*” (*Lotta per le investiture e “ius belli”, op. cit.*, p. 400, n. 163). A problem that not only concerned Anselm, although not much later St Bernard, with no sign of doubt and in peremptory terms, opted for the physical elimination of infidels, excluding the possibility of any alternative solution: “*Non quidem vel pagani necandi essent, si quo modo aliter possent a nimia infestatione seu oppressione fidelium coherberi. Nunc autem melius est ut occidentur*”, considering the presence of evil and of its bearers as an epidemic: “*ne forte extendant iusti ad iniquitatem manus suas*” (*Liber ad milites Templi*, III, 4, p. 446). This posture was confirmed by St Bernard in his *De consideratione*, addressed to Pope Eugene III (1145-1153), who had sent him to preach the Crusade, in which he defends himself against the insinuations being spread by Crusader circles regarding his responsibility in the matter. When he declares himself ready to assume the weight of the malicious accusations in order to spare the Pope from them (“*Bonum mihi, si dignetur me uti pro clipeo. Libens excipio in me detraherentium linguas maledicas, et venenata spicula blasphemorum, ut non ad ipsum perveniant*”), he is concerned to determine the causes of the failure of the expedition in the lack of harmony and the climate of competition that prevailed in the Crusader army: “*Effusa est contentio super principes, et Dominus errare fecit eos in invio, et non in via*” (P. L., 182, l. II, c. I, col. 743), but yet he shows no concern at the important loss of human life after the ignominious retreat from Damascus (RUNCIMAN, *Storia delle crociate*, I, *op. cit.*, p. 519: “... *la strada era cosparsa di cadaveri umani e di carcasse di cavalli, il cui fetore appesò la pianura per molti mesi ancora*”). St Bernard’s arguments resort to figurative language when he proposes that the present should be seen in the light of the sufferings of the people of Israel in their flight from Egypt. The past thus becomes the key to understanding the present, hence: “*Ecclesiae filii, et qui cristiano censentur nomine, prostrati sunt in deserto, aut interfecti gladio, aut fame consumpti*” (*De consideratione*, l. II, c. 1, coll. 742-743).

52 PETRI DAMIANI *Liber gratissimus*, edition by DE HEINEMANN, L., in *M.G.H., Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum*, I, Hannoverae 1981, XXXVIII, p. 72.

53 *Decretum*, C. XXIII, Q. V, c. XLVII, col. 945. It has been observed that with St Ambrose there arose “*l’identificazione di coloro che combattono per la difesa dell’impero con i “difensori della religione”, considerandoli ministri di Dio*” (CASSI, A.A., *Dalla santità alla criminalità della guerra, op. cit.*, p. 110-111). What then are the reasons for such a great difference between Tertullian (cf. nn. 44, 45 above) and St Jerome or St Augustine? Here, as in so many other cases, context also has a part to play. Tertullian did not witness, as St Ambrose and St Augustine did, the first serious signs of the weakness of the empire in the face of mass migrations from Eastern Europe towards the West. Up until the time of Constantine it was just a question of internal struggles within the empire, between *coups d’état* and competitions between pretenders or between the various Augustuses and the various

Caesars. The sack of Rome by Alaric in 410 or the bloody invasion by Attila and his Mongol hordes announced the tragic weakness of the empire, shattering the unity of its territory and relegating the *pax romana* to a mere nostalgic memory. This explains the identification of the defenders of the empire with the 'defenders of religion' proposed by St Ambrose, considering that Christianity, an eastern religion, would put down its roots and spread out over the whole of the area covered by the Roman Empire. In the light of the above events, it is easy to understand the statement made by St Augustine, however bitter it may sound, for whom peace was: "*incertum bonum*". For this reason a war started to save the empire was 'just', because it was aimed – and this provided it with its motive – at defending the integrity of the State, the supreme common good. The 'lawfulness' (following the tradition of Roman legal thinking) of war derives from the 'just cause'. In his *De officiis ministrorum* St Ambrose defines this war (or these wars) as a 'work of justice'. The Epistle to the Romans (13, 4), quoted by St Bernard in his *Liber ad milites Templi* (III, 4, p. 444), and even before that by Anselm of Lucca in his *Liber contra Wibertum*, establishes the condition of 'cause' as being a necessary one in order to justify resorting to arms. "*Non enim sine causa gladium portat*", can the constituted authority, in this case, in compensation for the damage caused by an offence or the violation of a good, perform a *restitutio ad integrum*. The ethical-legal value of war in classical times is based on the relationship between "*the dimension of war and the reality of law*", in which war, "*come forma (storicamente dinamica)*" is seen as a "*forma di amministrazione della giustizia*" (CASSI, A.A., *Dalla santità alla criminalità della guerra*, op. cit., 104), in that it is a repayment, as has already been observed, following the violation of a common good, such as the territorial integrity of the empire, which from the time of Constantine also coincided with the 'unicity' of the Christian faith. See VALVO, A., "Il bellum iustum e i generali romani nel III e II secolo a.C.", in «*Guerra giusta?*», op. cit., p. 77-99, where on the basis of the distinction made by the Romans between *fas* and *ius* (= "ritual rules") war is returned to the natural sphere of human activity, and therefore to the status of an event, a decision "*lasciata interamente agli uomini*" (p. 78). Also see CARDINI, *Gerusalemme, d'oro, di rame, di luce*, op. cit., p. 314 on the position in this regard of Henry of Susa, for whom the crusade finds its justification precisely on the grounds of the "*tradizione giuridica e politica di Roma*", the Church being "*la legittima erede dell'impero romano, perché, dall'Incarnazione, ogni diritto è stato tolto agli infedeli e trasportato ai cristiani. Ora, Roma aveva pieno diritto di lottare contro i barbari e le sue conquiste erano pertanto legittime: continuando la Chiesa l'opera di Roma, le sue guerre – e segnatamente la crociata – sono "guerre romane" contro i barbari*" (*ibidem*). As Cardini observes, it is clear that 'barbarian' has now taken on the meaning of "*estraneo alla Chiesa*". In relation to this whole question, Cassi refers precisely to the text of the Digesto I, 1, 4 in which war, like any other act (aggression, slavery) that means a diminishment of the integrity and the safety of a person or of society, is the responsibility of the *ius gentium*: "*Ex hoc iure gentium introducta bella*" (Codex Hermogenianus), the condition of freedom deriving from the *ius naturale*. See Ulpian in the Digesto (I, 1, 3) on the *manumissio* through which the condition of freedman is granted, thus delivering the person from slavery, this being subject to the *ius gentium* and not the *ius naturale*, under which "*omnes liberi nascerentur*". For canonists (see GRATIAN, *Decretum*, Secunda Pars, C. XXIII, Q. VIII, c. VI, col. 954) the faculty to use arms, recognising the lawfulness of war, derives from the *ius naturale divinum* (cf. CASSI, A.A., *Dalla sacralità alla criminalità della guerra*, op. cit., p. 116). In fact Gratian, in the said canon, referring back to c. 37 of the Council of Meaux (845 AD), in virtue of which priests were prohibited from using arms ("*arma militaria non sumant, nec armati incendant ... quia non possunt simul Deo et saeculo militare*", that is to say they could not serve God and Mammon at the same time), adds to the lawfulness of the cause the condition of *missio*, in the sense that the use of arms must be identified with an act of obedience to an order that has been given: "*Sacerdotes propria manu arma arripere non debent; sed alios ad arripiendum, ad oppressorum defensionem, atque ad inimicorum Dei oppugnationem eis licet hortari*". On the figure of the *bellatores Domini* (i.e. the "bishops") cf. CAPITANI, *Sondaggi sulla terminologia militare di Urbano II*, op. cit., p. 169-170, p. 189 ff. Even Pope Urban himself raised the subject of the "*defence of the just cause of the Church of Rome*", adducing the *intentio* ("*Excommunicatorum interfectores (prout in ordine Romanae ecclesiae didicisti) secundum intentionem modum congruae satisfactionis iniunge*", *Decretum*, Secunda Pars, C. XXIII, Q. V, c. XLVII, col. 945). The basis of the *iustum* referring to war rested, according to Urban, on a substantial motive, and therefore "objectively" extendable in the presence of God and of the Christian people – expressed in classical thought as "*sia di fronte agli Dei, sia di fronte agli uomini*" (SINI, F., "Ut iustum conciperetur bellum: Guerra "Giusta" e sistema giuridico-religioso romano", in «*Guerra giusta?*», op. cit., p. 709). Anselm's quotation from St Paul – "*non enim sine causa gladium portat*" – (cf. n. 51 above) acquires a profound historical and philological value that can be appreciated in the Urban's *intentio*, in St Paul's *causa*, later put forward anew by St Bernard, and in Anselm's *necessitas*. The integrity of the Christian *respublica*, an imperative that had been formulated by Peter Damian in his image of the *ecclesia catholica circumquaque diffusa* (cf. n. 37 above) entailed the commitment to defend a spiritual reality that had acquired the form of an ecclesial community. In this sense the 'just cause' was extendable to the (Roman) *utilitas* of Christian commitment. The difference with the *utilitas* of classical thought is in the declared defensive nature of Christian war, very different from the war of aggression of the Roman *respublica*, to the extent that Cicero could rightly point to the distance between *utilitas* and *iustitia*. However, it is precisely this reflection by Cicero on the coincidence between the *diversa et varia iura* and the *utilitas* ("*Cur enim per omnes*

of all (*"catholicae matris"*)⁵⁴ would not be considered guilty of homicide (*"non ... eos homicidas arbitramur"*)⁵⁵. The results of the Council of Piacenza thus bring to an end a period in which, due to the influence of the above-mentioned events, the idea of a *bellum iustum* against the *"excommunicatos"*⁵⁶ gradually came to maturity, rather than being a response to the Byzantine request to bring order to the eastern confines of the empire. These latest events can be considered as the last of a long series of acts by the infidels against Christendom, which felt hemmed in on both the West and the East.

The decision taken by Urban II in Piacenza in the Council that met there after the Byzantine request that the West should take action to eliminate the difficulties, the grave and specific dangers to which pilgrims were exposed on the routes to the Holy Places after the battle of Manzikert is proof, beyond the arbitrariness of the pressing impositions, of the climate of saturation of the Church and of Christianity by a pressure that came not only from Islam, but also from the Arabs who had, even in a territorial sense, penned the Latin-Germanic-Christian West within the boundaries under its control through its domination of a large part of the Iberian Peninsula.

For William of Tyre, who was born around 1130 and whose working life continued until 1186, when all trace of him appears to have been lost, author of a work on the events of the Latins of the East by the name of *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, one of the fundamental points in the origin of the Order of the Knights Templar was the commitment to fight against those who endangered the lives of pilgrims: *"Prima autem eorum professio, quodque eis a domino patriarcha et reliquis episcopis, in remissionem peccatorum injunctum est, ut vias et itinera, maxime ad salutem peregrinorum, contra latronum et incursantium insidias pro viribus conservarent"*.⁵⁷ William, made Chancellor of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1174, and Archbishop of Tyre in 1175, and therefore one of the most important political figures of Latin Syria, can be seen as the spokesman of the climate of the time, of the opinions voiced and of official thought in Christian circles. His Western roots, either French or Italian even though he was born in Syria, together with his activity in the regions and places that were the reason for the struggle, gave him a broad vision of affairs. The attention, not to say concern, of Tyre and Rome and indeed of the West as a whole was aimed at safeguarding (*"conservarent"*) the means of access

populos diversa et varia iura sunt condita, nisi quod una quaeque gens id sibi sanxit, quod putavit rebus suis utile?" Cic., *De re publ.*, 3. 20; the quotation comes from Sini, *Ut iustum conciperetur bellum: Guerra "giusta", op. cit.*, p. 68) that emphasises the difficulty in determining a motive that has absolutely no connection with all the arguments invoked throughout history to justify *"arripere manibus arma"* in the certain knowledge of the approval of god, who helps he who, in his eyes, fights for the just cause: *"... partem, quam inspicit iustam defendit"* (*Collectio canonum*, I. XIII, c. 5: *Quod pugnato orandum est*, in the edition by Pásztor, *op. cit.*, p. 408). For Christian thought, therefore, on the basis of these considerations, it can be said that *iustitia* is *utilitas convertuntur*.

54 *Decretum*, C. XXIII, Q. V, c. 47, col. 945.

55 *Ibidem*.

56 *Ibidem*.

57 Guillelmi Tyrensis Archiep. *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum a tempore successorum Mahumeth usque ad annum Domini MCLXXXIV*, in P.L., CCI, I. XII, c. VII, col. 526-527.

to the Holy Places and the freedom and safety of the pilgrim routes (“*vias et itinera*”), necessary to preserve the integrity of the pilgrims (“*maxime ad salutem peregrinorum*”). The final passage, starting at *ut*, effectively transmits the posture of the Christian world, the project in which it had already immersed itself, the firm commitment to a war to defend the unity of the Church in *libertas ecclesiae*.

Although it may have been written at different times “*saepius diversis temporibus*”, but in any case somewhere around the middle of the 12th century, William of Tyre’s *Historia* necessarily reflects the initial moments of an event and a process that was to continue for a long time. For the Archbishop of Tyre, in fact, the problem was to ensure that Christian space was passable; as he himself puts it, “*conservare*”. For the Rule of the Teutonic Knights, by the end of the 12th century it had already become “*recuperare terram sanctam Christianis debitam ab oppressione gentilium*”⁵⁸.

The activities of the Teutonic Knights, like those of the Knights Templar, were also aimed at rescuing the Holy Land, felt to belong to Christendom, to caring “*ad salutem*”, in the words of William of Tyre,⁵⁹ of pilgrims by means of ‘hospitalling’, providing accommodation⁶⁰. This *peregrinatio*, as we can see, is in all cases associated with the ‘Holy Land’ as a space relating to the event – it is worth remembering – that was above all extraordinary rather than miraculous, that of the Revelation, which precedes any miracle. Eternity made flesh in the body of Christ invests all space and time, starting out from the southern shores of the Mediterranean and spreading through southern and central Europe, in other words Greece, Italy and Spain, to finally reach northern Europe.

The structure of the treatise on the ‘new militia’ written by St Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153)⁶¹ proposes, with the conversion of Christian militancy to constant pilgrimage, the image of a spiritual journey that, in the meditation of the soul on the “*punti nodali della storia della salvezza*”⁶² goes from Jerusalem to Bethany, passing through Bethlehem, Nazareth, the Mount of Olives and the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the River Jordan, the Rock of Calvary, the Tomb of Christ, Bethphage. A pilgrimage which from Bethlehem, the ‘house of bread’, and thus identified with the mystery of the Incarnation, renewed through by transubstantiation, reaches Bethany, “*castellum Mariae et Martae, in quo et Lazarus est resuscitatus*”⁶³, home to the virtue of obedience. This is a new type of pilgrimage and a new type of pilgrim. The context in which the figure of the warrior pilgrim is renewed is that of a 12th century arising from the experience of the papacies of Alexander II and Gregory VII, marked by the sustained effort against the Arabs and

58 *Die Regel*, Prolog, 3, p. 24.

59 Cf. n. 57 above.

60 *Die Regel*, Prolog, 4, p. 25: “*namque milites et bellatores electi zelo legis patrie manu valida hostes fidei conterentes, sunt etiam caritatis beneficiis affluentes hospitum peregrinorum et pauperum receptores*”.

61 See the above-mentioned edition by C.D. Fonseca (cf. n. 43 above).

62 Fonseca, “Introduction to the *Liber ad milites Templi*”, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

63 *Liber ad milites Templi*, XIII, 31, p. 480-482.

Moslems in Spain, on the one hand, and by the defence of *libertas ecclesiae* against those who were trying to destroy its unity, on the other.

Without any doubt the experience of the Templars reflects, at least initially, “*quella temperie di partecipazione dei laici alla vita religiosa che segnatamente nei primi decenni del sec. XII si sarebbe concretizzata nel decisivo sviluppo dell’istituto dei conversi legati sia ai monasteri che alle comunità canonicali*”⁶⁴. Similarly, there can be no doubt about its connection with events such as that of Manzinkert, which led to the First Crusade and a new situation in which on the one hand concern and uncertainty held sway in the Christian West – where it was no longer safe, not to say impossible, to undertake the sea and land routes to pilgrim destinations – and which, on the other, provides from the historical viewpoint the reasons for the absolute novelty of the *monachus-miles* and the crusader.

Bonizone di Sutri’s concept of the ‘lawfulness’ of the “*omnibus modis bellare pro veritate*”⁶⁵ (which for him was equivalent to ‘dogma’), adopted by Gregorian ecclesiology, is in no way foreign to the St Bernard of the *Liber ad milites Templi*, nor to the author of the *Liber canonum contra Heinricum quartum*, who, on the basis of the authority of Gregory the Great, invokes the “*gladium visibile*” in order to “*comprimere*” the enemies of the Church⁶⁶. The *malicidium* would remain an artifice if it were not for the elimination of the bearer of evil by homicide. The crusader, the armed pilgrim on his return from Jerusalem, is not a murderer in the eyes of Urban II, in that he is a combatant in the defence of the Church *manu militari*, and not on his own initiative, but in obedience to an order, to the *imperium* of the superior *potestatibus*, according to Gratian’s interpretation (“*si miles suae potestati obediens non est reus homicidii... non est effusio sanguinis, sed legum ministerium*”)⁶⁷. The pilgrim, given the urgency of the situation, no longer conforms to the model embodied by Egeria; he is transformed into something else. From a true *miles Christi* immersed in the constant tension of confirming his faith in the depths of meditation on the places and stones that bore witness to the sacrifice of Christ he becomes a warrior of the Church in order to defend the faith by preserving

64 FONSECA, “Introduction...”, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

65 Bonizoni Episcopi Sutriini *Liber ad amicum*, l. VIII, p. 618. In the *incipit* of the first book the question that the Gregorian Church asked itself with regard to the lawfulness for Christians of combating with the unique arms of faith, but not only with these, was expressed thus: “*Si licuit vel licet christiano pro dogmate armis decertare*” (p. 571). The alternation between the use of the terms *veritas* and *dogma* should leave no doubt as to their value, in the function as a depository of the Church, which therefore exercises magistracy, and can therefore be identified with the Truth as contained in dogma and lived by the Church, the community of believers, the mystical body of Christ.

66 *Liber canonum contra Heinricum quartum*, ed. THANER, F., in M.G.H., *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum*, I, Hannoverae, 1891, VIII, p. 482.

67 *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, Pars secunda, C. XXIII, q. V. c. XLVIII, col. 945. The *congruentia* (to maintain the language used by St Bernard, see n. 43 above) between armour and a pilgrim’s habits, between pilgrimage and militia, was to be passed down through the centuries. The tapestry of the Count Palatine Ottheinrich (1541), woven in a Brussels workshop, in the section commemorating his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, has foreground images of kneeling warrior pilgrims, in a particular climate and context such as those of Christian and Catholic Western Europe before the definitive victory over Islam that was won at the battle of Lepanto on 17 October 1571.

the integrity of the boundaries of the same Church *circumquaque diffusa*, any limitations therefore being unthinkable and unacceptable. For this reason the monk with a red or black cross on his white cloak finds himself on a constant path that leads from the field of battle, site of the *bellum iustum* (in his condition as a knight), to Bethany, the final goal of this new type of pilgrimage that extols victory over death in obedience “*sine mora*”, according to the Benedictine rule (in his condition as a monk).

The identity of the pilgrim, image of the Christian condition of the *viator*, exposes the sedimentation of the effects of the vicissitudes in which the Christian has operated, complicating itself in his physiognomy. “*Neutrum deesse cognoscitur*”⁶⁸ for St Bernard on the basis of the Christian as a warrior to defend the values that he himself is the bearer.

St Bernard’s language, in its undisputed ‘paranetic’, i.e. illustrative, value, is a product of his time, needing to respond to the issues of a context of that nature and to be directed at a certain type of society. The Christian, the pilgrims who arrive in Palestine, constitute a holy army, “*devotus exercitus*”⁶⁹. The meaning of *devotus*, taken within the climate of the time, in other words that of the Council of Troyes (1128), in which the foundations of the *fraternitas* of the Templars were laid with the drafting of their Rule, to which St Bernard himself was no stranger, since in Chapter 5 of the *Règle du Temple* the scribe who wrote the text declares that he did so on the order (“*par le comandement*”) of the Council “*et dou venerable pere Bernart abbés de Clervaus, a cui estoit comis et creu cestui devin office*”⁷⁰, and if the name of St Bernard appears amongst those of the fathers attending the Council⁷¹, the meaning of *devotus* – as we were saying – acquires a highly specific nature when considered within the cultural parameters of feudal society, for which, as Marc Bloch has observed, fighting, warfare “*non era soltanto un dovere occasionale verso il signore, il re, il casato. Rappresentava qualcosa di più: una ragione di vivere*”.⁷²

This cultural climate transformed into a model way of life could not be totally alien to the *Liber ad milites Templi*. Death in battle is in no way comparable to a peaceful death at home: “*Et quidem sive in lecto, sive in bello quis moritur, pretiosa erit sine dubio in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius. Ceterum in bello tanto profecto pretiosior, quanto et gloriosior*”⁷³. St Bernard was speaking to a society in which war was felt to be a “*reason for living*” not only for the nobility.

It would otherwise be impossible to understand the dissemination of an iconography that accepted this, with its corresponding cult and shrines (even on the route to Jerusalem), such as that of St George, the warrior saint, portrayed with lance

68 *Liber ad milites Templi*, IV, 8, p. 452.

69 *Ibidem*, V, 9, p. 454.

70 *La Règle du Temple*, edition by H. Curzon, Paris 1886, c. 5, p. 15-16. Cf. the Latin version of the text: “*Ego loahannes Michaelensis presentis pagine, jussu concilii ac venerabilis abbatis Clarevallensis B[ernard]i, cui creditus ac debitus hoc erat, humilis scriba esse divina gratia merui*” (*Ibidem*, p. 15-16).

71 *Ibidem*, c. 6, p. 18.

72 BLOCH, M., *La società feudale*, Turin, 1977, p. 322.

73 *Liber ad milites Templi*, I, 2, p. 440.

and shield and mounted on a (white) horse. In a recent study of the cult of this saint and its widespread dissemination, even amongst Moslems, this kind of iconography is related to the atmosphere and the time of the Crusaders “*quando questi scelsero come loro protettori santi guerrieri e soldati per aiutarli nelle loro lote*”⁷⁴

Nor would it otherwise be possible to understand the consciously cultural operation of transforming into an epic an obscure military event such as the defeat on 15 August 778 suffered by the rearguard of Charlemagne’s army, attacked and decimated by Basque mountain dwellers on its return from an expedition in Spain⁷⁵. Together with the preference for and love of “*per i racconti storici e leggendari*” of a “*società feudale europea senza distinzione di classi*”⁷⁶, together with its nature as a ‘literary product’ destined for the ears of “*una corte, ... ambiente potente, ma non abbastanza colto da poter leggere direttamente la storia*”⁷⁷, it is also necessary to emphasise the time at which the *Chanson de Roland* was written, namely towards the end of the 9th century⁷⁸.

74 AQUILANI, G., “San Giorgio il santo della Palestina”, in *San Giorgio e il Mediterraneo* (Proceedings of the II International Congress for the XVII Centenary, Rome, 28-30 November 2003), Vatican City, 2004, p. 36.

75 Regardless of the historical accuracy of the events at Roncesvalles as narrated in the *Chanson de Roland*, there remains the interest of the military campaign in the Ebro Valley in 778. See LÓPEZ ALSINA, F., *Santiago, una città per l’Apostolo*, in *Santiago. L’Europa del pellegrinaggio*, edition by P. Caucci von Sauken, Jaca Book, Milan, 1993, p. 60-61: “*Nell’ultimo terzo del secolo VIII sia il papa Adriano I (772-795) che Carlo Magno (768-814) rivolsero l’attenzione alla frontiera meridionale della cristianità latina. Con la campagna della valle dell’Ebro del 778 la frontiera si sarebbe collegata territorialmente al polo asturiano del principe Silo (774-783), che all’estremità occidentale giungeva sino alle terre alavesi. Nel 782 essi inviarono in Spagna il vescovo Egila con l’intenzione di promuovere una riforma della Chiesa peninsulare simile a quella che si stava concludendo con Chiesa franca. L’obiettivo finale era di integrare la Chiesa spagnola nell’universo degli ordinamenti romani, che si stavano affermando dall’altra parte dei Pirenei*”.

76 RUFFINI, G., “Introduzione a *La chanson de Roland*”, Parma, 1981, p. 10.

77 *Ibidem*.

78 *Ibidem*, p. 9: “*è con ogni probabilità certo che l’opera fu composta, almeno nella forma a noi oggi nota, verso la fine dell’XI secolo ed è quindi l’uomo di questa età l’uditore delle imprese di Orlando*”. Stanza or *laisse* LXXXIX provides us with some interesting elements for the contextualisation of the *Chanson*, such as the Bonizonian ‘lawfulness’ of the just war against the threats to peace and the unity of the *universalis ecclesia*, the eschatological significance of death *ferenda vel inferenda* on the battle field in the fight against the infidels, the basis of the *nova militia* (St Bernard), the ‘lawfulness’ of resorting to *omnibus modis* to annihilate evil when *l’imperium suae potestatis* (Gratian) intervenes.

“*D’altre part est li arcevesques Turpin, / Sun cheval broche, e muntet un lariz; / Franceis apelet, un sermun lur ad dit: / -Segnurs baruns, Carles nus lassa ci; / Pur nostre rel devun nus ben murir. / Chrestientét aidez a sustenir. / Bataille avrez, vos en estes tuz fiz. / Kar a voz oilz veez les Sarrazins. / Clamez voz culpes, si preiez Deu mercit! / Assoldrai vos pur voz anmes guarir. / Se vos murez, esterez seinz martirs: / Sieges avrez el greignor pareis. / Franceis de(s)centent, a tere se sunt mis, / E l’arcevesque de Deu les beneist: / geste que Tuoldus declinet”* (*La Chanson de Roland*, *Laisse* LXXXIX, p. 96). The climate of the time, as described in this free poetic transcription of events, reveals the powerful presence of the positions of the Church vis-à-vis the most pressing problems, such as the wars in Spain, which is as much as to say the question of war, albeit in defence of the faith (which had already been confronted in the thought of the Fathers of the Church), and the problem of an imminent schism following the election of an Antipope, Celestine III, in the person of Guibert Da Corregio.

Turpin absolves the rearguard of Charlemagne’s army from their sins when they have to face the Basque hordes that ambushed them in the mountains surrounding the pass at Roncesvalles, an enemy that in the poem (with a heavy overtone of propaganda) becomes “*les Sarrazins*”, the Saracens, the ‘pagans’, in other words the infidels. Death on the battlefield is seen as a penitential journey, and thus immediately after giving his blessing the bishop-soldier (*bellator*) gives the order to attack the enemy, to do harm. The way this is expressed in the following line from the *Chanson* is very clear: “*Par penitence les comandet a ferir*”. In c. III, 4 of the *Liber ad milites Templi*, in which St Bernard deals with the subject of the Christian (in the figure of the *monachus-miles*) and war, this will be transported to the plane of the elaboration of doctrine through the exegeses of 9th-century authors such as the

The transposition, freely rendered, of historical fact into a legendary tale, which converts Roncesvalles into a kind of Christian epic, is therefore to be placed in the origins of the journey to France made by Hugo de Payns, is to be placed in the origins of the Council of Troyes, of the drafting of the Rules of the Templars, of the writing of the *Liber ad milites Templi*, is to be placed in the origins of the Council of Piacenza, but is above all to be placed in the context of the wars against the Moslems in Spain waged by the two Popes from the end of the 11th century, Alexander II and Gregory VII⁷⁹, undoubtedly figures of great relevance in the history of that period.

above-mentioned Bonizone, but particularly by Anselm of Lucca in his *Contra Wibertum* in the *Liber canonum*. The architecture of the epic of Roncesvalles can be said to popularise the extremely delicate problem under debate. “*Par penitence*” – therefore – “*les cumandet a ferir*” (*La chanson de Roland*, LXXXIX, p. 96).

To die for one's sovereign – a reason that is widely present in the genre of the *chanson de geste* – certainly deals with the fundamental aspect of knightly-courtly culture, and undoubtedly entrains the equivalence: “*devozione al capo - possibilità di sperare nelle ricompense dell'altro mondo, assicurate non solo a chi muoia per il proprio Dio, ma anche a chi muoia per il proprio Signore*” (BLOCH, *La società feudale*, op. cit., p. 334; cf. RUFFINI, Introduction to *La chanson de Roland*, op. cit., p. 11). But what the poet is dealing with here – and it is of little importance whether or not he was the Thurold mentioned in the last line of the poem – is above all, according to our point of view, the problem posed by the urgency of the events that were to torment the 11th century, in other words the ‘lawfulness’ of killing, albeit for the faith. St Bernard of Clairvaux, without referring once more to the Rules of the two monastic-military Orders of his day, i.e. the Templars and the Teutonic Knights, in c. III, 4 of the *Liber ad milites Templi*, like Turpin, says: “*At vero Christi milites securi praeliantur praelia Domini sui, nequaquam metuentes aut de hostium cede peccatum, aut de sua nece periculum, quandoquidem mors pro Christo vel ferenda, vel inferenda, et nihil habeat criminis, et plurimum gloriae mereatur*” (p. 444). “*Se morirete sarete santi e avrete assicurati i posti più alti in paradiso*”: so ends Turpin the harangue he delivers to the Frankish soldiers. “*Cristo accetta come riparazione la morte inflitta al nemico, offrendosi, nello stesso tempo, come consolazione al soldato che ha ucciso il Suo nemico*”. This is the conclusion ‘contrario sensu’ reached by St Bernard. But the 11th century (the period during which the *Chanson de Roland* must have been written) seeks to find in the *auctoritates* the answer to the problem that war poses for Christians. In his *Contra Wibertum* Anselm of Lucca (? - 1083) indicates the way to the solution by taking as his starting point the thinking of St Augustine, who, addressing the Donatists, individualised the justification for resorting to arms, making an exception to the *non occides*, based on the principle of defence of the common interest. “*Non mihi placet*” – therefore – “*ut omnes habeant occidendi licentia, nisi forte sit miles aut publica functione teneatur, ut non pro se hoc faciat, sed pro aliis vel pro civitate ... accepta legitima potestate*” (cf. Anselmi Lucensis Episcopi *Liber contra Wibertum*, ed. BERNHEIM, E., in M.G.H., *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum*, t. I, Hannoverae, 1891, p. 523). Basing himself on Luke 3, 12-14 (“*Interrogabant autem eum et milites dicentes: Quid faciemus et nos? Et ait illis: Neminem conculcatis, neque calumniam faciatis; et contenti estote stipendis vestris*”) Anselm considers it to be a question of recognition of the commitment to defend. Indeed: “*... stipendium proprium sufficere precepit*” – thus the Evangelist – “*militare utique non prohibuit*” (*Liber contra Wibertum*, p. 524); see also, by the same Anselm, *Collectio canonica*, in P. L., 149, l. XIII, c. 4, col. 533: “*Quod militantes etiam possint esse iusti; et quod hostes deprimere necessitas non voluntas debet*”. Quoting St Augustine, with his words Anselm approaches the argument *de gravi pugna* in a more direct manner. There is no doubt (“*dubites nolo*”) for the Bishop of Hippo. The correspondence with the intentions and designs of God justifies resorting to bloody methods, in that war is the visible transposition of the constant cosmic conflict between Good and Evil, daily relived by the Christian (cf. ZERBI, P., “*La ‘militia Christi’? Per i Cistercensi*”, in ‘*Militia Christi’ e crociata nei secoli XI-XIII*, op. cit., p. 273-297). Thus: “*utile consilium tibi tuisque dabo: arripe manibus arma, oratio aures pulset auctoris, quia, quando pugnatur, Deus apertis caelis spectat, et partem, quam aspicit iustam, defendit et ibi dat palmam*” (*Liber contra Wibertum*, p. 524). In the *Liber canonum*, on the basis of the authority of Gregory the Great (his letter *ad Gennadium patricium et axarchum Africae*) mention is made, as has already been seen, to the *visibile gladium* as a means of extirpating evil: “*interesse temeritatem eorum visibili gladio comprimere*” (*Liber canonum*, VIII, p. 482). Cf. n. 45 above.

79 In the 12th century the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, with the *Historia Turpini*, returns to the material of the *Chanson*. What is obviously of interest is not so much the narrative as the exegesis of the themes that have already been dealt with, through which already well known events take place. Above all the argument of the *gladium visibile* in which there returns the image, taken up again by Gregory the Great, of the “*ecclesiastica bella*” that were already present in 11th century thought with Bonizone and in the *militia Petri* of Pope Gregory VII. In Chapter XXII of Book IV of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, (the entire contents of which appear to have been written between 1139 and 1173 [BERARDI, “Introduction

“L’oriente – è stato osservato – è scelto in funzione di una escatologia di rinascita”.⁸⁰ Alphandery underlines the nature of the choice of the crusade, which contains the dimension of pilgrimage, extolling it – with its goal in Jerusalem – in the “necessità di purificazione e... realtà del sacrificio”.⁸¹

Pilgrimage, therefore, both before and after the Crusades, before and after the appearance of the monastic-knightly Orders, was the strongest link, “e forse il più completo fra l’Oriente e l’Occidente”.⁸² The evolution in travel by armed masses, but also in a militia in permanent service against the defenders of the Anti-Christ,⁸³ would find its doctrinal expression through St Bernard, who took its origins from Biblical tradition (Psalms, 78, 1: “Venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sacrum tuum,/ posuerunt Ierusalem in pomorum custodiam”), in the tradition of the Gospels (Luke, 14, 27: “Et qui non baiulat crucem suam et venit post me, non potest meus esse discipulus”), and in Gregorian ecclesiology. As Alphandery has observed: “I religiosi che combattono contro i saraceni agli ordini dei principi di Navarra, secondo Rodolfo il Glabro, lottano “per amore della carità verso i loro fratelli”. È già l’olocausto; che è offerto ancor più chiaramente da Gregorio VII, quando si dichiara pronto a mettersi alla testa dei fedeli per correre in aiuto dell’impero bizantino, perché i fedeli debbono offrire le loro anime per i propri fratelli, così come un buon pastore deve farlo per il suo gregge”.⁸⁴

In the historical perspective of profanation (it is no accident that in the Psalm quoted above the verb is in the pluperfect: “polluerunt templum sacrum tuum”) the “l’escatologia di rinascita” is therefore carried out through the condition of *homo viator*, of a man on a never-ending journey, a journey of spiritual progress that converted life into a pilgrimage. The “rifiuto sociale”⁸⁵ that is consubstantial with the condition of *peregrinatio* due to the specific situations that mark a pilgrim’s experience, such as the attacks and dangers on the way, the risks to health, the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of communicating with people who speak different languages,⁸⁶ can almost be said to embody the significance of the hardships of the journey, accumulated

to *Il Codice Callistino*, op. cit., p. 20]), corresponding to the *Historia Turpini*, the dying Roland, casting his memory back over his whole life, in a soliloquy with his sword, whose “nome era Durlindana” with the more than eloquent meaning of “che percuote duramente i Saraceni” (*Il Codice Callistino*, op. cit., p. 434), traces the summary of his existence as a warrior, as a combatant, the identity of the Christian conscience of those centuries. “Quante volte, grazie a te, ho ucciso i nemici di Cristo e trucidato i Saraceni. Quanti Giudei e pagani ho annientato per esaltare la fede cristiana! Grazie a te si realizza la giustizia divina” (*Il Codice Callistino*, op. cit., p. 435). The lawfulness of suppressing life, as for Bonifacio (“pro dogmate” or “pro veritate”), is also recognised in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* in the name of carrying out “divine justice”. Roland’s sword, Durandal, is Anselm’s *gladium visibile*, symbol of St Bernard’s “bellum iustum” in the *Liber ad milites Templi*, which appears to have been written at some time between 1132 and 1135, and is therefore close in time to the period when the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* was written (1139-1173).

80 ALPHANDERY, P. & DUPRONT, A., *La cristianità e l’idea di crociata*, Bologna, 1974, p. 56.

81 *Ibidem*, p. 40.

82 *Ibidem*, p. 20.

83 *Ibidem*, p. 54 ff.

84 *Ibidem*, p. 21.

85 DIAZ Y DIAZ, M., *Il pellegrino medievale*, in *Il mondo dei pellegrinaggi*, op. cit., p. 40.

86 *Ibidem*.

at its end, representing the predetermined goal of achieving “*perfectio caritatis*”.⁸⁷ In the passage quoted above, taken from John Cassian’s *Conlationes*, there appears the term *peregrinare*, which literally means to abstain, to keep oneself apart, and not excluding the meaning of *abesse*, in other words, to move away from. There does not appear to be too much doubt that Cassian comes close to the constant and daily experience of the Christian *peregrinatio* in the sense of moving away (*discedere*) from the condition of the ‘Fall’ to return, by means of a journey of penance, and therefore one of purification, to the wellspring of Grace. Jerusalem, Rome or Santiago, real places sanctified by spiritual journeys, became an opportunity to *edocere* those who travelled there ready to contemplate the message of the revelation *sine mora*.

In the separation (which is like a going away) from human matter (“*ita valeamus ab hac passione carnali in carne degentes peregrinari*”),⁸⁸ but which is also a non-possessing, the

87 CASSIANI, I., “Opera, Pars II, Conlationes XXIII”, in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, XIII, Vindobonae, 1886, XI, 14, p. 331.

88 *Ibidem*, p. 332. Also see *Vite dei santi. Vita di Cipriano Vita di Ambrogio Vita di Agostino*, ed. A.A.R. Bastiaensen, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla 1975, 11, 19-21, p. 28, in reference to the Christian meaning of *peregrinus* as a constant ‘non-involvement’ along the route to the celestial homeland: “*Sed viderit saeculum, cui inter poenas exilium computatur; illis patria nimis cara et commune nomen est cum parentis, nos et parentes ipsos, si contra Deum suaserint, abhorremus; illis extra civitatem vivere gravis poena est, cristiano totus hic mundus una domus est; unde licet in abditum et abstrusum locum fuerit relegatus, admixtus Dei sui rebus exilium non potest computare. Adde quod integre serviens etiam propria in civitate peregrinus est*”. On Cyprian (200/210-258) and on the author of the *Vita Cypriani* see Ch. Mohrmann, “Introduction to *Vite dei santi*”, *op. cit.*, p. 9-26, particularly p. XIII-XVI. On pilgrimage as a reflection of the image of Christ, see *Benedicti Regula*, ed. HANSLIK, R., in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, LXXV, Vindobonae 1977, LIII, 15, p. 137: “*Pauperum et peregrinorum maxime susceptioni cura sollicitate exhibeatur, quia in ipsis magis Christus suscipitur; nam diuitum terror ipse sibi exigit honorem*”. It should be pointed out that the term *peregrinus*, in some cases at least, was used in an extremely generic sense to refer to a person on a journey, to a stranger, rather than to someone making a journey of penance, as is the case of a writer who lived at more or less the same time as St Benedict, Gregory Bishop of Tours (6th C.), to whom we owe, apart from a *History of the Franks*, a collection of hagiographic works on the *virtus* of St Martin and St Julian, the *Liber in gloria confessorum*, the *Liber vitae patrum* and many other writings (see the edition prepared by KRUSCH, B., in M.G.H., *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, t. I pars. II, Hannoverae, 1885). In the principal writings by this author, *peregrinus* and *peregrinatio* have the meaning of stranger or traveller; see Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis *Historiarum libri X*, ed. KRUSCH, B., in M.G.H., *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, t. I, Hannoverae 1937, IV, 35, p. 168: “*Iam si peregrinus ad eum*” – referring to St Avit, Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand – “*advenerit, ita diligitur, ut in eodem se habere et patrem recognoscat et patriam*”; *Historiarum libri X*, t. I, pars. I, fasc. II, Hannoverae 1942, VI, p. 272: “*Non decimae dantur, non pauper alitur, non tegitur nudus, non peregrinus hospicio suscipitur aut cibo sufficiente sacietur*” (the picture put forward refers to the prophecy by St Hospitius, Bishop of Nice, concerning an invasion of Gaul by the Lombards). See *ibidem*, VI, 36, p. 308: “*Tunc rex Guntchramnus, ut erat benignus et proflus ad miserandum, multa ei munera contulit, dans etiam epistola per omnes episcopos regni sui, ut peregrinum aliquid pro Dei intuitu consolarentur*” (where the Christian compassion of hospitality has the same sense as the *hospitalitas* of Roman generosity); IX, 16, p. 430: “*... Ingudem in captivitate tradiderunt, et per eorum insidias et vir eius interfectus est, et ipsa in peregrinatione defuncta*”; IX, 39, p. 461: “*... de peregrina stirpe...*”. In the hagiographic writings of the same Gregory (we must remember that he was a bishop) *peregrinus* and *peregrinatio* do not carry the meaning of penance, even though they are related to episodes of miraculous cures, manifestations of the *virtus* of the holy relics in the tombs conserved and guarded in the respective temples and churches, now shrines and places of worship. Whosoever came to the cathedral at Tours in order to pray and beseech the favour, the curative intercession of the saint, had already reached the place of worship, with no reference to the journey that had to be made in order to arrive. Indeed: “*Mulier quaedam ... oculorum luce privata ... venit ad venerabilem templum beati Martini antistitis*” (*De virtutibus sancti Martini*, ed. cit., I, 1, 8, p. 143). In this case it appears that the penance of the route to be travelled occurred in the long period of incubation in the church itself, before the cure took place: “*Cumque palpando diebus singulis ad aedem gloriosi praesolis cursitaret, post tres fere annos, stante eam ante sepulcrum, sperti sunt oculi eius, ita ut cuncta clare perspiceret*”. If in this case we cannot be sure whether or not the woman who was cured of her blindness lived in Tours (as suggested by the expression *diebus singulis ad aedem gloriosi praesolis cursitaret*), in the case of the serious illness (“*ut solo spiritu palpitaret*”) of the son of Chararic,

acquisition of the condition of pauper by abandoning property, one attains through this inner journey (which is that of the *militia Christi*) “*perfectio caritatis*” together with “*perfectio castitatis*”, the condition of the soul as a temple through which their spreads the spirit of God, welcomed as the Truth revealed. In this way it is possible to understand Cassian’s phrase “*ad imaginem dei similitudinemque conscenditur*”.⁸⁹ The image conjured up through the use of *conscendere* is that of the ascent of the Temple Mount.

The studies by Juan Ignacio Ruiz de la Peña⁹⁰ and Marco Tangheroni⁹¹, on the network of land routes to Santiago and the sea routes to Jerusalem, respectively, help us to understand Christian pilgrimage as a Euro-Mediterranean phenomenon.

The concept of Euro-Mediterraneity refers to the delimitation of a cultural area that extends over a defined space. But it also refers to a chronological context, if by Euro-Mediterranean we understand the space whose vertices are to be found in the Holy Places in Palestine, the biblical sites at Sinai, with their memories of Moses and Elijah, or that of Mount Ararat, with its memory of the Ark, on the border between modern-day Turkey and Armenia, and the Apostolic Sees of Rome and Santiago. Obviously,

king of Galicia, the road to the basilica of St Martin could not be travelled *singulis diebus* (*De virtutibus Sancti Martini*, l. 1, 11, p. 144-146). Furthermore, even if it were made necessary by the circumstances, the journey from Galicia to Tours, “*ad venerabilem locum sepulchri*”, (p. 145) was made by the figure of the *substitutus*, i.e. by persons close to the family of the sick person, and with the precious offerings to the saint “*discurrant usque ad eius templum fideles amici, multa munera deportantes*”, (p. 145) it being completely impossible for the sick person to undertake the journey (= pilgrimage). In other cases there is clear mention of a journey *ad locum venerabilem*; see for example the *Liber de virtutibus Sancti Iuliani*, ed. cit., 23, p. 124. Reaching the place of worship involves – obviously, when the case does not concern events occurring in the same city as the shrine – a journey that is not described in the account (although in this sense there has to be a careful reading of these sources). As has already been mentioned, it can be said that the incubation, the time between the halt at the *sepulchrum* in meditation and prayer and the miracle of healing constitutes the period of penance in which prayer provides the possibility of travelling an inner route whose destination was represented by an extraordinary event outside the scope of man, thereby enabling us to become aware of our limitations. In the 8th century (probably in the second half of the century) *peregrinus* no longer indicates only the condition of *hospes*, but also that of a penitent. In this regard see *Formulae Senonenses Recensiores*, ed. ZEVMER, K., in M.G.H., *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, Hannoverae, 1886, 11, p. 217: “*et nos pro hac causa secundum consuetudinem vel canonicam institutionem diiudicabimus, ut in lege peregrinorum ipse prefatus vir annis [septem] in peregrinatione [ambulare] deberet. ... et quod nullatenus pro alia causa ambulare dinoscitur, nisi, sicut superius diximus, pro peccatis suis redimendis*” (for the dating of the *Formulae*, see *ibidem*, p. 182-183). Also see *Formulae Salicae Lindenbergianae*, ed. ZEVMER, K., in M.G.H., *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, op. cit., 17, p. 278 where the *peregrinatio*, in the repeated formula of the seven years calculated for the experience of those who “*peccatis facientibus, proprio filio suo, vel fratri suo, sive nepote, nomine illo interfecit*”, despite the declared and confirmed penitential nature (“*secundum consuetudinem vel canonicam institutionem*”), appears to acquire an expiatory character. For the dating of the *Formulae Salicae Lindenbergianae* between the 8th and 9th centuries see *ibidem*, p. 365-267. On the equivalence established over time in certain countries, such as Flanders, between penitence and sentence (always in reference to pilgrimage) understood as a sanction applied by the civil authorities, see nn. 5 and 6 above. In the *Collectio sangallensis* (in the same edition by ZEVMER, 24, p. 410) a clear distinction is drawn between *hospes* and *peregrinus*: “*commendo ... suceptionem hospitum, solamen lugentium, peregrinis et egentibus ... vos unum omnia perisca effectum*” (for the dating of the *Collectio* to the second half of the 9th century, see *ibidem*, p. 392-394); also see *Formulae Salzbürgenses* (in the same edition by ZEVMER), 1, p. 439: “*Omnibus venerabilibus viris et diversarum potestatibus dignitatum et sanctae caritatis illis humilis sanctae catholicae et orthodoxae ecclesiae ... Scimus itaque, vestrae bonitatis pietatem pro Christo amorem et futurae gloriae retributione peregrinos et ospites, et maxime eos, qui pro ecclesiastica necessitate vel pro salute animarum suarum sacra sanctorum apostolorum limina visitare solent, benigne suscipere*”.

89 *Ibidem*, p. 331.

90 “Gli itinerari europei del pellegrinaggio a Santiago”, in *Il mondo dei pellegrinaggi*, op. cit., p. 187-212.

91 “Itinerari marittimi a Gerusalemme”, in *Il mondo dei pellegrinaggi*, op. cit., p. 213-256.

the priority of these places as the venerated destinations of pilgrimage is linked to the history of Christianity. All the other places that also became pilgrim destinations due to the presence of memories linked to relics did so at a later date. Between them they would make the Mediterranean and the countries that line its shores into a religious *koine*, in other words a space within which, for Christians, the divine mystery manifested itself and entered history, spreading out over time towards northern Europe.

The measure of *major or minor* used in reference to the places of pilgrimage cannot be restricted to the simple measuring of time, and thus to the figure that made them famous. There can be no doubt as to the significance bestowed on the places in Palestine by the life of Christ. Similarly, it is also true that the aforementioned distinction cannot refuse to take into account the ‘intention’ prefacing the pilgrimage itself. In other words, in the case of Jerusalem, Santiago or Rome pilgrims do not beseech a miracle, as, for example, they do in the case of St Martin of Tours⁹²; rather, they above all seek to meditate, to find themselves, as an act of their theological project,⁹³ in total estrangement

92 See the above-mentioned study by DALCHÉ, *La représentation de l'espace dans les Libri miraculorum op. cit.*, p. 397-420. Also see BEAUJARD, B., “Les pèlerinages vus par Grégoire de Tours”, in *Grégoire de Tours et l'espace gaulois* (Actes du Congrès International, Tours, 3-5 November 1994), ed. N. Gautier and H. Galinié, Tours 1997, p. 263-270, particularly p. 268: “En outre, ces visites pouvaient répondre à divers motivations – la curiosité du voyageur de passage, l'expression de la gratitude pour un bienfait antérieur, et surtout la quête d'un béni et de l'aide du saint – qui pouvaient se s'ajouter les unes aux autres”. This did not exclude the manifestation of the *virtus* of the Apostle, miracles included. Book Two of the *Codex Calixtinus* is, for example, devoted to the miracles of the Apostle of Compostela. Nevertheless, it is highly significant that almost all the cases concern the rescuing of the person concerned from the slavery of guilt, from offences they have committed, i.e. they are related with the recovery and return of the moral identity of the person, and at the same time with the releasing of Christians from the prison of the “Saracens”. In fact, I. II of the *Codex* begins with an armed encounter between Christian knights and Saracens at a time when the “fury” of the latter “sconvolgeva con maggior violenza le regioni della Spagna” (*Il Codice Callistino, op. cit.*, I. II, c. I, p. 344). After being defeated in battle the Christians were freed from their prison in Saragossa, (“*offensiva per la dignità umana!*” above all because – as can easily be imagined – it was the work of infidels) through the intervention of the Apostle. The series of miracles narrated in Book II ends in the 12th C. (p. 376-377) with an episode similar to the one above, when Santiago frees a person devoted to him from a Saracen prison. But it is in the 9th C. that the image of the Apostle was put forward, in coherence with the context of a border reality due to the Moslem advance through European territory, such as was the case of Galicia, as “*il campione [...] al servizio di Dio*” (p. 373), who marched “*a capo dei Cristiani assicurando loro la vittoria nella lotta contro i Saraceni*” (p. 373) and granted “*la vittoria a tutti coloro che lo invocavano in guerra*” and “*che combattevano per difendere la fede*” (p. 373). The apostle almost always appears before those in need, unconstrained by any specific attachment to a place sanctified through the presence of relics. Pilgrimage to his tomb is not seen as a necessary preliminary expiatory moment in order to merit his miraculous intercession. One of the rare occurrences of this kind appears in c. II. It tells of the pilgrimage made to Compostela by an Italian sinner who had committed homicide and is therefore ordered by his priest to travel as a pilgrim to Galicia, with a “*card on which his offence was written*” that he had to leave on the altar of the Apostle's shrine and give to the local ecclesiastical authorities. The forerunner, we could be tempted to say, of the procedure observed in the 14th-century judicial pilgrimages from Flanders (cf. p. 3 above and n. 7).

93 Cf. RUNCIMAN, *Storia delle crociate*, I, *op. cit.*, p. 36: “Una visita a quei luoghi santi, fatta con il proposito di pregare e di acquistare meriti spirituali faceva parte già a quel tempo delle pratiche religiose cristiane”. It is also true, on the other hand, that the testimonies – and particularly in this case – “*non scritte*” from the Holy Places are “*segno di una devozione talora confinante con la magia*” (CARDINI, *Gerusalemme d'oro, di rame, di luce, op. cit.*, p. 160). This was the case, for example, of the “*scaglie di pietra provenienti dal Santo Sepolcro*”, or the “*ciottoli raccolti nell'orto del Getsemani o sul monte degli Olivi*”, the “*foglie d'olivo provenienti dai medesimi luoghi*”, or also the “*tralci di palma provenienti dall'oasi di Gerico, dove i pellegrini scendevano abitualmente per ripercorrere la strada della quale Gesù aveva parlato nel parabola del buon Samaritano*” (*Ibidem*, p. 161). It is not just a question of ‘souvenirs’, but also one of “*reliquie efficaci per la salute*” of pilgrims (“*o dei loro cari*”). For example, “*al prodigioso olio delle lampade del Sepolcro ...*” there was “*una polvere biancastra, gessosa, che si poteva ricavare*

from themselves (the last stage of a *peregrinatio*, thus converted, as it was for Cassian, into distancing and separating oneself from one's material body)⁹⁴. There is, however, a common denominator that unites the two groups: a tomb that is the focus of prayer and worship. It suffices in this regard to number the places that merit veneration due to the presence of relics along the roads that led to Santiago. One can mention the tomb of St Trophimus at Arles, or the cemetery of that same city (Arles) containing the mausoleum of St Giles, or that of St Hilaire at Poitiers, or that of St Martin at Tours, etc. for those travelling to the tomb in Santiago de Compostela from France⁹⁵.

There is a clearly distinguishable link between the cult of relics and the pagan cult of the dead, an inescapable point of comparison for Christianity.

grattando una grotta detta "del Latte" situata presso la basilica della Natività a Betlemme, dove appunto Maria aveva partorito e allattato il Bambino. Si diceva –e si dice ancora– che tale polvere, sciolta nell'acqua o nella minestra delle puerpere, favorisse la "montata" lattea" (Ibidem, p. 162).

94 See GRABOIS, A., Introduction to *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre Saint au Moyen Âge*, p. 12: "Comme les autres pèlerinages, le voyage en Terre sainte menait a un tombeau vénéré, toutefois, a la différence des autres, ce tombeau revêtait une signification unique pour la Chrétienté tout entier, puisqu'il sagissait de celui du Christ. De surcroît, à l'issu de ce long voyage, le pèlerin découvrait un ensemble de sites, consacrés par les traditions bibliques, à Jerusalem et sur le sol palestinien, à tel point que tout le pays fut finalement considéré comme la "Terre sainte", terme qui correspondait à la notion biblique de la "Terre de la Promission". À cet égard, la visite de la Terre sainte, où le pèlerin marchait "sur le pas de Jésus Christ" en s'identifiant spirituellement à son passé, à la fois mystique et sacré, était un phénomène sans équivalent dans les autres pèlerinages". Gregory I (590-604), approaching his discourse from the perspective of the miracle, an extraordinary event which, bursting into the natural world, breaks all its laws, overcomes all possible distinctions that can be referred back to the presence of relics, making it possible to relate a miracle solely to an act of faith. Thus what links a human being to the supernatural, in his weakness and at the same time in his sacrifice for God, is the memory rather than the material presence of the *corpus*, of the *reliquiae*. See Gregory the Great *Dialogi libri IV*, edited by MORICCA, U., in *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, Rome, 1924, l. II, XXXVIII, p. 133: "Ubi in suis corporibus sancti martyres iacent, dubium ... non est, quod multa valeant signa monstrare, sicut et faciunt; et pura mente quarentibus innumera miracula ostendunt. sed quia ab infirmis potest mentibus dubitari, utrumne ad exaudiendum ibi praesentes sint, ubi constat quia in suis corporibus non sint, ibi eos necesse est maiora signa ostendere, ubi de eorum praesentia potest mens infirma dubitare". The most interesting aspect that can be derived from this reading consists in the decision of the mind that is pure at heart to constitute the route that leads to the "mira signa", at one and the same time a condition of their manifestation. A miracle, therefore, is not only translatable into the curing of the sick, but also (or perhaps above all) into discovering the wellspring of life in the manifestation of the Truth to he who has eyes to see it: "quorum viro mens in Deo fixa est, tanto magis habet fidei meritum, quanto illic eos novit et non iacere corpore, et tamen non deesse ab exauditione. Unde ipsa quoque Veritas, ut fidem discipulis auferit, dixit: 'si non abiero, Paraclitus non venit ad vos'". The empty tomb and the oratorium containing its relics are seen as testimony of a memory that covers the universe and can therefore effect radical transformations. Gregory tells of a poor mad woman ("mulier mente capta, dum sensum funditus perdedisset", *ibidem*), who after wandering along the riverbank at Subiaco reached the 'cave' in which St Benedict had lived, now obviously empty. After falling asleep, when she woke she found that she was cured. Her long wanderings ("die noctuque vagabatur"), which is a pilgrimage, leads to the 'holy grotto', the place of the memory of St Benedict, a living souvenir of a testimony of God. This presence, separate from that of any relic and itself a relic in the form of a memory, received and made its own by the purity of the condition of "nesciens" (*ibidem*), invests with its *virtus* the unheinged and bewildered personality of the protagonist of the episode narrated by Gregory.

95 *Il Codice callistino*, op. cit., l. V, c. VIII, p. 473-493. See LÓPEZ ALSINA, *Santiago, una città per l'Apostolo*, op. cit., p. 69-71: «Durante il secolo X si riscontrano le prime relazioni dirette tra le sede compostellana e Tours, Limoges e Le Puy, centri di soste di tre delle quattro vie francesi. L'itinerario classico, che la cosiddetta Cronica Silense considera come quello naturale e che viene descritto nella guida del Codice Calixtino, resta una via interna che percorre il territorio cristiano, dal momento che Sancho Garchés I di Navarra occupa la Rioja, intorno al 924. Da allora il flusso crescente dei pellegrini contribuisce a definire questa strada come il Camino de Santiago ... A partire dall'anno Mille, il pellegrinaggio cammina verso la sua maturità e universalità. ... La città si trasforma sostanzialmente con l'aumento del pellegrinaggio».

The sacred nature of the places in the Bible and the Gospels, received by Europe from the Mediterranean, arises from the veneration for an event of life, that of the Incarnation capable of overcoming death, the reason for venerating and empty tomb.

The tombs of the saints with their corresponding relics scattered throughout the territory of what had once been the Roman Empire replaced those of the heroes of the pagan world. The tombs of the Apostles, testimonies of the Word made flesh – an event that constantly renews itself with the dissemination of the former – in a similar manner to the Sepulchre in Jerusalem⁹⁶, renew the faith in rebirth, whose perspective includes the continuous flow of pilgrims to Jerusalem, Rome and Santiago, a journey that takes the Christian to the wellsprings of life, a very different thing from the curative *virtus* of the tombs of the saints.

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96 On the significance of Jerusalem as a symbol of the fulfilment of the Incarnation in the supreme act of the Crucifixion, see F. Cardini, *Gerusalemme d'oro, di rame, di luce, op. cit.*, p. 9: "...l'Incarnazione che ha consacrato la storia umana e che ha d'altronde posto il sigillo a quella del popolo d'Israele intesa come storia sacra".