

NOT FROM A GREAT MAN: OTHERING OF REAL AND FICTIONAL RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS' LEADERS IN 11TH AND 12TH CENTURY CATHOLIC TEXTS ABOUT HERESY

Aliaksandra Valodzina

Abstract: *The present study analyses the Western heretical narratives dated to the 11th–12th centuries as performances representing the confrontation between a wise pious prelate and a cunning impious heresiarch. It regards the entire texts of the narratives, including obviously false evidences such as flying devils. The article shows that when the real movement leaders were well known and respected, the texts depicted them as men acting under the influence of fictional heresiarchs, miserable characters, medieval “others”, such as women, peasants and demons. The aim of introducing a fictional heresiarch character was to construct a suitable opponent for a Catholic prelate who would prove the rightness of the official Church doctrine in course of the debates. The real-life heresiarchs in the texts could receive pejorative characteristics intended to degrade the entire movement and praise the Roman Catholic Church.*

Keywords: *heresy, religious movements, performance, demons, medieval woman*

In the Late Middle Ages, the golden age of the Inquisition against heretics, the inquisitorial processes became a fixed ritual and as such acquired the established order and roles. In the High Middle Ages, anti-heretical processes taking place in an ecclesiastical court and described by a polemist or a chronicler could be regarded rather as a performance, where all the roles are predetermined in their mutual relations, but the actors retain a certain degree of freedom: a wise bishop, a zealous crowd, a cunning heresiarch, his/her demonic adviser, and confused, naive sectarians. Sometimes there is also God, who puts the finishing touches. Revealing and analysing of such a scenario allow supposing that sometimes some of its elements could be changed or falsely added to the story to make it fit. In the present paper, there is a challenge of the known heresiarchs for having these changes.

Although it was Peter the Venerable (c. 1092 – 1156) writing the first Catholic antiheretical treatise,¹ there are many evidences of different heresies existing

¹ Iogna-Prat 1998b.

THE CHURCH AND OTHERNESS

before this date. French, Italian, English, Hungarian and Holy Roman Empire's Catholic clerics, primarily monks, composed polemical treatises, historical writings, sermons, chronicles, proceedings of synods, and private letters, during the two centuries between the 1020s and the 1220s. This article studies forty two cases related to twenty nine heretical events (see the Appendix), though there are much more instances when the authors use the term "heresy", but not all of them are related to the religious dissent in the modern understanding of the term.²

This article deals with the heresies that emerged in the Catholic society from the millennium to 1183. The first date based on a famous *The Five Books of the Histories* by Raoul Glaber (985–1047) which placed the earliest heresy around 971. Before this date, there were only a couple of mentions of charismatic heterodox preachers (Claudius of Turin, Miget of Spain, Theuda of Mainz),³ whom the local Church authorities condemned but neither they nor their followers faced severe persecutions. The intensity and extent of this campaign differed significantly from earlier and later persecutions (such as the anti-Arian in the Western part of the Roman Empire), as those were not usually portrayed as a full-scale Church disagreement or heresies, but rather as minor internal conflicts. The end date of 1183 marks the council in Arras, when the Archbishop of Rheims discovered a new heresy that had no obvious ideological leader.⁴

There is no lack in the generalizing works about early heresies.⁵ An English-speaking reader may find the English translations of the original Latin texts in the comprehensive work by Wakefield and Evans.⁶ This book and alike give profound and precise overview of social,⁷ political and cultural⁸ context in which the heretical movements emerged. In the previous decades, scholars advanced significantly in the analysis of true historical events, covered by the hostile Catholic polemic. The purpose of such polemic was clearly established by Grado Giovanni Merlo: that coercion to orthodoxy (namely the Catholic faith) extends to creating frightening images of the heretics.⁹ Dominique Iogna-Prat showed how, through religious polemic, a persecuting society¹⁰ realized its

² Patschovsky 2003, pp. 34–35.

³ Russell 1965, pp. 11–17, 107–118.

⁴ MGH SS 6:421.

⁵ Main generalizing books are Russell 1965; Moore 1985; Lambert 2002; Brunn 2006.

⁶ Wakefield & Evans 1991.

⁷ Volpe 1907.

⁸ Heretical sects as textual communities was analysed by Stock 1983.

⁹ Merlo 2008, p. 23.

¹⁰ A term proposed by Robert Ian Moore in his ground-breaking book *The formation of a persecuting society: Authority and deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250*. Moore 2008.

“structural necessity” in the diabolisation of “the other”.¹¹

In the majority of cases analysed in this essay (23 from 42, see Appendix), there is a precise heretic named, in 19 cases, he/she supposed to be a leader of the movement, a heresiarch. The descriptions of these figure often had many evidently mythical details, involving dark magic, collaboration with the demons, night orgies and infanticide. These details, contemptuously named by Anne Brenon ‘anecdotal and caricatural’,¹² systematically fall out of the research’s scope. The polemic itself, as a method, also rarely has been in the focus of scholarship as well.¹³ Recent book by Michael D. Barbezat, *Burning Bodies: Communities, Eschatology, and the Punishment of Heresy in the Middle Ages*,¹⁴ demonstrates a deeper understanding and appreciation of the anti-heretical polemic, among other things, he claims that

“[T]ales of demonic inspiration, orgiastic nocturnal rituals, and ceremonial cannibalism are obviously fallacious, but these shocking practices served as part of a unified complex of ideas for the medieval authors who attributed them to religious dissidents ... these *topoi* themselves would remain important artifacts of the past that should not be discarded”.¹⁵

The first part of the present article follows a similar approach and investigates symbolic figures of a peasant, a woman, and a demon, as typical medieval “others”. I assume that the medieval polemicists intentionally portrayed these socially low-status individuals as the protagonists, in order to discredit a controversial religious doctrine and deprive the movement of credibility in general.

Usually, medieval texts have several layers of understanding, they are full of biblical allusions, moral allegories and different metaphors. It is safe to presume that for a medieval reader aforementioned “shocking practices” were the reality. At the same time, these details could have additional meanings of devaluating heretics, the opponents of the Catholics. These narratives were written by clerics, who saw themselves as social elites of the time. For examining social elites’ methods of protecting their power in complex writings that are rife with metaphors and analogies, I apply the tool of critical discourse analysis (CDA).¹⁶ Thus, I intend to expose the abusive and domineering behaviours that were figuratively concealed in the texts.

The second part of the article analyses heretical narrative, especially in its part dedicated to physical meeting of heretics with clergy, as a performance. “It

¹¹ Iogna-Prat 1998a, p. 32. About semiotic persecution of the heretics see Tamm 2018.

¹² Brenon 1995, p. 24.

¹³ One of the rare exceptions is Giorgio Cracco; but only for four heresies of the millennium described by Raoul Glaber. Cracco 1971.

¹⁴ Barbezat 2018.

¹⁵ Barbezat 2018, p. 9.

¹⁶ van Dijk 1993, p. 252.

THE CHURCH AND OTHERNESS

focuses not on the cultural contexts of meaning or the idea of “culture as text,” but on the practical dimension of the generation of cultural meanings and experiences”.¹⁷

These techniques have been frequently used in works dealing with hagiography that have demonstrated that the author carefully elaborated the figures of protagonists, staged the extras of the play, the witnesses to the action, and detailed the acts as happenings, separating the divine from the magical and evil.¹⁸ Saints’ lives attested for both, the protagonists’ biographies and the wider medieval mind-set. One may say the same may about the stories of their polar opposites, the heretics.

The application of the CDA and performative approach widens the audience of the present scholarly text, making it interesting not only for the medievalist, but also for the researchers of other types of polemics and ritualized deeds. Following the logic of the CDA, one needs to detect the roles in the performance, as a starting point, and compares their descriptions with the characteristics of the “other”, developed by the society under study.

Inappropriate prophets

During the 11th and 12th century, the Church established a monopoly in the spiritual sphere. Between the Gregorian Reform (c. 1050–80) and the appearance of the works by Thomas Aquinas (1225 – 1274), the Church developed and ascertained the Catholic doctrine. The preacher’s image was formulated among the first: it should be an unmarried man, receiving the authorization from clergy and totally obedient to the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁹ All the other characters became *de facto* irrelevant for a preacher. At the same time, an image of undesirable persons came to fore: among them, there were some categories of the population, regarded as inferior, incapable or even frightened – generally, the “others”. (See the Map) “On the level of concrete utterances, polemical discourses make use of pre-existing cultural categories and hierarchies to disparage or devalue opponents”.²⁰ The very classification of an opponent as belonging to one of those categories automatically proved his inability to carry God’s word.

A woman

A woman, as a foreigner, was the “other” of the Western Middle Ages.²¹ For the first time in the studied period, she could be found as a wandering heresiarch in Orleans in 1022. There are five different versions of the heretical

¹⁷ Bachmann-Medick 2016, p. 73.

¹⁸ Gajano 2020, p. 220.

¹⁹ Kienzle 1998, p. 263.

²⁰ Steckel 2018, p. 12.

²¹ Connell 2015, p. 493.

appearance in this story, that refers to several high-ranking Orleans prelates, including Queen Constance's confessor. After their heresy was discovered, they were burn on the stake in presence of the royal couple and numerous clergy.

A version of the Orleans' affair, narrated by Raoul Glaber, placed the responsibility for the apostasy on a certain woman from Italy, who "seduced" whom-ever she encountered.²² Glaber's choice of words confirms Heinrich Fichtenau's proposition about the allusion to Eve and the snake,²³ the medieval writer uses "seduction" instead of more common "deceiving", thus, implying the actions, similar to that of Eve.

During the Medieval period, women were called heresiarchs extremely rarely. This fact could be explained either by rational or irrational reasons. Among the rational ones, there is a lack of education, the impossibility to occupy the position of a Catholic priest, and a lesser general trust level towards women among the public. The irrational ones stem from the latter issue: misogynistic clerics could hardly imagine a weak woman as a head of a large movement. They followed Augustine of Hippo's words: "Do not think that heresies could have arisen from a few beggarly little souls. Only great men have brought forth heresies".²⁴ It was less probable that a woman, as a secondary creature, had a great soul.

Despite the positive examples of *apostolorum apostola* Mary Magdalene and other female saints acting as preachers in the early Christian times, for clergy in the 11th and 12th centuries, the figure of a female preacher was associated to the demonic powers. Her biblical equivalent was Jezebel – an impure queen from the Old Testament and a satanic prophet from the New One.²⁵ As the female preachers, Jezebel also embodied "the type of human pride".²⁶ As one may see in the mural depiction of the Hell and its chef, Satanasso, commissioned for the oratory of the Monastery delle Oblate di Santa Francesca Romana a Tor de' Specchi, the sin of vainglory was perceived as one of the worst. The pride and vainglory were the main sins of heretics,²⁷ it means that even a mention of a woman as an initiator of the religious movement had to be understood as an allusion to the movement's sinful nature.

Thus, the appearance of a woman as a heresiarch in the Church narratives could reflect a conscious design disparaging the movement or attest for so significant role of a woman that it was impossible to ignore.

²² Raoul Glaber, Liber III, Cap. VIII:26.

²³ Fichtenau 2000, p. 34.

²⁴ Nigg 1962, Epigraph.

²⁵ Kienzle 1999, pp. 34–37.

²⁶ Suerbaum 2016, p. 141.

²⁷ More about "main heretical sins" of this period could be read at my future article "Heretics matter: the explicit and hidden purposes of the 11th and 12th-century Catholic narratives". About later period: Välimäki 2022.

THE CHURCH AND OTHERNESS

If the Orleans' case exemplified the former tendency, the case of Italian *Monsfortis* turns out to be an example of the latter one. There are two sources discussing the appearance of heretics in an unlocalized fortress *Monsfortis* in Lombardy: the description composed by the aforementioned Raoul Glaber²⁸ and the *Chronicle* by Landulf the Senior (c. 1050 – c. 1110).²⁹ These two do not have much in common, except for the name of the place and the central figure of a woman. Raoul represented her as a healer accompanied by demons wearing black, Landulf wrote that this fortress was ruled by a countess fallen into heresy. It is unlikely that both authors wrote about the same woman. Landulf's story could be a reflection of a struggle for secular power between Aribert (or Heribert), the Archbishop of Milan (between 970 and 980 – 1045) and the countess of this fortress,³⁰ or just an imaginary story invented by Raoul, who was looking for signs of the Apocalypses. However, the presence of a female figure in two independent sources lets us suppose her real existence.

For the next 100 years, women disappeared from the heretical narratives, just to come back as the most miserable believers later. The heretics immigrating to England in the 1160s were so weak and unsuccessful in their preaching that they managed to convert “only one poor woman”.³¹ Here the author used the Latin word *muliercula*, the same as Apostle Paul in II Tim 3. In Septuagint, it was applied not only in a diminutive sense but also in a neutral meaning to emphasize her status as an object, not a subject. The idea is the same: the religious propaganda of newcomers was so unconvincing, and the people of England were so strong in their faith, that only a less-than-a-man person became their victim. Peter Biller claims that the *muliercula* became not only a common believer but a Cathar *perfecta*.³² It means that the author, William of Newburgh (1136 – 1198)), did not conceal a presence of an English woman but did his best to cover her real significance through the Biblical allusions.

The possibility for a woman to become a spiritual leader and skilled in preaching was first recognized by William's younger colleague, Ralph of Coggeshall (died after 1227) whose work did not focus on his homeland, England, but narrated about the trial in Reims, taking place c. 1176-80.³³ It is also possible that Coggeshall's choice was influenced by the general “blending of female empowerment and bigotry” emerged in England in the 12th century.³⁴ With

²⁸ Raoul Glaber, Liber IV, Cap. II.

²⁹ MGH SS VIII:65-66.

³⁰ Taviani-Carozzi 1974, p. 1246.

³¹ Howlett 1884, p. 133.

³² Biller 1999, p. 30.

³³ de Coggeshall 1875, p. 123.

³⁴ Lavezzo 2023, p. 10.

the appearance of Waldensianism, which “officially” allowed women to preach, clerics openly attacked female preachers, without trying to hide their role.

A peasant

The otherness of heresiarchs could be demonstrated through their lower economic status. “The nobility considered commoners as foreigners, and peasants were little more than animals”.³⁵ It was especially necessary in the cases when the sect members’ status was very high. The history has multiple evidence when people of a modest origin initiated grand movements, such as commonly known example of *devotio moderna*. At the same time, it is highly unlikely that the highest clergy would respectfully listen to the words of illiterate peasants, as it was the case in Orleans’ trial.

The clerics from Orleans had the highest status among all the discussed heresies. One of them was the confessor of the French Queen Constance. Adémar de Chabannes (988/989 – 1034) said that they “were deceived by one peasant”.³⁶ Fichtenau claims this was an attempt “to debase the intellectual niveau of the sect”.³⁷ Moreover, it could also be the aforementioned polemical method of the opponent’s depreciation, namely, presenting him as a member of the lowest social strata.

Not all the heresiarchs have their social status mentioned. On the other hand, heresiarchs’ peasant status was emphasized every time when the noble audience was involved. Taking it into consideration, one may hypothesis that the insertion of some peasant (negative) characters could disclose the real aims of the narrative author, i.e. to discredit these exact nobles rather than to discuss the heresy. Count John of Soissons listened to peasant Clement and his brother Ebrard,³⁸ this episode being added to other “great crimes” of the count.³⁹ The highly politically engaged Chronicle of Landulf,⁴⁰ narrating about Girard of *Monsfortis*, hints that he could also have noble protectors.⁴¹ This situation contrasts sharply to the social status of the Cathar believers, who were in strong majority nobles, as Jean Duvernoy showed it. Gabrielle Zanella claims that the equating of “weak/poor/dominated/exploited” to the “heretic” in the scholarships was a heredity of the Marxist historiography overwhelmed by the modern

³⁵ Connell 2015, p. 490.

³⁶ Adémar de Chabannes, 184. III:59.

³⁷ Fichtenau 2000, p. 34.

³⁸ PL 156:951.

³⁹ For example, he also was a follower of the “Jewish impiety” and participated in murderers etc. PL 156:949-951.

⁴⁰ For more information see Doublier 2023.

⁴¹ Moliner 1893, p. 28.

THE CHURCH AND OTHERNESS

heresiologists.⁴² For the early heresies, there are two possibilities: their leaders had mostly humble origins, or the authors discussing the movements covered the information about the noble believers. There are no mentions of any independent noble heresiarch.

Since the population of Europe at the time was mostly rural, it is logical that the majority of sectarians were peasants. In the eyes of the polemicists, the very fact of being an illiterate peasant could provide an explanation for the soul weakness and readiness to listen to a heresiarch. One may find a confirmation of this thesis in the writings of Peter the Venerable on the origin of the first followers of Peter of Bruys:

‘I thought that the frozen Alps and the rocks covered with perpetual snow had introduced barbarism to your inhabitants, and had created a people unlike any other land, a land unlike any other; therefore, to the savages and the uneducated, a dogma alien to man’s manners crept in.’⁴³

It was the first step in the alienation of the whole region of the Alps. Alpine valleys in the perception of the royal courts of Europe were a wild place, difficult to control.⁴⁴ As a result, ‘the feudal society, from the Late Middle Ages, launched a social war against the mountain world, first in the name of a struggle against heresy (Catharism and Waldensianism), and then against diabolical witchcraft.’⁴⁵ This is a working model of othering through association: the inhabitants of the mountain areas become the ‘others’ because they listened to heretics, and yet, within the same loopback logic, the mountaineers are witches because they are ‘others’.

However, for being a prophet and formulating a new interpretation of the Gospel at least some education was necessary. Adriaan Bredero working on the case of heresiarch Henry challenges this argument. In his opinion, Henry was illiterate, but the Church authorities depicted him as a monk because they could not imagine a peasant preaching.⁴⁶

The present-day scholarship does not hold sufficient information about the social status of heretics in the 11th–12th centuries. However, every mention of a peasant as a sectarian or a heresiarch should be treated not only as a historical fact but also as an attempt to insult the undogmatic preachers. There is another extreme of this religious polemic: a creation of a worthy opponent, the case being discussed in the following chapter.

⁴² Zarella 1995, 196.

⁴³ “Putabam Alpas gelidas et perpetuis nivibus opertos scopulos incolis vestris barbariam invexisse et dissimilem terris omnibus terram dissimilam ceteris omnibus populum creavisse, itaque agrestibus et indoctis hominem moribus peregrinum dogma cacilius irrepsisse”. *CC CM* 10: 10.

⁴⁴ Fratini 2003, p. 8.

⁴⁵ Lavenia 2016, p. 153.

⁴⁶ Bredero 1983, pp. 116–118.

A demon

During the first two centuries of the development of Western anti-heretical storytelling, the devil played a decisive role in the arising of heretical ideas. I will discuss this *ad oculus*, using the two first heretical stories by Raoul Glaber: a chapter on the heretical madness of a French peasant Leutard⁴⁷ and another one dedicated to heretical arrogance of an Italian cleric Vilgard.⁴⁸ These two episodes could be fictional pairs to the stories about Orleans and *Monsfortis*;⁴⁹ they are not confirmed by any other sources. Anyway, they are perfect as a model of the othering by the origin.

Leutard was *homo plebeius* (obviously pejorative definition), who was made “insane” by “a great swarm of bees entered his body through his privates”. At first sight, this is a beginning of a saint story, since bees were regarded as positive creations. “It is the purest and most virtuous of all animals”.⁵⁰ Bees were often imagined as messengers of God: “This very specific imagery was used in both the western and eastern churches to refer to the transmission of the Word of God through earthly subjects”.⁵¹ Nevertheless, here, the most important detail is the reverse entrance of the bees, not appropriate for God’s commands. At this point, it should have become clear to the reader that these are not bees at all, but demons.

Vilgard was an educated man, not studying the Christian doctrine, the Gospels or the Church Fathers, as Glaber contemptuously pointed out, but dedicated to the art of grammar, so beloved by Italians. His favourite poets were Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal. The ambiguity of the situation lies in the general attitude toward antique pagan philosophy and poetry: it was typical for even low-level church servants to be interested in the wisdom of Antiquity and strove to demonstrate their erudition in. Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Virgil, Cicero, and Ovid were praised in the (Provencal) Bible Guiot.⁵² On the other hand, when the demons came to Vilgard under the guise of his beloved authors, he was so blinded by his fascination with the pagan culture that did not recognize the satanic forces. Here I would like to highlight that only the presence of pagan poets was not sufficient for demonstrating the depravity of the situation, the demons were also mentioned directly.

Thus, the medieval authors represented the heretics as the complete opposition to the Apostles whom the heretics themselves often pretended to be.

⁴⁷ Raoul Glaber, Liber II, Cap. XI.

⁴⁸ Raoul Glaber, Liber II, Cap. XII.

⁴⁹ Taviani-Carozzi 2007, p. 32.

⁵⁰ Pastoureau 2020, p. 281.

⁵¹ Taylor 2000, p. 346.

⁵² Joost-Gaugier 2007, pp. 69–70.

THE CHURCH AND OTHERNESS

The majority of the stories with the demonic participation (8 out of 10) are dated to the first half of the 11th century. Consequently, I could assume that, since the early authors were not so habituated to dealing with contemporary heretics and could not tolerate such high level of corruption in the Christian society, they shifted the responsibility for the sin of heresy from the heretics to the demon and/or Antichrist. The references to the demonic inspirations not only contributed to the heretics' alienation but also provided as an explanation for "the real reason of their fall" – the diabolical intrigues. At the same time, this explanatory method served to disparage the significance of the heresiarchs' own initiative. They were depicted not as the "great souls" of Augustin's writings or the founders of great monuments but as weak followers of the Devil.

Thus, the scenario of heretical story must have an absolutely negative personages, the heretics. If the heretics themselves did not look bad enough, the scenario presented their disgusting believes and acts as performed under poisoning influence of "others". On the other side of this spiritual conflict, the Roman Catholic Church and its representatives, prelates, stood ready to defend the pure faith.

The pair of a wise bishop / an erroneous heresiarch

Guy Lobrichon in his article *Arras 1025, ou le vrai procès d'une fausse accusation*⁵³ claims that the entire Arras heresy was an invention to glorify the bishop of Cambrai Gerard. This fact can have far-reaching implications for the analysis of anti-heretical processes. In the majority of cases where a named bishop/archbishop was involved into some parts of an anti-heretical trial (19 cases), one can find a heresiarch also being referenced with his name (18 cases). Presenting the anti-heretical controversy as a "duel" between a certain heresiarch and a certain prelate has been a rule until 1143, when "new heretics" were burned. The explanation for such fact can be found in the *Sigeberti Continuatio Aquincinctina*, the report from the Council in Reims dated to 1183: it discovered that the heretics were not gathered under the leadership of any heresiarch.⁵⁴ Before the mid-12th century, heresies were imagined as groups with the concrete leadership (heritage of the Ancient authors). The Cathars movement (or what clerics named so) did not match this template. The controversy "a prelate vs a founder of the movement" has changed to "a prelate vs a representative of the movement".

Moreover, the presence of such stable template before 1143 leads to a question: was a heresiarch's figure always real, or was it just an addition to match the prelate's figure? This argument does not lead to the speculations concerning the

⁵³ Lobrichon 1998.

⁵⁴ MGH SS 6:421.

falsification of the entire movement, but rather to the validity of the heresiarch figure. For example, it could be more realistic to imagine the trials in the terms of the aforementioned affair in Arras in 1025: *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis* described a dispute between Gerard I, bishop of Arras-Cambrai, and some illiterate heretics, who do not even understand Latin.⁵⁵ Could the victory against such a miserable enemy glorify the bishop? A much more worthy opponent was an Italian Gundulf, who pretended to be an editor of the Gospel and had the power to send people to preach as Jesus Christ sent the Apostles. Turning his followers to the Catholic Church seems to bring more honours.

“The most erudite Gebuin” converted to the Catholic faith people who firstly follow mad Leutard, inspired by demons (supernatural power) under the image of bees.⁵⁶ There is no consensus among the scholars on the personality of this Leutard. Malcolm Lambert considers that “he was an isolated rural fanatic, that he had been affected by fragments of Bogomil belief, or was a victim of ergotism, the symptoms of which may include the sensation of burning in the genitals”.⁵⁷ Brian Stock saw him as an illiterate prophet trying to base his sermon on a literal understanding of the Bible.⁵⁸ Tullio Panaro and Luigi Pruneti claim that he could, in fact, read.⁵⁹ Fichtenau suggests that he could be a representative of a large movement.⁶⁰ In the light of a vision of an anti-heretical trial as a role-play, Leutard could be a personification of a no-name peasant heretical movement that bothered the Church and the nobles, since this Leutard protested against paying the tithes. The article is not looking closely to the social background of heresy, but “it is worth remembering that traditionally bishops had been rich men in their own right, from prominent families with private lands.”⁶¹ Evidently, in this case the Gebuins’ “moral victory” and Leutard’s suicide would not stop the popular discontent.

In the same situation was Girard from *Monsfortis*, who bore the responsibility for the doctrine of the sect. His evaluations are even more controversial, stretching from “reasonably erudite”,⁶² “particularly erudite, and seems to have had the benefit of a good religious education”⁶³ to “the naïve and not highly ed-

⁵⁵ PL 142:1271-1312.

⁵⁶ Raoul Glaber, Liber II, Cap. XI.

⁵⁷ Lambert 2002, p. 35.

⁵⁸ Stock 1983, 106.

⁵⁹ Panaro & Pruneti 1977, p. 20.

⁶⁰ Fichtenau 2000, pp. 17–18.

⁶¹ Roach 2019, p. 40.

⁶² Stock 1983, p. 143.

⁶³ Siegel 2006, p. 64.

THE CHURCH AND OTHERNESS

ucated”.⁶⁴ I suppose that he could be depicted as a suitable opponent to Aribert, Archbishop of Milan, instead of the aforementioned female heresiarch, as there was nothing honourable into arguing on the matters of faith with a woman (in the eyes of clerics).

All these examples showed the prelates as winners regardless of the reality of their heretical opponents. However, they are not depicted as “those who kept their land pure from any disbelief” (a more positive portrait of a cleric) and, consequently, the heretical narratives became an indirect confirmation for the existence of heterodoxy.

The additional goal of the anti-heretical stories could be formulated as “to extol the victory of the Roman Catholic prelate on an unjust but still worthy opponent”.

Conclusion

Medieval Catholic authors in their heretical narratives created a perfect image of a great battle between the forces of Good (the Roman Catholic Church and its clergy) and Evil (heretics). The problem was that, unlike to the strangers, the enemies from the outside, heretics were the inner enemies, who looked and often acted similarly to the Catholics. To stress their otherness, it was necessary to add some pejorative definitions to their portrait. Evil characters, such as women, illiterate peasants and even demons, shown as a source of inspirations, disparaged an entire movement.

Before the mid-12th century, the controversy between the Roman Catholic Church and the religious dissidents was depicted as the personal debate between a prelate and a heresiarch-founder of a movement. It is safe to presume that the figure of this heresiarch could be fictional and the Catholic authors used it to show case the heretical doctrine as erroneous through a dialogue, glorifying the Catholic part. After this time, such debates became impersonal, because the Cathars, as the clergy saw these heretics, had neither a modern founder nor leader, so the Church had to fight against isolated heresiarchs. This fragmentation made it impossible to destroy heresy with a single blow.

Here a conclusion could be drawn that early authors preferred to represent Church dissidents as small isolated groups because, after a victory over one of them, it was possible to declare the general victory of orthodoxy, at least in one bishopric. The spread of the Cathar and Waldensian movements made such a declaration impossible. This fact leads to a following research question: are early movements in fact so small and disconnected as the official Church propagandized them?

⁶⁴ Braid, *The Heretics at Monforte*.

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS:

CC CM – Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis.

MGH SS – Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores.

PL – Patrologia Latina.

- Actus Pontificum Cenomannis in Urbe Degentium* (1901) (Le Mans).
- André de Fleury (1969) *Vie de Gauzlin, abbé de Fleury. Vita Gauzlini abbatis Floriacensis monasterii* (Paris).
- Bachmann-Medick, D. (2016) *Cultural turns: New orientations in the study of culture* (Berlin).
- Barbezat, M.D. (2018) *Burning bodies: Communities, eschatology, and the punishment of heresy in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca).
- Biller, P. (1999) "William of Newburgh and the Cathar Mission to England". *Studies in Church History. Subsidia* 12, 11–30. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0143045900002428>.
- Braid, A. *The Amalrician Heresy and Illuminist Mysticism in the Central Middle Ages*. – Electronic resource. 23.08.2023. <<https://theamalricianheresy.wordpress.com/>>
- Bredero, A.H. (1983) "Henri de Lausanne : un réformateur devenu hérétique," in R. Lievens, E. Van Mingroot & W. Verbeke (eds) *Pascua Mediaevalia: Studies voor prof. dr. J.M. De Smet* (Leuven), 108–123.
- Brenon, A. (1995) "Les hérésies de l'an mil. Nouvelles perspectives sur les origines du catharisme". *Heresis* 24, 21–36.
- Caesarii Heisterbacensis. (1851) *Dialogus miraculorum*. (Coloniae Aggripinae).
- Callahan, D.F. (2014) "Heresy and the Antichrist in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes," in M. Frassetto & J. Hosler (eds) *Where heaven and Earth meet: Essays on medieval Europe in honor of Daniel F. Callahan* (Leiden), 178–226.
- Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*. (1840) (Paris).
- Connell, C.W. (2015) "Foreigners and Fear," in A. Classen *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and conditions of the European Middle Ages* (Vol. I, Berlin), 489–536.
- Cracco, G. (1971) "Riforma ed eresia in momenti della cultura europea tra X e XI secolo". *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 7, 411–477.
- de Coggeshall, R. (1875). *Chronicon Anglicanum, De Expugnatione Terræ Sanctæ Libellus, Thomas Agnellus de Morte et Sepultura Henrici Regis Angliæ Junioris, Gesta Fulconis Filii Warini, excerpta ex Otiis Imperialibus gervasii tileburiensis. Ex codicibus Manuscriptis* (London).
- Delisle, L. (1840) *Recueil des historiens des gaules et de la France* (Vol. 14). (Paris).

- Doublier, É. (2023) “‘Kingmaker’ und königsfreie Stadt. Das Verhältnis zwischen Mailand und den weltlichen Herrschern bei Landulf dem Älteren, Arnulf und Landulf dem Jüngeren,” in J. Oberste & S. Ehrich *Herrscher in der Metropole. Spannungsfelder zwischen politischer Zentralität und urbaner Diversität in Antike und Mittelalter* (Regensburg), 117–132.
- Fichtenau, H. (2000) *Heretics and scholars in the High Middle Ages: 1000–1200* (The Pennsylvania State University Press).
- Fratini, M. (2003) “Storie di frontiera e pratiche di confine nelle Valli valdesi.” *La Beidana* 47, 1–18.
- Gajano, S.B. (2020) *Un’agiografia per la storia* (Roma).
- Howlett, R. (ed). (1884) *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I.* – Electronic resource. 23.08.2023. <<https://archive.org/details/chroniclesofreig01howl/page/130/mode/2up>>
- Iogna-Prat, D. (1998a) “L’argumentation défensive: De la polémique grégorienne au ‘Contra Petrobrusianos’ de Pierre le Vénérable (1140),” in M. Zerner (ed) *Inventer l’hérésie?: Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l’inquisition* (Nice), 87–118.
- Iogna-Prat, D. (1998b) *Ordonner et exclure: Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l’hérésie, au judaïsme et à l’islam, 1000–1150* (Paris)
- Joost-Gaugier, C. L. (2007) *Measuring heaven: Pythagoras and his influence on thought and art in antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Ithaca).
- Kienzle, B.M. (1998) “Holiness and Obedience: Denouncement of Twelfth-Century Waldensian Lay Preaching,” in A. Ferreiro (ed) *The devil, heresy and witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in honor of Jeffrey B. Russell* (Leiden), 259–278.
- Kienzle, B.M. (1999) “La prédication : pierre de touche”. *Heresis* 30, 11–51.
- Lambert, M.D. (2002) *Medieval heresy: Popular movements from the Gregorian reform to the Reformation* (3rd ed.) (Oxford, Malden).
- Lavenia, V. (2016, November 15) *The alpine model of witchcraft the Italian context in the early modern period.* *Academia.edu.* – Electronic resource. 23.08.2023. <https://www.academia.edu/29857735/The_Alpine_Model_of_Witchcraft_The_Italian_Context_in_the_Early_Modern_Period>
- Lavezzo, K. (2023) “Antisemitism and female power in the medieval city,” in: S. Seal & N. Nolan Sidhu (eds) *Feminist Intersectionality* (Cham). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-22116-3_2.
- Legendre, O. (2000) “L’hérésie vue de Clairvaux : Témoignage inédit d’un recueil cistercien d’exempla sur les mouvements hérétiques de la fin du XIIe siècle”. *Heresis* 33, 69–78.
- Lobrichon, G. (1987) “Le clair-obscur de l’hérésie au début du XIe siècle en Aquitaine. Une lettre d’Auxerre”. *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 14(3), 423–444.

- Lobrichon, G. (1998) "Arras 1025, ou le vrai procès d'une fausse accusation," in M. Zerner (ed) *Inventer l'hérésie?: Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'inquisition* (Nice), 67–85.
- Martène, E., & Durand, U. (1724) *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium; amplissima collectio. Prodiit Nunc primum studio & opera Domni Edmundi Martene & domni Ursini Durand, presbyterorum & Monachorum Benedictinorum à Congregatione S. Mauri* (Vol. I). (Paris).
- Merlo, G.G. (2008) *Inquisitori e inquisizione del medioevo* (Bologna).
- Moliner, C. (1893) "L'hérésie et la persécution au XI siècle". *Revue des Pyrénées* 5, 26–38.
- Moore, R.I. (2008) *The formation of a persecuting society: Authority and deviance in Western Europe, 950–12500* (Carlton)
- Moore, R.I. (1985) *The origins of European dissent* (Oxford)
- Nigg, W. (1962) *Heretics* (New York).
- Panaro, T., & Pruneti, L. (1977) *Opposizione religiosa nel Medioevo* (Casa editrice D'Anna).
- Pastoureau, M. (2020) *Bestiaires du Moyen Âge* (2nd ed.) (Paris).
- Patschovsky, A. (2003) "Heresy and society: on the political function of heresy in the medieval world." in P. Biller & C. Bruschi (eds) *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy* (Woodbridge), 23–41.
- Roach, A. P. (2019) *The Devil's World: Heresy and Society 1100–1300* (London & New York).
- Russell, J.B. (1965) *Dissent and reform in the Early Middle Ages* (1st ed.) (University of California Press).
- Siegel, A. (2006). "Italian Society and the Origins of Eleventh-Century Western Heresy," in M. Frassetto (ed) *Heresy and the Persecuting Society in the Middle Ages: Essays on the work of R.I. Moore* (Leiden), 43–72.
- Steckel, S. (2018) "Verging on the polemical. Towards an interdisciplinary approach to medieval religious polemic." *Medieval Worlds* 7, 2–60. https://doi.org/10.1553/medievalworlds_no7_2018s2.
- Stock, B. (1983) *The implications of literacy: Written language and models of interpretation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Princeton).
- Suerbaum, A. (2016) "Language of violence: Language as violence in vernacular sermons," in A. Suerbaum, G. Southcombe & B. Thompson *Polemic: Language as violence in medieval and early modern discourse* (Farnham), 125–48.
- Tamm, M. (2018) "Naissance de La Persécution Sémiotique: La Création Des Signes Distinctifs Des Minorités Sociales et Religieuses Dans l'Occident Médiéval (XIIIe & XIVe Siècles)," in J.A. Carreiras, G. Rossi Vairo & K. Toomaspoeg *Através Do Olhar Do Outro: Reflexões Acerca Da Sociedade Medieval Europeia (Séculos XII–XV) = À Travers Le Ragard de l'autre: Réflexions Sur La Société Médiévale Européenne (XIIIe–*

- Xve Siècle*) (Tomar), 57–78
- Taviani-Carozzi, H. (1974) “Naissance d’une hérésie en Italie du Nord au XII siècle”. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 29(5), 1224–1252. <https://doi.org/10.3406/ahess.1974.293550>.
- Taviani-Carozzi, H. (2007) “Une histoire « édifiante » : l’hérésie à Orléans en 1022,” in C. Carozzi & H. Taviani-Carozzi (eds) *Faire l’événement au Moyen Âge (Aix-en-Provence)*, 275–298. – Electronic resource. 23.08.2023. <<http://books.openedition.org/pup/5724>>
- Taylor, C. (2000) “The letter of Héribert of Périgord as a Source for Dualist Heresy in the Society of Early Eleventh-Century Aquitaine”. *Journal of Medieval History* 26(4), 313–349. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0304-4181\(00\)00013-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0304-4181(00)00013-0).
- Välimäki, R. (2022) “Chapter 1. The Worst of All Heresies: Polemical Responses to Waldensianism ca. 1200 – 1400,” in N. Faucher & V. Mäkinen *Encountering others, understanding ourselves in medieval and early modern thought* (Berlin), 21–40.
- van Dijk, T.A. (1993) “Principles of critical discourse analysis”. *Discourse & Society* 4(2), 249–283. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006>.
- Volpe, G. (1907) *Eretici e moti ereticali dal XI al XIV secolo nei loro motivi e riferimenti sociali* (Milano).
- Wakefield, W.L., & Evans, A.P. (1991) *Heresies of the high middle ages: Selected sources translated and annotated* (New York).
- Zanella, G. (1995) *Hereticalia: Temi e discussioni* (Spoleto).

List of sources ⁶⁵. With the symbol * estimated date is marked

Name of Case	Date of Case	Source	Place of Case	Heresiach	Bishop	Participation of demons and/or diabolical power
Vilgard	971*	Raoul Glaber ⁶⁶	Ravenna	Vilgard	archbishop Peter	+
Leutard Adémar de Chabannes’ Chronicle about Manichaeans	1000*	Raoul Glaber ⁶⁷	Chalons-sur-Marne	Leutard	the most erudite Gebuin	+
Orleans	1018*	Chronicle of Aquitaine and France ⁶⁸	Aquitaine	-	-	
Orleans	1022	Chronicle of Aquitaine and France ⁶⁹	Orleans	Rustic from Périgord	king Robert	+
Orleans	1022	Paul de Saint-Père de Chartres ⁷⁰	Orleans	Clerics Stephen&Lisoius	King Robert, Queen Constance, Guarin, bishop of Beauvais, many other bishops	+

⁶⁵ The Author.

THE CHURCH AND OTHERNESS

Orleans	1022	Joannes monachus ad Olibam ⁷¹	Orleans		king Robert	
Orleans	1022	Raoul Glaber ⁷²	Orleans	Clerics Heribert & Lisoius, Italian woman	king Robert	+
Orleans	1022	Vita Gauzlini Abbatis Floriacensis Monasterii ⁷³	Orleans	Clerics Stephen & Lisoius	king Robert and Abbey Gauzlin	
Arras-Cambrai	1025	Acta Synodi Atrebatensis ⁷⁴	Arras	Gundulf	Gerard I, bishop of Arras-Cambrai	
Adémar's Sermons	1030*	Adémar de Chabannes ⁷⁵	Aquitaine	-	-	+
Monsfortis	1034*	Raoul Glaber ⁷⁶	Lombardy	woman-healer	no trial	+
Monsfortis	1034*	Landulf the Senior ⁷⁷	Milan	Gerard	Aribert, archbishop of Milan	
Hungary	1045*	Gerard of Csanád ⁷⁸	Csanád	-	-	
Letter of Bishop Wazo	1048	Bishop Wazo of Liège ⁷⁹	Liège, Chalons-sur-Marne	-	-	
Périgord	1050*	monk Heribert ⁸⁰	Périgord	-	-	+
Goslar	1051	Herimanni Augustensis chronicon, Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium (1247–51) ⁸¹	Goslar	certain heretics	Imperator	

Ramchird	1077	Chronicon S. Andree Castri Cameracensis ⁸²	Cambrai	Ramchird	Gerard II, bishop of Arras-Cambrai	
Brothers-heretics	1114	Guibert de Nogent ⁸³	Soissons	Clement&Evrard	Lisiard, bishop of Soissons	
Henry	1115	Actus Pontificum Cennomansis in urbe degentium ⁸⁴	Le Mans	Henry	Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans	
Tanhelm	1115	Chronica Sigeberti Gemblacensis monachi. Continuatio Praemonstratensis ⁸⁵	Antwerpen	Tanhelm	-	
Ivoy	1122	Gesta Treverorum ⁸⁶	Ivoy	Frederic&Dominic William&Durand&Amalric	Bruno, bishop of Trier	
Case of Liège	1135	Annales Rodenses ⁸⁷	Liège	-	was absent	
Letter from Liège	1145	clerics of Liège ⁸⁸	Liège	Amery - common believer, not here-siarch	the church of Liège	
Poetry about heretical criminal	1137	Gesta Nicholai episcopi Cameracensis ⁸⁹	Cambrai	furious mob	-	
Peter of Bruys	1141	Peter the Venerable ⁹⁰	Langue-doc&Gaskon	Peter of Bruys	Peter the Venerable	

THE CHURCH AND OTHERNESS

Successfully cleansed by a water ordeal	1143	Annales Brunwilar- enses ⁹¹	Cologne	certain heretics	archbishop Arnold	
Were Burned	1143	Annales Brunwilar- enses ⁹²	Bonn	certain heretics	count Otton	
Ebervin of Stein- feld – ‘apostolic’ group	1143	Ebervin of Stein- feld ⁹³	Cologne	certain heretics	-	
Ebervin of Stein- feld – Manichaeas	1143	Ebervin of Stein- feld ⁹⁴	Cologne	Bishop-heretic and his assistant	lord archbishop	
Demonical dinner	1160*	Clairvaux manu- script from Troyes ⁹⁵	Germany – Besançon	Antichrist	Emperor Friedrich, saint bishop and noble prince	+
First Cathars	1163	Eckbert of Schönau ⁹⁶	Cologne	-	archbishop was absent	
		Annales Aquenses (Aix-la-Chapelle) et les Annales Sancti Petri Erphes- furdenses (Erfurt) ⁹⁷				
First Cathars	1163	Series Archiepisco- porum Colonien- sibus//Thierry de Deutz//Codex Thioderici de Deutz ⁹⁸	Cologne		archbishop was absent	
First Cathars	1163		Cologne	Arnold, Marsili- us&Thioderic	archbishop was absent	

First Cathars	1163	Annales Coloniens- es / Continuatio prima ⁹⁹	Cologne	-	archbishop was absent	
First Cathars	1163	Caesarii Heisterba- censis ¹⁰⁰	Cologne	Arnold	at the times of the arch- bishop	
Antihetical dispute	1165	Acta concilii Lum- bariensis ¹⁰¹	Albi	Good Men	long list of bishops	
England	1166	William of New- burgh ¹⁰²	Oxford	Gerard	king and bishops	
Vézelay	1167	Historia Viziliacen- sis monasterii ¹⁰³	Vézelay	certain heretics	Abbot of Vézelay, arch- bishop of Lyon and 2 other bishops	
Cleric-heretic	1172	Annales Coloniens- es / Continuatio prima ¹⁰⁴	Arras	clericus Rubertus	Henry of France, Archbishop of Rheims (1161–1175)	
Magic of publi- cans	1176	Radulphi de Cog- geshall Chronicon Anglicanum ¹⁰⁵	Reims	old woman	William White Hands, Archbishop of Rheims (1176–1202)	+
Case of Arras	1183	Sigeberti Continua- tio Aquicinctina ¹⁰⁶ 1	Arras	no hesesiarch!	William, Archbishop of Rheims, and Count Philip of Flanders	
Ypres	1183	Sigeberti Continua- tio Aquicinctina ¹⁰⁷	Ypres	-	-	

THE CHURCH AND OTHERNESS

Cases that are presumably related to the same event are heavily outlined. The most doubtful correlation is between the information in the *Annales Brunwila-*

-
- ⁶⁶ Raoul Glaber, Lib. II, Cap. XII.
⁶⁷ Raoul Glaber, Lib. II Cap. XI.
⁶⁸ Adémar de Chabannes 1897, III:49.
⁶⁹ Adémar de Chabannes 1897, III:59.
⁷⁰ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres* 1840, 108–15.
⁷¹ André de Fleury 1969, 180–83.
⁷² Raoul Glaber, Lib. III, Cap. VIII.
⁷³ André de Fleury 1969, 96–103.
⁷⁴ PL 142:1271–12.
⁷⁵ Callahan 2014, 226.
⁷⁶ Raoul Glaber, Lib. IV, Cap. II.
⁷⁷ MGH SS VIII Liber II:27.
⁷⁸ CC CM 49: 51–137.
⁷⁹ MGS SS VII:226–27.
⁸⁰ Lobrichon 1987, 441–3.
⁸¹ MGH SS V:130.
⁸² MGH SS VII:43–4.
⁸³ PL 156:951–3.
⁸⁴ *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis in Urbe Degentium* 1901, 437–8.
⁸⁵ MGH SS VI:449.
⁸⁶ MGH SS VIII:193.
⁸⁷ MGH SS XVI:711.
⁸⁸ Martène & Durand 1724, col. 776–8.
⁸⁹ MGH SS XIV:244.
⁹⁰ CC CM 10: 4–6.
⁹¹ MGH SS XVI:727.
⁹² MGH SS XVI:727.
⁹³ PL 182:677–80.
⁹⁴ PL 182:677–80.
⁹⁵ Legendre 2000, 70–2.
⁹⁶ PL 195:13–8.

renses and that given by Ebervin of Steinfeld – it is possible that the latter case dates back to 1147/48 and is unrelated to the former.¹⁰⁸

Aliaksandra Valodzina

Interdisciplinary Centre for Baltic Sea Region Research,
University of Greifswald, Germany
a.v.valodzina@gmail.com

⁹⁷ MGH SS XIII:286.

⁹⁸ MGH SS XIII:286.

⁹⁹ MGH Rer. Germ. XVIII:114.

¹⁰⁰ Caesarii Heisterbacensis 1851, V:XIX.

¹⁰¹ Delisle 1840, pp. 431–433.

¹⁰² Howlett 1884, II:13.

¹⁰³ PL 194:1681–2.

¹⁰⁴ MGH SS XVII:784.

¹⁰⁵ de Coggeshall 1875, pp. 121–124.

¹⁰⁶ MGH SS VI:421.

¹⁰⁷ MGH SS VI:421..

¹⁰⁸ Brunn 2006, p. 141.

THE CHURCH AND OTHERNESS

