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FACULTY OF CROATIAN
STUDIES



HEIDELBERGER AKADEMIE
DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
Akademie der Wissenschaften
des Landes Baden-Württemberg

HEIDELBERGER AKADEMIE
DER WISSENSCHAFTEN

AUTHORITY AND CONSENT

IN MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

International Conference

PROGRAM AND THE BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

28 – 29 October 2021

Faculty of Croatian Studies – Zagreb, Croatia
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Abstract

Even though the rules of religious communities anticipate primarily the vertical form of authority, with the superiors occupying quasi-monarchical position, the medieval reality demonstrates complex dynamics in power relations and continual efforts of religious women and men to transform their right of advice into that of consent. During the institutional formation of the religious orders in the 12th and 13th centuries, the structure and understanding of authority was even more redefined. The most important influence in that process was the Cistercian model of shared responsibility and the transpersonal form of governance and normation. Besides, the highly personalised systems of authority demonstrate also that apart from the “passive” communal consent to follow the leader’s example, the necessity to balance the charisma and impersonal structures based on the active will was significant part of the community’s quotidian. Within that context, the consent in religious communities (i.e. in communities that strive to follow the Christ’s example of perfect obedience) becomes an interesting historical phenomenon. How consent could be performed and validated; what were its symbolical manifestations; how it generally influenced the spiritual, organizational, normative, and daily aspects of the *vita religiosa*? We believe that by grasping into the research of these (initial) and various other questions related to the issue of consent, our views and understandings of medieval *vita religiosa* can be additionally enriched or reconceptualised.

Within that context, the research project “Monasteries in the High Middle Ages” of the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and the Saxon Academy of Sciences (Leipzig) in cooperation with the FOVOG (University of Dresden) have included the topic of “authority and consent” into its broader structural research of the formation of

religious communities and institutionalised orders. The first workshop took part on 25-26 July 2019 at the FOVOG, Dresden. Now we would like to continue the discussion on the topic in cooperation with the University of Zagreb. For that reason we organize this workshop on 28-29 October 2021 at the Faculty of Croatian Studies, in Zagreb, Croatia.

We intend to discuss various manifestations and forms of consent in religious communities. Concerning early medieval times, the questions about the interpretation, perception and manifestations of the superior’s authority arise. We can ask ourselves how the relations between the superiors and community functioned in theory and practise, and in which aspects of the religious life the consent was required. Also, which implications did the invocation of the common will had on the identity and a sense of unanimity within the community?

By analysing the performance of authority and consensus within the institutionalised orders we can understand better how the impersonal “rule of law” was invented, understood, and sustained. The research of the constitutional aspects of the consent provides us, furthermore, with the insights into the strategies and institutional mechanisms of the normation and validation of the novel conceptualisations of authority, as well as with the understanding of the reforming efforts aiming at preserving stability, cohesion, and transpersonal character of the legal *ordo*.

How consent functioned in the communities where the cohesion depended on the charismatic authority? How to relate the sacralised authority of the leader’s word, the efforts to provide the community with the written rules, and the desire to remain loyal to the initial *propositum*? Can the model of the “routinization of charisma” explain adequately the active form of consent (the creation of the mechanisms of stability overcoming the charismatic authority) which aimed at preserving the passive form of consent (the subordination to the authentic *regula vitae* provided by the leader)?

Finally, we would like to connect – where possible – the religious orders and lay or ecclesiastical structures, and to open the discussion on their mutual impacts in the sphere of decision-making and the exercise of power.

We hope to provide the conceptual frameworks for better understanding of the intriguing dynamics of the process in which the human will and transcendental desire collided and coalesced.

Organisers

Mirko Breitenstein (Dresden)

Daniela Bianca Hoffmann (Bochum)

Marko Jerković (Zagreb)

Mirjana Matijević–Sokol (Zagreb)

Gert Melville (Dresden)

Jörg Sonntag (Dresden)

PROGRAM

Thursday, 28 October

Introduction

- 9.30-9.35 *Ivo Džinić* (Dean of the Faculty of Croatian Studies, Zagreb)
- 9.35-9.45 *Marko Jerković* (Zagreb) and *Gert Melville* (Dresden): Opening Remarks
- 9.45- 10.15 *Pietro Silanos* (Bari): “In sede apostolica specula constitute”: Papal Authority and Normative Religious Texts between XII and XIII Centuries.

Authority and Consent: Theory and Spirituality

Chair: Marko Jerković (Zagreb)

- 10.15-11.00 *Mirko Breitenstein* (Dresden): The Authority of Conscience
- 11.00-11.30 Coffee break
- 11.30-12.15 *Julia Becker* (Heidelberg): Aspects of Authority and Consent in the Regular Canon Monastery of Reichersberg based on the Theoretical Ideas of Gerhoch and Arno
- 12.15-13.00 *Marcus Handke* (Dresden): The Superior next to God. On the Triadic System of Hierarchy and Obedience in the “Formula novitorum” (David of Augsburg)

Break

Authority and Consent: The Benedictine Tradition

Chair: Daniela Bianca Hoffmann (Bochum)

- 15.00-15.45 *Shigeto Kikuchi* (Tokyo): Authorities and “Consensus Building” in the Carolingian Monastic World
- 15.45-16.30 *Nicolangelo D’Acunto* (Milano-Brescia): Negotiated Consent: Monastic Communities between the Rule and the Autocracy of the Abbot in the 10th and 11th Centuries: Examples from the Monasticism of the Regnum Italiae
- 16.30-17.00 Coffee break
- 17.00-17.45 *Steven Vanderputten* (Gent): The Limits of Fraternal Love. Integration Processes and the Debate over Authority and Consent in Monastic Governance (Late Eleventh-Early Twelfth Centuries)
- 17.45-18.30 *Mayke de Jong* (Utrecht): Authority and Consent: Child Oblation Revisited

Friday, 29 October

Authority and Consent: The 12th and 13th Centuries

Chair: Jörg Sonntag (Dresden)

- 9.00-9.45 *Marko Jerković* (Zagreb): Towards the Rule of Law: Consensus and Constitution in the Formation of Religious Orders
- 9.45-10.30 *Guido Cariboni* (Milano-Brescia): From abbas abbatum to General Chapter: The Relationship Between Abbots and the Development of a Common Consent
- 10.30-11.00 Coffee break
- 11.00-11.45 *Daniela Bianca Hoffmann* (Bochum): Between the Monastery and the World: The Authority of Cistercian and Carthusian Monk-Bishops

Conclusion

- 11.45-12.15 *Bernd Schneidmüller* (Heidelberg): Final Remarks

Participants in discussions

Julia Becker (Heidelberg), Petar Bilobrck (Zagreb), Mirko Breitenstein (Dresden), *Guido Cariboni* (Milano-Brescia), Nicolangelo D'Acunto (Milano-Brescia), Marcus Handke (Dresden), Daniela Bianca Hoffmann (Bochum), Marko Jerković (Zagreb), Mayke de Jong (Utrecht), Shigeto Kikuchi (Tokyo), Isabel Kimpel (Heidelberg), Lucija Krešić Nacevski (Zagreb), Marko Marina (Zagreb), Gert Melville (Dresden), Jonas Narchi (Heidelberg), Bernd Schneidmüller (Heidelberg), Pietro Silanos (Bari), Jörg Sonntag (Dresden), Petar Ušković Croata (Zagreb), Steven Vanderputten (Gent)

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Julia Becker (Heidelberg)

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ASPECTS OF AUTHORITY AND CONSENT IN THE REGULAR CANON MONASTERY OF REICHERSBERG BASED ON THE THEORETICAL IDEAS OF GERHOCH AND ARNO OF REICHERSBERG

For the monastery of Reichersberg we are in the fortunate position of having access to central sources on the regular canon reform in the Salzburg archdiocese thanks to the works of Gerhoch, provost between 1132 and 1169, and his brother Arno, dean until 1169, then provost until 1175. The *Opusculum de aedificio Dei* („About the Building of God“), written by Gerhoch around 1132, deals with the aspects of authority and consent from a more theoretical perspective. Whereas with his *Scutum canonicorum* („Shield of the canons“), written around 1146, Arno focuses on very practical aspects of living together and regulates everyday life in the monastery of Reichersberg through numerous rules. Gerhoch particularly follows the model of vertical authority and calls on the bishop to review and enforce compliance with the *vita communis* and the observance of the *regula apostolica* at the episcopal see and the canon convents subordinate to him. However, the bishop also stood within the framework of norms and had to submit himself to the normative power of the apostolic rule. Arno, on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of the consensual consent of the confreres when making decisions in the chapter, whereby the authority of the provost or the elders is not called into question in his case either. In this paper it should be discussed to what extent the reference to general norms / canons / legal propositions or to what extent the writing of *consuetudines*

contributed to the acceptance of authority and to the stabilization of the community? Are there certain areas of life in the monastery in which the co-determination of the confreres or consensual decision-making could most likely be enforced? And what role did the ideal of the *vita apostolica* play in this?

Mirko Breitenstein (Dresden)

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THE AUTHORITY OF CONSCIENCE

The presentation will focus on the problem to what extent decisions of conscience could be binding for human beings. Thus, it is about the question of the authority of conscience. Especially for the religious, conscience was an authority whose purity was at the same time an expression of one's own certainty of salvation or, in the case of impurity, of the uncertainty of salvation. Serving God, then, no longer meant merely praising him, but above all examining oneself - that is, one's conscience - and following him. In the lecture, this commitment to conscience of the religious will be examined on the basis of selected texts from the 12th century.

Guido Cariboni (Milano-Brescia)

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FROM ABBAS ABBATUM TO GENERAL CHAPTER. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ABBOTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COMMON CONSENT

As early as the 11th century, and especially at the turn of that century, during the papacies of Urban II and Paschal II, there were substantial changes in relations between abbots and the abbots dependent on these. Such changes which began to challenge

institutional structures already precarious in themselves, do not emerge as much from an analysis of decrees and conciliar precepts with general valence, rather they can be noted beginning from an analysis of certain important cases, which had a certain resonance for the universal Church. Exactly in these years, that which, for example, Cluny and Montecassino believed to be dangerous was transformed for others into a resource. The religious orders, as they were being formed in the early decades of the 12th century, were structured in fact as a sort of 'confederation' composed substantially of abbeys that maintained strong ties with the bishopric and were materially independent of each other. Their arising was not merely the product of an innovating act of the greatest creative rationality but was also profoundly owing to the positions of figures like Urban II, Paschal II and Ivo of Chartres who, in the wake of tradition, inaugurated substantial changes in the relations between bishops and abbots and between abbots and their subordinate abbots.

Nicolangelo D'Acunto (Milano-Brescia)

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**NEGOTIATED CONSENT: MONASTIC COMMUNITIES
BETWEEN THE RULE AND THE AUTOCRACY OF THE
ABBOT IN THE 10TH AND 11TH CENTURIES: EXAMPLES
FROM THE MONASTICISM OF THE REGNUM ITALIAE**

In this paper I will focus on two case studies that I hope will be particularly interesting for the theme of the conference: 1) The *Relatio constitutionis domni Hugonis abbatis* (998-999) that Ildefonso Schuster had called "the constitutional magna charta of Farfa" and which with great precocity attempted to define the balance between the abbey autocracy and the monastic community. This kind of formal contract established reciprocal rights and duties and drew its validity mainly from the common decision of the abbot and the monks, to whom were added (not as drafters, but as witnesses) validators such as Odilon of Cluny, William of Dijon, an

unspecified episcopus A. sancte Romane ecclesie and Pope Sylvester II himself. 2) The debate that opened at Fonte Avellana on the death of Pier Damiani (1072), of which we find explicit testimony in the *Life of John of Lodi* from the beginning of the twelfth century. The anonymous hagiographer reports that the monks had a lively discussion on the advisability of mitigating the rigours of penance, since Pier Damiani himself had written down the possibility for his successors after his death to mitigate the regime of life in the hermitage. In that context, John made himself the bearer of the demands of the rigorists, reiterating the need to preserve the teachings of Pier Damiani, and succeeded in obtaining the consent of the group of hermits most faithful to the teachings of the charismatic from Ravenna. The case of Farfa effectively illustrates that the unstable balance between authority and consensus can be found very early on in a "traditional" Benedictine monastery with ties to the Empire. The case of Fonte Avellana, on the other hand, demonstrates that the rigid regulations codified by Pier Damiani left wide margins of discretion to the hermits, whose consent had a decisive influence on the kind of life led by the monastery and limited the autocracy of the priors.

Marcus Handke (Dresden)

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**THE SUPERIOR NEXT TO GOD. ON THE TRIADIC
SYSTEM OF HIERARCHY AND OBEDIENCE IN THE
"FORMULA NOVITIORUM" (DAVID OF AUGSBURG)**

The lecture examines concepts of authority and hierarchy in the understanding of the monastic theology at the end of the 13th and the early 14th century. Thus, focusing on the upcoming instructional tract "Formula novitiorum" of the well-known Franciscan David of Augsburg, it discusses different approaches to the importance of obedience. The parenetical text addresses general principals of virtuous behaviour, but strict hierarchical principals are emphasized, too. Especially different aspects of a triadic relation between the

novice, the superior and God, are presented in a very basic manner. Here different fields of tension occur: Beside the new contemporary reflection of authority and the Franciscan way of spirituality, the text also has to be assessed in the light of a new value of inner instances and the individual conscience.

Daniela Bianca Hoffmann (Bochum)

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BETWEEN THE MONASTERY AND THE WORLD. THE AUTHORITY OF CISTERCIAN AND CARTHUSIAN MONK- BISHOPS

This paper studies how the authority of Cistercian and Carthusian monk-bishops was constructed and legitimized in hagiographic vitae of the „long“ 12th century. Although monks had become bishops since the 4th century and some of them were even venerated as saints, the monk-bishop emerged as a controversial figure from his very beginnings. During the centuries, the questions whether monks should become bishops at all and how monasticism and episcopate should be combined were disputed all over and over again. The main problem that caused the debates was that the monk had taken a vow to abandon the world and all profane manners and desires, while the bishop was a powerful and rich person who lived in the world and represented just the worldly values the monk had promised to leave behind. This paper focuses on saintly monk-bishops and their hagiographic vitae, because these texts presented models for a *successful* combination of the two life forms. Holy Carthusian and Cistercian bishops represent rewarding subjects, because both orders were dedicated to a life in solitude; therefore their bishops suffered from an especially sharp contrast between their monastic concept and the episcopate they somehow had to bridge. This paper will show that although the vitae in all cases depicted monasticism as the core of the saintly bishop's authority, they differed in important nuances

and also constructed the bishops according to the order's specific values.

Marko Jerković (Zagreb)

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TOWARDS THE RULE OF LAW: CONSENSUS AND CONSTITUTION IN THE FORMATION OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS

This presentation discusses how the human will was functionalised in governance of religious orders, i.e. of spiritual communities aiming to stabilise their terrestrial frameworks. The constitutions of various orders indicate the tendency to promote even more than in earlier periods the system of shared responsibility in the normation of the observances and organisational issues. In that way, the vertical models of authority resting on the quasi-monarchical powers of the *caput ordinis* or the charismatic leadership were gradually being replaced with the conception which we can call the “rule of law”. The sources indicate that exactly the impersonal laws started to be understood as the adequate means of directing the internal organization within the congregated religious houses and of conceptualizing the desired types of salvific communities. However, these tendencies manifested itself in different ways, thus indicating different understandings of the role of human action in the realisation of the earthly mission (the *propositum vitae*) of each of the order. By taking into account the Cistercian, Premonstratensian and Dominican example, the presentation focuses on two questions: how the consenting practises were being utilised to sustain the “rule of law”, and how the “rule of law” was validated. Both questions help us to comprehend better how communities within which the desired form of life was the “passive consensus” (the willingness to obey)

rationalised the human need to exercise power. They also invoke the discussion concerning the relation between the novel forms of authority and the order's spiritual programs concerning their *proposita vitae*.

Mayke de Jong (Utrecht)

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CONSENSUS AND AUTHORITY: CHILD OBLATION REVISITED

As the title indicates, this paper is a return to my older work on early medieval monasticism and child oblation. Against the background of this conference's theme, consensus and authority, I want to find out whether some of the connections I once made between early medieval child oblation and Carolingian state formation are still acceptable. These connections are not much in evidence in the Dutch doctoral dissertation (Child and Cloister in the Early Middle Ages) I defended at the University of Amsterdam in 1986. However, in the much expanded monograph that grew out of this, *In Samuel's Image* (Brill 1995) I added a last chapter entitled 'Child Oblation and the State' in which I contended that child oblation in particular and child recruitment to monasticism in general were important stabilizers of ninth-century Frankish state formation. A similar idea informs my contribution to the New Cambridge Medieval History vol 2 (ed. R. McKitterick, CUP 1995). Soon after, I left monastic studies to my two excellent students, Albrecht Diem and Janneke Raaijmakers, and concentrated on the interface between political and religious discourse in the age of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald. Monasteries still loomed large, of course, but they were no longer the main focus of *The Penitential State* (CUP 2009) and *Epitaph for an Era* (CUP 2019). Janneke Raaijmakers, the wonderful author of *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda* (CUP, 2012), died on 2

May 2021 of cancer. Shortly afterwards, Albrecht Diem published his splendid big book, *The Pursuit of Salvation*, a new roadmap to early medieval monasticism. It is available in open access and I warmly recommend it:

http://www.brepols.net/Pages/ShowProduct.aspx?prod_id=IS-9782503589602-1 It is in memory of Janneke and her sensitive reading of monastic sources, and with grateful appreciation of Albrecht's important book, that I will reflect on my earlier work on child oblation. What did they contribute that I did not see 30 years ago? Which of my early ideas still stand the test of time, and the ongoing conversation with one's students?

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AUTHORITIES AND "CONSENSUS BUILDING" IN THE CAROLINGIAN MONASTIC WORLD : IN CASES OF CONFLICTS

In the Carolingian period, the Benedictine Rule was established as the authority in monasteries. Based on the Rule, abbots were also authorities there, whom monks were to obey, although Carolingian commentaries on the Rule seem to have re-interpreted the relationship between abbots and monks in terms of consensus building. (The importance of) Consensus-building was in the foreground on the occasion of conflicts in monastic communities, when the above-mentioned authorities could not always settle affairs. On such occasions, other authorities also needed to be found outside the communities. I will begin this paper by analyzing the canons of the synod held in Douzy, 874, and try to clarify what kinds of authorities were respected on the occasion of conflicts.

Pietro Silanos (Bari)

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**“IN SEDE APOSTOLICA SPECULA CONSTITUTI”. PAPAL
AUTHORITY AND NORMATIVE RELIGIOUS TEXTS
BETWEEN XII AND XIII CENTURIES.**

From the 12th century onwards, the Roman Curia began to play an increasingly important role in defining the institutional form of new *religiones*. Specifically, it began to intervene, directly or through its delegates (bishops, religious, cardinals, Papal legates), to check the normative texts' suitability disciplining the everyday lives of communities, presented to the Curia for approval. Following the historiographical suggestions of Gert Melville and the Dresden school on the regulatory texts of the various regular communities, this paper wants to focus on the normative bases of these texts, and the role played by the authority in their development. It will specifically consider the procedures introduced for the verification, approval and confirmation of rules or *proposita vitae* during the years of the papacy of Innocent III preceding the IVth Lateran Council. This research – focusing specifically on the papal approval of the Trinitarians, the Humiliati, the hermits of the Val des Choux, the canons of San Marco in Mantua, the Poor Catholics and the Reconciled Lombards – examines the intrinsic features of the *litterae gratiae* contained in the papal registers. These sources make it possible not only to reconstruct the exact *iter* of each approval but also to identify, in a comparative perspective, common features that return more frequently in each case and that during the 13th century began to take on the form of an increasingly well-defined juridical procedure. At the beginning of the 13th century, indeed, different religious communities to develop and consolidate needed both the charismatic insight and the pope's authority. One decade after, this relationship (authority-consent) would have been part of the canon law regarding religious life.

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**THE LIMITS OF FRATERNAL LOVE. INTEGRATION
PROCESSES AND THE DEBATE OVER AUTHORITY AND
CONSENT IN MONASTIC GOVERNANCE (LATE
ELEVENTH-EARLY TWELFTH CENTURIES)**

The transformation of the *ecclesia Cluniacensis* (as the federation of Cluniac institutions is known to scholars) from the mid-eleventh to early twelfth centuries famously marks a transitional stage in the history of monastic governance in the Latin West. This paper will seek to gain a better understanding of the dynamics at play, by taking a bottom-up perspective at how consecutive trends in the process towards Cluniac integration were perceived. Key to its argument are three observations. One, that not so much the principle of integration of monastic governance and institutions itself was subject to debate, but the modalities and implications of that integration process. Two, that the success of Cluny's integration effort greatly depended upon abbots' willingness to negotiate and compromise with various lay, clerical, and monastic stakeholders. And finally, that much insight can be gained from inspecting the motives of local representatives and allies of the Cluniac cause, and from verifying to what extent their actions aligned with official policy at the Burgundian abbey.

Notes

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