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alle diese geständnisse sind in solcher fülle und behendigkeit der sprache abgelegt, dasz sie jeden zweifel an dem wahrhaftigen beruf ihres verfassers für die poesie niederschlagen: sie scheinen mir das vollendetste was [das] mittellateinische mit ihren mitteln überhaupt hervorbringen konnte; flusz und wollaut der rede, die gewalt des reims sind unvergleichlich.

(JACOB GRIMM, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii (1866) 27)

Monumentis Germaniae Historicis

ducentesimum annum mox acturis
semperque florentibus,
sine quibus hic libellus
scribi vix potuisset.

Preface

This is a study of one of the most famous and least understood poets of the Latin Middle Ages. His works and his world are its subjects. Neither of them has been treated at book-length, nor are they easy to appreciate. A writer whose style sparkles with brilliance, the Archpoet hides himself in the dark of obliquity. Wit is his lure for the initiate, irony his barrier to the profane. Those unprepared for the rigours of erudite art are discouraged from trespassing on his domain. It is shared with the other member of a partnership that he forms against rivals and detractors, bigots and bores: his patron, Rainald of Dassel, who languishes in an obscurity that the pages below attempt to dispel. Their focus is trained on the intellectual history of the twelfth century, in which this pair played a significant but unrecognized role. They ask what it meant for a cleric to work for the bugbear of the orthodox in an alternative culture constructed by Germans who were being decried as barbarians elsewhere in Europe. They probe the dual identity that our author developed as a poet and a notary. And, because that development revolved around the fascinating figure of Rainald, attention is paid to the terms of his togetherness with the Archpoet.

The work was begun in Rome, where it could have been neither continued nor completed. Progress in research and writing was made thanks to the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, to whose excellent library I have had the privilege of access, assisted by the generosity of the Alexander von Humboldt- and the Gerda Henkel-Foundations. Gratitude is owed to the former President and Vice-President of the MGH, my friends Rudolf Schieffer and Gerhard Schmitz. When, two decades ago, Rudolf Schieffer published a study identifying the Archpoet with a notary in Rainald of Dassel's service, I hesitated. It took me time to see that he is right. Now that historical insight forms a basis of this book. Earlier versions of it were delivered as lectures at the University of Cambridge, during the academic year 2009/10, when I had the honour of being Leverhulme professor among old friends and new. All of them flattered me by their presence, and none will mind if I single out three: Philip Ford, a dear companion in this field of study; E. J. Kenney, my much-admired teacher of classics; and Mark Warner, an eminent physicist, who gave me heart by his interest in the Archpoet. For help with redaction of my work I am indebted to Ingetraud Brehm, Venetia Bridges, and Rodney Lokaj. Valuable advice on single or successive chapters was provided by Nora Behrend, Frank Bezner, David d'Avray, Roman Deutinger, Knut Görich, Patrick Zutshi, and an anonymous reader of Oxford University Press. My thanks to each of them do not imply co-responsibility for my errors.

The translations are my own. As the commented edition of the Archpoet that I am preparing for the MGH has yielded to the priority of the *Carmina Burana*, which Frank Bezner and I are editing for OUP, I have cited the vulgate

by Watenphul–Krefeld, indicating where I differ from its text and interpretations in footnotes. The studies preliminary to this book listed under my name in the bibliography have been altered, corrected, and expanded in the pages that follow. Aiming to re-think categories in which medieval literature is now considered and to suggest a less literal mode of reading the sources to historians of the Middle Ages, they are an effort to come to terms with the love of a lifetime. I first stumbled on the Archpoet in New Zealand when I was 17, and noted in my diary: "This is the most wonderful thing in the world." Although I hope that, forty years on, my views have become a little more sophisticated, they have not changed.

P.G.

Munich,
Spring 2012

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Abbreviations

Blaise, *Vocabulaire*	A. Blaise, *Le Vocabulaire latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques* (Turnhout, 1966)
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
DA	*Deutsches Archiv*
DFI	*Die Urkunden Friedrichs I*, ed. H. Appelt, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 10 i-v (Hanover, 1975–90)
FmSt	*Frühmittelalterliche Studien*
Gesta Frederici, ed. Schmale	*Bischof Otto von Freising und Rahewin, Die Taten Friedrichs oder richtiger Chronica*, ed. F.-J. Schmale, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 18 (repr. Darmstadt, 2007)
HZ	*Historische Zeitschrift*
LMA	*Lexikon des Mittelalters*
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
- SrG	- Scriptores rerum Germanicarum
- SS	- Scriptores
MIÖG	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*
MIJb	*Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*
NA	*Neues Archiv*
PL	Patrologia Latina
RS	Rolls Series
QF	*Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*
SC	Sources chrétiennes
Schmale, *Quellen*	F.-J. Schmale (ed.), *Italische Quellen über die Taten Friedrichs I. in Italien und der Brief über den Kreuzzug Kaiser Friedrichs I,* Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 18a (Darmstadt, 1986)
VuF	Vorträge und Forschungen
Watenphul–Krefeld	*Die Gedichte des Archipoeta*, ed. H. Watenphul and H. Krefeld (Heidelberg, 1958)

I

Prelude in the Pub

12 *Meum est propositum in taberna mori,*
ut sint vina proxima morientis ori;
tunc cantabunt letius angelorum chori:
'Sit Deus propitius huic potatori!'[1]

12 It is my intention to die in the pub,
with wines in reach of my expiring throat;
then the angelic choirs will sing merrily:
'May God be merciful to this carouser!'

The Archpoet recited this strophe at Pavia in November 1163. His audience was composed of clerics skilled in the learned language and proficient in Holy Scripture. None of them will have failed to experience a frisson on hearing, in the last verse above, an echo of the Bible: 'God be merciful to me, a sinner'(Luke 18:13). All of them knew that St Luke's prayer was quoted by confessors to penitents.[2] And each man of the Church will have realized that its sacrament of atonement is being stood on its head.

The apostle's *peccator* has become the Archpoet's *potator*. A sinner transformed into a carouser, the stage is set for a comedy of conscience. Nothing is so exalted as to be above the mirth. Angels join in jubilation as our author, poking fun at the religious obligation of remorse, takes light-hearted leave of this world. Bibulous on his imagined deathbed, he celebrates the Christian vice of over-indulgence (*crapula*[3]) when he ought to be heaving a last gasp of contrition. If we revel in the merriment, we may ponder its point, which will have bemused even the original audience. Did the Archpoet intend to provoke a shiver of complicity at his humour or a shudder of horror at his blasphemy? In the high culture of twelfth-century Europe, what was the difference between irony and sacrilege? No one can, no one could answer such questions with certainty. Elusive in his eloquence, the dying drinker does not state his purpose, except in jest; nor is it sufficient to listen to what he says. We must also attend to his silences and read between his lines. But if we remain unsure about where

[1] *Carm*. X, 12, ed. Watenphul–Krefeld, 75.
[2] *Oratio sacerdotis dicenda ad paenitentiam venientibus*: '*Domine Deus omnipotens, propitius esto mihi peccatori*' (Burchard of Worms, *Decretum* xix, 3, PL 140, 950A).
[3] *Regula S. Benedicti* 39, ed. A. de Vogüé, *La Règle de Saint Benoît*, ii. SC 182 (Paris, 1971), 578.

he stands, at least we grasp that we have entered a world of inversion. For it is a cleric, perhaps a priest, who recites these bold and beguiling verses.

His name is unknown. The literary pseudonym, however, provides a clue of dual identity. Styling himself Archpoet, our author imitated the high-sounding titles of his patron, Rainald of Dassel, archbishop-elect of Cologne and archchancellor of Italy (1159–67), who employed him as a notary.[4] Not the wandering scholar of legend,[5] he practised the mundane métier of an itinerant bureaucrat. Sighs of disappointment should be suppressed. The official prose in which he plodded when not soaring in verse enables us to clear the clutter of myth and follow the Archpoet's track. Rather than imagine him meandering down medieval roads (generally impassable during the winter) in search of wine, women, and song, we can trace his travels throughout Germany, Italy, and Burgundy. Evidence of these journeys is offered by charters that he composed and copied in his professional role as 'Rainald H', the eighth of the nameless notaries so classified after their order of appearance in the imperial chancery headed by Rainald of Dassel.[6] Among this small group of functionaries—no more than two or three of whom worked together at a time—'Rainald H' sustained a proximity to his master matched by none other. Documents that he wrote, dated, and located during peregrinations over the empire were verified and authorized by the archchancellor. These are the historical testimonies to their togetherness.

A different dimension of their relationship is revealed by this strophe, which vaunts the alternative identity of 'Rainald H'. He played the part of a wit and a wag for the benefit less of his colleagues than of their chief. All the Archpoet's extant verse was composed at Rainald of Dassel's instigation or inspiration, and most of it was addressed to him. Analogies to their closeness are not uncommon in medieval literature, and there are fine studies of the familiarity between patrons and clients.[7] But next to nothing has been written about the character of the complicity that distinguished this partnership in provocation from its contemporaries. Unparalleled and unprecedented, the sense of humour that they shared was aimed against conventions of clerical decorum. No one before our author had mocked the Bible in the presence of a twelfth-century archbishop-elect with the same confidence that, from his throne of authority, he would not frown but laugh.

Laughter too can be a sign of community,[8] an expression of 'us' against 'them'. Gravity, solemnity, austerity were qualities urged on princes of the high

[4] See R. Schieffer, 'Bleibt der Archipoeta anonym?', *MIÖG* 98 (1990), 59–79.
[5] H. Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars* (London, 1932).
[6] DFI, v. 59–60.
[7] e.g. J. Bumke, *Mäzene im Mittelalter: Die Gönner und Auftraggeber der höfischen Literatur in Deutschland 1150–1300* (Munich, 1979), who hardly treats the Archpoet.
[8] Cf. W. Röcke and H. Velten (eds), *Lachgemeinschaften: Kulturelle Inszenierungen und soziale Wirkungen von Gelächter im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Trends in Medieval Philology 4 (Berlin, 2005).

medieval Church by moralists,[9] for whom Rainald of Dassel had no sympathy. With the nonchalance natural to this ecclesiastical man of the world, he shrugged aside contrasts between the sacred and the profane dear to reformers more rigorous and less sophisticated than himself. Small wonder that, appalled by his personality and aghast at his policy, they decried him as 'the ruin of the world'.[10] Tailored to the outrageous esprit and the wry refinement of this controversial figure, the Archpoet's works are a cut above the productions of his peers. They were capable of scriptural spoofs, ranging from parody and satire to revelry at the feast of fools.[11] But within the ample spectrum of their virtuosity there was no place for a mockery of moralism that so subtly inverted religious standards.

Whose religious standards were being stood on their heads by this duo of defiance? At the time we encounter them, in the early 1160s, Rome—less the city than the symbol of orthodoxy—was wracked by civil war. Schism had erupted in 1159, rending the unity of Christendom and pitting the adherents of Alexander III (1159–81) against the supporters of the imperial antipope, Victor IV (1159–64).[12] In what was to be a long and bitter struggle for mastery of the Church, his many detractors considered Rainald of Dassel to be the chief troublemaker. More imperialist than even Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90), he was identified not only as an archchancellor, but also as an antichrist of empire. Few would now guess, from the Archpoet's works, that this was the background of turmoil against which they were written. Obliquity is their nature, and their targets are types: the prim and the pious, the boneheads and the bores. Yet behind this mask of anonymity it is possible to discern the unflattering features ascribed to the Roman arbiters of orthodoxy by Rainald of Dassel's client. He had not forgotten, in November 1163, that they had excommunicated his patron the previous May.[13]

Religious conflict deepened intellectual disdain. Those loyal to Rome and to Pope Alexander III deplored the 'Teutons' as brutish barbarians.[14] Aware that synonyms for 'German' were becoming dirty words, the Archpoet, indirect as ever, did not resort to polemic. Writing for a circle turned in on itself by the hauteur of hostility elsewhere in Latin Europe, he sought a neutral name to evoke the cultural identity of his side in the strife. He found it in the term 'Transmontane'. It was not the mountains that mattered, but the perspective. In the Transmontane perspective of the Archpoet, all is upside down. Inversion,

[9] See Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De edificio Dei*, ed. E. Sackur, MGH Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum iii (repr. Hanover, 1995), 131–201. Cf. S. Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum: Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 47 (Stuttgart, 2000), and H. Zielenski, *Der Reichsepiskopat in spätottonischer und salischer Zeit (1002–1125)*, i (Stuttgart, 1984).

[10] See Chapter II.

[11] Cf. P.-G. Schmidt, 'The Quotation in Goliardic Poetry: The Feast of Fools and the Goliardic Strophe *cum auctoritate*', in P. Godman and O. Murray (eds), *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Oxford, 1990), 39–56.

[12] See Chapter IV. [13] See Chapters VII and VIII. [14] See Chapters III and XI.

however, may be manipulated by an insider in the know. Anathema can be countered with an ironical act of faith. So it is that, in a tour de force of fantasy, our author makes a comic confession to the excommunicate archbishop-elect. The deathbed scene in the pub is staged by, and for, schismatics.

Rainald of Dassel was skilled in the symmetries of inversion. He had an antipope in his pocket. Yet he failed to impose him on the Church, and, as the imperial cause waxed and waned during the early 1160s, in his less fraught moments he withdrew from the cares of state that beset them both in the chancery to the wit of another world conjured up by his client, companion, and doppelgänger. Not confined by time or place, the Archpoet's world is devoid of the details about politics and property with which charters by 'Rainald H' are replete. Reticence about realia makes him into the exact opposite of an occasional writer. None of the obvious occasions to commemorate Rainald of Dassel, such as his consecration as archbishop of Cologne and the canonization of Charlemagne in 1165, is mentioned in the extant *œuvre*; nor is it probable that large-scale works by the Archpoet have been lost.[15] He resists pressure to compose an epic, and, when he writes political encomium, it is under duress and against the grain.[16] Extolling his sins as the sources of his art, he disdains the bucolic boors who were more diligent labourers in the literary vineyard. The Archpoet's stance, chosen to match that of his master, is effortless urbanity. And yet he crafts the slender and scintillating corpus of his verse with the care of a miniaturist.

That care is reflected in the dialectical principles of its construction. Presented to a patron trained in dialectic,[17] our author's works counter each of their affirmations with a denial. *Sic et non* also motivates his metamorphoses. Casting himself as a penitent and a preacher, a mendicant and a mega-seer, he doubles such parts as the critic of courtiers, the enemy of entertainers, the scourge of buffoons. None of these roles is to be confused with his protean persona. It is defined by antithesis to the foolish jesters and fawning retainers whose antics bore too close a resemblance to his own for comfort. As 'Rainald H' the subordinate and dependant of the archchancellor, when acting the virtuoso in verse he pretends to intellectual equality and comradeship in cups. At one by affinity and affection, this singular pair excludes others. As private jokes raise barriers to the Archpoet's rivals in Rainald of Dassel's entourage, erudition erects a bulwark against the intrusions of ignorant laymen; and the Roman arbiters of orthodoxy who level excommunication on us 'Teutons' from their high horses are dismounted by Transmontane irony at their expense. They are taught a lesson in the culture of the 'barbarians'. It is a lesson that can be learnt anywhere—even, or especially, on a deathbed in the pub.

[15] Cf. P. Godman, 'The World of the Archpoet', *Mediaeval Studies*, 71 (2009) 113 ff.
[16] See Chapters VI and VII. [17] See Chapters III, VI, and VII.

II

The Ruin of the World

At lunchtime, in or around the year 1130, the silence of siesta was broken at the cathedral school of Hildesheim in what is now Lower Saxony. There an aristocratic boy began to talk in his sleep. 'I am' (*Ego sum*!), declared Rainald of Dassel. 'What are you?' (*Quid es tu*?), asked his perplexed teacher. 'I am the ruin of the world!' (*Ego sum ruina mundi*!), replied this precocious agent of apocalypse.[1] Or so a hostile chronicler, writing at Petersberg near Halle more than a century after the alleged event,[2] would have us believe. We are unlikely to do so.[3] But we should not merely dismiss the anecdote. It provides evidence of the loathing that the Archpoet's patron was still capable of inspiring in the orthodox long after he anticipated their abuse. Deceptive the chronicler may be, yet he is far from crude. Justly doubting his own plausibility, he hesitates to advance the truth-claims of fact. 'It is held' (*fertur*), he alleges, slyly disclaiming responsibility while gossiping tongues wag. The prophetic boy, condemned with his own words, inverts an attribute of medieval saints. Biographers of holy men in the Middle Ages regularly insisted that their subjects' prescience in early years heralded feats of spiritual heroism that they would perform as adults. An anti-hero of unholiness, Rainald is off to a bad start. In a rehearsal of the part he would play as 'the ruin of the world', he is made to turn a hagiographical model on its head.

The shadows of the last judgement darken noon at Hildesheim and, in the gloom of *damnatio memoriae*,[4] this singular figure is separated from his contemporaries. One of them, also born *c*.1120, was Thomas Becket. Although their juxtaposition may seem jarring, a precedent for taking them together was set in the twelfth century. Impressed by the insight into Realpolitik that Barbarossa had shown in 1159 with the promotion of his chancellor, Rainald of Dassel, to

[1] *Chronica montis sereni*, ed. E. Ehrenfeuchter, MGH SS 23 (Leipzig, 1996), 153, trans. W. Kirsch, *Chronik vom Petersberg* (*Cronica montis sereni*) *nebst der Genealogie der Wettiner* (*Genealogia Wettinensis*) (Leipzig, 1996), 46.

[2] On the date and identity of the chronicler of Petersberg (*Mons serenus*), see E. Rundnagel, *Die Chronik des Petersberg bei Halle (Chronica montis sereni) und ihre Quellen* (Halle, 1929), with B. Schmeidler, 'Nochmals der Verfasser der Chronica montis sereni', *HZ* 144 (1931), 296–9.

[3] Cf. W. Grebe, 'Studien zur geistigen Welt Rainalds von Dassel' in G. Wolf (ed.), *Friedrich Barbarossa*, Wege der Forschung 390 (Darmstadt, 1975), 249 n. 6.

[4] Cf. C. Henrick, *History and Silence: Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity* (Austin, 2000), 89–130, and K.-M. Sprenger, '*Damnatio memoriae* oder *Damnatio in memoria?* Überlegungen zum Umgang mit so genannten Gegenpäpsten als methodologisches Problem der Papstgeschichtsschreibung', *QF* 80 (2009), 31–62.

the metropolitan see of Cologne, Henry II of England (1133–89) tried to follow suit three years later by making Chancellor Becket archbishop of Canterbury.[5] Control of the English Church was to be secured through this creature of the king. No matter that the attempt backfired, and Becket resigned his secular office before embarking on the course of conflict that would end with his murder in 1170. None of that was predictable in 1162. Then Henry hoped that he had found a model for his minister in the Archpoet's unscrupulous patron. Now Rainald of Dassel is nearly forgotten, and it is his contemporary about whom everyone has heard.

An imbalance is evident. Saints continue to be cultivated while schismatics are shunned. The tilt of attention towards orthodoxy is apparent from the secondary literature. Volumes have been written about St Thomas,[6] whose hagiographers set to work soon after his martyrdom in 1170.[7] No medieval Life of Rainald survives, nor is it probable that one was composed, for he broke the biographical mould. The only monograph about him, although admirable for its time, can hardly be called modern. It was published in 1850.[8] More recent studies are confined to aspects of Rainald's multiple activities.[9] And the same asymmetry is maintained when we look lower down the hierarchy, from the archbishops to their entourages. John of Salisbury, who served Becket and wrote a Life of him, was an orthodox thinker whose achievement has received the recognition it deserves.[10] Not so the Archpoet. He was on the wrong side. Or, to judge by the neglect with which his world is treated, on no side at all. If the legend of a wandering scholar has been supplanted by little less fanciful attempts to reconstruct his politics from his imagery or to compare him with Andrew Marvell,[11] the effect has been to detach Rainald of Dassel's client from the context in which he belongs.

In proximity to his patron, the once notorious and now obscure peer of Thomas Becket, the Archpoet may enable us to view the literary and

[5] Ralph of Diceto (?Diss. in Norfolk), *Ymagines historiarum* in *Radulfi de Diceto decani Lundonensis opera historica*, i, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 68, 1 (London, 1876), 306–7, and cf. W. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 2000), 449 ff. Note too the retention of the French chancellorship, with papal approval, by Hugh of Champfleury after his election as bishop of Soissons in 1159.

[6] See D. Knowles, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1970), F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986), P. Aubé, *Thomas Becket* (Paris, 1988), A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket* (London, 2004), H. Vollrath, *Thomas Becket, Höfling und Heiliger* (Zürich, 2004), J. Guy, *Thomas Becket: Warrior, Priest, Rebel, Victim: A 900-Year-Old Story Retold* (London, 2012).

[7] Cf. M. Staunton, *Thomas Becket and his Biographers* (Woodbridge, 2006).

[8] J. Ficker, *Rainald von Dassel: Reichskanzler und Erzbischof von Köln 1156–1167* (Cologne, 1850). A Graz dissertation of 1962 with the same title by R. Herkenrath remains unpublished.

[9] e.g. H. Kluger, 'Friedrich Barbarossa und sein Ratgeber Rainald von Dassel', in S. Weinfurter (ed.), *Stauferreich im Wandel: Ordnungsvorstellungen und Politik in der Zeit Friedrich Barbarossas*, Mittelalter-Forschungen 9 (Stuttgart, 2002), 26–40, who adds little that is new.

[10] See, best, P. von Moos, *Geschichte als Topik. Das rhetorische Exemplum von der Antike zur Neuzeit und die 'historiae' im 'Policraticus' Johanns von Salisbury*, Ordo 2 (Hildesheim, 1988).

[11] W. T. H. Jackson, 'The Politics of a Poet: The Archpoet as Revealed by his Imagery', in E. Mahoney (ed.), *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of P. O. Kristeller* (Leiden, 1976, 320–38, and P. Dronke, 'Functions of Classical Borrowing in Medieval Latin Verse', in R. Bolgar (ed.), *Classical Influences on European Culture* AD *500–1500* (Cambridge, 1971), 163–4.

intellectual history of the High Middle Ages from a different perspective. As seen by the prevalent orthodoxy, this is a landscape of the mind in which John of Salisbury naturally looms large. Yet it is not perverse to survey the scene from what have been made to appear the margins of Latin Europe. The backwoods of barbaric Germany produced, in the same period, a sophistication that no Roman mandarin could match. Assessing that accomplishment need not require us to take sides. They are already taken: the Archpoet stood squarely behind Rainald of Dassel and against the likes of Becket. We stand between them and, through the prism offered by sources that are imperfect but rich, we can perhaps begin to perceive that the saintly archbishop of Canterbury and the schismatic archbishop of Cologne represent opposite poles of twelfth-century culture.

* * *

That culture was prey to a myth—the myth of empire.[12] No German pursued the imperial will o' the wisp more quixotically than Rainald of Dassel. Days before his death on 14 August 1167, Barbarossa, in a charter issued to reward him for a bloody victory over the Romans, declared that 'our most loyal prince Rainald' had 'exalted our empire in a manner that beggars the imagination' (*inexplicabiliter*).[13] Little imagination was required to see how dependent the Hohenstaufen Caesar was on such princes of the Church. They, together with their lay colleagues, had elected him king of Germany in 1152. On their consensus he continued to rely after the ceremony, at Rome in 1155, of imperial coronation.[14] It conferred on Barbarossa a dignity of illustrious aura and obscure origins. Did the emperor rule by grace of God or by favour of the pope? Why, if he was the 'lord of the world' (*dominus mundi*) described by Roman law, did his writ run so inadequately even in his nominal dominions of Germany, Italy, and Burgundy? Barbarossa, alert to the precariousness of his authority, stirred himself from the imperial pedestal. Seeking to strengthen its foundations, he campaigned, he legislated, he consulted experts. But he remained ill-equipped to answer such questions throughout his long reign. An emperor with only the illusion of an empire, he regularly relied on the facts of force.

Not primarily renowned for his intellectual qualities, Barbarossa may have mustered a little Latin. Semi-literate by the standards of his day, which privileged the international language of learning,[15] he excelled in the sphere of

[12] Cf. the excellent and convincing critique, not confined to the medieval period, by H. Winkler, *Der lange Weg nach Westen: Deutsche Geschichte vom Ende des Alten Reiches bis zum Untergang der Weimarer Republik*, i (Munich, 2000), 5 ff.

[13] DFI, no. 532.

[14] See B. Schneidmüller, 'Consensuale Herrschaft: Ein Essay über Formen und Konzepte politischer Ordnung im Mittelalter', in P.-H. Heinig (ed.), *Reich, Regionen und Europa in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Berlin, 2000), 53–87, and cf. S. Patzold, 'Konsens und Konkurrenz: Überlegungen zu einem aktuellen Forschungskonzept der Mediävistik', *FmSt* 41 (2007), 75–103. Suggestive conclusions are drawn by K. Görich, 'Versuch zur Rettung von Kontingenz: Oder: Über Schwierigkeiten beim Schreiben einer Biographie Friedrich Barbarossas', *FmSt* 43 (2009), 179–97.

[15] See Chapters III and XI.

vernacular orality. To ambassadors he preferred to speak in his native dialect, with translators at hand.[16] Although the emperor had a reputation for rhetorical flair, his eloquence will have been lost on most foreigners and some Germans, who did not understand Alemannian. 'The lord of the world' stood on its fringes, both mighty and midget. For access to the medium of international culture, in which diplomacy was conducted and treaties were drawn up, Barbarossa relied on his clerics. More than interpreters of his will, they were also makers and executors of the policies that passed under his name.[17] Better educated, in general, than their secular peers, the ecclesiastical advisers of Barbarossa had the imperial ear. None of them bent it more assiduously than Rainald of Dassel. What he murmured to his master in the privacy of their planning was a curious blend of radicalism and conservatism. Conservative in his attachment to the unreformed practices of the German Church, Rainald of Dassel was radical in his determination to establish the emperor's ascendancy over the pope. Rome was less the capital of the Catholic world than an imperial city subject to the will of Caesar, who, by virtue of his office, had the right to make and unmake Vicars of Christ.

So it was that the leading exponent of Hohenstaufen Realpolitik severed contact with reality. Such views might perhaps have aspired to plausibility one hundred years earlier, when the emperor Henry III (1039–56) appointed no fewer than four German popes. But Rainald of Dassel thought back even further. Focused on such revivers of empire as Otto III (996–1002), his political outlook was anachronistic. Europe in the High Middle Ages could not be mastered by a Hohenstaufen on horseback. Advanced in his cultural patronage, Rainald of Dassel was retrograde in his imperialistic nostalgia for the Ottonian dynasty, which, like him, stemmed from Saxony. There, in a remote region with a potent past, might be maintained a vision of ecclesiastical order that, through its intimacy with secular rulership, was at variance with the values of the post-Gregorian Church.[18] The opinions expressed, with characteristic firmness, by this ruthless Saxon are echoed in the charters of 'Rainald H' and modulated in the verse of the Archpoet. But they were shared by few outside their immediate circle. Its exclusiveness set them apart, and turned them in on themselves. They formed a deviant duo.

If Rainald of Dassel and his doppelgänger had cemented a partnership by the 1160s, it is unlikely to have emerged suddenly. Durable links between them may be traced back to boyhoods spent together in northern Germany. Northern German is the script in which 'Rainald H' wrote his diplomata.[19] Documents intended to impress beholders with the universality of the empire, they

[16] *In tanto vero nativum Alemannie venerabatur eloquium ut, quamquam alterius linguae non inscius esset, aliarum tamen gentium missis non nisi per interpretem loqueretur* (*Das Itinerarium peregrinorum: Eine zeitgenössische Chronik zum Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, ed. H. Mayer (Stuttgart, 1962), 300, 26).

[17] See Chapter III.

[18] See E. Schubert, in *Geschichte Niedersachsens* 2,1, *Politik, Verfassung, Wirtschaft vom 9. bis zum ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert* (Hanover, 1997), 232 ff., 311 ff.

[19] See H. Appelt, in DFI, v. 39.

will have had a local look to the archchancellor from Dassel. There or thereabouts—if not in the same place, then in an adjoining region of Lower Saxony—arose affinities with the notary-poet that developed into a bond based on experiences shared during a formative stage in their lives. Other literary clients in the Middle Ages advertise their familiarity with their patrons, but none equals this writer in his assurance that he knows his man. Theirs is the complicity of long and close acquaintance. Evidence of it is provided by the verse that the Archpoet composed for Rainald later in life, from which their earlier education is to be inferred. If we attempt to do so, we must reckon with the legitimate objection that the corpus of our author's works may be incomplete. Can a culture be reconstructed on the foundation of fragments that chance to survive from a lost and larger whole? Yes, is the answer, providing that allowance is made for the hazards of hypothesis. Ten poems may not be numerous, but they repay reflection. Certainty eludes us. Facts are few. Our choice lies between the safety of silence, which protects us from criticism and spares us thought, and the delicate duty of weighing probabilities.

It is probable that differences of social origin did not hinder, at a young age, the friendship between this pair. The Archpoet boasts of belonging to the ministerial order of knights who were upwardly mobile and legally unfree:[20] Rainald of Dassel perched on the lower rungs of the provincial aristocracy.[21] The distance that separated them from one another in the feudal hierarchy was not insuperable, especially if their acquaintance began at school. And their schooling, in northern Germany, must have been similar, because both the charters that 'Rainald H' wrote for his chief in the chancery and the verse that the Archpoet composed to amuse or flatter him draw on an expertise in grammar and rhetoric that was distinctive in Latin Europe for its depth. Where was that expertise acquired? Geography, which smiled on the one, may have favoured the other. Near to Dassel, the small Saxon town from which Rainald's father was the first member of his family to take his title as count, flourished a cathedral school more distinguished than the modest establishments where Thomas Becket received his education.[22] Hildesheim was renowned for training princes of the Church.

This was the career for which Rainald of Dassel, a second son who bore his father's name, was destined. His elder brother, Ludolf, remained a lordling on the estates; a sister, Gepa, may have entered a nunnery at Cologne.[23] No sign of vocation distinguished the archbishop of Cologne in youth, but there is every indication that he was swift to grasp that a high road of ecclesiastical preferment ran from Hildesheim. It offered a vantage-point from which earlier generations of aristocrats had been agile in launching their careers. And they

[20] See Chapter VI.

[21] See N. Kruppa, *Die Grafen von Dassel (1097–1337/38)*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für historische Landesforschung der Universität Göttingen 42 (Bielefeld, 2002).

[22] See Barlow, *Becket*, 10 ff.

[23] Kruppa, *Grafen von Dassel*, 31, 155 ff.

were legion. As many as forty-two members of the cathedral chapter were elevated to archiepiscopal or episcopal rank between the first quarter of the tenth century and the second half of the twelfth, often with the intervention of the emperor.[24] Glittering prospects of promotion enticed the young imperialist on the make. How the Archpoet reacted to the vaulting ambition of his future patron, we cannot know, but it would not be surprising if the worldly atmosphere at Hildesheim contributed to the urbanity of this cleric's wit.

Among the many pupils who flocked to the cathedral school, one who would hardly have appreciated our author's mirth was Gerhoh of Reichersberg, who studied at Hildesheim between 1112 and 1115.[25] Too early to have met Rainald of Dassel, this moralist was never tardy in denouncing the vices that the archbishop of Cologne went on to embody. The pride and pomp of the episcopate, its appropriation of wealth meant for the needy, its reprehensible similarity to laymen: such polemic by Gerhoh might have been written for, or against, the other alumnus of Hildesheim whom he does not name. Although these tracts for the times are seldom specific, they represent the kinds of jeremiad at which the Archpoet poked fun when he cast himself as a merry anti-type to contemporary prophets of gloom.[26] The same education in northern Germany produced clerical contraries. Opposites in ecclesiastical politics also attended school at Hildesheim, among them Archbishop Eskil of Lund. His appointment as primate of Scandinavia was repugnant to Rainald of Dassel, who, believing that the Church in the north should be ruled from Germany, ignored the old-boy network and had Eskil kidnapped during a journey through Burgundy in 1157.[27] He was a Dane; Gerhoh, a Bavarian. These facts are simple yet significant. At a time when many cathedral schools prevalently drew local pupils, the place of Rainald's studies was capable of attracting southern Germans and foreigners. There was a natural place for Adalbert of Saarbrücken, future archbishop of Mainz, who dabbled in the verbal arts at Hildesheim during 1128,[28] when Rainald of Dassel was probably his junior in this milieu of noble canons. From an early age he rubbed shoulders with others who were being groomed for high office in the German Church. Its old ways appealed to him, for he could see with his own eyes how helpful they were to a careerist in the present. The past was also instructive.

[24] See R. Schieffer, 'Domkapitel und Reichskirche', in M. Brandt and A. Eggebrecht (eds), *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, Katalog der Ausstellung 1991 (Hildesheim, 1993), 269–73, and R. Meier, *Die Domkapitel zu Goslar und Halberstadt in ihrer persönlichen Zusammensetzung im Mittelalter (mit Beiträgen über die bis zum Jahre 1200 nachweisbaren Hildesheimer Domherren)*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 5 (Göttingen, 1967), 72 ff.

[25] See P. Classen, *Gerhoch von Reichersberg: Eine Biographie* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 15.

[26] See Chapter X.

[27] Cf. C. Schambach, 'Friedrich Rotbad und Eskil von Lund', *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, 13 (1910), 510–14. See further Chapter III.

[28] Anselm, *Vita Adalberti II Moguntini*, 82 ff, ed. P. Jaffé, *Monumenta Moguntina*, Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum iii (Berlin, 1861), 570, with J. Ehlers, 'Verfassungs- und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zum Bildungsgang Erzbischof Adalberts II. von Mainz', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 42 (1978), 161–84.

Hildesheim had regard for its history, in which one of the grandest figures remained Bishop Bernward (993–1022), moves towards whose canonization were being made during Rainald's boyhood.[29] Here was a model of ecclesiastical success, which, with minor adjustments, might be cut to the cloth of his ambition.

After studies at Hildesheim, Bernward had become a notary in the imperial chancery under Otto II (961–83). This, for Rainald of Dassel and others, was a crucial precedent. The itineracy of German kingship, which persisted from before the tenth century to the twelfth and beyond, meant that the chancery, linked to the chapel, of the ruler provided the sole centre of intellectual continuity at court.[30] To serve as chancellor or as one of his assistants was to obtain access to a major source of patronage. Bernward set a shining example of how to climb up the slippery pole. He had been tutor to the emperor's son, Otto III, who hailed him as his 'companion' (*sotius*), 'witness' (*testis*), and 'shaper' (*informator*). These warm words of praise, doubtless authentic, are recorded in a charter issued at Rome on 23 January 1001 and preserved at Hildesheim,[31] where Rainald of Dassel read them and took them to heart. Such was the relationship of trust and mentorship that, through work in the same chancery, he established with Barbarossa. This Ottonian exemplar of prelacy was admired in twelfth-century Hildesheim. During Rainald's manhood in the early 1150s, a Life of Bernward was being revised, on the basis of earlier materials, to support the cause of his canonization.[32] Passages dealing with that bishop's spirituality Rainald may be assumed to have skipped. What arrested his attention was military. Bernward is depicted by his biographer as bearing the holy lance, a trophy of empire, against rebellious Romans at Otto III's side.[33] Rainald of Dassel triumphed over Romans who had rebelled against Barbarossa in the battle of Tusculum on 29 May 1167.[34] The warrior-bishop, a recurrent figure in German history of the High Middle Ages,[35] was a role he transposed from literature to life. This military model or analogy occurred to others. One of them was the imperial partisan Rahewin, in his continuation of

[29] On Bernward, see Brandt and Eggebrecht (eds), *Bernward von Hildesheim*, *passim*.

[30] See J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, 2 vols, MGH Schriften 16, 1–2 (Stuttgart, 1959/1966).

[31] *Die Urkunden Ottos des Dritten*, ed. T. Sickel and K. Foltz, MGH Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser ii, 2 (Hanover, 1893), no. 390, 821, 18–19, with H. Hoffmann, 'Eigendiktat in den Urkunden Ottos III. und Heinrichs II.', *DA* 44 (1968), 392–9.

[32] See K. Görich and H.-H. Kortüm, 'Otto III., Thangmar und die Vita Bernwardi', *MIÖG* 98 (1980), 1–57; M. Stumpf, 'Zum Quellenwert der Vita Bernwardi', *DA* 53 (1997), 461–96; and M. Giese, *Die Textfassungen der Lebensbeschreibung Bernwards von Hildesheim*, MGH Studien und Texte 40 (Hanover, 2006).

[33] [Thangmar], *Vita Bernwardi* 21, ed. G. Pertz, MGH SS 4 (repr. Stuttgart, 1981), 770, 16–17, and see Chapter VII.

[34] R. Knipping (ed.), *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter*, ii. *1100–1205*, Publikationen der Gesellschaft für rheinische Geschichtskunde 21 (Bonn, 1901), 156.

[35] Cf. T. Reuter, '*Epi[s]copi cum sua militia*: The Prelate as Warrior in the Early Staufer Era', in Reuter (ed.), *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to K. Leyser* (London, 1992), 79–94.

the early history of Barbarossa's reign begun by the emperor's uncle, Otto of Freising. Rahewin set Rainald of Dassel in parallel with Otto of Wittelsbach,[36] a violent thug seldom to be found in Hohenstaufen sources without his sword pointed at someone's throat. It is true that, in this passage, a legation to Italy undertaken by them both in 1158 is being described. And it is also true that a distinction is drawn between the two legates, with emphasis on the 'mildness' (*mansuetudo*) and 'mercy' (*misericordia*) practised by Rainald, in keeping with his clerical state.[37] Yet that was a view unlikely to have been held by those who observed him fighting 'as savagely as a leopard' (*ferax ut leopardus*) at the battle of Tusculum, where thousands of Romans (including two cardinals) were allegedly killed.[38] The real point of Rahewin's parallel was the resemblance between the man of the Church and the man of arms. Rainald and Otto, ardent imperialists, were kindred spirits. With more than a whiff of the military about him, the archbishop of Cologne did not exude an odour of holiness.

Where and when he was trained in combat is a mystery of no matter. More important is the canonical prohibition of weapon-bearing by clerics.[39] Often honoured in the breach, it is unlikely to have been flouted openly even at a Hildesheim resistant to reform. At Dassel, however, lived Rainald's brother Ludolf, with whom he maintained a lifelong closeness and who at least once accompanied him on an expedition to Italy. Sword-play may have been a pastime of vacations at home, but it is difficult to imagine acquaintance with Otto of Wittelsbach—later elevated to a dukedom for his bravery with the blade—unless one was skilled in parrying blows. In a book that dwells on the wit that Rainald of Dassel cultivated with such refinement, there may be a moment to pause at the steel behind the smile of this prelate. He picked and chose with the selectivity of self-interest from the example of Christianity offered by Bernward's Life. No one considering Rainald of Dassel's later career would guess that his model had died, clad in the habit of a monk, while praying in the chapel dedicated to St Martin at Hildesheim. Rainald always remained a secular cleric with little interest in, and less sympathy for, the ideals of monasticism. Yet he was keenly alert to the prestige and the potential of relics. Had not Bernward built that chapel to enshrine the remains of St Martin with which he had been presented, in 1007, at Saint-Denis during a journey to France?[40] Were they not a treasure as precious as silver and gold? For relics, revered as living links between heaven and earth, drew profitable pilgrims.

So reflected the future archbishop of Cologne who, filching what he claimed were the remains of the Magi from Milan in 1164, would make his city into a

[36] *Gesta Federici* iii. 22, ed. Schmale, 440, and see Chapters IV and VIII.
[37] See Chapter VIII.
[38] *Annales Cameracenses*, ed. G. Pertz, MGH SS 16 (repr. Stuttgart, 1994), 539, 37.
[39] See E.-D. Hehl, *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert: Studien zu kanonischem Recht und politischer Wirklichkeit*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 19 (Stuttgart, 1980). See further Chapter V.
[40] See A. Angenendt, '"In meinem Fleisch werde ich Gott sehen": Bernward und die Reliquien', in Brandt and Eggebrecht (eds), *Bernward von Hildesheim*, 361–8.

prosperous centre of pilgrimage.[41] Rainald of Dassel had learnt the lesson of pious theft from the history of Hildesheim, back to which Bishop Othwin, in 962, had brought the relics of St Epiphanius purloined by him at Pavia. Home-grown saints were remunerative as well. In 1131, shortly after Rainald had arrived at Hildesheim, its former Bishop Godehard (1022–38) was canonized. As crowds flocked to his shrine, monies multiplied and building boomed. An elegant church, influenced by the latest French architecture, was constructed in honour of St Godehard.[42] A tiresome reformer during his lifetime, after his death he increased the diocese's revenues. Forgetting Godehard's rigour but remembering its effects, Rainald of Dassel was to take pride in erecting monuments of piety, expressed by him in the material form of bricks and stone that recorded his largesse as the donor of a hospice to Hildesheim or as the rebuilder of the archiepiscopal palace at Cologne. Nothing more. Hardly a word is transmitted about his spirituality, except in the slights of his enemies on its absence. Rainald's zest for action made him the opposite of a recluse. His unreserved commitment to the imperial cause, on which he lavished the revenues of his archdiocese—its coffers were empty by the time of his death[43]—led his contemporaries to believe that his character was far from complex. They summed him up with the simplicity of antithesis. Friends and admirers attributed to him stereotypical qualities of an ecclesiastical grandee: generosity, affability, learning,[44] but not austerity, asceticism, fear of God. Fearless in his disdain for the values of the reforming Church, Rainald of Dassel seemed to his detractors to personify all the failings of secular aristocrats. Both perceptions were near the mark. Although a cleric by profession, he did invite comparison with a lordly layman. Almost all the sources, however, ignore the intricacies of his background and view him from the outside. The only indication of Rainald's private personality is offered by the Archpoet, when he appeals to a kindred sense of humour.

Humour is a historical phenomenon. Culture conditions what we find funny. Hierarchical societies, in particular those composed of clerics, generate special forms of social irony. They were in evidence at Hildesheim long before patron and client studied at its cathedral school during the second quarter of the twelfth century. To appreciate traditions that then reached back over more than fifty years, a feature of local topography should be borne in mind. Poorer scholars, to whose number the Archpoet will have belonged, were lodged in a

[41] See Chapter X, and cf. F. Hirschmann, 'Die herausragende Bedeutung der Metropole Köln im Mittelalter—eine datengeschützte Untersuchung', *Geschichte in Köln*, 59 (2019), 43–77.

[42] See G. Lutz, 'Zur Skulptur des 12 Jahrhunderts in Hildesheim' in M. Brandt (ed.), *Abglanz des Himmels: Romanik in Hildesheim*, Katalog zur Ausstellung des Dommuseums Hildesheim, 2001 (Regensburg, 2001), 263 ff.

[43] See J. Fried, 'Die Wirtschaftspolitik Friedrich Barbarossas in Deutschland', *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 120 (1984), 203 n. 49.

[44] Cf. S. Burkhardt, *Mit Stab und Schwert: Bilder, Träger und Funktionen erzbischöflicher Herrschaft zur Zeit Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossas: Die Erzbistümer Köln und Mainz im Vergleich*, Mittelalter-Forschungen 22 (Ostfildern, 2008), 137.

hospice built in the cathedral grounds by St Godehard.[45] Up the hill, on the Moritzberg, boys of higher birth like Rainald stayed in a foundation of Bishop Hezilo (1054–79).[46] To him, a couple of generations before this pair arrived at Hildesheim, their impoverished predecessors addressed a protest about not getting enough to eat:

> Lord father and most worthy of bishops, H.[ezilo], we visitors of the Hildesheim schools, starving and scarcely holding together body and soul, [wish you] a rich abundance of heavenly grace and an ample filling of the living bread that is Christ.[47]

The compliment arrests attention less than the tongue-in-cheek tone. Food is the stated subject; complicity, the underlying theme. The poor but canny students in St Godehard's hospice expect Bishop Hezilo to be amused by the contrast between their literal lack of nourishment and the metaphor of his spiritual satiety. Hierarchical deference maintained, fun can be poked at their need. In the place where the Archpoet put up, an antecedent was set for the knowing irony with which he would address Rainald of Dassel about the woes of his want. An antecedent, not a model, it is simpler than his pleas for sustenance; it is less sophisticated; but it stands in a line of spoofs by 'visiting students' at eleventh-century Hildesheim. One of them wrote a play that treats sacred themes with a jocularity bordering on burlesque,[48] indicating that our author was not the first there to trespass beyond conventional limits between the holy and the profane in literature that had its origins in classroom practice. His forerunners, like him, attended the cathedral school in order to learn grammar and rhetoric. Strict rules required of them, even after they had completed the course, a daily writing-sample.[49] Empty-bellied but full of mirth, they demonstrate here that they have done their homework.

Having made this point, the wags will not let it alone. Down the hill, they look up to their benefactor for compassion:

> We should describe to you, father, who are and deserve to be blessed, the dreadful harshness of hunger and fasting, which not only removes from us in our misery the will to study but even instils in us a distaste for living, in accordance with the severity of the situation, were it not that our veins are drained of strength, our jaws dry from long starvation, and our very palate encrusted with scurfy tartar, [which] prevent us from speaking . . .[50]

[45] See F. Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1885), 346.

[46] See C. Erdmann, *Studien zur Briefliteratur Deutschlands im elften Jahrhundert*, Schriften des Reichsinstituts für ältere Geschichtskunde (MGH) 1 (Leipzig, 1938), 172.

[47] *Domno patri et episcoporum dignissimo H. famelici et vix hærentes ossibus Hiltinisheimensium scholarum hospites uberem cælestis gratiæ sacietatem, plenam panis vivi, qui est Christi, refectionem* (*Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*, ed. C. Erdmann and N. Fickermann, MGH Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit 5 (repr. Munich, 1981), 61).

[48] See *Tres clerici*, ed. P. Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, Cambridge Medieval Classics 4 (Cambridge, 1994), 70–7, and cf. *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*., ed. Erdmann and Fickermann, 88–9.

[49] *Scholaris disciplinae iugo absoluti strictiori habena in claustro servabantur et cotidianam scripturam decano presentare . . . cogebantur* (*Fundatio Ecclesiae Hildensemensis* 4, ed. A. Hofmeister, MGH SS 30, ii (repr. Stuttgart, 1976), 144, 28–30).

[50] *Famis et inediæ diram asperitatem, quæ nobis miseris non solum aufert voluntatem studendi, sed etiam infert tædium vivendi tibi, benedicte ac benedicende pater, pro rei asperitate describeremus, nisi quod venæ viribus*

Rarely has speechlessness been described with such verbosity. Yet the paradox is resolved in laughter. Like the Archpoet, these visiting students before him advertise their expertise in the clichés of Latin composition to hint with humour that, at least in the literary sphere, they measure up to their betters. Both our author and his predecessors nudge the prelates above them to acknowledge a form of cultural parity based on the same training in the same place. Clients and patrons, underlings and superiors, are linked by a nexus of social irony. Looser and subtler than the constraints of rank, the complicity created by this sport in scholarship was distinctive of the milieu at medieval Hildesheim. Higher in the hierarchy, as he had been on the Moritzberg, later in life Rainald of Dassel heard echoes of such boyhood pranks being modulated by a fellow-student. The Archpoet's tours de force are not diminished by being compared with these minor exercises in the comedian's art. They cast light on the depths of redundancy from which emerged a sparkling style.

* * *

Style in the learned language is shaped by books. There was an abundance of them in twelfth-century Hildesheim.[51] The manuscripts available to Rainald of Dassel are notable both for their visual splendour and for the contacts that they document with the south of Europe. From Italy, during the journey on which he made off with the relics of St Epiphanius, Bishop Othwin had brought back theological and philosophical codices.[52] Italian influence on the culture of Ottonian Germany was marked,[53] and it is as likely that Hildesheim possessed classical texts copied at Pavia or Rome as the Latin dramas written by Hroswitha in nearby Gandesheim. When, in 1159, as archbishop-elect of Cologne, Rainald became archchancellor of Italy *ex officio*, he assumed responsibility for the affairs of a kingdom with whose intellectual products he had been acquainted since his schooldays. It is improbable, however, that any manuscript of peninsular provenance that he inspected at Hildesheim could rival the opulence of codices put together at home. From Regensburg, in 1010, the gifted scribe and illuminator Guntbald was summoned by Bishop Bernward, who commissioned from him a de luxe exemplar of the Gospels.[54] Luxury

exhaustæ, fauces longa inedia siccæ, ipse palatus scabra rubigine asper vocem nobis intercludant (*Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.*, ed. Erdmann and Fickermann, 61–2).

[51] See S. Krämer, *Handschriftenerbe des deutschen Mittelalters*, i (Munich, 1989), 353–5; B. Gallisti, 'Schule, Bücher und Gelehrsamkeit am Hildesheimer Dom', in U. Knapp (ed.), *Ego sum Hildensemensis: Bischof, Domkapitel und Dom in Hildesheim 815 bis 1810*, Katalog des Dommuseums Hildesheim 3 (Petersberg, 2000), 213–26; and H. Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, '"Die Weisheit hat sich ein Haus gebaut": Bilder, Buchkunst und Buchkultur in Hildesheim während des 12. Jahrhunderts', in Brandt (ed.), *Abglanz des Himmels*, 97–136 (with excellent illustrations).

[52] See B. Gallisti, *Epiphanius von Pavia, Patron des Hildesheimer Doms* (Hildesheim, 2000).

[53] See W. Huschner, *Transalpine Kommunikation im Mittelalter: Diplomatische, kulturelle und politische Wechselwirkungen zwischen Italien und dem nordalpinen Reich (9.–11. Jahrhundert)*, 2 vols, MGH Schriften 52 (Hanover, 2003).

[54] *Das kostbare Evangelium des Heiligen Bernward*, ed. M. Brandt (Munich, 1993).