THE SLEEP OF BEHEMOTH

THE SLEEP OF BEHEMOTH

Disputing Peace and Violence in Medieval Europe, 1000–1200

JEHANGIR YEZDI MALEGAM

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS
Ithaca and London

First published 2013 by Cornell University Press

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Malegam, Jehangir Yezdi, 1976–
The sleep of Behemoth: disputing peace and violence in medieval Europe, 1000–1200 / Jehangir Yezdi Malegam.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-8014-5132-4 (cloth: alk. paper)
1. Peace—Religious aspects—Catholic Church—History—To 1500. 2. Violence—Religious aspects—Catholic Church—History—To 1500. 3. Christianity and politics—Europe—History—To 1500. 4. Christianity and politics—Catholic Church—History—To 1500. 5. Europe—Church history—600–1500. I. Title.
BX1795.P43M25 2013
261.8'7309409021—dc23 2012038927

Cornell University Press strives to use environmentally responsible suppliers and materials to the fullest extent possible in the publishing of its books. Such materials include vegetable-based, low-VOC inks and acid-free papers that are recycled, totally chlorine-free, or partly composed of nonwood fibers. For further information, visit our website at www.cornellpress.cornell.edu.

Cloth printing 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

But when they shall say peace and security, then shall sudden destruction come upon them.

—1 Thessalonians 5.3

Contents

Acknowledgments

We thrive in an academic community when we take up, with fondness and gratitude, the society of its members. During the ten years of this book's evolution, I have accumulated several debts, not all of which can be mentioned here: Brad Gregory, Hester Gelber, Kathryn Miller, Paula Findlen, and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, my professors at Stanford; my fellow graduate students Abosede George, Alexander Bay, Suzanne Miller, Erika Monahan, Ian Read, and Junko Takeda. I am especially grateful to Brad for his mentorship and example as scholar and teacher. Thanks also to Dallas Denery, Igor Gorevich, Geoffrey Koziol, Steven Lee, John Ott, and Jay Rubenstein for discussions that improved the final product. For his kindness and hospitality alone, my debt to Guy Lobrichon would be great, but he also introduced me to the school of Laon and the protoscholastics. This would have been a different study without his advice, one much poorer in its theological investment.

The Geballe Dissertation writing fellowship at the Stanford Humanities Center allowed me to meet Johannes Fabian, Stephen Justice, Robert Royalty, and Christen Smith—encounters that liberated my project from its disciplinary confines. Supplementation from Stanford University's Graduate Research Opportunity grant allowed me to spend five months in Paris in 2004. I thank the staff at the Bibliothèque nationale de France Chambre des manuscrits, the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, and the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. I thank the History Department at George Washington University, where I expanded the chronological scope and refined the focus of this work. Andrew Zimmerman, Linda Levy Peck, and Marcie Norton were especially generous with ideas and advice. Jeffrey Cohen warmly welcomed a fellow medievalist. Jennifer Davis and Philip Rousseau of the Catholic University of America commented at length on my exploration of patristic material; thanks also to Katharine Jansen for our conversations about Franciscan peacemakers. My short time in Washington, D.C., would have been poorer without the friendship of David Silverman, Dean Kostantaras, Arun Adarkar, and Fiona Shrikhande.

Duke University and the Research Triangle have provided me with abundant resources, literary and collegial. As librarian and friend, Margaret Brill remains a pillar of strength. John Martin receives special thanks for his constant encouragement and attentiveness. Adriane Lentz-Smith, Emily Burrill, Katherine Charron, and Christian Lentz provided an important critical eye during the writing process. It has been an honor and a delight to confer on subjects of shared interest with Thomas Robisheaux, William Reddy, Malachi Hacohen, Dirk Bonker, Bruce Hall, Ronald Witt, Francis Newton, as well as Fiona Somerset of the University of Connecticut, Julie Mell of North Carolina State University, Richard E. Barton of UNC Greensboro, and Kevin Uhalde of Ohio University.

I owe much to historians that I have never met but whose approaches to church reform and languages of peace inspired my own: Gerd Tellenbach, Herbert Cowdrey, Ian S. Robinson, Robert A. Markus, Karl Morrison, Amy Remensnyder, and Thomas Sizgorich. While I retain the hope of meeting some of them, I lament the passing of others, especially those who have left much, much too soon. In a digital age, I must also acknowledge the great efforts by my fellow historians to make their research and translations available online for academics and nonacademics alike.

Peter Potter at Cornell University Press gave this manuscript a flattering amount of attention and shepherded it through the review and editorial process with a sure yet gentle hand: my gratitude to him and Kitty Liu for making the experience so enjoyable, and to Marian Rogers, Susan Specter, and Kate Mertes, who saw this book into production. I thank the Press's two reviewers for their careful reading of the manuscript and thorough comments. I hope I have done justice to this collective effort.

A portion of what I discuss in chapter 1 was previously published in "No Peace for the Wicked: Conflicting Visions of Peacemaking in an Eleventh-Century Monastic Narrative," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 39, no. 1 (Spring, 2008), 23–49.

I thank Teresa Nava Andersen, Jonathan Ajo-Franklin, Dana Green, and Carol Pal for their enduring friendship. Brett Whalen has been a colleague and friend from our time together in graduate school; he remains my yardstick for professionalism and scholarship. Stephen D. White, a constant inspiration, teaches by example that we should not let the semblance of answers prevent us from making the question more complex; he exemplifies the beneficent restlessness at the heart of medieval notions of peace. Judith Miller has been a teacher, guide, and friend, in whose classroom I first decided that this was the life for me. Philippe Buc, once my adviser, now a colleague, ever

a generous friend and discerning critic: it has been an honor to count myself within your circle, and to work alongside you. My parents, Yezdi and Razu, have supported a meandering and hesitant journey into academia, and their love and patience across oceans and continents kept me going in difficult times, as did the presence of my sister Farah. In addition to her advice and encouragement regarding this book, Kathryn Mathers, my first recourse and ultimate resort, has made a life for us through her strength and love.

This book is dedicated to our twin daughters, Antonia Zarine and Nina McCreadie, who waited patiently for the manuscript to go to press before emerging into this world—the last time they waited patiently for anything. If nothing else, let this give them the sleep they need.

Abbreviations

Acta SS	Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur. Edited by the Bollandists. 68 vols. plus supplements. Paris, 1863–1940.
Arsenal	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.
BnF Lat	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latins.
BnF N.A.L.	Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions latines.
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio medievalis.
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum: Series latina.
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum.
Jaffé	Jaffé, Philip. *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*. Edited by S. Loewenfeld, R. Kaltenbrunner, and P. Ewald. Leipzig, 1885–88.
Mansi	Mansi, Giovan Domenico. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Paris, 1903.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
MGH Const.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica constitutiones.
MGH Epp	Monumenta Germaniae Historica epistolae.
MGH LDL	Monumenta Germaniae Historica libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum.
MGH SS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica scriptores.
MGH SSrG	Monumenta Germaniae Historica scriptores rerum Germanicarum.
MGH SSrGs	Monumenta Germaniae Historica scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi.
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1844–64.
Pont. Rom.	*Pontificum Romanorum Qui Fuerunt Inde Ab Exeunte Saeculo IX Usque Ad Finem Saeculi XIII Vitae Ab Aequalibus Conscriptae*. Edited by Johannes Mathias Watterich. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1862.

RHF	Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France. Edited by M.-J.-J. Brial and L. Delisle. Paris, 1879.
RTAM	*Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale.*

THE SLEEP OF BEHEMOTH

Introduction

In 1324, a physician and scholar named Marsilius of Padua refuted papal sovereignty in the name of peace. In his soon-to-be notorious *Defensor pacis* (Defender of the Peace), Marsilius asserted the legitimacy of a secular monarch over the clergy, insisting that the only true peace was earthly tranquility, and that tranquility was the exclusive province of the prince. Priests who bandied about their own claims to peacemaking were obstructing genuine peace and must be constrained to a sphere outside politics and statecraft. So convinced was he of the truth of his argument that Marsilius accompanied an imperial invasion of Rome in 1328 and served as "spiritual vicar" to the citizens after the pope had been driven into exile.

Like many before him who had pondered questions of political obedience, and many who would follow, Marsilius argued that successful maintenance of peace should override all other considerations about a ruler's legitimacy. He invoked Saint Augustine, who had reminded Christians that the prophet Jeremiah himself had endorsed secular authority, regardless of the prince's religion. Jeremiah had asked the Jews of the Babylonian Captivity to pray for the health of the gentile king Nebuchadnezzar. They must pray for the

king and his sons, and for peace to his city. Ultimately, counseled the prophet, "in their peace will be your peace."[1]

Defender of the Peace is widely regarded as one of the most important political treatises of the Middle Ages, and its appearance in 1324 marks a threshold in the evolution of Western political theory. Yet the ideas it espouses were long in the making. It should surprise no one that a political thinker in the fourteenth century would use peace as the fulcrum of an argument in which secular authority was elevated above clerical authority, or even that peace trumped all other considerations in the determination of a subject's obedience. But ironically, centuries of intellectual spadework by *clergymen* had led to this state of affairs: their own valorization of a monopolistic peace had forged an extraordinary weapon for critics to use against them. By Marsilius's time, peace could conceivably provide religious imperatives for exclusive obedience to a secular authority.

How did this happen? If we were to ask one of the greatest patristic authorities on the subject, he might remind us that even in Babylon, prophets had received warnings about the dangers of experimenting with peace. In two works, his *Homilies on Ezekiel* and his near-ubiquitous *Pastoral Care*, Saint Gregory the Great described how the word of God instructed Ezekiel to take up a tile and sketch on it an image of Jerusalem. Although the city's name translates as "vision of peace," Ezekiel was instructed to depict it with towers and fortresses: to prepare, in effect, for a long siege. Gregory interpreted Ezekiel's vision: when peace appears most clearly, then too do the forces of discord arise.[2] To Gregory, Ezekiel's vision of peace thus conveyed both a desired goal and an impending hazard. It pointed to an unattainable state of authentic concord, quietude, and delight in the divine embrace. On earth, such visions of peace could be hazardous, even misleading, when human beings confused imperfect reproductions of peace for the real thing.

Heedless to the warnings of their patristic forebears, however, church reformers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries attempted the perfection of peace on earth. For centuries, Christian thinkers had considered harmony between kingship and priesthood the standard of peace in an imperfect world. Then, between 1000 and 1200, reformers in the papal curia and monks and canons in the intellectual circles of northern France began to reimagine the church as a body whose task it was eventually to absorb all peoples through

1. Marsilius, *Defensor pacis* 2.5.7, ed. C. W. Previté-Orton (Cambridge, 1928), 155. See Peter Lombard, *Collectanea in omnes Pauli apostoli epistulas, epistolam I ad Timothaeum* 1.2, PL 192:337A. Cf. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 19.26, ed. Emanuel Hoffman, CSEL 40/2:421. Cf. Jer. 29.7.

2. Gregory the Great, *Regulae pastoralis liber* 2.10, PL 77:46C (henceforth *Reg. past.*). Cf. Ezek. 4.1.

progressive acts of revolutionary peacemaking. They envisioned this peace as faithful community, under a just regime, directed by spiritual authority, and comprising those who had been united by a turbulent transformation of desire and perception.

"Turbulence" is the key word here; to its proponents, genuine peacemaking practically demanded force and insurrection, an overturning of any tranquility that offered a credible facsimile of peace. In Latin, Christian Europe, therefore, new, often incompatible reformist agendas produced mutually negating visions of peace. From the height of the Peace of God assemblies in stateless Western Francia to the conceptualization of a secular peace in the decade after the Third Lateran Council, questioning the very meaning of peace allowed both clergy and laity to reflect on critical sociopolitical bonds and fidelities. At the same time, the pursuit of peace provided the impetus for ecclesiastical reform: new theologies of individual transformation, evangelical activity, and lay-clerical social engagement; and an imperative for clerical rebellion against royal theocracy.

The "Sleep of Behemoth"

This book traces the evolution of a medieval clerical discourse around peace, which framed great contests and negotiations between empire and papacy, communes and churches, even between spirit and flesh. It ends with the self-induced immolation of clerical political and social authority on the altar of an uncompromising, and ultimately unrealizable, mandate for churchmen to be peacemakers. Guiding these dangerous experiments was the fear that among most of humanity what passed for peace was mere tranquility aggrandized.

Writing late in the twelfth century, Rufinus of Sorrento called such an indolent peace the "sleep of Behemoth," after a creature that slumbers in shadow, under the cover of reeds in dark, swampy places: *sub umbra dormit in secreto calami in locis humectibus*.[3] A massive, lumbering beast first invoked in the book of Job, Behemoth has often been imagined as a monstrous water buffalo. According to Rufinus, its dangerous quiescence stood for lassitude in the church, tranquility in place of harmony, and subjugation as a substitute for justice. The Old Testament image would have resonated with popular fears and expectations, especially if enthusiastic reformers intended to disturb Behemoth's inglorious slumber. According to the twelfth-century

3. Rufinus of Sorrento, *De bono pacis* 1.8, ed. Roman Deutinger, MGH Studien und Texte 17:76 (henceforth *DBP*). Cf. Job 40.16.

Liber floridus attributed to Lambert of St-Omer, Behemoth, dormant from the world's beginning, will wake to herald its end: the Apocalypse. Extant manuscripts of the *Liber floridus* display a bovine but fanged Behemoth that serves as Satan's mount, its rude, bestial form symbolizing the fallen angel's spectacular descent from heaven as well as the dehumanization of all who cooperate with him.[4] On the reverse folio is its counterpart Leviathan, the sea serpent, a creature of stinking, overlapping scales, and, as we will see later in this book, the medieval embodiment of conspiracy.[5] Fittingly in the *Liber floridus*, Leviathan is the steed of Antichrist. Behemoth and Leviathan typified senseless compliance and wicked community respectively, two counterfeits of peace that haunted churchmen in eleventh- and twelfth-century Europe.[6]

As churchmen competed over the meaning and monopolization of the term "peace," they began to portray their own engagement with the world through a rubric in which true peace had shadows. Within major centers of intellectual activity and political thought—the papacy, the royal court of the Salian empire, reformist monastic and canonial orders, and the secular schools—the struggle for what Gerd Tellenbach calls "right order in the world" became a matter of distinguishing true peace from false. The human self, perpetually at war with itself, longed to possess a perfect harmony between spirit and flesh.[7] Consequently, human beings were easily lured by quietude and complacency, hazardous compromises between reason and appetite that had only the semblance of peace. False peace could include the temptations of political office, misguided friendships, and the perversion of love through arrogance and complacency.

Distinguishing peace from its illusions became the impetus for explorations of human sensibility, new attitudes toward the mysteries of scripture

4. See jacket cover for a depiction of Satan astride Behemoth from the *Liber floridus* (twelfth century), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf 1 Gud. Lat., folio 41v.

5. See below, chapter 7. Cf. *DBP* 2.5, 108.

6. In her analysis of the Ghent *Liber floridus*, Suzanne Lewis has called attention to Lambert's use of imagery and text to indicate symmetry between Satan-Antichrist-Behemoth-Leviathan. See Lewis, "Encounters with Monsters at the End of Time: Some Early Medieval Visualizations of Apocalyptic Eschatology," *Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art* 2 (June 2010): 46–53. The Wolfenbüttel MS displays some of the same interlinked symmetries.

7. Cf. Karl Morrison, *The Mimetic Tradition of Reform in the West* (Princeton, NJ, 1982), 69: "As Augustine lectured to his congregation on the problem of form and likeness in the theology of the Word, he attributed high importance to one premise: thought and Word were equal and identical in the Godhead, just as were seeing and being. All of Augustine's powerful discussion of man ruled out unity of that sort in human nature. He took for granted the duality of the inner and the outer man and, correspondingly, of inner and outward sight."

and sacrament, and refined articulations of the relationship between selfhood and community in a world of burgeoning sects and orders. As its most ardent seekers envisioned it, true peace often ran counter to the superficial forms of tranquility that had satisfied pagans or lulled nominal Christians into waywardness and sin. Between 1050 and 1200 the search for authentic peace became a mandate for reform through conflict, coercion, and insurrection, an antidote to prevailing but unacceptable modes of concord and community.

Thinking with Peace in the "Christian Middle Ages"

Why is it useful for historians to "think with peace" in the Middle Ages? Simply put, because it provides access to a language of aspiration and anxiety too often concealed in what appear to be bland, pastoral platitudes and hyperbolic denunciations of a vicious, medieval society. Peace takes the historian into a set of boundary conditions essential for Christian identity, for it punctuates the New Testament, the life and legacy of Christ. To announce his birth, angelic heralds proclaimed: "Peace on earth and good will to men," and as he departed from his followers Jesus remarked: "This peace I leave to you." Jesus's ministry in Galilee began when he urged his disciples to offer peace in every house. The moment of his death presented a final pacification of the will, commendation of the spirit into the hands of the father. At times Christ's pronouncements on peace may have appeared confusing: "I come not to bring peace but a sword." Nonetheless, peace became a boundary between New and Old Testaments such that, in the Incarnation, all manner of conflict, bloodshed, and wrath abated: they became allegories, or promises for future judgment.[8]

Of course, to undertake the study of peace in the Middle Ages means writing either the world's shortest or longest book. The period between 600 and 1500 has acquired a reputation for continuous warfare and conflict among kingdoms and communities. That image—exaggerated to some extent by chroniclers and litigants—has been revised in recent years as historians point out that fighting had its own patterns. Implicated within socially constitutive feuding systems, fighting could be read as critique, complaint, and negotiation. Indeed, making peace after the fighting was as combative

8. Cf. Philippe Buc, "Some Thoughts on the Christian Theology of Violence, Medieval and Modern, from the Middle Ages to the French Revolution," *Rivista di storia del Cristianesimo* 5.1 (2008): 111–113.

as the fighting itself, and since both helped maintain social and political relationships, neither should be regarded separately. But if peace and negotiation were one and the same, then one might follow Bernard of Clairvaux and echo the prophet Jeremiah's lament on partial remedies: "They say, 'peace, peace' and there is no peace."[9]

Complex and compelling models of strategy and performance may have mitigated the anarchic image of this era, but they cannot reconcile high medieval accounts of conflict with the period that Charles Homer Haskins once called the twelfth-century "Renaissance," a time of learning, building, and institutionalization.[10] My intervention allows us to integrate these seemingly discordant visions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. I describe a world in which bloodshed was indeed fascinating, but not because it was exceptionally rampant or scarce. Instead, intellectual experiments with peace and violence expressed a vision of ecclesiastical reawakening.

Churchmen of the eleventh and twelfth centuries expressed conflict as those before them had not, carefully delineating where it was violence and where it was in fact peacemaking. This is not the same as the argument that violence was always someone else's aggression; in fact, the term *violentia* had a technical meaning that must be understood in relation to notions of captivity, deceived love, and falsification of sacramental bonds. Similarly, peace was not the absence or future abatement of conflict but rather the fighting itself. Christian thinkers had accepted that the nature of this world was war: on earth, peace was as easily discovered in fighting as it was in tranquility. Authentic peace was the insurrection of spirit against flesh in self and society, manifested in turbulent acts of transformation and regime change.

Historians can better discuss intellectual, political, and cultural transformations of this seemingly schizophrenic period by recognizing that Christian thinkers had long harbored both an extreme desire for peace and a deep suspicion of its manifestations on earth. Ever since the imperial persecutions of the third century, peace had provided a powerful boundary marker: the antithesis of the diabolical *Pax Romana*, the basis of Christian doctrines of resistance and at the same time a commentary on friendship, love, and betrayal. In the Middle Ages, it also served as a yardstick for measuring a sociopolitical

9. In the wake of the disastrous Second Crusade, to Pope Eugenius III, Bernard, *De consideratione* 2.1, PL 182:743: "Diximus pax, pax et non est pax promisimus bona, et ecce turbatio." (We said "peace, peace," and there is no peace. We promised good things, and "behold: turbulence.") Cf. Jer. 6.14.

10. Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1927).

order activated by oaths, sacraments, friendship, and fighting. Peace became a vehicle for disputing papal and imperial sovereignties, expressing suspicion of urban communes, justifying insurrection, and explaining reprisal. It linked thinking on the sacraments to concerns regarding wicked pacts, false prophets, and irresponsible rectors. And most tellingly for future theories of the state, peace demonstrated Augustine's seamless progression from harmony between spirit and flesh to domestic order to rectitude in government, focusing not only on the requirements of leaders but also on the internal transformations necessary for authentic membership in associations of faith or fidelity. Through an insistence on "true peace," churchmen made the emotional content of an individual's obedience the foundation for monopolistic government: the "invention" of the state through the reinvention of peace.

The Late Antique Legacy of Peace

By focusing on the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, a period of unstructured experimentation with ideas of peace, this book points to a reinvention of patristic and especially Augustinian authority at about the same time that medieval intellectuals were discovering Aristotle. The Augustine who appeared in these years was equally the author of *City of God*, *Genesis according to the Letter*, and the *Tractates on the Gospel of John*, at once the most influential theologian of the secular life, a pioneer of the literal-historical mode of scriptural exegesis, and a revolutionary exponent of sacramental theology. Medieval discussions of peace united these seemingly disparate topics. Not surprisingly, many of the participants belonged to a reconceived order of clergy, canons regular and secular, committed to a life on the threshold of altar and marketplace, who followed a remodeled Rule of Saint Augustine inspired by the saint's balance of pastoral and contemplative modes.[11] Peacemaking became an important part of their imagination of self, giving them unique roles of mediation between papacy and empire, wisdom and action, church and world.

11. *Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in aecclesia*, ed. and trans. G. Constable and B. Smith (Oxford, 1972), 64 and 104–106 (henceforth *LDO*). While the author expresses doubts (shared by modern historians) regarding the attribution of the Rule to Augustine, he chooses to consider it Augustine's Rule, consistent with his equation between authorship and exemplum. We understand by this that Augustine's life and pastoral activity "wrote" the Rule regardless of who set it down. Marie-Dominique Chenu, "Monks, Canons, and Laymen in Search of the Apostolic Life," *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago, 1968), 202–238.

But if attitudes toward peace during these centuries were only the revisitation of Augustine, suspicions of false peace would not have taken the shape that they did. Churchmen who experimented with peace took inspiration from an even earlier source, the Carthaginian bishop Cyprian, who had experienced imperial persecution at its height and who regarded times of peace and war as common imposters. While he could not have imagined a church permanently at peace with the world, Cyprian did understand the dangers of peace and its potential for falsification.

Between waves of imperial persecution, bishops like Cyprian found their authority threatened by the zeal and indiscipline of charismatic would-be martyrs. While Cyprian had gone into exile and many in his congregation had apostatized, a good few had suffered imprisonment; after peace returned, these "confessors" arrogated to themselves the responsibility for reconciliation and communion. For Cyprian, then, the Roman truce had only brought corruption. Enemies of true peace were exploiting brief tranquility to proffer their own chimeras: schismatic mirror churches, engines of war disguised as peace.

After the Decian persecutions of 251, Cyprian returned from exile warning that imperial assaults had been a blessing, strengthening Christians after many years of enervating tranquility. "The master of the house (*dominus*) wanted to test his family," said Cyprian. "And because the long peace corrupted the discipline that was divinely bequeathed to us, he has through heavenly censure aroused our prone and, it must be said, sleeping faith."[12] A return of peace provided new opportunities to lapse: this time through self-immolation at the altar of apostate prelates. Those who had resisted Roman persecution were issuing *libelli pacis* or letters of forgiveness to apostates and *traditores* who had handed over (*tradere*) the sacred texts for burning. Cyprian denounced these letters as empty sacraments, "against the law of the Lord and God a membership extended to the careless by the arrogance of certain individuals: an invalid and false peace, perilous to the givers and conveying no benefit to recipients."[13]

Faced with indiscipline among his flock, Cyprian reimagined the church as an army that must equally prepare for times of combat and tranquility.

12. See William Swann, "The Relationship between Penance, Reconciliation with the Church, and Admission to the Eucharist in the Letters and the *De Lapsis* of Cyprian of Carthage" (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1980), 109–112. Cyprian of Carthage, *De lapsis* 5, ed. M. Bévenot, CCSL 3:223: "Dominus probari familiam suam voluit; et quia traditam nobis divinitus disciplinam *pax* longa corruperat, iacentem fidem et paene dixerim dormientem censura caelestis erexit."

13. *De lapsis* 15, 229: "Contra Domini ac Dei legem temeritate quorundam laxatur incautis communicatio: inrita et falsa pax, periculosa dantibus et nihil accipientibus profutura."

It was a training ground for future soldiers, whose defining quality was their obedience to an established and singular church hierarchy. Within this encampment resided true peace, guarded by correctly administered sacraments of baptism, penance, and communion.

The suspicions of peace that Cyprian raised during the imperial persecutions of the mid-third century would emerge in new forms after empire embraced church in the fourth and fifth. Both he and Augustine had left medieval church reformers a language with which to denounce willing captivity in a world of powers and principalities. However, ideas do not float unattached, to be conveniently snatched up for future use. They carry their context with them and impose this context on those who appropriate ideas anew. Arguably, what is being appropriated is not the idea itself but rather the historical circumstance to which the idea gives expression. In the eleventh century, churchmen who turned to Cyprian saw themselves living through a new imperial persecution, soothed by a gentle yoke that seemed to be divinely mandated but was actually diabolical.

In its medieval form, the friendship between church and Roman Empire was a false peace; it rivaled in destructiveness Adam's submission to Eve and the serpent. The church had slept, a behemoth in the swamp, enjoying a torpidity of spirit that put Christians on the brink of destruction. Conflict therefore became an essential component of peacemaking, a turbulent and constant displacement of false peace for the sake of true. Civil wars and insurrections, despoiled churches and dishonored sacraments, were all stings of compunction, arriving just in time to rouse the church from its ignominious slumber. In the wake of new calls for reform, to reject false peace in the pursuit of true became the task of the Christian soldier.

Making and Faking Peace between 1000 and 1200

In the early eleventh century, in the name of peace, a small group of Frankish bishops, monks, and lay supporters embarked on the liberation of the church and amelioration of society. I cannot subscribe with any great enthusiasm to a master narrative that insists these calls for peace were responses to social anarchy, or that this period (indisputably bereft of formal institutions) was more "violent" than those before or after. I do, however, see the ensuing century as a time of large-scale transformations in ideas and self-fashioning. In 1024, the first Salian monarch, Conrad II, was crowned emperor, and Gerard of Cambrai rearticulated the now-famous Carolingian model of Three Orders. Churchmen began to show detailed interest in violence and

peacemaking, haranguing their congregations to desist from infringement on the rights of churches. They attended assemblies of the Peace of God (the largest Peace of God council was held in 1024), and supported imperial attempts to restore order in the papacy. In the broadest terms, identified by Georges Duby, Marie-Dominique Chenu, and others, these monks, bishops, and priests envisioned themselves as a single profession distinguished from the laity.[14] With this insistence on distinct identity came a concomitant awareness of overlap, boundary crossing, and interpenetration of modes of living, in short a discourse imbued with imitation and "mimicry": and hence, the fear of a "falsified" peace.

As had been the case with Cyprian, false peace manifested itself most clearly in the misappropriation of sacraments. After 1049, the "reform popes," Leo IX, Nicholas II, Alexander II, Gregory VII, Urban II, and Paschal II, espoused an aggressive policy to expand clerical authority and eradicate simony and clerical concubinage. At the heart of the reform movement was a deep-seated fear of illicit sacraments, masses tainted by priests who had bought their ordinations with bribes. Many feared that in response to sinful clerics, the sacramental materials would refuse to transform, leaving worshippers with only bread, wine, and a commitment of faith to a false prophet. Simony, or the buying and selling of the Holy Spirit, became the most visible form of this abuse of sacraments. Along with a bribe, a simoniac gave an oath of loyalty (*sacramentum*) to the person who gave him his office. Paying the sin forward, he then conferred sacraments (*sacramenta*) on a congregation that acknowledged him as their entry point into the community of Christ. The Salian and Ottonian emperors relied on such dissemination of church offices for control of their vast territories and tributaries, a form of rulership through friendship.[15] Pope Gregory VII attacked the foundation of these friendships as bad sacraments, and so denied the rulers the obedience of their subjects. Solicitude for the integrity of church sacraments was thus subsumed into a larger critique of fidelities. False sacraments generated wicked communities held together by parodies of authentic peace.

Even as this battle played itself out in polemic between empire and papacy, monks and canons with their own ambitions of reform had begun to explore

14. Georges Duby, "The Laity and the Peace of God," *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. Cynthia Postan (Berkeley, 1977), 123–133; Chenu, "Monks, Canons, and Laymen," 202–238.

15. Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends, and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Medieval Europe*, trans. Christopher Carroll (Cambridge, 2004; Ger. orig. 1990), 121–135.

the pernicious nature of false peace, and to delineate the forceful methods by which false peace should be transformed into true. Like Ezekiel, who had sketched peace on a tile and watched as it became a call to battle, many reformers felt torn between a desire to rebel against unjust rulers and the fear of betraying divinely constituted oaths. They redefined peace in terms of these concerns, making love of true peace the rationale for legitimate obedience and necessary insurrection. In the process, they generated fears of a mirror image: violence clothed in tranquility, stability, and acquiescence. A creature of this world, such a concord offered no guide to authentic peace, only an indication of its absence or distortion.

Mimicry conveys aspirations as well as dangers. It can signal the prospect of amelioration to the good, modeling the best or most useful as a means to improvement.[16] Hence Gregory the Great's advice to pastors to learn from the world and take on the weakness of the weak, the framework of ecclesiastical harmony in the twelfth-century *Book of Orders and Professions*.[17] Twelfth-century authors like Hugh of Saint-Victor and Gerhoh of Reichersberg set great store by images of ascendance that Christians could fix in their minds (hearts) and thus be drawn up through a form of mimetic affinity.[18] In these cases, modeling should include recognition that identity is unobtainable; imitation was benign in its reiteration of difference. Read as parody, however, mimicry signaled implacable opposition on the one hand and unacceptable transgression of boundaries on the other, that is to say, violence. For Tertullian, the Roman army "mimicked Christian martyrdom," down to its espousal of wreaths and sacraments.[19] It did not matter who had originated these gestures, the assertion of mimicry implied an opposition between the real and the false; it carried the danger of seduction and distortion of truth. Overwhelmed by Satan, the world mimicked the Christian encampment for Tertullian, whereas for Hippolytus of Rome, bellicose pagan

16. Cf. 1 Cor. 4.16: "Be ye followers of me, as I also am of Christ," translated in the King James Version as "Imitate me, just as I also imitate Christ." And see Morrison, *Mimetic Tradition of Reform*, 69.

17. *LDO*, 20: "ut infirmis facti infirmi infirmos lucrentur." Gregory, *Reg. past.* 2.5, 32B-C: "Sit rector singulis compassione proximus, prae cunctis contemplatione suspensus, ut et per pietatis viscera in se infirmitatem caeterorum transferat." See Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley, 1988), 90–93.

18. For a discussion of twelfth-century images of ascension, see below, chapter 6.

19. On Tertullian's representation of Christian-Roman oppositions, see Adolf Harnack, *"Militia Christi": The Christian Religion and the Military in the First Three Centuries*, trans. David M. Gracie (Philadelphia, 1981; Ger. orig. 1905; repr., 1963), 53–54.

society mimicked the peace of the Christian bond, in turn redirecting the church's opposition to the world along the lines of militarism.[20] If churchmen were to take seriously Gregory's exhortations to mirror the world in order to transform it, then they needed extraordinary discernment not to lose their own image in the process.[21]

In a world folded upon itself,[22] peace had shadows and mirror images, some of them faithful approximations, but many, seditious distortions of the original. Mimicry of peace was especially dangerous, because it produced forms of community that looked harmless, even beneficial: it was violence in its extreme form, imperceptible and therefore most coercive and manipulative. Thus, a communion offered by disobedient or abusive priests actually created a concord of the damned, where unbeknownst to the congregation, chains of carnal affection and mercenary friendship replaced the bonds of peace. To churchmen of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, such diabolical communion could take several forms: heresies and schisms most recognizably, but also lay investiture of unworthy prelates and urban oath collectives known as communes. While several of these presented as associations founded on mutual peace and concord, they were actually engines of war. Often, only discord would reveal their true, violent nature, and for this reason purveyors of true peace must not hesitate to embrace conflict.[23]

---

20. Hippolytus of Rome, *Commentaire sur Daniel* 2.27–29, ed. Maurice Lefèvre, Sources Chrétiennes 14 (Paris, 1947), 167–175, conveys an early Christian understanding of the Roman Empire as a world transformed into an engine of war. The sole purpose of the Roman as opposed to the Christian social bond is the propagation of conflict. Militarism is therefore imposed on the church, by its organization against the demands of empire and by the peace it must craft within a system devoted to warfare. I thank Brett Whalen for the reference and discussion.

21. On mimicry in a constantly shifting discourse of otherness, see Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," reprinted in *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994), 85–92. James Ferguson, "Of Mimicry and Membership: Africans and the 'New World Society,'" in *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order* (Durham, NC, 2006), 155–175, explores anthropological studies that expand mimicry beyond a problematic colonial discourse of amelioration to one fraught with dangers of parody, reappropriation, and defiance of hegemonic representations of elite (here Western) exceptionalism. I thank Kathryn Mathers for the reference. On the terrifying prospect of captivation and reversal through replication, see Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York, 1993).

22. I have borrowed this image from Michel Foucault's *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York, 1994; Fr. orig. 1966), 17.

23. Gregory the Great advises peacemakers not to love peace so much that they hesitate to disrupt it for the purpose of correction. *Reg. past.* 3.22, 90C-91C.

Conflicting Visions and Visions of Conflict

When modern historians discuss notions of peace in the Middle Ages, they focus on those who had the loudest voices, not those who (to paraphrase Richard Southern) hid from the world and spoke to a very few.[24] For example, Ernst-Dieter Hehl's treatment of peace in the *New Cambridge Medieval History* discusses the Peace of God movement, the papal-imperial conflict (or "Investiture Controversy"), and the declaration of the First Crusade, and then jumps to canon law and political theory from the middle of the twelfth century. However, what happened between 1095 and 1150 is equally important, yet ignored for its intangibility and lack of definition. During a period of relative quiet in the struggle between popes and emperors, monks and secular clergymen were discussing free will, spiritual conversion, and sacramental efficacy in relation to the legitimacy of kingdoms and communities, unifying all under the rubric of true peacemaking. These "protoscholastic" conceptions of peace appear in scholarly exegesis of key passages in Genesis, the Gospel of John, and the synoptic Gospels, especially Matthew. Authentic peace began as a correct sequence of tastes, responses, and desires that then directed love toward appropriate objects, ultimately producing genuine community. The sacrament of communion exemplified such peace, as it absorbed Christians in the ideal community, the body of Christ. Theological and exegetical treatments of peace translated to several levels of the church, presumably even reaching the laity via clerical preparation for the sermon.[25] Iconic political discussions of peace in Gratian's *Decretum*, John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, and Rufinus of Sorrento's *De bono pacis* are ultimately standardizations of a wide-ranging and often messy discussion of peace conducted before 1150.

Discussions of peace during the eleventh and twelfth centuries added up to a thoroughgoing critique of fidelities, an attempt to monopolize and rationalize human commitment and loyalty. But the demands of the church's peace went deeper than fidelities had gone previously, targeting a transformation of self that liberated the spirit and redirected the flesh to conform to divine will. As makers and keepers of the peace, reformers looked with

24. R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven, CT, 1953), 13.

25. Preaching manuals provided new preachers with a number of topics appropriate for the sermon; peace is one of them. Alan of Lille's *Ars praedicandi* consults multiple scriptural authorities as well as Gregory the Great and Seneca to provide a brief treatment for novice preachers on peace. See Alan, *Summa de arte praedicatoria* 22, PL 210:155D-157C.

suspicion on the manner in which other loyalties formed, the nature of the oath that created the bond, its implications for relationships with those outside the bond, and the motivations and affections that held persons together in the community. In this respect, the sworn commune became a perversion, even though both religious and lay princes in western Europe employed communal oaths to their political advantage. In theory, the communal oath mimicked regular as well as secular vows, undermining loyalties to church and kingdom. In practice, however, this was not an issue until fighting broke out between competing urban authorities and the commune. The fraudulent oath collective then appeared as an indictment of the bishop or lord who had sanctioned it in the first place: a disorderly conspiracy that was merely the epiphenomenon of a deeper and more pervasive violence.

That we study peace here and not fidelity should not minimize the role of the latter in the sociopolitical discourse of the High Middle Ages.[26] However, one does not find the term *fides* deployed as *pax* was, as both a claim over the love of others and a marker of their willing and complete transformation. We do not read about "Faith of God" movements in the eleventh century. Communes like the Paix de Valenciennes did not represent themselves as the Faith of such-and-such city but instead as its Peace; their members were "men of [the] peace." Finally, it is peace that reveals how educated clergymen (and clerically trained scholars) emplotted aggression, retaliation, rebellion, and coercion within narratives of sociopolitical reform and religious conversion alike.

While medieval intellectuals read conflict as they would text, they also wrote about it in stylized ways that conformed to their notion of how fighting disclosed latent violence: for example, the misrule of an illicit bishop or the disobedience of a commune. Stories of evangelical activity developed similar images of inherently violent lay communities, whose own methods of dispute settlement were pugnacious and mercenary—and thus a marker of religious lapse. Monks and priests conveyed peace here as they would offer a sacrament, judging its effectiveness by the willingness of laypersons to change their modes of social ordering.

The ideals of peace sanctioned the clerical enterprise of the twelfth century, including the use of secular instruments such as military force and ostentatious displays of wealth. In pagan lands, missionaries provoked ducal

26. See, for example, Thomas Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton, NJ, 2009), in which the author constructs a narrative of twelfth-century tranformation in the West around crises of fidelity.

military power to intervene, forcing a confrontation with locals before offering Christianity as a condition of peace. Monks and canons debating the role of the *vita activa* found answers in the peace exemplified by Christ's body, where some clerics must work in the world to relay its signs to the inside, for interpretation and decision making. More ambitiously, at the end of the twelfth century, the canonist Rufinus of Sorrento determined that even while ideal peace could not be achieved on earth, the clergy must take primary responsibility for the administration of an imperfect peace, the sociopolitical peace of Babylon, in which domination and political authority took the place of love and willing obedience.

The self-described peacemaker therefore took on specific tasks, not all of which conform to a modern, normative understanding of peace: to discipline one's own tastes in order to differentiate true peace from its mirrors; to convey peace to outsiders despite the dangers of worldly taint; to disrupt normatively tranquil communities and kingdoms in order to produce the revolution in tastes and affections necessary for true peace. These criteria of peacemaking enabled churchmen to construct the church as a spiritual institution that could, without compromise, still make peace with a social and political world.

The immensity of clerical ambitions for peace contributed to their ultimate failure. By the end of the fourteenth century, critics of the papacy like Marsilius argued that churchmen should not be making peace with the world. At the same time, secular monarchies began to appropriate clerical visions of peace, giving themselves an exclusive mandate to demand the love of subjects, and sanctioning the use of force and conflict for the purpose of securing an authentic internal transformation. The state as we know it today emerged not in reaction to a lack of peace in the Middle Ages but rather to an overabundance of concerns for its definition.

Understanding Peace and Violence in Medieval Christian Texts

Any study of peace proves difficult without a proper understanding of how the word was used and avoided in medieval speech. In this book I consciously challenge treatments of peace and violence that use these terms cavalierly, and without consideration for semantic archaeology. Casual usage has produced numerous incorrect assumptions about peace that, in turn, structure the way we read medieval accounts of fighting and conflict resolution. In modern parlance, when peacemaking involves the use of force, especially arms, only two interpretations are possible: either there has been a "slippage" in pacifist

ideals or there has been a deliberate abatement of peace (temporarily, one hopes) in the interest of achieving it in the future. These poles of interpretation (hypocrisy or end justifying means) have been imposed carelessly on the Middle Ages. Insights from anthropology have provided important correctives while relying on an assumption that conflict was ingrained in the medieval social process. While a reasonable assessment, this still leaves unanswered the obvious question: Why were medieval writers so diligent about recording conflict if in fact it was so mundane?

I suggest we begin by considering peace as scholars in the Augustinian tradition did: as an ideal form that on earth manifests itself as approximations of reality. These approximations may include terror, coercion, and fighting. From this Neoplatonist standpoint, peace and conflict may inhabit the same system: two cities entwined for the earthly age. Taking a cue from Augustine, peace is never absent; it is present in all things but often distorted, subverted, or disguised. Even the wicked have peace of a kind, much like an upside-down object that remains stable regardless of the fact that it is directed the wrong way.[27] More troublesome, even, in this world where all creatures have peace, no creatures truly do. True peace, the eternal peace of celestial Jerusalem, eludes humanity, so that in those who recognize its absence a restlessness and yearning directs them to search and, always failing, to rely on divine mercy. For both the historian of medieval social process and the scholar of Augustine's legacy to medieval Christianity, earthly peace is thus an "uncertain boon," illusory, problematic, indistinguishable from conflict, simultaneously everywhere one looks and yet nowhere to be found.[28]

As patristic and high medieval thinkers in the Neoplatonist, Augustinian tradition expressed it, the relic of peace on earth should be seamless consonance among divine will, the directives of government, and the delighted compliance of subjects: liberation of the will through a realignment of human desires. But while accepted as a positive presence rather than a mere absence of fighting, peace rarely conveyed the same set of meanings to would-be peacekeepers, and thus identification of the true peace acquired paramount importance. In his treatise on peace Rufinus resolved its dual condition of stability and variability by arguing that peace—*Pax*—meant the Trinity, a universal that contained not only the blessed peace of angels but also the categories of human and diabolical peace.[29] His attempted resolution comes,

27. Augustine, *De civ.* 19.12, 390–394.

28. Augustine, *De civ.* 19.5, 380.

29. *DBP* 1.1, 52–56.

however, at the end of a frenetic period (1000–1200) in which those who claimed to make peace also insisted on monopolizing its meaning.

In the medieval Christian tradition, recognition of an ontologically stable peace (either "true" or "false" but always present) distinguishes it from "violence": violence is a modifier of situations and actions, a distortion/reversal of peace, and consistently negative. We encounter *violenter*, the abverb, as often as *violentia*. Medieval accusations of violence refer to betrayal of oaths, usurpation of authority, trespass, the inhibition of another's will, and the distortion of love. Violence thus characterized actions but was not itself an action: instead it denoted the moral valence of a power relationship. To use force "violently" put one beyond the pale. A benevolent exception is the famous *pia violentia*, prayers whose violence would "storm heaven."[30] In his *Commentaries on Ezekiel*, Jerome describes the storming of heaven as a "holy violence" (*sancta violentia*), but even in this case the usage of *violentia* suggests a virtual coercion of the deity himself and must be carefully parsed.[31] This is not to say that *violentia* or its derivatives *violens* and *violenter* were always used for accusation: Arnulf of Milan, although sparing in his use of the term, does refer to "violent" winds.[32] Recounting the papacy of Alexander III, Cardinal Boso speaks of the Greek emperor Manuel's "violent" incursions into the territory of the Turkish sultan—but even in this case, the label of violence opens a moral fable on Manuel's unwillingness to make peace with his enemies, which results in a humiliating defeat.[33] What we do say about the different registers of peace and violence is that since peace had an ideal existence out of time, it could always be said to exist in some form, be it approximation or parody. Violence, on the other hand, implied its own limitations, situational and interpersonal—if not a state of exception then at least an exceptional state; the devil's invasion of the world had caused that exceptional state to be of extended duration, hence the need for coercion and, as high medieval

30. "Pia violentia, qua regnum coeleste rapitur." The Cistercian Guerric of Igny meditates on this "violence" by which persons come before Christ not just by invitation but also through a vehemence of the heart that forces them on him: "Spiritus enim ante faciem nostram Christus Dominus, non modo invitandus, sed et attrabendus quadam violentia precis, vehementiaque fervoris in hospitium cordis." It is "praiseworthy rudeness" (*laudabilis importunitas*), he says. Guerric, *Sermones per annum* 3.3, PL 185:20B-C. I thank Philippe Buc for pointing out this usage. Cf. Matt. 11.12.

31. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem Libri IV* 6.18, ed. F. Gloria, CCSL 75:237–238.

32. Arnulf of Milan, *Liber gestorum recentium* 4.8, ed. Claudia Zey, MGH SSrGs 62:213, here with reference to the "violence of winds" with which a fire raged through Milan. Even in this case, however, the populace blamed the Patarene rebel leader Erlembald both for the fire and for the "violence" of degrading the sacraments. See below, chapter 3.

33. Boso, *Vita Alexandri*, ed. J. M. Watterich, in *Pont. Rom.* 2, no. 6: 434–435.

reformers would insist, for struggle.[34] Imagine a usurped kingdom, then, where the basic state of liberty, still present as a goal, remains impeded to the point of silence by unjust domination, and where warfare as an instrument of liberation provides the antidote to static (but nonetheless "violent") captivity.

Once considered the antidote to this extreme, inexpressible violence, warfare is treated today as its synonym, and as its temporal bracket.[35] Probably as a result of this association, in modern usage violence has become objectively quantifiable, while possessing what Daniel Baraz dubs "moral neutrality."[36] Today one is judged by the conduct and justification for violence, whereas in the Middle Ages to talk of *violentia* put actions or relationships in the realm of the wrong: delusion and contravention of justice. With the narrowing of categories for violence, the medieval Christian concept may now be found buried in ideologies that, while atheist or agnostic, share the revolutionary imperative of the religion. A term used by socialist political scientists in the 1970s, "structural violence" best captures the medieval usage of the term as a description of unjust power relationships and inhibitions of another's will through either domination or deceit. One might also make the argument that "liberation theology" with its invocation of Exodus perceives violence structurally, as captivity within "pharaonic" regimes of global capitalism and social injustice.

Peace, of course, is not a peculiarly Christian concern. Regular considerations of peace appear in other offshoots of the Abrahamic tradition. The Old Testament covenant with God was at once a war pact and a guarantee of peace between God and humanity. While Christians understood its realization in the coming of Christ, in the Judeo-Christian tradition as a whole the chosen people are all protected by a divine promise that in exchange for exclusive devotion and warfare on his behalf, God will bring peace to the tents of Israel. Islam, an Abrahamic religion named for submission and passivity before God, also makes peace a boundary of the faith: the house of peace and the house of war make up the divisions of the world within and outside. Early Christians expressed their religion with much the same, militaristic

34. Cf. Gregory, *Moralia in Job* 25.16.34, ed. Marcus Adriaen, CCSL 143B:1260, on Hos. 13.11: "I will give you a king in my anger."

35. On the temporal localization of "war" in American legal approaches, see Mary L. Dudziak, "Law, War, and the History of Time," *California Law Review* 98 (Oct. 2010): 1669–1712. Dudziak applies assumptions of warfare as its own time to arguments (e.g., Georgio Agamben's) regarding warfare as a state of exception. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (Fairlawn, NJ, 1957), is in many ways the precursor of such an approach.

36. Daniel Baraz, *Medieval Cruelty: Changing Perceptions, Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (Ithaca, NY, 2003), 6–7.

imagery: the church was an encampment that must be guarded not just against the world's aggression but also against its offers of peace.

Both Islam and Christianity faced questions about how to expand the boundaries of their religion while still maintaining an acceptable peace. While the early political conquests of Islamic kingdoms enabled Muslims to offer peace as a form of political accommodation to people of the book (Jews, Christians, and sometimes Zoroastrians), this was not as easy for Christians, who lacked political and military power in their early centuries. Tertullian dreamed of a dramatic expansion of the church before the end of time, but he also expected the end to come very soon, so that the boundaries of peace would reach their fullest compass only in the death of the world. Expansion that took place on earth did so as drops of Christian blood, drops to be shed without retaliation, but to be matched hundredfold in the death of persecutors at the end of time.[37]

When the world, or Roman Empire, refused to die and instead extended its life by gradually becoming Christian between 313 and 380, the church faced new problems regarding its peace. The abstract universalism of the heavenly kingdom now had to coexist with the concrete expansionist policies of Rome. It was no longer realistic to expect a Christian peace separate from *Pax Romana*, which entailed armed defense of territory, culture, and citizens and strict disciplining of dissenters.[38] While political concord and religious accommodation had allowed the militarism of the Roman peace to be manageable, the demands of peace in the Christian tradition were more rigorous, implacable, intrusive, and aggressive. The greatest roadblock was a disjuncture within the command to offer love to all neighbors while still drawing them into the peace of the church: should they be brought against their will, and if so, how?

Through a self-inflicted schizophrenia, Christians found themselves using political and military weapons to consolidate a religion that continued to define itself through rejection of the world. Christian thinkers contented themselves with the knowledge that God had given them kings to engage the bloody politics of the present, even as priests disseminated God's charity and mercy in preparation for the world to come. Thus a political peace, governed by feuds, time-sensitive pacts, rehearsed betrayals, strategic anger, and the choreography of vengeance developed side by side with an ideal of otherworldly

37. Most famously, Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 50.13.60, ed. E. Dekkers, CCSL 1:171: "Semen est sanguis Christianorum!" Also see Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 1.3, ed. J. L. Creed (Oxford, 1984), 4.

38. Harnack, *Militia Christi*, 65–105, discusses the dilemmas facing Christian soldiers in the Roman military engine of imperial defense and expansion.

peace: faith in eternal life, renunciation of sex and concupiscence, collective ownership of property, personal discipline, and graded separation from mammon. There remained considerable overlap between these two modes of peace, but with only infrequent discussion of mutual exclusivity before the eleventh century. The early decades of the eleventh century are thus the starting point for this exploration of medieval experiments with peace.