RÉSUMÉS DES COMMUNICATIONS

Aviad KLEINBERG, *Canonization without a canon*, p. 7-18.

Aviad Kleinberg argues that canonization remained a very rare phenomenon in the Middle Ages, with a very restricted impact on the formulation of the concepts of sainthood. The papacy did not offer a clearly articulated model of Christian sainthood, and did not use the process of canonization for an elaboration of the psychology of sainthood. What emerged out of medieval canonization was a set of procedures for determining valid proof. These canons of proof were applied in those rare cases of politically important cases that were brought before it. Most venerated saints did not enjoy the elevated standing of proven and approved sanctity, reached through canonization, but this did not in any way diminish from their status as objects for devotion and models of spiritual excellence. Sainthood, Kleinberg argues, was shaped in the less formal sphere of saintly stories, where technical requierement were very loose and where political control was limited. It is in historical and imaginary accounts of sainthood in action that we ought to look for the implicit theology of medieval sainthood.

Thomas HEAD, *The genesis of the ordeal of relics by fire in Ottonian Germany : an alternative form of «canonization»*, p. 19-37.

Bulls of canonization were a novel means of authorizing sanctity and its cult, apparently developed among clerics of a reforming bent in the late tenth and early eleventh century. They were not, however, the only novel means of authorizing sanctity developed during that period. During that same period, clerics from reforming circles in Germany adapted the judicial ordeal by fire as a ritual by which relics and their cult could be authenticated. Archbishop Egbert of Trier was among the first to employ this ritual, and quite possibly its inventor. Indeed for the period between c. 980 and c. 1170 more uses of this ritual of authentication of relics by fire can be documented than extant bulls of canonization. By the pontificate of Innocent III, clerical participation in the ordeal by fire was banned under canon law, thus effectively ending recourse to the ritual used by Egbert and others to authenticate relics. In the same period, papal bulls of canonization gained normative status as a means of authorizing sanctity.

Dick Harrison, Quod magno nobis fuit horrori… *Horror, power and holiness within the context of canonization*, p. 39-52.

Focusing on a well-known letter from Pope Alexander III to a Swedish king only known as «K», written in the early 1170s, the article stresses the importance of not only viewing the process of canonization from a technical and juridical point of view but from a much broader angle. Three aspects in particular are emphasized, all of them clearly present in the letter and subject to historical development : (1) horror, (2) power, and (3) holiness. What was meant by these terms? What did «horror» signify to Alexander III? Would the Swedish audience have understood what the pope actually meant when referring to concepts such as auctoritas? In many ways, processes of canonization are ideal objects of study if we aim to illuminate historical discrepancies such as those highlighted by the letter. In this way, a number of crucial questions of fears, power and sanctity are brought into the open.

Michael Richter, *Procedural aspects of the canonization of Lorcán Ua Tuathail*, p. 53-65.

Lorcán, archbishop of Dublin and papal legate, died in 1180 in Eu in Normandy. He was canonised in 1225 by Honorius III. It took at least separate moves to have this achieved, partly for technical, partly for political reasons. The basic requirements for canonisation, *Vita et miracula*, were made available at an early stage. For this cooperation was required between the archbishop of Rouen, the metropolitan of Eu, the canons of Eu, and the Irish hierarchy. The successor of Lorcán as archbishop of Dublin was of English extraction in the capital city which had fallen into English hands in 1172. Cooperation of the English archbishop with his Irish fellow-bishops was delicate and caused delays in the supply of the required written evidence. *Inquisitiones in partibus* were required both in Normandy and Ireland, which caused additional delays. The material available for Lorcán makes it likely that even documents relating to applications which were turned down for the time being were preserved in Rome. The canonisation was by then the reserve of the pope, but in practice he acted ultimately with the cooperation of the consistory.

Tore Nyberg, *The canonization process of St Birgitta of Sweden*, p. 67-85.

Birgitta Birgersdotter's reputation for sanctity was widespread at the time of her death on 23 July 1373. A short vita composed by her two Swedish confessors followed her at the procession which carried her body from Rome to Vadstena in Sweden where priestly members of the new Birgittine Order were authorized to collect early evidence of miracles and healings. Unsufficiently ratified evidence dated 2 May 1375 was sent to Rome with Birgitta's daughter Katarina, a more comprehensive collection of 9 December 1376 followed, and on 13 November

1375 Pope Gregor XI charged two Danish bishops with the same task. After the papal election of 1378 and the outbreak of the schism the Roman Pope Urban VI made Birgitta's cause his own and on 15 December 1378 the case was publicly handed over to a commission of four cardinals at a meeting of the consistory. The formal process was concluded on 13 August 1380 but the schism caused a delay until in 1391 Pope Boniface IX carried out the canonization.

Anders Frömark, *The canonization process of Brynolf Algotsson*, p. 87-100.

The acts from a canonization process held in Skara and Vadstena (Sweden) in 1417 provide the foremost source of information on the cult regarding Bishop Brynolf Algotsson († 1317) as a saint. In spite of some influential proponents, among them Saint Birgitta, there is no evidence for a popular Brynolf cult in the fourteenth century. It was first during the episcopate of Bishop Brynolf II Karlsson (1404-1424) that effective measures were taken to promote the cult.The cult of Bishop Brynolf is one of several which follow in the wake of the successful Saint Birgitta cult. In Skara as well as in Linköping, the church was experiencing crisis at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In both of these dioceses, one of the answers was to make a deceased bishop a saintly symbol, in the case of Skara a bishop who had been dead for nearly a hundred years. The productivity of the Brynolf cult in terms of images and pilgrim badges towards the end of the Middle Ages gives evidence of a certain success of this attempt to elevate a long since deceased bishop to a popular saint.

Goran Bäärnhielm et Janken Myrdal, *Miracles and medieval life. Canonization proceedings as a source for medieval social history*, p. 101-116.

Ten miracle collections with 640 cases have been preserved from medieval Sweden, five of them connected with canonization trials including witness hearings. They have been studied by us as an ethnological source. In these stories we can hear the voice of the common people, especially in the later collections, and we believe that their formal juridical character enhance their source value. Among thematic findings are : 15th c. introduction of the Western European marriage pattern; absence of childlessness among perceived problems; no love-marriages; work-related accidents attest to the heavy and dangerous work of men; children's accidents are most common between 1.5 and 4 years and at 10-12 for boys working with their fathers; main dangers are drowning, hot liquids, getting lost in the forest. Distance miracles dominate all collections except that of St. Brynolf of Skara, where cult-place miracles are frequent and which displays also other archaic features e.g. some astonishing and fear-inspiring *in-vita-*miracles close to magic.

Gábor KLANICZAY, *Proving sanctity in the canonization processes (Saint Elizabeth and Saint Margaret of Hungary)*, p. 117-148.

I start by assessing the ambivalent attitude to miracles as good indices of sanctity discernible in the documentation related to the canonization of Saint Francis of Assisi. My study concentrates upon the canonization processes of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary (and Thuringia) and Saint Margaret of Hungary. In the documentation of the former, I investigate how the judicial context shaped the miracle accounts of the witnesses. I try to measure the tensions between the inquisitorial expectations of accuracy and the rhetoric of the healing narrative motivated by other factors. In Margaret's case a micro-historical insight is attempted to the variable stories given of some miracles. The way they were perceived, discussed and reported by the community of nuns and their relatives, coming from the outside to the shrine of the deceased Dominican princess, testifies about a tension between two principles of late medieval sainthood : *virtus morum* and *virtus signorum*.

Alexandra WITKOWSKA, *The thirteenth-century* miracula *of St. Stanislau, Bishop of Krakow*, p. 149-163.

From the last period of attempts at the canonization of the Bishop of Krakow, Saint Stanislaus (+1079) a collection of his *miracula* survived, recognized in two editions. The first is *Miracula sanctii Stanislai*, an official protocol from 1252, created by a special committee launched by Pope Innocent IV, acting in the Krakow region, headed by a Franciscan, Jacob of Velletri. This edition has survived in the Krakow Archive Chapter in the form of parchment rotulus. The other edition of the *miracula* was created by a Dominican, Vincent of Kielcza. He added the document as *Pars III* to the post-canonization document – Life of St. Stanislaus entitled *Vita maior*, written in the years 1257-1261. Both collections of *miracula* were developed in contrastive circumstances that explain the form and the nature of the information they contain.

Paolo GOLINELLI, *Social aspects in some Italian canonization trials : the choice of witnesses*, p. 165-180.

Through the analysis of the witnesses at the processes of canonization concerning the Blessed John Cacciafronte (Cremona and Vicenza 1223-24), St. Dominic (Bologna 1233), the Blessed Ambrose of Massa (Orvieto 1240-41), the Blessed John Bono (Mantua 1251), St. Peter Morrone – Pope Celestine V (Naples 1306), the Blessed Clare of Montefalco (1318-1319), St. Nicholas of Tolentino (1325), the author argues that in the Italian canonization trials of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries there is a progressive increase in the selection of the people who have to give evidence to the sanctity of the holy man (or woman). At the beginning of this practice it was the whole community of the saint that gave witness to his miracles and holy way of life; in the XIVth century only churchmen

or high class people are asked to testify to the sanctity, and, instead, lay depositions are neglected. So, there is a conspicuous difference : as in the first canonization trials there was a very high presence of poor people, in the later ones there was a noteworthy predominance of distinguished personalities, who established also in this way their role as leaders in their towns.

Michael GOODICH, *Reason or revelation? The criteria for the proof and credibility of miracles in the canonization processes*, p. 181-197.

In the thirteenth century, formal, rational legal standards were established to test the reliability of miracles in canonization processes. These were based on scholastic theology and canon law, and aimed at countering the arguments of opponents of the faith. An increasing number of proven miracles were included in papal bulls of canonization. Nevertheless, despite this reliance on natural law and reason, the intervention of dream, vision or revelation was often necessary in order to confirm the credibility of a candidacy for canonization, including visions of the saint seen by the pope himself, or cures experienced by persons close to the Holy See.

Alain BOUREAU, *Saints et démons dans les procès de canonisation du début du XIVe siècle*, p. 199-221.

La lecture des procès de canonisation ouvert au cours du pontificat de Jean XXII (1316-1334) permet de saisir un tournant important dans la perception de l'action des démons dans le monde. On voit apparaître des formes nouvelles et insistantes de possession qui associent Satan aux revenants, aux hérétiques et aux morts sans confession, qui construisent de petites sociétés ou réseaux, qui associent plus étroitement la personnalité souffrante du saint persécuté et celle des possédés. Du côté de la Curie, on observe un soin méticuleux à tenter de distinguer la folie de la possession démoniaque et, si les saints apparaissent comme des adversaires résolus et combatifs de Satan, il est possible que l'échec des causes de Chiara de Montefalco et de Nicolas de Tolentino soit dû en partie à leur côtoiement intense et dangereux des possédés et des démons. Malgré la stabilité des formes de l'enquête, les procès de canonisation constituent une excellente source sur l'évolution des perceptions religieuses.

Christian KRÖTZL, Fama sanctitatis. *Die Akten der spätmittelalterlichen Kanonisationsprozesse als Quelle zu Kommunikation und Informationsvermittlung in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft*, p. 223-244.

Die *Fama sanctitatis* bildete insbesondere nach 1234 ein zentrales Element der Heiligsprechung. Gemäss dem Fragenkatalog mussten sich die Zeugen zur inhaltlichen, sozialen und geographischen Ausdehnung der Fama äussern. Diese an sich eher stereotypischen Informationen lassen sich mit Aussagen zu den In-

formanten, zu den auffordernden Personen sowie zu den Verkündungssituationen kombinieren, welche es ermöglichen, Entstehungsprozess und Hintergrund der Fama zu beleuchten. Von besonderer Bedeutung waren dabei die Dorfpriester sowie die nähere Gemeinschaft der Freunde und Nachbarn, die in vielen Fällen zu näheren Beratungen zusammengerufen wurde. Die Zeugenaussagen der Kanonisationsprozesse erlauben somit vielfältige Einblicke in Kommunikation und Informationsvermittlung der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft, die sich mit anderen Quellen nicht erzielen lassen.

Bernhard SCHIMMELPFENNIG, *Die Berücksichtigung von Kanonisationen in den kurialen Zeremonienbüchern des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, p. 245-257.

Die Kanonisation, also die Eintragung neuer Personen in den «Katalog der Heiligen», ist ein liturgischer Akt. Diesen Akt durchzuführen, wurde seit dem 11./12. Jahrhundert immer exklusiver eine Prärogative des Papstes. Allerdings scheint diese – im Unterschied zu anderen päpstlichen Vorrechten – lange Zeit an der römischen Kurie nicht besonders beachtet worden zu sein. Erst seit dem Aufenthalt der Päpste in Avignon fand sie Berücksichtigung in den Zeremonienbüchern der Kurie.

Diesen, bislang kaum genauer analysierten, Texten gilt der Beitrag. Dabei differenziert er zwischen Einträgen, die einer konkreten Kanonisation galten, und Ordines, die den Ablauf einer Kanonisation idealtypisch beschreiben. Zwei Ergebnisse schälen sich heraus : 1. Einzelheiten zeigen, daß der reale Ablauf im späten Mittelalter ständig erweitert worden ist. 2. Ein unter Johannes XXII. in Avignon kompilierter Ordo prägte noch im späten 15. Jahrhundert den neuen Ordo im Caeremoniale von Agostino Patrizi und Johannes Burckard und damit die in der Neuzeit gültige Norm.

Thomas WETZSTEIN, Iura novit curia. *Zur Verfahrensnormierung der Kanonisationsprozesse des späten Mittelalters*, p. 259-287.

Das Kanonisationsverfahren besaß während des gesamten Mittelalters keine eigenen Verfahrensnormen. Dennoch weisen die als wertvolle historische Quelle nutzbaren Zeugenbefragungen an den Gräbern der Heiligen im späteren Mittelalter im ganzen Raum der lateinischen Christenheit stets die gleichen Abläufe auf. Dieser Befund erklärt sich aus der strengen Anwendung allgemeiner prozeßrechtlicher Verfahrensnormen des römisch-kanonischen Prozesses, die von den Kommissaren in Übereinstimmung mit einer in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 13. Jahrhunderts ergangenen päpstlichen Dekretale auch in *causae sanctorum* angewendet wurden, nachdem sie sich seit dem 12. Jahrhundert in immer weiter vom Sitz des Papstes entfernte geographische Räume ausgebreitet hatten. Aus der Gültigkeit der Normen des gelehrten Prozesses auch für Kanonisationsverfahren ergibt sich für heutige Bearbeiter von Kanonisationsakten die Notwendigkeit, in gewissem Umfang selbst über Kenntnisse in diesem besonderen Bereich der Geschichte des mittelalterlichen gelehrten Rechts zu verfügen.

Laura SMOLLER, *Northern and southern sanctity in the canonization of Vincent Ferrer : the effects of procedural differences on the image of the saint*, p. 289-308.

Examination of the surviving canonization inquests in the case of Vincent Ferrer (canonized 1455) reveals striking differences in such procedural matters as the number and status of witnesses, the proportion of testimony devoted to the saint's life or miracles, and the absence or presence of articles of interrogation. These variations yielded vastly different pictures of the same saint, with the images generated in Toulouse and Naples largely conforming to what André Vauchez has labeled a Mediterranean model of sanctity, and the inquest from Brittany producing a view of the saint comparable to Vauchez's non-Mediterranean sanctity. These differences, however, find their explanation not so much in regional models of sanctity, but rather in the specific concerns of the local promoters who orchestrated each of the canonization inquests (namely, the ducal family in Brittany, and the Dominican Order, Roman curia, and crown of Aragon in the southern inquests), molding the procedures used in such a way as to produce the desired image of the saint.

Letizia PELLEGRINI, *La sainteté au XVᵉ siècle entre procès et droit canonique : avant et après Bernardin de Sienne*, p. 309-326.

À partir du procès en canonisation de Bernardin de Sienne, qui inaugure, après un long temps d'arrêt, une nouvelle et riche saison d'enquêtes, l'auteur se propose d'étudier l'ensemble des pratiques qui régissent ce genre de procès dans la seconde moitié du XVᵉ siècle. En débutant par l'examen des formes procédurales antérieures (Brigitte de Suède et Nicolas de Tolentino), sont décrites celles adoptées pour les enquêtes *in partibus* de Bernardin pour enfin tenter d'établir une éventuelle influence d'un modèle «Bernardien» sur les procès contemporains ou à peine postérieurs. On remarque ainsi un certain arbitraire dans la conduite des enquêtes *in partibus*, aidé par une sorte de vide juridique, qui contraste avec la rigueur qui, au contraire, caractérise la conduite des procès. On réussit alors à individualiser quelques unes des raisons politiques qui aboutissent à la reconnaissance de la sainteté des candidats pour parler d'une «véritable politique de la sainteté». La canonisation devient un moyen à travers lequel on reconstruit une nouvelle catholicité possible après la *christianitas* du Moyen Âge.

Martine BOITEUX, *Le rituel romain de canonisation et ses représentations à l'époque moderne*, p. 327-355.

La cérémonie de canonisation proclame la sainteté; ce processus d'énonciation est l'étape ultime de la fabrication du saint. La preuve flottante du procès est devenue vérité historique par la «représentation» qui se joue dans le «théâtre» construit dans la basilique Saint-Pierre requalifiée en paradis et dans les diverses églises pour les «solennisations» successives. Le rituel romain est le lieu qui défi-

nit et transmet l'orthodoxie religieuse identifiant la sainteté par l'image du saint proposée qui a valeur normative et pédagogique; l'efficacité du rituel repose sur la relation dialectique entre donner à voir et donner à croire.

À partir de l'analyse de cas contextualisés et des images suscitées par le rituel romain, l'article met en évidence les acteurs et les objets cérémoniels, les signes, symboles et valeurs véhiculés et leur signification et utilisation par le pouvoir pontifical.

André VAUCHEZ, *Conclusion*, p. 355-361.

L'intérêt pour les procès de canonisation médiévaux comme sources pour l'histoire religieuse et l'histoire des mentalités s'est beaucoup accru depuis une trentaine d'années. Mais on ne s'est pas assez interrogé sur la forme et la signification de ce type de documents, dont l'apparition est contemporaine de celle des enquêtes et des grands procès menés par les pouvoirs monarchiques, dont ils se rapprochent à certains égards. Mais le procès de canonisation a également des points communs avec le procès d'inquisition puisqu'ils sont l'un et l'autre provoqués par la *fama* qui entoure un individu, qu'il s'agisse d'un hérétique ou d'un saint. Davantage qu'à la promotion d'un idéal de sainteté, il a surtout servi à la papauté à garder un certain contrôle des manifestations nouvelles de la sainteté en faisant espérer aux postulateurs la sanction prestigieuse d'une reconnaissance officielle du culte de leur héros, tout en laissant au temps le soin de faire son œuvre.

Bengt ANKARLOO, *Postface : saints and witches*, p. 363-368.

The canonisation process had problems common with the inquisitorial procedures against heretics and witches. To confirm a true miracle, the *sine qua non* of a canonisation, a court had to face the question of natural vs. divine or demoniacal causation. False miracles were either a misunderstanding of natural processes (*mira*), or the working of the Devil and his demons. Evidence in cases of canonisation consisted mainly in the life of the prospective saint (*vita*) and the local information (*in partibus*). The linkage of reputation and supernatural deeds was the same when dealing with saints and witches. In a few cases those under investigation were included among the most elevated in heaven, in numerous other cases they were condemned as adherents to false beliefs and as malecifent perpetrators. The admirable restraint observed in cases of canonisation was not nearly realised in the persecution of heretics and witches. But the basic procedure was the same.