

*IMPERATOR BURDINUM HISPANUM ROMANAE
SEDI VIOLENTER IMPOSUIT.*
A RESEARCH PROPOSAL ON
THE ARCHBISHOP OF BRAGA AND ANTIPOPE
GREGORY VIII, MAURICE ‘BOURDIN’

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to investigate the image of Archbishop of Braga and Antipope Gregory VIII (1118-1121), Maurice “Bourdin”. Often modern historiography has considered Maurice as only a minor figure of the Church History of the beginning of the 12th century, but a reading of the 12th and 13th century literary sources offers a very different image of him. The use of these kinds of sources and the adoption of a strong international perspective would show how it is possible to rethink Maurice “Bourdin”’s life and career and to revise many features of the Roman Church History and its relations with *Hispania* in the central centuries of the Middle Ages.¹

KEYWORDS

Maurice “Bourdin”, Rome, Antipope, Braga, Gregory VIII.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Mauritius “Burdinus”, Roma, Antipapa, Bracara Augusta, Gregorius VIII.

1. FCT-CITCEM SFRH/BPD/110178/2015. This article is part of the post-doctoral project founded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia. I would like to thank Annemie Lemaans and Bruce Stuart for the English revision of the text.

1. Introduction

Quem electum imperator duxit in pulpitem, ubi ipse electus interrogantibus de nomine suo dixit; Meum nomen est Burdinus; set quando papa Urbanus ordinavit me episcopum, nominavit me Mauritium. Tunc quidam de indutis habitu ecclesiastico de pulpito ad populum tertio clamavit: Vultis dominum Mauritium in papam? Qui tertio respondententes et clamantes dixerunt: Volumus

Landolphus Iuniore, *Historia Mediolanensis*.²

The aim of this paper is to introduce the first results of my postdoctoral project entitled “*All the Roads lead to Portugal. The Life and the European Trajectory of Archbishop Maurice “Bourdin” of Braga (11th-12th centuries)*” financed by the FCT of Lisbon (Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia) and directed by Professor Luís Carlos Amaral of the University of Oporto. The research project does not only concern a general biographical revision of the figure of the Archbishop of Braga and the Antipope —known as Gregory VIII— Maurice “Bourdin”. The main purpose of my research plan is to use Maurice “Bourdin”’s life and career as a case-study, in order to illustrate two main aspects.

The first is the internationality of the See of Braga and of the County of Portugal in the early 12th century. These territories were geographically at the “borders” of Europe, but they were absolutely not the “periphery” of the medieval world. On the contrary, Portugal, and more in general, the North-Western Iberian Peninsula were at the heart of a number of important European historical processes. These dynamics were tightly connected to the Roman Papacy, even before the affirmation of the royal claims of Afonso I Henriques (d. 1185) against the Kings of León-Castile and León between the second and the third quarter of the 12th century.³ The second aspect is to consider the Archbishop of Braga, Maurice “Bourdin”, as a possible key-figure to analyse the consequences and the effects of the transformation of the Roman Church that began with the introduction of the *Reichskirche* system in Rome under the Emperor and King of Germany Henry III (d. 1056).⁴ Through a 12th century

2. “My name is Burdinus, but once Pope Urbanus ordained me as a bishop he named me ‘Maurice’. Then, one of the present clergymen asked the crowd three times with loud voice: ‘Do you want Maurice as the pope?’ And the people answered three times, ‘We want.’” Landolphus Iuniore. “Historia Mediolanensis ab anno MXCV usque ad annum MCXXXVII”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Ludwig Bethmann-Philipp Jaffé. Hannover: Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1868: XX, 49. This is my English translation.

3. On the new Portuguese historiographical tendencies, see the recent work of Rosa, Maria de Lourdes; Vasconcelos e Sousa, Bernardo; Branco, Maria João, eds. *The historiography of Medieval Portugal (1950-2010)*, José Mattoso, dir. Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011. In this volume see the essay of Mattoso, José. “Medieval studies in Portugal: an overview”, *The historiography of Medieval Portugal (1950-2010)*. Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 11-23. See also the very important work of Herbers, Klaus. “El papado en el tiempo de Gelmírez. Constancia y variación”, *O século de Xelmírez*, Fernando López Alsina, Henrique Monteagudo Romero, Ramón Villares, Ramón Yzquierdo Perrín, dirs. Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 2013: 75-92.

4. Fliche, Augustin. *La Réforme grégorienne*. 3 vols. Louvain: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniens, 1924-1937.



Antipope's point of view, it is possible to reconsider and renew the historiographical conclusions on some of the main ecclesiological and political features of the Roman Church during the central centuries of the Middle Ages. These features, in fact, are still interpreted through the too rigid scheme of the "Gregorian Reform," a model elaborated by the French historian Augustin Fliche in the first half of the past century. The study of Maurice "Bourdin" gives the opportunity to revise several complex problems such as: the difficulties connected to the interpretation of the *Decretum in electione papae* of 1059 in electing and consecrating a Pope; the conflict and the collaboration between the Popes and the Emperor/Kings of Germany; the international circulation of clergymen in medieval Europe; the relationships between Rome and the Iberian Peninsula from the end of the 11th century; the relic traffic and the pilgrimages from Spain and Portugal to the Holy Land; and the role of both Roman urban clergy and aristocracy in this political bargaining. Such a richness of historical problems deserves a new historiographical attention.⁵

In this work I will focus on a lesser-known perspective, i.e. the international career of Archbishop Maurice as seen through the literary sources. To achieve this objective, first I will revise the traditional historiographical interpretations on the figure of Maurice "Bourdin". Second, I will discuss some possible research perspectives through the introduction of the 12th and 13th century literary sources and the images concerning the Archbishop of Braga and Antipope Gregory VIII. These sources might help us to rethink both the life and the political trajectory of Maurice "Bourdin" in the Iberian Peninsula and as an Antipope in order to reformulate many questions about the history of Portugal and of the Roman Church between the 11th and the 12th centuries.

2. State of the art (1940-2016): the negative image of Maurice 'Bourdin' in the European Historiography and new research perspectives

After the biography written by Étienne Baluze (1630-1718) and the 19th-early 20th century works of von Giesebrecht, Gregorovius and Meyer von Kronau,⁶ the first important modern monograph entirely dedicated to Maurice "Bourdin" is the one published by Carl Erdmann in 1940. In this work, the author analysed the

5. For the critics to Filche's model of "Gregoria Reform" see: Cantarella, Glauco Maria. "Dalle chiese alla monarchia papale", *Chiesa, Chiese, Movimenti religiosi*, Glauco Maria Cantarella, Valeria Polonio, Roberto Rusconi, eds. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2001: 5-74. Longo, Umberto. "La riforma della Chiesa tra Pier Damiani a Bernardo di Chiaravalle. Un concetto da declinare al plurale", *La società monastica nei secoli VI-XII. Sentieri di ricerca*, Marialuisa Bottazzi, Paolo Buffo, Caterina Ciccopiedi, Luciana Furbetta, Thomas Granier, eds. Trieste-Rome: CERM-École française de Rome, 2016: 113-132.

6. Baluze, Étienne. *Vita Mauritii Burdini archiepiscopi Bracarenensis, Miscellanea historica*. Lucca: ed. Mansi, 1761: I, 137-148. In the 16th century, Baronius already quoted Maurice in his *Baronii, Caesaris. Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198*. Paris: Barri-Ducis, Ludovicus Guerin Editor, 1869: XVIII, 36-37, 278-279, 298-300 and 336-337.



career of Maurice in Portugal, his relation with the other Iberian episcopal Sees, and his connections with the Papacy and the Empire.⁷ This monograph should be placed within the wider research perspective of the German historian, who, in 1927, published his very important work on the relationship between Portugal and Rome, a study that is still the starting point for research on Portuguese medieval political and ecclesiastical history.⁸ Erdmann recognized in the Archbishop of Braga an interesting figure to study, but his final judgement was deeply negative. Maurice's life would lack of "human greatness" and "right ideas", and only because of a series of coincidences he was to become an historical character.⁹ Few years later, Erdmann's work was partially revised by Pierre David in a detailed essay focused on Maurice "Bourdin" and published in a collection of studies dedicated to Medieval Galicia and Portugal. Even if the final conclusion of Pierre David was more moderate, the French historian basically shared Erdmann's negative opinion: Maurice "Bourdin" was a too ambitious man and his pretensions were completely unrealistic.¹⁰

In the following decades, scholars worked on the figure of Maurice "Bourdin" in the broader context of both conflicts with the Archbishop of Compostela Diego Gelmírez —his greatest rival in the North-Western Iberian Peninsula— and his relationships with Henry of Burgundy, Count of Portugal (d. 1112), and his wife, Countess-Queen Teresa Alfonso (d. 1130), daughter of King Alfonso VI of León-Castile (d. 1109).¹¹ Other scholars contextualized the ecclesiastical career of Archbishop Maurice in the clash over the Iberian Primacy, which deeply involved the See of Braga, Compostela, Tarragona and Toledo all through the 12th and the 13th centuries.¹² In this perspective, the historical heritage of Maurice "Bourdin" and the

7. Erdmann, Carl. *Maurício Burdino (Gregório VIII)*. Coimbra: Publicações do Instituto Alemão da Universidade de Coimbra, 1940. Giesebrecht, Wilhelm von. *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*. Leipzig: Schwetschke Verlag, 1877: Chapter III/2. Gregorovius, Ferdinandus. *Storia della città di Roma*. 3 vols., trans. (to Italian) Luigi Trompeo, Rome: Gherardo Casini Editore, 1988. Meyer von Kronau, Gerold. *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V. zu 1116 bis 1125*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1909: VII.

8. Erdmann, Carl. *Papsturkunden in Portugal*. Berlin: Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1927: 1-152.

9. Erdmann, Carl. *Maurício Burdino...: 71*.

10. David, Pierre. "L'enigme de Maurice Bourdin", *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI^e au XII^e siècle*, Pierre David, dir. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1947: 441-501.

11. Soares, Torquato Sousa. "O governo de Portugal pelo Conde Henrique de Borgonha: Suas relações com as monarquias Leonesa Castellhana e Aragonesa". *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 14 (1974): 365-397. Bishko, Charles Julian. "Count Henrique of Portugal, Cluny, and antecedents of the Pacto Sucessório". *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 13 (1971): 155-190. Reilly, Bernard Franklin. *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1065-1109*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982: 37-55. Fletcher, Richard Alexander. *Saint James's Catapult. The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984: 48-50 and 202-206. Estefânio, Abel. "O pacto sucessório revisitado: o texto e o contexto". *Medievalista*, 10 (2011): 1-60. Amaral, Luís Carlos; Barroca, Mário Jorge. *A Condessa-Rainha Teresa*. Maia: Círculo de Leitores e Autores, 2012: 133-154, 175, 187-195, 198-207, 209-214 and 274-286.

12. Feige, Peter. "La primacía de Toledo y la libertad de las demás metrópolis de España: el ejemplo de Braga", *La introducción del Cister en España y Portugal*. Burgos: La Olmeda, 1991: 61-132. Herbers, Klaus. "El papado y la Península ibérica en el siglo XIII", *Roma y la Península ibérica en la alta Edad Media. La*



memory of his experience as an Antipope in Rome was still very popular in the 13th century. Patrick Henriët demonstrated, in fact, how Maurice's 'sacrilegious' choice to take the imperial side against the papacy was recorded in the Toledan texts, and it was used as an argument against the Primacy pretensions of the Archbishops of Braga until the second/third quarter of the 13th century.¹³ Finally, scholars, including Ian Stuart Robinson and Mary Stroll focused on Maurice's experience as an Antipope. In fact, Maurice was promoted to the See of Saint Peter by the Emperor and King of Germany, Henry V, in opposition to Pope Gelasius II (1118-1119) and in a first phase to Pope Calixtus II (1119-1124).¹⁴

Often these different historical aspects have been separately analysed, by considering Archbishop of Braga Maurice "Bourdin" —following the conclusions of Erdmann— only as a minor character, a very weak and unlucky man, who completely failed in his political and ecclesiastical aspirations because of Emperor Henry V's political and military abandon and the opposition of both Diego Gelmírez and Archbishop Bernard of Toledo in the Kingdom of León-Castile and Pope Calixtus II in Rome.¹⁵ More recently, Glauco Maria Cantarella suggested another perspective. He defined Maurice "Bourdin" not only as an ambitious man, but also as a solution, or at least one among the possible solutions, for the Investiture Controversy.¹⁶ Considering the negative image of Maurice "Bourdin" in the historiographical literature, this idea sounds provocative, but it might also stimulate a debate on the role of the Archbishop of Braga in the final phase of the Investiture Controversy in the years 1117-1122.

Probably born and raised in Limoges or in the Limousin region —in the opinion of many scholars, he was a Cluniac monk— Maurice arrived in Castile and became archdeacon in Toledo under the authority of Archbishop Bernard I of Sédirac or of Sauvetat (d. 1124/1125). Maurice then became a bishop in Portugal in the

construcción de espacios, normas y redes de relación, Santiago Domínguez Sánchez, Klaus Herbers, eds. León: Universidad de León, 2009: 29-80.

13. Henriët, Patrick. "Political Struggle and the legitimation of the Toledan Primacy: The Pars Laterani Concilii". *Building legitimacy: Political discourses and forms of legitimacy in medieval societies*, Isabel Alfonso Antón, Hugh Kennedy, Julio Escalona Monge, eds. Brill: Leiden-Boston, 2004: 291-318.

14. Cantarella, Glauco Maria. "I Normanni e la chiesa di Roma. Aspetti e momenti," *Chiese Locali e chiese Regionali nell'alto medioevo. Atti della LXI Settimana di Spoleto (Spoleto, 4-9 aprile 2013)*. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2014: 377-406. Stroll, Mary. *Calixtus II (1119-1124). A Pope born to rule*. Brill: Leiden-Boston, 2004: 52-57 and 329-332. Robinson, Ian Stuart. *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1990: 132-33 and 253-254.

15. For general overview, see Colotto, Cristina. "Gregorio VIII antipapa", *Enciclopedia dei papi*. Rome: Treccani, 2000: II, 246. See also Costa, Avelino de Jesus da. "Burdino, Maurício (Gregório VIII)", *Dicionário de História de Portugal*. Porto: Livraria Figueirinhas, 1990: I, 393-394. On the slight importance of Maurice "Bourdin" in modern historiography, see the pages dedicated to him by Johrendt, Jochen. "Rom zwischen Kaiser und Papst-die Universalgewalten und die ewige Stadt", *Heinrich V. in seiner Zeit Herrschen in einem europäischen Reich des Hochmittelalters*. Gerhard Lubich, ed. Vienna-Cologne-Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2013: 169-190, especially 178, 182 and Hartmann, Florian. "Heinrich V. im Diskurs Bologneser Gelehrter", *Heinrich V. in seiner Zeit Herrschen in einem europäischen Reich des Hochmittelalters*. Gerhard Lubich, ed. Vienna-Cologne-Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2013: 191-214, especially 192.

16. Cantarella, Glauco Maria. "I Normanni e la chiesa di Roma...": 388.



important frontier See of Coimbra, before becoming the successor of Saint Gerald in the prestigious Archiepiscopal See of Braga in 1109.¹⁷ The sources of the 12th and the 13th century also give much interesting information about his pilgrimage in Jerusalem, his stay in Constantinople, and his persistent contacts with Rome. Maurice “Bourdin” was, in fact, very close to Pope Paschalis II (1099-1118), and John of Gaeta, the future Gelasius II (who was to die at Cluny in January 1119), who appointed him for a diplomatic mission to deal with the Emperor Henry V. In this occasion, Archbishop Maurice passed to the imperial side, crowning Henry V against Pope Paschalis II’s will.¹⁸ The Pope immediately reacted by excommunicating the Archbishop of Braga from Benevento. In March 1118, Maurice “Bourdin” was elected Pope in Rome, and on the 25th day of the same month, Gelasius II wrote Bernard, Archbishop of Toledo, on the second excommunication of Maurice.¹⁹ After two years in Rome Maurice fled to Sutri, between Viterbo and Rome, where in 1121, Maurice was captured by Pope Calixtus II and then imprisoned in the monastery of Saint Trinity of Cava de’ Tirreni near Salerno in the Norman Kingdom of Southern Italy (although there exists a different tradition on Maurice’s imprisonment in the Rocca Janula, in *the terra Benedicti* near Montecassino, and in the Castle of Fumone near Rome)²⁰ where, following the *Annales Palidenses*, Maurice “Bourdin” was still

17. Mattoso, José. *Identificação de um país: ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal, 1096-1325*. Editorial Estampa: Lisboa, 1985: 193. Veloso, Maria Teresa Nobre. “D. Maurício, monge de Cluny, bispo de Coimbra, peregrino na Terra Santa”. *Estudos de Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2006: I, 125-135. For the documents and data on Maurice, see *Livro Preto: Cartulario da Sé de Coimbra*, eds. Manuel Augusto Rodrigues, Avelino de Jesus da Costa. Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 1999: CLV-CLVIII and 70-855 (docs. No. 40, 47, 47-A, 52, 54, 69, 1116, 117, 151, 172, 183, 217, 217-A, 254, 262, 264, 266, 281, 285, 285-A, 305, 313, 318, 320, 321, 325-327, 329, 338, 340, 376, 377, 381, 390, 393, 414, 431, 433-436-A, 533-536-A, 538-542, 546-548, 553, 565-566-A, 578, 578-A, 592, 601, 605, 614, 619, 621, 622, 627, 629 and 633). *Liber Fidei sanctae bracarensis ecclesiae*, eds. José Marques, Maria Teresa Nobre Veloso, Joaquim Tomás Silva Pereira. Braga: Arquidiocese de Braga, 2017: I, 238-782 (docs. No. 139, 322, 381-384 and 569) and II, 888-967 (docs. No. 651, 688-692, 694, 695, 697-703, 708 and 709). *Documentos medievais portugueses (1095-1185)*, ed. Rui Pinto de Azevedo. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da Historia, 1962: II, 124-321 (docs. No. 14, 17, Bishop of Coimbra, 22, 27, 29, 30, 40, 41, 48, 51, 54, 55, 58, 59, 488, Archbishop of Braga). Furthermore in 1103, Gerald of Braga chose Maurice as his temporary substitute during his temporary travel to Rome on the date of Bernard of Sédillac’s death see Lay, Stephen. *The reconquest Kings of Portugal. Political and cultural Reorientation on the medieval Frontier*. New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2009: 21.

18. Stroll, Mary. *Symbols as Power. The Papacy following the Investiture context*. Leiden: Brill, 1991: XIX; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia*, Brussels-Ghent-Mainz-Munich-Regensburg-Vienna: Berolini Veit et socius, 1851: 523 (reg. 4882; Gaeta 1118 March 10th); Gelasii II, “Epistolae et privilegia”, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Paris: Garnier Fratres, Editores et J. P. Migne successores, 1893: CLXIII, cols. 487-488 (ep. II).

19. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum...*: 523 (reg. 4886; Gaeta 1118 March 25th); Gelasii II, “Epistolae et privilegia”...: CLXIII, col. 491 (ep. VI). Colotto, Cristina. “Gregorio VIII...”: 246.

20. See “Die Chronik von Montecassino (Chronica monasterii Casinensis)”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Harmut Hoffmann. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1980: XXXIV, 547: *Eodem vero anno papa Honorius urbem egrediens ascendit ad hoc monasterium atque a supradicto abbate et fratribus honorifica satis processione receptus, super altare beati Benedicti missam sollempniter celebrans sero iam ad civitatem rediit. Demum vero Mauricius heresiarcham de Ianula, in qua eum papa Calixtus exiliaverat, abstrahens apud Fumonem exilio reliquavit*. Cardinal Boson. “Les vies des Papes”, *Le ‘Liber Pontificalis’*, ed. Louis Duchesne. Paris: Ernest Thorin Editeur, 1892: II, 377 [Boso of Santa Pudenziana, “Vita Calixti II”]:



alive around 1137 during the reign of King Roger II of Sicily (d. 1154).²¹ This brief *excursus* on Maurice “Bourdin”’s biography should encourage us at first to rethink the career of the Archbishop of Braga and place it in a significant international perspective across Western Europe between the end of the 11th and the first quarter of the 12th century.

Starting from this point, it is important to apply to this case-study the most recent and significant historiographical acquisitions, now presented in a four-part outline. The first section considers the dynamics of the Archbishopric of Braga as important for the study of the whole Iberian Peninsula, definitively abandoning the idea of the existence of a rigid political frontier between Portugal and the other Iberian Kingdoms.²² At the same time, the history of Portugal should be included and analysed in the transformation of the relationship between the Iberian monarchs and the Roman Popes in particular after the problematic introduction of the Roman Rite in the last quarter of the 11th century (few years prior to Maurice’s arrival in the Iberian Peninsula.) and together with the role played by Cluny especially in the troubled years of the abbacy of Pons of Melgueil (d. 1126). The second point in the outline is the contextualization of the trajectory of Maurice “Bourdin” in the complex framework of the conflict between Pope Paschalis II and Emperor Henry V to solve the Investiture Controversy, from the agreement of Settefratte in 1111 to the definitive deterioration of the relationship between these two in the year 1117.²³ It is in this moment that Maurice “Bourdin”’s ecclesiastical career completely changed.

Postmodum vero Burdinum fecit in arce Fumonis retrudi et inde ad monasterium Cavense, ubi perseverans in sua rebellione vitam finivit, transferri. “Annales Casinenses”, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio), ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1866: XIX, 308: 1121. Calixtus papa Burdinum apud Sutrum captum, apud Cavas custodiae mancipavit. 1122. Idem papa eundem Burdinum de Cava extractum in Ianula custodiendum tradidit. 1125. Ricchardus de Caleno terram sancti Benedicti hostiliter ingressus, castella eius incendit, predictum papam Burdinum de Ianula tractum in Fumonem religavit. Martini Oppaviensis. “Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum”, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio), ed. Ludwig Weiland. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1872: XXII, 435: Burdinus arche fumonis est retrusus.

21. “Annales Palidenses”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1859: XVI, 76. Stroll, Mary. *Calixtus II...: 52-55 and 329-331*. Erdmann, Carl. *Maurício Burdino...: 51-54*; David, Pierre. “L’enigme...”: 484-486.

22. See the very important works of Barros, Carlos. “La frontera medieval entre Galicia y Portugal”. *Medievalismo*, 4 (1994): 27-40; Pizarro, José Augusto De Sotto Mayor. “De e para Portugal. A circulação de nobres na Hispânia Medieval (séculos XII a XV)”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 40/2 (2010): 889-924; Mattoso, José. *História de Portugal. A monarquia feudal (1096-1480)*. Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 2010: I, 36 and following. Calderón Medina, Inés; Martins Ferreira, João Paulo. “Beyond the Border. The Aristocratic mobility between the Kingdoms of Portugal and León (1157-1230)”. *E-Journal of Portuguese History*, 12/1, (2014): 2-48.

23. Amaral, Luís Carlos. *Formação e desenvolvimento do domínio da diocese de Braga no período da Reconquista (século IX-1137)*. Porto: University of Porto (PhD Dissertation), 2007: 356, 384-390, 406, 417-419, 433, 446-4590, 465, 522 and 553. Cantarella, Glauco Maria. “Come in uno specchio? Di nuovo su Ponzio di Cluny (1109-1122/26)”. *Bullettino dell’Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo*, 116 (2014): 60-91. Deswarte, Thomas. *Une Chrétienté romaine sans pape: l’Espagne et Rome (586-1085)*. Paris: Garnier, 2010: 396 and following. Cantarella, Glauco Maria. *Pasquale II e il suo tempo*. Napoli: Liguori, 1997: 94-101.



The third point consists in connecting the figure of Maurice “Bourdin” with the new research on ecclesiology. The studies of Avelino de Jesus da Costa and Luís Carlos Amaral already showed that, since 1090, the See of Braga had contacts with the Holy See.²⁴ Bishop of Braga Pedro, in fact, got in touch with Antipope Clement III (d. 1100), the former Archbishop of Ravenna Wibert, to obtain for Braga the metropolitan title after the restoration of the See in 1070-1071.²⁵ Pedro was deposed the following year and the See of Braga had to wait until 1100 to receive the archiepiscopal dignity.²⁶ Why should a legitimate bishop get in touch with an Antipope? Was Pedro so ambitious as to look for the support of an Antipope to reach his goals? The case of Pedro of Braga is very important because of two reasons. First, it shows the necessity to avoid a too rigid and anachronistic division between the Pope (legitimate) and the Antipope (illegitimate), as in the traditional perspective of Erdmann or David reconsidering the role of Antipopes in the 11th and 12th centuries. This point is very important, if we are to understand the role Maurice of Braga played. The traditional historiographical interpretation privileges the *Pope* as the canonically elected candidate to the Holy See; but one can ask: what then happens if the procedure of election is not universally accepted, defined or respected? The *Decretum in Electione Papae* was criticized, in fact, by the imperial side as well as by Cardinal Deusdedit in his canonical collection of 1086-1087.²⁷ Moreover, if one follows the traditional scheme, how should we consider Pope Gregory VII’s election? As demonstrated by Ovidio Capitani and Glauco Maria Cantarella, Gregory’s election is very obscure, and the protocol of Gregory VII’s *Registrum* seems more a “pastiche” produced to justify a very unclear election than a reliable report of the events. Was Gregory VII an Antipope?²⁸

The term *Antipope* was often a pejorative word used by the supporters of a candidate against their adversaries or an *a posteriori* definition, but in the contemporary moments of conflict, all the candidates claimed to be the legitimate one. In 2012, Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri argued, “An antipope is instead a pope whom another pope declares illegitimate and who loses his conflict, either on the battlefield or in the media. What I am getting at is that an antipope can only exist through a mirror: the mirror of his opponent”. This non-finalistic historiographical

24. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum...*: 446 (reg. 4006; Ravenna 1090 April-May); Baluze, Étienne. *Miscellanea*. Lucca: Apud Vincentium Junctimum, 1761: I, 132.

25. Costa, Avelino de Jesus da. *O bispo D. Pedro e a organização da diocese de Braga*. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1959: 16-73; Amaral, Luís Carlos. “O património fundiário da Sé de Braga entre 1071 e 1108”. *Congresso Internacional IX Centenário da Dedicção da Sé de Braga*. Braga: Universidade Católica Portuguesa-Faculdade de Teologia de Braga, 1990: I, 513-527 and Amaral, Luís Carlos. *Formação e desenvolvimento...*: 304-105.

26. Amaral, Luís Carlos. “O património fundiário da Sé de Braga...”: 527.

27. Capitani, Ovidio. *Tradizione e interpretazione: dialettiche ecclesiologiche del secolo XI*. Milan: Jouvence, 1990: 27-30 and 44-48. Of the same author, Capitani, Ovidio. “Gregorio VII”. *Enciclopedia dei papi. Treccani*. 8 August 2010 <[www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/santo-gregorio-vii_\(Enciclopedia-dei-Papi\)/>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/santo-gregorio-vii_(Enciclopedia-dei-Papi)/>). Cantarella, Glauco Maria. *Il sole e la luna. La rivoluzione di Gregorio VII 1073-1085*. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2005: 81-86. See also Stroll, Mary. *Popes and Antipopes. The politics of Eleventh century Reform*. Leiden: Brill, 2012: 96-107.

28. Cantarella, Glauco Maria. *Il sole e la luna...*: 83.



perspective, as noted by the Italian scholar could help us as we take another look at the past.²⁹ This seems important, for as historians acknowledge: the *Antipope* was often able to control Rome thanks to his supporters, while the *Pope* in such a time could not even cross the city walls. Elected in the Council of Bressanone in 1080 against Gregory VII, Wibert/Clement III was for twenty years one of the main protagonists of the Roman Church History. It is not a mere coincidence that his death was welcomed with relief by the biographer of Pope Paschalis II in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Obviously, not all the Antipopes were as powerful as Clement III, but it would be a misleading idea to consider the victory of the “legitimate Popes” over their “Antipopes” as *obvious* and *inevitable*. This is a first reason why we should reconsider the career of Maurice “Bourdin”, who was able to stay in Rome for two years: a considerable time for a Pope in the 11th and the 12th century.³⁰

Second, the experience of Bishop Pedro at the end of the 11th century is not only a local problem concerning Braga or the Iberian *milieu*, but it also opens enormous problems that deserve further consideration. Was Pedro a full supporter of Antipope Clement III against Pope Urban II? Were there constant contacts between Antipope Clement III and the *Hispania*, or was this an isolated episode? It would be important to revise the individual relationships of the Iberian bishops with Rome to understand if there were echoes in the Iberian Peninsula of the conflict between Clement III and Urban II at the time of the entry of the Roman rite in the Iberian Peninsula. Another problem is to understand how, only twenty years after the restoration of the See of Braga, Bishop Pedro (practically and financially) got his contacts with Wibert/Clement III and his men. What is important to highlight in this context is that Maurice “Bourdin” and his successor in Braga, Paio Mendes (1118-1137), renewed and reinforced those connections with Rome. Even if the Archbishops of Braga, after the years 1115-1120, partially lost their position in the ecclesiastical context of the *Hispania*, from the 1120's they started playing an increasingly important role in the County of Portugal and after its creation in the new Kingdom founded by Afonso Henriques, improving their international weight thanks to the relationship with Rome. This strategy might constitute also a model for the politics of the first King of Portugal, because Rome was considered as an opportunity of legitimation by Portuguese political and ecclesiastical *élites* against the other Iberian Kingdoms or the Episcopal Sees.³¹ At the same time, Popes were absolutely interested in inserting themselves and their legates in local conflicts, consolidating their primacy

29. See Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. “Popes through the Looking Glass, or ‘Ceci n’est pas un pape’”. *Reti Medievali*, 13/1 (2012): 121-136 and in particular 127.

30. For the complex relationship between Popes, clergy and Roman *Populus*, see Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. *Il clero di Roma nel medioevo. Istituzioni e politica cittadina (secoli VIII-XIII)*. Viella: Rome, 2002: 19-36 and 82-99.

31. Mattoso, José. *Don Afonso Henriques*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2007: 359-360. Branco, Maria João. *D. Sancho I: o filho do fundador*. Lisboa: Círculo dos Leitores, 2006: 80-81. Soto Rábanos, José María. “¿Se puede hablar de un entremado político religioso en el proceso de independencia de Portugal?”. *Hispania. Revista española de historia*, vol. 67/227 (2007): 798-826. See also Branco, Maria João; Farelo, Mário. “Diplomatic Relations: Portugal and the others”, *The Historiography of Medieval Portugal (1950-2010)*. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 231-259 and Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos; Rosa, Maria de



throughout the 12th century. This historiographical framework is very important, if we are to avoid considering any aspect related to the Papacy and its relationships with local Churches as a necessary consequence of the ‘Gregorian Reform’, by following the model elaborated by Franz-Josef. Schmale in 1961 to interpret the Schism of 1130. First, even if nobody wants to deny the fundamental impact of Gregory VII, it is not possible to forget that the *Reform* (or the *Reforms* as suggested by Umberto Longo) of the Roman Church started before his pontificate: many problems were previous to Gregory VII and he could not solve them (or he was not interested in doing so) during his pontificate.³² Second, it is necessary to contextualize every single Antipope, including Maurice “Bourdin”, in his precise chronology, studying the dialectic of ‘Papacy-Empire’, the internal dynamics of the papal environment, and the role played by the new Roman aristocratic families in the papal elections during the first half of the 12th century.

Finally, the fourth point, it is decisive to contextualize the experience of Maurice “Bourdin” as an Antipope in the reality of the city of Rome and in the general framework of the deep transformation of the ecclesiastical urban structures, characterized by the progressive division between the Roman clergy and the new international Roman *Curia* mainly composed by men often coming from outside the *Urbs*.³³ The complexity in defining and interpreting the historical figure of Maurice “Bourdin” is clearly expressed by medieval sources, as I will immediately show.

3. Just an Antipope? The literary sources of the 12th and 13th centuries on Maurice ‘Bourdin’: first results and research perspective

The study of 12th and the 13th century literary sources offers some extraordinary research opportunities. First, I tried to develop a detailed list of all the texts concerning Maurice “Bourdin”. This first research step gave very interesting results. Basing on the fundamental work of Meyer von Kronau, I have compiled a list of

Lourdes. “The Church and the religious practices”, *The Historiography of Medieval Portugal (1950-2010)*. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 323-348.

32. Longo, Umberto. “La riforma della Chiesa...”: 123-124. For a critical view of the historiographical interpretation of the Schism of 1130 given by Schmale, Franz-Josef. *Studien zum Schisma des Jahres 1130*. Cologne: Böhlau, 1961 — see the excellent work of Milanese, Giorgio. “Bonifica” delle immagini e “propaganda” in Aquitania durante lo scisma del 1130-1138. Verona: Scripta Edizioni, 2013: 27-56. See also Herbers, Klaus. “El papado en el tiempo de Gelmírez...”: 82-88 and Bloch, Herbert. *Montecassino in Middle Ages*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1986: II, 953-955.

33. Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. *Il clero di Roma nel medioevo...: 86-101*. Maire Vigueur, Jean-Claude. *L'altra Roma. Una storia dei romani all'epoca dei comuni (secoli XII-XIV)*, trans. (to italian) Paolo Garbini. Turin: Einaudi, 2013: 148-199; Paravicini Bagliani, Agostino. *Morte e elezione del papa. Norme, riti e conflitti*. Rome: Viella, 2013: in particular 3-29; Wickham, Chris. *Roma medievale. Crisi e stabilità di una città*, Alessio Fiore; trans. (to italian) Luigi Provero and Alessio Fiore, Rome: Viella, 2014: 222-265. Herbers, Klaus. “El papado en el tiempo de Gelmírez...”: 82-87.



eighty-four literary texts in which the Archbishop of Braga (Antipope Gregory VIII) is mentioned. This highly relevant number of sources only covers the period between the first half of the 12th and the third quarter of the 13th century.³⁴ A second significant element is that only seven sources come from the Iberian Peninsula, and only four of these are from Portugal.³⁵ The texts proceed, in fact, from many other Western European areas: the Kingdom of France, Normandy, the Kingdom of England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Italy.³⁶ Roman and Papal sources (included

34. Meyer Von Kronau, Gerold. *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches...*: VII, 65, 68 (footnote 20), 69-75, 81, 85, 97, 103, 110 (footnote 15), 139, 148 (footnote 3), 155, 162-165, 182-1987, 335-339 and 357-358.

35. *Historia Compostelana*, ed. Emma Falque Rey. Turnhout: Brepols, 1988: 126-128, 162-164, 194-197, 217-218, 223-226, 229-232, 246-249 and 286. Roderici Ximenii de Rada. *Historia de rebus Hispaniae sive Historia gotica*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. Turnhout: Brepols, 1987: 226-227 and 210-212. *Pars Concilii Laterani*, ed. by Fidel Fita, in: Fita, Fidel. "Santiago de Galicia. Nuevas Impugnaciones y Nueva Defensa (V)". *Razón y Fé*, 1/2 (1901): 178-195. "Vita Sancti Geraldii"; "Vita Sancti Martini Sauriensis"; "Vita Tellois". *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, ed. Alexandre Herculano. Lisbon: Academiae Scientiarum Olisiponenis, 1856: I, f. I, 56; 60 and 64. Iohannes de Deo. "Cronica", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1903: XXXI, 321-322.

36. Sugerio Abbate B. Dionysii. "Vita Ludovici Regis VI, qui Grossus dictus", *Patrologiae. Coursus completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Paris: J. P. Migne editorem, 1854: CLXXXVI, cols. 1309-1312. Tépulpe de Morigny. *Anno Domini MCXLVII Mauriniacensis Monasterii Chronicon. Ab anno Christi 1108 usque ad annum 1147*, ed. Louis Duchesne. Paris: Ex bibliotheca viri cl. Alexandri Petavii senatoris Parisiensis, 1890: IV, cols. 142-143. Albericus. "Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium a monacho novi monasterii Hoiensis interpolata". *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1874: XXIII, p. 822. "Chronica universalis mettensis". *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Haniiani, 1879: XXIV, 515. Petrus Bechinus. "Chronico"; Ernaldus abbas Bonae Vallis. "Ex Vitae S. Bernardi, Liber II"; Gaufredus de Collone. "Chronico", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1882: XXVI, respectively at 101, 616 and 478. "Qualiter Tabula S. Basilii continens in se magnam Dominici Ligni portionem Cluniacum delata fuerit tempore Pontii abbatis", *Recueil des historiens des croisades*. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1895: V, 295-298. Orderici Vitalis angligenae coenobii Uticensis monachi. "Ecclesiasticae Historiae", *Patrologiae. Coursus completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris: J. P. Migne editorem, 1855: CLXXXVIII, cols. 849-850, 856, 873-878, 881 and 893. "Ex annalium Uticensium continuation", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1882: XXVI, 507. Eadmeri Cantuariensis. *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. Martin Rule. London: Longman & Co., 1884: 246-248 and 294. Gulielmus Malmesburiensis. *Gestis regum anglorum libri quinque*, ed. William Stubbs. London: Rolls Series 90, 1887-1889: II, 663-664. Matthaevi Parisiensis Monachi Sancti Albani. *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richard Luard. London: Longman & Co., 1882: VI, 108-109. "Ex Rogeri de Hoveden chronica". *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in folio)*, eds. Felix Liebermann, Reinhold Pauli. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1885: XXVII, 140. Iohannis monachi. "Ex continuatione chronichi Florentii wigorniensis opera"; "Ex Henrici Huntingdoniensis archidiaconi historia anglorum"; "Ex Simeonis Dunelmensis historia regum", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1881: XIII, 130-131, 148, and 157-158. "Annales Dorenses". *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, eds. Felix Liebermann, Reinhold Pauli. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1885: XXVII, 523. "Ex annalibus Wintoniensibus". *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Reinhold Pauli. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1885: XXVII, 452. "Ex Annalibus de Margan", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, eds. Felix Liebermann, Reinhold Pauli. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1885: XXVII, 418-419. "Ex annalibus Melrosensibus". *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1885: XXVII, 434. Landolphus Iuniore. "Historia Mediolanensis...": 40-42. Martini Oppaviensis. "Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*,



the papal *enclave* of Benevento in Southern Italy, I am referring to the *Chronicon* of Falco of Benevento) like the *Liber Pontificalis* or the *Annales Romani*, and texts from Central Italy.³⁷ Other literary sources come from the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, Flanders, and the imperial cities of Strasbourg and Liège.³⁸ Finally, there are many sources coming from Germany, the Duchy of Bavaria (including the Archiepiscopal See of Salzburg), Switzerland, and Austria, together with the *Chronica Slavorum* written by Hemold of Bosau.³⁹ Moreover, Archbishop of Braga Maurice “Bourdin”

ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1872: XXII, 435 and 469. Sicardus episcopus Cremonensis. “Cronica”, and Albertus Milioli notarius regini. “Liber de temporibus”; Albertus Milioli notarius regini. “Cronica imperatorum”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1903: XXXI, respectively 163, 430-445 and 635. Thomae Tuscii. “Gesta imperatorum et pontificum”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1873: XXII, 496.

37. Falco of Benevento. *Chronicon Beneventanum. Città e feudi nell'Italia dei normanni*, ed. Edoardo D'Angelo. Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998: 232-296. “Annales Beneventani”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1839: III, 184. Guillaume, Pierre. “Liber Pontificalis”, *Le ‘Liber Pontificalis’*, ed. Louis Duchesne. Paris: Ernest Thorin Editeur, 1892: II, 303-305, 311-318 and 322-326 [respectively “Vita Paschalis II”; “Vita Gelasii II”; “Vita Calixti II”]; Cardinal Boson. “Les vies des Papes”...: II, 376-377 [Boso of Santa Pudenziana, “Vita Gelasii II” and “Vita Calixti II”]. The author of the lives of pope Gelasius II and Calixtus II was Pandolph of Pisa; there are doubts on his authorship of the life of Paschalis II, see Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. *Il clero di Roma...*: 60 (footnote 50). “Annales Casinenses”...: 308; Petrus Diaconus. “Chronica monasterii Casinensis”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann. Berlin: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1980: XXXIV, 377, 525-527 and 532; “Annales Romani”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Theodor Mommsen. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1898: V, 478-479. “Catalogus Pontificum Romanorum Viterbiensis”; Gotifredi Viterbiensis. “Pantheon; Catalogus pontificum et imperatorum romanorum tiburtinus”, all in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1872: XXII, 256; 350 and 357. “Annales Ceccanenses”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1866: XIX, 282. “Cronica Pontificum et imperatorum Tiburtina”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1903: XXXI, p. 261.

38. Romualdi Salernitani. “Chronicon”, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores (Ser. II)*, ed. Carlo Alberto Garufi. Città di Castello: Coi tipi della casa editrice S. Lapi, 1909: VII/1, 208-210. “Anselmi Gemblacensis continuatio”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Ludwig Bethmann. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1848: VI, 377. Balduini Nivonensis. “Chronicon”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1880: XXV, 527. Hesso Scholasticus. “Relatio de concilio remensi”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1856: XII, 421, 428. “Chronicon Rythmicum”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1856: XII, 428. “Laurentii gesta episcoporum virdunensium”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1852: X, 505. “Annales Parchenses”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, eds. Otto Label, Ludwig Weiland. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1859: XVI, 605.

39. Henrici Archidiaconi. “Gesta archiepiscoporum Salisburgensium (Vita Chunradi archiepiscopi)”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1854: XI, 64; “Casus Monasterii Petrihusensis”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Ludwig Weiland. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1868: XX, 661. Uodascalculus. “De Eginone et Herimanno”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1856: XII, 435 and 496. Wolfger von Prüfening. “Vita Theogeri abbatis S. Georgii et episcopi Mettensis”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed.



is quoted in several types of sources: annals, chronicles, monastic texts, biographies of Popes or Bishops, reports of Councils, treaties on the Church Schism or on the Antichrist, just to quote some of the most important examples.⁴⁰

The quantity, the typologies, and the geographical distribution of sources reveal the necessity to start considering Archbishop Maurice-Antipope Gregory VIII as an important “player” of his time, internationally known, who had been a serious problem for both Pope Gelasius II and Calixtus II between 1118 and 1121. His profile is completely different from the other Antipopes who appeared at the beginning of the 12th century during the pontificate of Pope Paschalis II: Theodoric (1100-1101),

Philipp Jaffé. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1856: XII, 470. Geroh Reichespersensis. “Ex commentario in psalmos” and Geroh Reichespersensis. “De investigatione Antichristi”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores, Libelli de Lite*, ed. Ernst Sackur. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1897: III, 50, 335, 338, 354-355 and 502. In the same volume, see the anonymous “Tractatus de scismatis”: 124 and 128-129. “Cronica apostolicorum et imperatorum basileensia”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum (in folio)*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1903: XXXI, 291. Magnus Presbyter. “Annales Reicherspenses” and “Chronicon Magni Presbiteri”, both in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1861: XVII, 452-453 and 487. Ekkehardus Uraugiensis. “Chronicon Universale”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1844: VI, 253-255. Hemoldus Presbyter, “Chronica slavorum a. 800-1172”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Johann Martin Lappenberg, Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1869: XXI, 44. “Annales Admutenses”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1860: IX, 578. “Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1874: XXIII 104. Ottonis episcopus Frisingensis. “Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum Nova Series*, ed. Adolph Hofmeister. Hannover-Leipzig: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1912: XLV, 330-332. “Annales Palidenses”; “Annales Rosenveldenses” and “Annales Magdeburgenses”, all in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)* ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1859: XVI, respectively 76, 104, and 182. “Annales Stadenses”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)* ed. Johann Martin Lappenberg. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1859: XVI, 322. “Annales Hildesheimenses”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, Georg Waitz, ed. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1878: VIII, 64. Annalista Saxo. “Chronicon Regni”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Klaus Nass. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 2006: XXXVII, 561-568. Honorius Augustodunensis. “Ex summa Honorii a. 726-1133”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Roger Wilmans. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1852: X, 13. “Chronicon breve fratris, ut videtur, ordinis theutonicorum” and “Flores temporum auctore fratre ordinis Minorum”, both in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1980: XXIV, respectively 152 and 246. “Sächsische Weltchronik”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Deutsche Chroniken*, ed. Ludwig Weiland. Hannover, Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1877: II, 192. Alexander Minorita. “Expositio in Apocalypsim”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Alois Wachtel. Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1955: I, 409 and 414. *Annales Patherbrunnenses*, ed. Paul Scheffer-Boichorst. Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagnerischen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1870: 134. “Cronica regia Coloniensis (Annales colonienses maximi)”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1861: XVII, 752. Heimo von Bamberg. “De decursu temporum”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Hans Martin Weikmann. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004: XIX, 469-470.

40. As a matter a space, it is not possible to give all the editions and at least a general bibliography concerning the works I quoted. I planned to do this in a future publication entirely dedicated to the sources about Maurice “Bourdin”.



Adalbert (1101); Maginulf/Sylvester IV (1105-1111). While these three antipopes are recorded in a more limited range of sources like the *Liber Pontificalis* or the *Annales Romani*, Maurice is always present in the narration of some of the most important authors of the 12th century such as William of Malmesbury or Orderic Vital.⁴¹ The fact that Maurice was perceived as a concrete danger for both Gelasius II and Calixtus II seems to be confirmed by several sources. The monk and biographer of Saint Anselm, Eadmer of Canterbury, wrote that some bishops in the Kingdom of England decided to sustain Maurice/Gregory VIII, while the King Henry I *Beauclerc* and the Archbishop of Canterbury supported Pope Calixtus II.⁴² A later author of the 13th century, the monk of Saint Albans, Roger of Wendover, did not mention Maurice “Bourdin”/Antipope Gregory VIII, but he considered Gelasius II as an Antipope.⁴³ I do not think this is a mere mistake of the author, but pechoes of both the crisis of 1118-1119 and the bad reputation of Gelasius II outside of Rome at the moment of his election, as affirmed in the life of the Bishop of Metz, Theoger of Saint George, written by Wolfger of Prüfening.⁴⁴ The problem represented by Maurice “Bourdin” is also confirmed by another German source: the *Annalista Saxo*. The source tells about the elections of new bishops in the Kingdom of Germany in 1119. One of them, the Bishop of Magdeburg, Rudgar of Veltheim (*Rokkerius* in the source), after his election declared to be on the side of Pope Calixtus II and that he would had fought against the “heresy” of Emperor Henry V and Maurice “Bourdin”.⁴⁵ This passage might suggest that Maurice/Gregory VIII was considered by the supporters of Pope Calixtus II as a major issue of concern and there was the necessity that there be no ambiguities in the German episcopal environment in supporting Guy of Vienne.⁴⁶ Such a necessity seems clear if the newly elected bishop should swear fidelity to his cause soon after his episcopal election. At the current

41. “Vita Paschalis II”...: II, 298 and “Annales Romani”...: 477-478. Martini Oppaviensis. “Chronicon...”: 435. See also Cantarella, Glauco Maria. *Pasquale II...*: 53-57. See footnote 36 in this work for William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vital. See footnote 37 in this work for the references to the *Liber Pontificalis* and the “Annales Romani”. For a complete list of the sources concerning Theodorik, Adalbert, and Maginulf see Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum...*: I, 519-521. Maginulf took the name of Sylvester IV and not Gregory VIII as sustained by David, Pierre. “L’enigme...”: 493. The exception is John of Salisbury who does not directly mention Maurice-Gregory VIII even if he dealt with the papal coronation of Emperor Henry V and his wife Matilda, which could be only made by Maurice (as noticed by the same editors): a *damnatio memoriae* of the Archbishop of Braga? See *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. and trans. (to English) Marjorie Chibnall. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986: 85 (footnote 3).

42. Eadmeri Cantuariensis, *Historia Novorum in Anglia...*: 294.

43. Rogeri de Wendover. *Chronica sive Flores Historiarum*, ed. Henry Coxe. London: Sumptibus societatis, 1841-1844: II, 194. *Scisma orta est Romae propter Gelasium antipapam. Anno Domini MCXVIII., defuncto papa Paschali, Gelasius antipapa anno uno successit*. In another passage Roger of Wendover call Gelasius “Pope” (p. 196). *Quod, defuncto papa Gelasio, Calixtus successit*.

44. Wolfger von Prüfening. *Vita Theogeri abbatis S. Georgii et episcopi Mettensis...*: 470.

45. *Annalista Saxo*. “Chronicon Regni”...: 564.

46. On the political bargaining in Germany in the years 1118-1119, see Schneidemüller, Bernd. “Regni aut Ecclesie turbator. Kaiser Heinrich V. in der zeitgenössischen französischen Geshichtsschreibung”. *Auslandsbeziehungen unter den salischen Kaiserns. Geschichte Auseinandersetzung und Politik*, Franz Staab, ed. Speyer: Verlag der Pfläzischen Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, 1994: 195-222. For a general panorama on the Reign of Henry V, see the essay of Dendorfer, Jürgen. “Heinrich V. König



state of the research, it is not easy to establish if Maurice “Bourdin” had other supporters in the Kingdom of Germany apart the Bishop of Augsburg Hermann,⁴⁷ but it will be stimulating to revise both German and English episcopal chronotaxis to understand if under these episcopal elections or depositions there were also repercussions of the Papal crisis of the years 1118-1119 and if this crisis was used to solve internal affairs of both Kingdoms.⁴⁸

On the problem represented by the case of Maurice “Bourdin”, the sources of the pontificate of Calixtus II are illuminating. Defeating and capturing Maurice “Bourdin” was so important for the Pope that he gave his own version of the facts in a letter sent to the bishops of Gaul in 1121.⁴⁹ The *Annales Romani* also described the humiliation reserved to Maurice “Bourdin”. After his capture in Sutri, the Antipope Gregory VIII was deprived of his clothes, put on a camel dressed only with a sheep skin, obliged to ride in Rome followed by Calixtus II and his men, and exposed to the insults of the Romans, the perfect parody of the “triumphal” arrival in the *Urbs* attributed to Calixtus II by the chronicler Falco of Benevento.⁵⁰ This humiliating ritual was not unusual in its severity if one thinks of the torture inflicted on Pope John XVI by Emperor Otto III in 998, or the terrible murder of Odon of Quarrel in Messina in 1168.⁵¹ At the same time, it is known that Pope Calixtus II decided to promote a cycle of frescoes portraying the victory of the legitimate Popes on the Antipopes and among them, of course, there was Maurice “Bourdin”.⁵² The exemplar punishment and the iconographic program promoted by Calixtus II that partially survives in some sketches of the 16th century seems to be a *damnatio*, but not a ‘destruction’ of the memory of Gregory VIII. The memory of Maurice “Bourdin”’s defeat should be fixed and transmitted to the future generations.⁵³ As

und Große am Ende der Salierzeit”, *Die Salier, das Reich und der Niederrhein*, Tilman Struve, ed. Cologne-Weimar-Vienna: Böhlau, 2008: 115-170.

47. Uodascalus, “De Eginone et Herimanno”...: 435. See David, Pierre. “L’enigme...”: 497.

48. For a general overview on this point, see Stroll, Mary. *Calixtus II...*: 357-381.

49. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum...*: 537 [reg. 5041; Sutri 1121 April 27th]; Calixti II. “Epistolae et privilegia”...: CLXIII, cols. 1205-1206 [ep. CXXXI].

50. Falco of Benevento. *Chronicum Beneventanum...*: 252. On the work of Falco, see Loud, Graham. “The Genesis and the Context of the Chronicle of Falco of Benevento”. *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XV (1993): 177-198. D’Angelo, Edoardo. “Giuseppe del Re’s ‘Critical’ Edition of Falco of Benevento’s Chronicle”. *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XVI (1994): 75-81. Delle Donne, Fulvio. “Coscienza urbana e storiografia cittadina. A proposito di una nuova edizione del “Chronicon” di Falcone di Benevento”. *Studi Storici*, 40 (1999): 1127-1141. On the the ritual ride of the Pope, see Paravicini-Bagliani, Agostino. *Morte e elezione del papa...*: 129-134.

51. Stroll, Mary. *Calixtus II...*: 332 and Cantarella, Glauco Maria. *Una sera dell’anno mille. Scene di Medioevo*. Milan: Garzanti, 2004: 45.

52. Stroll, Mary. *Symbols as Power...*: 20-21. See also Schilling, Beate. *Guido von Vienne-Papst Calixt II (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften 45)*, Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998: 589-603.

53. Stroll, Mary. *Symbols as Power...*: 17-39, 67-70 and 208-211. See also the very interesting essay of Lila Yawn about the papal political use of the images, “Clement’s New Clothes. The Destruction of Old S. Clemente in Rome, the Eleventh-Century Frescoes, and the Cult of (Anti)Pope Clement III”. *Reti Medievali*, 13/1 (2012): 175-205. See also Gatto, Ludovico. “Callisto II e l’Europa”, *Scritti per Isa, Raccolta di studi offerti a Isa Lori Sanfilippo*. Antonella Mazzon, ed. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 2008: 487-504.



noted by M. Stroll, Suger, abbot of Saint Denis also reported on these paintings concerning the triumph of Calixtus II over Maurice in his *Vita Ludovici Regis VI*.⁵⁴ In a late anonymous Toledan source of the 13th century, the *Pars Concilii Laterani* studied by Fidel Fita, Mary Stroll and Patrick Henriët, the author to confirm the veracity of his negative tale on Maurice “Bourdin” wrote: *Siquis astancium dubitat erigat oculos ad presentes loci parietes, et ad occultum videbit huiusmodi istoriam picturatam* confirming once more the existence of these painted images in the Lateran.⁵⁵ Other sources recorded Maurice’s experience as an Antipope as a real Schism in the Roman Church.⁵⁶ In the Geroh’s *De Investigatione Antichristi*, Maurice “Bourdin” is taken as an exemplar of an Antipope. Geroh associated Maurice with Wibert/Clement III, and the Archbishop of Braga is one of the few Antipopes mentioned by the author, together with Novatian (251-258) and Peter Pierleoni/Anacletus II (1130-1138). Maurice is considered at the same level of Clement III and Anacletus II by Geroh. Note the significance here: from a minor character to a model of Antipope.⁵⁷ Finally, a last important aspect of the data: the transmission of the memory about Maurice did not end in the 13th century, but it continued until the 15th century, for example, in the case of the “Treaty on Schismatics” written by Thomas Ebendorfer (d. 1464).⁵⁸ The focus on the Archbishop of Braga shows the necessity to study the sources in a comparative perspective with those of other Antipopes of the 11th and of the 12th century, placing the research on Maurice “Bourdin” in the renewed interest on these topics as it is demonstrated by the thoughtful article of Umberto Longo and Lila Yawn on Wilbert/Clement III. Such a complex context articulates a complete revision of both Maurice’s career and the construction of the memory about him. Among scholars it is possible to observe an earlier tendency (criticized by Mary Stroll) to consider Maurice “Bourdin” only as mere instrument of Emperor Henry V.⁵⁹ This relationship is perfectly expressed by the sentence *Burdinum Hispanum Romanae sedi violenter imposuit* or the expression *papam suum*: “his pope,” that is, Henry V’s pope. These descriptions of the role of the Archbishop of Braga are present in many sources including the *Liber Pontificalis*, Landolphus Iuniore

54. Sugerio Abbate B. Dionysii. “Vita Ludovici Regis VI...”: col. 1312 *ad tantae ultionis memoriae conservationem in camera palatii sub pedibus domini pape conculcatum depinxerunt*. See Stroll, Mary. *Symbols as power...*: 25 (footnote 32).

55. Stroll, Mary. *Symbols as power...*: 27 and 209. “If someone among the presents has doubts on this story, he can raise his eyes and look at the walls; he will see this story painted” (*Pars Concilii Laterani*) Fita, Fidel. “Santiago de Galicia...”:190 This is my English translation of the text.

56. See for example Orderici Vitalis. “Ecclesiasticae Historiae”...: cols. 849-850.

57. Geroh Reichespergensis. “De investigatione Antichristi”...: 354. For a complete list of the Antipopes see Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. “Popes through the Looking Glass...”: 121 (footnote 2).

58. Ebendorfer, Thomas. “Tractatus de Schismatibus”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum Nova Series*, ed. Harald Zimmermann. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004: XX, 40.

59. See footnotes 6-7 and 14-17 in this work. Stroll, Mary. *Symbols as Power...*: XIX. See the preface of Longo, Umberto; Yawn, Lila. “Framing Clement III, (Anti)Pope, 1080-1100”. *Reti Medievali*, 13/1 (2012): 115-119.



Ekkehard of Aura or Otto of Freising.⁶⁰ In these sources, very hostile to Maurice, he is represented as a creature, an 'idol' or as a 'simulacrum' made by the Emperor, the 'barbarian' Henry V,⁶¹ who could dispose of his life by determining Maurice's ephemeral success as the Antipope Gregory VIII as well as his terrible fall once the Emperor decided to join an agreement with Calixtus II.⁶² Nevertheless, Pierre David and Patrick Henriët observed that this was not the only way to represent Maurice-Gregory VIII: there were better and also worse representations of him.⁶³ The variety of images of this historical figure is impressive. Maurice acclaimed by the Roman *Populus* at the moment of his election; the sharp hunter of relics in the Holy Land and in Constantinople; the ambitious, bright and very well-educated man of William of Malmesbury; the Antichrist and the Devil; the ideal successor of Saint Gerald of Braga.⁶⁴

These images offer a multifaceted idea of the figure of Maurice "Bourdin", which needs to be studied again, in particular under two aspects. First, it is very important to revise chronologies and transnational connections in textual sources. This type of study applied to Maurice's biographical data offers very fascinating results. One of the most relevant cases is the close relationship between Romuald Archbishop of Salerno's⁶⁵ *Chronicon* and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispaniae*. Erdmann and David noticed a similarity between these two works but did not develop a deeper analysis of the sources and of their chronologies.⁶⁶ The text analysis reveals how Romuald is the only author who gives precise biographical information about Maurice "Bourdin" outside from the Iberian Peninsula. This source often gives more detailed information than other important Iberian sources. In the *Historia Compostelana*, for example, there are many detailed passages dedicated to the Archbishop of Braga Maurice and his experience in Rome as 'Pope Wibert', but about Maurice's past career it is written only that he had been Bishop of Coimbra.⁶⁷ Moreover, there is a very complex chronological problem presented by both sources.

60. Guillaume, Pierre. "Liber Pontificalis"...: II, 312-313 [Pandolph of Pisa, *Vita Gelasii II*]; Ekkehardus Uraugiensis. "Chronicon Universale...": 253; Landolphus Iunior, "Historia Mediolanensis...": 40 and Ottonis episcopus Frisingensis, "Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus"...: 330.

61. Guillaume, Pierre. "Liber Pontificalis"...: II, 314 [Pandolph of Pisa. *Vita Gelasii II*].

62. Guillaume, Pierre. "Liber Pontificalis"...: II, 315 [Pandolph of Pisa. *Vita Gelasii II*]; Ekkehardus Uraugiensis. "Chronicon Universale...": 254; Wolfer von Prüfening. "Vita Theogeri abbatis S. Georgii et episcopi Mettensis...": 470; Gulielmus Malmesburiensis. *Gestis regum anglorum libri quinque...*: 664; "Annales Hildesheimenses"...: 64; Annalista Saxo. "Chronicon Regni"...: 561; "Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium...": 104; Ernaldus abbas Bonae Vallis. "Ex Vitae S. Bernardi. Liber II"...: 101; *Historia Compostelana...*: chapter XIV, *De scismate et de reconciliatione Calixti Pape et Cluniacensis Abbatis*.

63. David, Pierre. "L'enigme...": 487 and Henriët, Patrick. "Political Struggle...": 305-306.

64. Landolphus Iunior, "Historia Mediolanensis...": 41; *Historia Compostelana...*: chapter CXII, *Quando regina dedit caput beati Iacobo episcopo; Qualiter Tabula S. Basilii...*: 296-207; Willelmi Malmesburiensis. *Gestis regum anglorum...*: 664; Téulphe. *Mauriniacensis Monasterii Chronicon...*: col. 142; Sugerio. "Vita Ludovici Regis VI...": col. 1312; Geroh Reichespergensis. "De investigatione Antichristi"...: 335 and 338; "Vita Sancti Geraldii"...: 56.

65. A city of the Normand Kingdom of Sicily, southern from Naples.

66. Erdmann, Carl. *Maurício Burdino...*: 13 (footnote 1) and David, Pierre. "L'enigme...": 460.

67. *Historia Compostelana...*: chapter CXII (*Quando regina dedit caput beati Iacobo episcopo*), 196-197.



Romuald died in 1181 and he wrote his *Chronicon* in the last part of his life,⁶⁸ while Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada wrote during the reign of Fernando III of León-Castile (1217-1252), concluding his work around 1243.⁶⁹

It is quite difficult to find a solution to this chronological problem because the two sources are very similar both in structure and contents. In Romuald of Salerno's account Maurice "Bourdin" assumes a complete different dimension: he is no longer the creature of Emperor Henry V, rather a man with his own objectives and strategies. First, Romuald asserts that the real name of Maurice was "Bourdin"; he changed his name to Maurice only when he became bishop of Coimbra. Sources give at least three versions of the origin of the nickname "Bourdin", but this specific version only appears in Romuald of Salerno.⁷⁰ Where did Romuald learn this information? As suggested by Wilhelm Arndt, Romuald probably had access to the *Historia Mediolanensis* written by Landolphus *Iuniore* around 1136, almost forty years before Romuald and a century before Jiménez de Rada's works.⁷¹ Even if Landolphus does not mention the promotion of Maurice to the See of Coimbra as Romuald of Salerno does, the Milanese cleric writes *Meum nomem est Burdinus; set quando papa Urbanus ordinavit me episcopum, nominavit me Mauritium*.⁷² In any case, among the 12th century sources Landolphus' work seems to be the first source to include this information. For example, Eadmer of Canterbury and Orderic Vital call *Mauricium cognomento Burdinum* or *Burdinus*; William of Malmesbury refers to the Archbishop of Braga as *Mauricium Bracarensem episcopum, cognomento Burdinum*; Peter Deacon in the Chronicle of Montecassino calls him Maurice and the *Gesta* of

68. Zabbia, Marino. "Un cronista medievale e le sue fonti. La storia del papato nel Chronicon di Romualdo Salernitano". *Le storie e la memoria*. Roberto Delle Donne, Andrea Zorzi, eds. Florence: Firenze University Press, 2002: 248-249; online version in: *Reti Medievali*. 2002. Firenze University Press. 12 December 2016 <http://www.rm.unina.it/rmebook/index.php?mod=none_Delle_Donne_Zorzi>. See also the important work of Matthew, Donald. "The chronicle of Romuald of Salerno". *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, Ralph Henry Carless Davis, John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, eds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981: 239-274.

69. Gómez Redondo, Fernando. *História de la prosa medieval castellana*. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1998: I, 162-164 and Catalán, Diego. "Removiendo los cimientos de la Historia de España en su perspectiva medieval", *Cuadernos de História del derecho*, Extraordinary issue 1 (2004): 74.

70. For Pope Gelasius II "Bourdin" was a nickname given by the Normans, see the letter sent to Kuno of Prentese, papal legate in Germany in 1118, see Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum...*: 523 [reg. 4891; Capua 1118 April 13th]; Gelasii II, "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, cols. 492-493 [ep. IX]. In the *Annales Romani* this nickname was given by the Romans, see "Annales Romani...": 479. In the German *Annales Palidenses* this nickname *Burdinus* means donkey, an animal very abundant in the Iberian Peninsula in the opinion of the chronicler, *Burdinum, sic cognominatum propter ingentes asinos in Hispania habundantes*, see "Annales Palidenses...": 76. On this theme see Erdmann, Carl. *Maurício Burdino...*: 1-51 and 62-68 and David, Pierre. "L'enigme...": 445-451.

71. Romualdus episcopus. "Salernitanus. Romoaldi II archiepiscopi Salernitani Annales", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Wilhelm Arndt. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlicii Hahniani, 1866: XIX, 416, note n. 64 and Chiesa, Paolo. "Landolfo, Iuniore", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani. Treccani*. 02 August 2017 <[72. See footnote 2 in this work.](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/landolfo-iuniore_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>.</p>
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the Bishops of Verdun, *Mauritium Burdinum*.⁷³ Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's account is similar to that of Landolphus Iunior: *cum vocaretur Burdinus, factus episcopus fecit se Mauricium appellari*.⁷⁴ Was Landolphus a source for both Romuald and Rodrigo? There are other similarities between the two texts as well.

Romuald wrote that Maurice was first an archdeacon in Toledo; then he moved to Coimbra and after that he became Archbishop in Braga. At the death of Bernard of Sédirac, Maurice tried to corrupt Pope Paschalis II with a huge amount of money in order to obtain the title of Archbishop of Toledo and consequently the Primacy on the *Hispania*. Pope Paschalis II accepted the money, but he did not accord the See of Toledo to Maurice. At that point, his frustrated aspirations were the reason why he chose to support Emperor Henry V: revenge for the humiliation received.⁷⁵ This tradition is present, with some differences⁷⁶ in Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada who has been always considered as the main source on Maurice's life together with the *Historia Compostelana*. The Archbishop of Toledo added that Maurice came from Limoges and that the Archbishop of Toledo Bernard of Sédirac was still alive (this is correct information) when Maurice apparently tried to buy his ecclesiastical office.⁷⁷ Romuald's tale on Maurice "Bourdin"'s simony might be linked to the strong interest showed by Romuald for the History of Popes; to the negative tradition on Paschalis II and his relation with money;⁷⁸ his knowledge of the work of Falco of Benevento and the *Liber Pontificalis* as noticed by Marino Zabbia.⁷⁹ On the other side, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's tale on Maurice could be read as a sort of polemic answer to the Archbishops of Braga who during Rodrigo's pontificate did not want to recognize the Primacy of Toledo granted in 1088 by Pope Urban II.⁸⁰ The episode of Maurice "Bourdin" could be interpreted as a way to openly delegitimize the attacks of Braga: how could the Portuguese Archbishops doubt the legitimacy of Toledo if they have among their predecessors an Antipope?⁸¹

73. Eadmeri, *Novorum in Anglia...*: 247 and 294. Gulielmus Malmesburiensis. *Gestis regum anglorum...*: 664. "Die Chronik von Montecassino...": 525-527. "Gesta episcoporum viridunensium...": 505. Orderici Vitalis. "Ecclesiasticae Historiae...": 507.

74. Roderici Ximenii de Rada. *Historia de rebus Hispaniae...*: 226.

75. Romualdi Salernitani. "Chronicon...": 209.

76. One of the more interesting research perspective is to understand why in Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, and after, the *Pars Concilii Laterani* calls Calixtus II, Pope Alexander II, and Henry V, Emperor Otto. On this point see Henriët, Patrick. "Political struggle...": 303-304.

77. Roderici Ximenii de Rada, *Historia de rebus Hispaniae...*: book VI, chapter XXVII, 226-227 [*De Scismate et depositione Burdini*]. The narrative scheme and the information contained in Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada are present in the work of Baronius in the 16th century, Baronii, Caesaris, *Annales Ecclesiastici...*: 36-37.

78. Glauco Maria Cantarella, "Pasquale II, papa", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani. Treccani*, 01 August 2017 <www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/papa-pasquale-ii_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>.

79. Zabbia, Marino. "Un cronista medievale e le sue fonti...": 249-250.

80. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum...*: 450 [reg. 4021; Anagni 1088 October 15th]; Urbanii II papae, "Epistolae et privilegia", *Patrologiae. Cursus Completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris: J. P. Migne editorem, 1853: CLI, cols. 288-289 [ep. V].

81. Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco. *La iglesia de Toledo en el siglo XII (1086-1208)*. Rome: Iglesia Nacional de España, 1966: 177-179 e Lomax, Derek William. "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada como historiador", *Actas*



The image of Maurice constructed by Romuald of Salerno offers another element of interest. His portrait is much more complex than the ones inserted in the *vitae* of Gelasius II or Calixtus II written by Pandolph of Pisa around 1130 or in the papal biographies compiled by the Cardinal of Santa Pudenziana Boso in the third quarter of the 12th century. These authors defined, in fact, Maurice just as the Archbishop of Braga.⁸² In addition, in the papal letters of the period 1099-1121, not a single reference about Maurice's past as reported by Romuald of Salerno can be traced.⁸³ In the current state of the research, it is possible to conclude that Romuald's sources on Maurice were not coming from Rome or the papal environment. It is probable, too, that Romuald could have access to another local tradition. The monastery of Saint Trinity of Cava de' Tirreni, where Maurice was imprisoned, is not far from Salerno (less than twenty kilometers), and Romuald might have further information on Maurice's life because of geographical proximity. Furthermore, Romuald's interest for Iberian affairs is not surprising. Romuald was Archbishop of Salerno, when the wife of the King of Sicily William I (d. 1166) was Marguerite of Navarra, daughter of the King García IV Ramírez (d. 1150). Marguerite's brother, Rodrigo or Enrico Garcés Count of Montescaglioso, was also active in Sicily during the regency of Queen Marguerite (1166-1171).⁸⁴ There is a further curious and fascinating fact about the

del Quinto Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas, François Lopez, Joseph Pérez, Noël Salomon, Maxime Chevalier, dirs. Bordeaux: Instituto de Estudios Ibéricos e Iberoamericanos, 1977: II, 587-592.

82. See Guillaume, Pierre. "Liber Pontificalis"....: II, 314 [Pandolph of Pisa, *Vita Gelasii II*]; Guillaume, Pierre. "Liber Pontificalis"....: II, 319 [Pandolph of Pisa, *Vita Calixti II*]; Cardinal Boso, "Les vies des Papes"....: II, 376 [Boso of Santa Pudenziana, *Vita Gelasii II*].

83. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 493 [reg. 4546, without date]; Paschalis II, "Epistolae et privilegia", *Patrologia Cursus completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Paris: Garnier fratres, editores et J. P. Migne successores: CLXIII, col. 201 [ep. CXCVIII]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 508 [reg. 4746, Lateran 1114 December 4th]; Paschalis II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, cols. 361-362 [ep. CDI]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 509 [reg. 4775, Benevento 1115 July 3rd]; Paschalis II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, col. 383 [ep. CDXXX]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 511 [reg. 4786, Anagni 1115 November 3rd]; Paschalis II, "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, cols. 390-391 [ep. CDXLI]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 511 [reg. 4787, Anagni 1115 November 3rd]; Paschalis II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, col. 391 [ep. CDXLII]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 514 [reg. 4818, without date]; Paschalis II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, col. 408 [ep. CDLXXIII]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 523 [reg. 4882, Gaeta 1118 March 10th]; Gelasii II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, cols. 487-488 [ep. II]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 523 [reg. 4884, Gaeta 1118 March 16th]; Gelasii II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, col. 489 [ep. IV]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 523 [reg. 4886, Gaeta 1118 March 25th]; Gelasii II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, col. 491 [ep. VI]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 523 [reg. 4887, Gaeta 1118 March 25th]; Gelasii II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, cols. 491-492 [ep. VII]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 523 [reg. 4891, Capua 1118 Aril 18th]; Gelasii II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, cols. 492-493 [ep. IX]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 537 [5041, Sutri 1121 April 27th]; Calixti II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, cols. 1205-1206 [ep. CXXXI].

84. See Houben, Hubert. *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997: 108 and following. For more information see also Enzesberger, Horst. "Chanceries, charters and administration in Norman Italy". *The Society of Norman Italy*, Graham Loud, Alex Metcalfe, eds. Leiden: Brill, 2002: 139-140, and Cantarella, Glauco Maria. "Nel Regno del Sole. Falcando fra inglesi e normanni", *Scritti di Storia Medievale offerti a Maria Consiglia De Matteis*, Berardo Pio, dir. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2011: 91-120.



possible contacts between Salerno and the North-Western Iberian Peninsula in the 12th century. In 2013, Fernando López Alsina emphasized that the personal doctor of Archbishop of Compostela Diego Gelmírez was Robert of Salerno.⁸⁵ This was not a casual choice, if one thinks that Salerno was very well known in the Middle Ages for its *schola medica*.⁸⁶ Even if this episode does not directly concern Maurice “Bourdin”, it demonstrates that, at least in Galicia, there were connections not only with Genoa and Pisa, but also with Southern Italy⁸⁷. All these links between the Iberian Peninsula and the Kingdom of Sicily might be another informational channel for Romuald to know the political and the ecclesiastical situation in the Iberian Peninsula. In the same way, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada might know many details of Maurice’s life preserved in the Toledan memory, if one accepts the information contained in the sources. What is, therefore, the relationship between these texts? Is Romuald a source for Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada? How did the text travel from Salerno to Toledo in the 13th century? Or are both authors referring to a third tradition, as suggested by Pierre David?⁸⁸ In this case the study of the circulation of the texts in 12th century Europe is a completely new research perspective, especially if one considers that Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada’s *De Rebus Hispaniae* shows similarities with other international works like, for example, that of Otto of Freising.⁸⁹

The second aspect with which I deal is the discrepancy between the image of Maurice “Bourdin” in Rome by the papal sources and the few but relevant evidences

85. López Alsina, Fernando. “Diego Gelmírez, las raíces del Liber Sancti Jacobi y el Códice Calixtinus”, *O século de Xelmírez...*: 373.

86. See D’Angelo, Edoardo. “Scuola Medica Salernitana”, *Enciclopedia Fridericana*. 2005. Trecanni. 24 November 2016 <[87. López Alsina, Fernando. “La repoblación humana costera del norte peninsular”, *Los fueros de Avilés y su época*, Juan Ignacio Ruiz De La Peña Sola, María Josefa Fuentes, Miguel Calleja Puerta, dirs. Oviedo: Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 2012: 194-195.](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/scuola-medica-salernitana_(Federiciana)/>.</p>
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88. David, Pierre. “L’enigme...”: 460.

89. This connection has still to be studied, but it is interesting to notice that both sources report the existence of an inscription in Rome *Ecce Calixtus, honor patrie, decus imperiale, Nequam Burdinum dampnat pacemque reformat*. See on this point Stroll, Mary. Symbols as Power...: 27. Otto of Freising gives a general indication of Rome, in the opinion of Jiménez de Rada the inscription was in the Lateran. See Roderici Ximenii, *Historia de rebus Hispaniae...*: book VI, chapter XXVII, 226-227 and Ottonis episcopus Frisingensis. “Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus”...: 332. This connection is not strange, if one thinks to the relationships between Castile and Germany in the Middle Ages and Otto of Freising’s knowledge of Spanish affairs. See the works of Meyer, Bruno. “El desarrollo de las relaciones políticas entre Castilla y el Imperio en los tiempos de los Staufén”. *En la España medieval*, 21 (1998): 30-35; Pagani, Gianluca. “El imperio en la agenda alfonsí. Una Mirada bibliográfica”. *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos*, 31 (2004): 475-482 and Estepa Díez, Carlos. “El Reino de Castilla y el Imperio en tiempos del Interregno”, *España y el Sacro Imperio: procesos de cambios, influencias y acciones recíprocas en la época de la europeización (siglos XI-XIII)*, Julio Valdeón Baruque; Klaus Herbers; Rudolf Karl, dirs. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial, 2002: 87-100. It will be very important to follow the development of the research in progress by Graham Loud (University of Leeds) on the monastery of Cava de’ Tirreni, see: Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Cultures, “Professor Graham Loud”. *Institute of Medieval Studies*, University of Leeds, 22 September 2016 <[IMAGO TEMPORIS. MEDIUM AEVUM, XII \(2018\): 211-235 / ISSN 1888-3931 / DOI 10.21001/itma.2018.12.07](http://www.leeds.ac.uk/arts/profile/20046/280/graham_loud]>. See also López Mayán, Mercedes. “Pontificales iluminados en Roma a finales del siglo XIII: nuevas aportaciones desde las bibliotecas castellanas”, <i>Il libro miniato a Roma nel Duecento. Riflessioni e proposte</i>, Silvia Maddalo, Eva Ponzì, dirs. Rome: Isime, 2016: I, 289-307.</p>
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of his presence in the *Urbs*. In 1118, Gelasius II wrote a letter to Kuno of Preneste, papal legate in Germany, to inform him that nobody of the Roman Clergy — apart from three isolated *Wibertini*— supported the imperial sacrilege represented by the election of “Bourdin” as Gregory VIII.⁹⁰ If there were only three, how could Maurice remain two years in Rome? Maurice could rely on the support of the Frangipane family,⁹¹ but this was not his only ally in Rome. In the chronicle of the Milanese Landolfo of Saint Paul, Maurice was elected Pope Gregory VIII in Saint Peter, and in the life of Gelasius II written by Cardinal Boso of Santa Pudenziana, is stated that Maurice “Bourdin” benefitted from the support of a few groups of schismatic Saint Peter’s canons.⁹² Although the consideration expressed by Boso, the *Annales Romani* confirmed that Saint Peter was Maurice’s base in Rome. Among the very few surviving letters of Maurice one comes from Saint Peter (the letter addressed to the Bishop of Coimbra Gonçalo Pais),⁹³ but another letter (addressed to the abbot of the Cluniac monastery of Saint Peter of Uzerche) comes from the Lateran,⁹⁴ where, following Landolfo of Saint Paul, Maurice could have access after his election.⁹⁵ This is an element which suggests that more than a small number of canons (or at least they were the most powerful) supported Maurice in Saint Peter and in the city of Rome. As noted by Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, “Saint Peter” was on many occasions the reference in Rome for the imperial candidates to the Holy See. These candidates might eventually benefit from the support of the Roman clergy, meaning the clergymen who were connected to and were operating in the city of Rome and its ecclesiastical institutions. Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri individuated a progressive separation from the half of the 11th century between this urban clergy and the group of the Cardinals often coming from outside Rome, men with an international perspective and detached from the city, and the administration of the churches in which they were titular.⁹⁶ This urban clergy also tried to propose his candidature in opposition to the Pope that was chosen by the Cardinals. This is the case of Maginulf-Sylvester IV, who was archpriest of S. Angelo *in Pescheria* against Paschalis II.⁹⁷ Of course, this does not automatically convert all the urban clergy in

90. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum...*: 523 (reg. 4891 Capua 1118 April 13th); Gelasii II. “Epistolae et privilegia”...: CLXIII, cols. 492-493 [ep. IX].

91. Erdmann, Carl. *Maurício Burdino...*: 50-51 and 60-62; David, Pierre. “L’enigme...”: 494-496. On the Frangipane family, see Wickham, Chris. *Roma medievale...*: 226-266; 268-298; 468-479 and 484-518 and Thumser, Matthias. “Die Frangipane. Abriß der Geschichte einer Adelsfamilie im hochmittelalterlichen Rom”. *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 71 (1991): 106-163.

92. Landolphus Iunior. *Historia Mediolanensis...*: 40; Cardinal Boso, “Les vies des Papes”...: II, 376 [Boso of Santa Pudenziana, *Vita Gelasii II*].

93. Erdmann, Carl. *Papsturkunden...*: 173-174 (doc. 20). “Annales Romani”...: 479.

94. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum...*: 548 (reg. 5194, Lateran 1118 April 12th); Baluze, Étienne. *Miscellanea*. Lucca: Apud Vincentium Junctimum, 1761: I, 145.

95. Landolphus Iunior. “Historia Mediolanensis...”: 40.

96. Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. *Il clero di Roma...*: in particular 148-193. See, from the same author, “Il clero secolare nel basso medioevo: acquisizioni e proposte di ricerca”. *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, 132 (2009): 23-25.

97. Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. *Il clero di Roma...*: 68-69.



Rome into supporters of Maurice “Bourdin”; for example, an important part of the urban *clerus* supported the election of Calixtus II.⁹⁸

At the same time, one should be always prudent in reading papal sources and biographies. L. Duchesne in his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* already criticized the list of electors of Pope Gelasius II, because of both its composition and its compatibility with the *Decretum in electione Papae* of 1059.⁹⁹ It is necessary to read in this context the letter of April 13th 1118 sent by Gelasius II and the reference to the three old *wibertini*, Romano of San Marco, *praepositus* of Saint Marcellus, Teuzo, and Cencius of S. Chrysogonus, the cardinals created by Wibert/Clement III.¹⁰⁰ Maurice’s consensus might be wider. Maurice/Gregory VIII, in fact, also accorded a privilege to the church of Saint Marcellus as well as Wibert/Clement III did four times between 1080 and 1089. Maurice “Bourdin” seems to be placed into a ‘system’ which pre-existed him, the same network which probably supported him until mid-1120 when Maurice fled to Sutri.¹⁰¹ When Gelasius II wrote to the legate in Germany from Capua in 1118, he was probably trying to calm down the situation. He was indirectly saying to the bishops that everything was under control in Rome, but this was not realistic until the pontificate of Calixtus II.¹⁰² Even in this case, sources offer very interesting information. The *Annales Romani*, in fact, report that Pope Calixtus II could enter in Rome in 1120 only thanks to the corruption of the supporters of Gregory VIII, who stopped defending the basilica of Saint Peter: an image which strongly limits the triumphal (self)representations of Guy of Vienne.¹⁰³

Maurice’s “status” should be a real scandal and a shame for the papal environment for both his supporters in Rome and his proximity with *Curia*, and two of the most detailed sources on his life and career —Romuald of Salerno and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada— both insist on the connection between Maurice and the Holy See at the time of Pope Paschalis II. In the years 1109-1116, Maurice’s position in the Iberian Peninsula was increasingly precarious. First, the very complex relation between Archbishop Maurice and Teresa Alfonso, Countess-Queen of Portugal, whose men attacked the See of Braga in 1109. Second, between 1113 and 1115, Maurice

98. Martène, Edmond; Durand, Ursin. “Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum, Dogmaticorum”, *Moralium Amplissima Collectio*. Paris: Montalant, 1724: I, cols. 647-649. Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. *Il clero di Roma...*: in particular 61 (footnote 53).

99. Guillaume, Pierre. “Liber Pontificalis”...: II, 319 (footnotes 11-16).

100. Klewitz, Hans-Walter. *Reformpapsttum und Kardinalkolleg: die Entstehung des Kardinalkollegiums: studien über die Wiederherstellung der römischen Kirche in Süditalien durch das Reformpapsttum: das Ende des Reformpapsttums*. Darmstadt: Gentner, 1957: 70-72 (footnotes 225-226), 73 and 217 (footnote 31).

101. For the privilege granted by Maurice/Gregory VIII to the Church of Saint Marcellus about the possession of the church of Saint Mary in *Canela* and the four privileges of Wibert/Clement III, see *Italia Pontificia sive repertorium privilegiorum et litterarum a romanis pontificibus ante annum MCLXXXVIII*, ed. Paul Fridolin Kehr, Berlin: Weidmanno: I, 76 [reg. 15-18, 19]. Ziese, Jürgen. *Wibert von Ravenna. Der Gegenpapst Clemens III. 1084-1100*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersmann, 1982: 44-46, 93-107, 147-150, 162-163, 203-214 and 265-266.

102. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum...*: 523 [reg. 4891, Capua 1118 Aril 13th]; Gelasii II. “Epistolae et privilegia”...: CLXIII, cols. 492-493 [ep. IX].

103. “Annales Romani”...: 479. On this aspect, see in particular Herbers, Klaus. “El papado en el tiempo de Gelmírez...”: 86-92.



“Bourdin” was involved in the clash for the control of the bishopric of León against the Archbishop of Toledo. Third, Maurice had to face the political opposition of Diego Gelmírez, who was strongly interested to weaken the See of Braga. The Bishop of Compostela was trying, in fact, to obtain the archiepiscopal title (which he finally got in 1120) and to control some strategic bishopric under Braga’s authority, like Lugo in Galicia. Moreover, Bishop Diego of Compostela could rely on the support of the Bishop of Oporto Hugh (a former archdeacon of Santiago): the Archbishop of Braga had little space for political manoeuvre.¹⁰⁴

For Maurice, Rome was probably the only place to look for support or to find a solution for his problems. At the same time, Maurice was able to build his own network in Rome, and the episode of his appointment as a papal legate by Paschalis II is very important in this perspective. Why did Paschalis II and John of Gaeta choose him as papal legate to deal with Henry V? And why did Maurice decide to betray their confidence by supporting the Emperor? It is very important to study the period from 1113 to 1117 in the North-Western Iberian Peninsula in order to understand the development of the relations between Maurice and Rome and why the Archbishop of Braga broke his connection with the Pope.¹⁰⁵ All these elements should encourage the study, where it is possible, of the presence of Maurice in Rome, his connections, their geographical distribution, and the continuity, the discontinuity, and the organization of his ‘party’ made by both clergymen and laymen which supported the imperial or their own candidates (the ‘Antipopes’) between 11th and 12th century.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, it will be fundamental to

104. Amaral, Luís Carlos; Barroca, Mário Jorge. *A Condessa-Rainha Teresa...*: 148, 175, 206 and 208-209. Erdmann, Carl. *Maurício Burdino...*: 12-20. David, Pierre. “L’enigme...”: 455-473. Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco. *El arzobispo de Toledo don Bernardo de Cluny (1086-1124)*. Rome: Iglesia Nacional Española, 1962: 76-81. Fletcher, Richard Alexander. “Las iglesias del reino de León y sus relaciones con Roma en la alta edad media hasta el concilio IV de Letrán de 1215”, *El reino de León en la alta edad media*, Manuel Lucas Álvarez, dir. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación “San Isidoro”, 1994: VI, 461-495. Cavero Domínguez, Gregoria. “El episcopado de la iglesia de León (1087-1205)”, *Escritos dedicados a José María Fernández Catón*, Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz; Mercedes Díaz de Bustamante, Manuela Domínguez, eds. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación “San Isidoro”, 2004: I, 199-226. Mosquera Agrelo, Miguel. “La diócesis de Lugo en la Edad Media”, *Historia de las diócesis españolas (Iglesias de Lugo, Mondoñedo-Ferrol y Orense)*, José García Oro, dir. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2002: XV, 37-38. Amaral, Luís Carlos. “A restauração da Diocese do Porto e a chegada do Bispo D. Hugo”, *Um poder entre poderes: nos 900 anos da restauração da diocese do Porto e da construção do Cabido Portucalense*, Luís Carlos Amaral, dir. Porto: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2017: 23-46. Cunha, Maria Cristina. “Coimbra and Porto: Espiscopacy and National Identity”, *Das begrenzte Papsttum: Spielräume päpstlichen Handelns. Legaten - delegierte Richter - Grenzen*, Klaus Herbers, Frank Engel, Fernando López Alsina, eds., Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013: 133-145. On the general framework on the years 1115-1117 in Rome, see Petersohn, Jürgen. *Capitolium conscendimus Kaiser Heinrich V. und Rom*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009: 19-30.

105. Colotto, Cristina. “Gregorio VIII...”: 246.

106. Klaus Herbers (Herbers, Klaus. “El papado en el tiempo de Gelmírez...”: 88) observes that after the death of Calixtus II the Antipopes are fundamentally connected to the dynamics of the roman families. This observation is very important, because it demonstrates once more how the “Gregorian Reform” did not free the Roman Church from the laymen *tout court*, but the contacts between the Papacy and the lay world were continuous. At the same time, it is important to highlight that the imperial influence on papal elections or candidates did not end with Maurice “Bourdin”. For example, Antipopes Victor IV (1159) and Paschalis III (1164-1168) were strongly supported by Emperor Frederick I Hohenstaufen.



insert —restarting from the studies of Hans Walter Klevitz and Rudolf Hüls on the composition of the Roman *Curia*— the experience of Maurice “Bourdin” in the Iberian-roman networks. It means the study of the typologies of contacts, the role played by both Iberian emissaries (like in the case of Compostela) and papal legates (Boso of Saint Anastasia, for example) in the Iberian Peninsula, and questions about which cardinals were specialized in the relationships with the Iberian Peninsula, following the studies of Klaus Herbers, Carlos de Ayala Martínez on the Iberian bishoprics, and Thomas Deswarte on the relationships between Rome and the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁰⁷

4. Conclusions

In these pages, I have introduced the first results of the research project based on the study of Archbishop of Braga and Antipope Gregory VIII Maurice “Bourdin”. Through this particular figure of the 11th and the 12th century and his trajectory, it is possible to deal with a series of historiographical problems that in many cases are still waiting for answers. The examination of Maurice “Bourdin”’s life and his itinerary are a real journey in the history of his time. He is a figure, who has to be studied in a European and multi-disciplinary perspective and understood through the constant comparison of the acquisitions of several historiographical schools, focusing on different problems with different sensibilities. The research has already revealed a different image of Maurice “Bourdin” than the depictions of previous research and commentary. This portrayal demonstrates that he was an important man of his time, able to deal with the highest European powers including the Roman Curia, the Empire and his own international political networks, particularly during the period 1109-1121, *connections* as important as those of his rival Diego Gelmírez of Compostela. At the same time, his *parabola* introduces another important point: the necessity of a double view from Rome to Spain and Portugal and vice versa, because many affairs in these places, considered as internal matters of the Kingdoms of Portugal or León-Castile, also engaged, in reality, numerous international players distributed in a wider geographical framework.¹⁰⁸ A sophisticated historical analysis of Maurice “Bourdin” based on a careful reading of the resource list and the recent developments in several fields of research might be the key to decrypt these complexities.

107. I refer in particular to the classics of Klevitz, Hans-Walter. *Reformpapsttum und Kardinalkolleg...*, and Hüls, Rudolf. *Kardinale, klerus und kirchen Roms, 1049-1130*. Tübingen: Niemeyer Verlag, 1977. See also Herbers, Klaus. “Las relaciones ibéricas con el papado en la Alta Edad Media: balance y perspectiva de la investigación”. *Roma y la Península ibérica en la alta Edad Media. La construcción de espacios, normas y redes de relación*, Santiago Domínguez Sánchez, Klaus Herbers, eds. León: Universidad de León, 2009: 13-28; de Ayala Martínez, Carlos. *Sacerdocio y Reino en la España Altomedieval: iglesia y poder político en el occidente peninsular, siglos VII-XII*. Madrid: Sílex, 2008: in particular 374-410 and Deswarte, Thomas. *Un chrétienté romaine...*: 383-396 and 399-401.

108. Herbers, Klaus. “El papado en el tiempo de Gelmírez...”: 92.

