RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL IDENTITY IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE: PURITY OF FAITH AND HERESY

Emilio Mitre
Universidad Complutense de Madrid
Spain

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Abstract

This article provides a diachronic and overall view to analyze the creation of an identity in medieval Europe expressed in religious and political terms and created from contrasting an internal cohesion confronted towards external otherness. This imposed a conceptual trajectory, begun in the disquisition between pontifical theocracy and imperial Caesorapapism and following through the acceptance of the plurality of feudal monarchies and a segregating reaction in the late Middle Ages, focused on the purity of faith isolating groups and beliefs that could stain the society. The link between divine guidance and people facilitated that the political discourse at the end of the Middle Ages integrated the influence of messianism-millenarianism.

Keywords

Religion, Christianity, Faith, Heresy, Identity, Otherness.

Capitalia verba

Religio, Christianitas, Fides, Haeresis, Identitas, Alteritas.
1. The great propositions and their vicissitudes

Identity—often induced from high instances—covers distinct fields. In the political-religious aspect concerning our society, the starting point could well be the grand dessein entailed by the Edict of Thessalonica promulgated by Theodosius in 380. As Nicene orthodoxy identified divinity with the maintenance of the human institutions, it was imposed as a citizenship charter for the empire. The followers of heresies, those who had earned imperial punishment in the present and divine punishment in the future, were excluded from the community. The closure of the Academy of Athens (the last redoubt of pagan neo-Platonism) by Justinian in 529 was the symbolic end of a programme of marked standardisation.

1.1 Internal and external enemies

The Roman world understood the relation between identity and otherness in a double sense: outwards through the existence of hostes extranei who were the...
barbarian peoples; and inwards through the *hostes domestici* that were the vices resulting from the loss of the old citizen virtues.\(^7\)

The Romans took the idea of barbarity from the Greeks. The latter lumped together a wide range of people in this category, linked only by not using or the Hellenic language or customs, even including a civilisation as developed as Achaemenid Persia. For Rome, the barbarians were the people who lived beyond the *limes*. They were simply foreigners, a rather derogatory expression given the high opinion Rome had of itself.\(^8\)

Another question is that the military and economic requirements of the Empire forced it to resort to people from outside, with which, in an enshrined expression, Rome was becoming barbarised to the same extent the barbarians were being Romanised.\(^9\)

Over the years, propitiated by the spread of Christianity, the idea of barbarian acquired new profiles. In line with the conception of Optatus of Milevis in the mid fourth century (*christianus quia romanus*), the barbarian was not so much one who lacked Roman citizenship but more the lack of that faith in Christ that converted one into a member of that mystical Augustinian *civitas Dei*.\(^10\)

The frequent convergence of these two ideas (foreignness and the absence of the true faith) in certain communities converted them into participants in that established double hostility towards Rome and everything that it signified. This situation became more acute with the division of the empire on the death of Theodosium and the Germanic migrations that fragmented its *pars occidentis*.\(^11\) The barbarian continued to be the foreigner but also anyone who had entered recognisable frontiers but who did not profess the faith of Nicea.\(^12\) This opened the way for the creation of new identities in which the religious aspect would be dominant.

### 1.2 Pontifical theocracy and imperial Caesaropapism

Talking about “historical failures” is an extended resort. A model would undoubtedly be that of the two great universal projects of the Medievo — Empire and


\(^9\) On this subject, a classic that is no longer frequently cited is Reynold, Gonzague de. *El mundo bárbaro y su fusión con el romano. 2. Los germanos*. Madrid: Pegaso, 1955.


\(^11\) There is a very abundant bibliography for the study of the crisis and downfall of the Western Empire. We simply refer (and for obvious reasons of co-authorship) to one single: Bravo, Gonzalo, ed. *La caída del Imperio Romano y la génesis de Europa. Cinco nuevas visiones*. Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2001. For the historical awareness of these changes among the Christians, see Inglebert, Hervé. *Les romains chrétiens face l’histoire de Rome. Histoire, christianisme et romanités en occident dans l’antiquité tardive (IIIF-V\(^{\text{e}}\) siècle)*. Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 1996.

\(^12\) Fontaine, Jacques. “Chretiens et barbares”. *Romanobarbarica*, 2 (1977): 27-57. At a late date (the seventh century), and in the *Vida de San Columbano*, barbari were the pagan Alemanni and the Arian Lombards, not the Franks or Burgundians, who were officially Catholics. Geary, Patrick. *Quand les nations refont l’histoire. L’invention des origines médiévales de l’Europe*. Paris: Flammarion, 2006: 178.
Church—both of which, erected as defenders of the purity of the faith, recognised the need for higher guiding power.

From when could these projects be considered frustrated? In the field of spiritual power, the desideratum defended from the Christian east of a pentarchy as the guiding force against papal absolutism ultimately proved impossible. The most glaring symbol of that failure would be, from 1054, the Greco-Roman schism whose consequences, not only religious but also political, are still latent.13

The pontifical authority in the West had notable difficulties to impose la doctrine selon laquelle l’Église détient la souveraineté dans les affaires temporelles.14 The outcome came in the early sixteenth century and had a metaphor in the building of the basilica of Saint Peter’s in Rome. Begun as a project that would symbolise the universal power of the papacy, by the time of its completion, the popes only ruled over the two Mediterranean peninsulas, with the fate of France in doubt, as was that of a good part of Central Europe.15

From the viewpoint of political power—the imperium—certain more or less universalist myths have persisted; in a leading position, that of Charlemagne after his imperial coronation at Christmas 800.16 However, as is well known, his project suffered seriously under the reign of his successor Louis.17 The empire survived in name alone and, in practice, it was mortally wounded in the Treaty of Verdun in 843 signed by the founder’s grandchildren after their clash in the bloody Battle of Fontenoy,18 seen by some as the first European civil war.

Something similar should be said about the other attempt at imperial restoration: the Ottonians in 962 carried this out in a more limited territorial framework than the Carolingians.19 In the early fourteenth century, and against those who defended that “each king is the emperor in his kingdom”, Dante still sustained the idea of a monarchy or empire, Roman in nature, as a necessity for the world.20 This principle would lose political and ideological force until the eighteenth century, when Voltaire stated that the so-called Holy Roman Empire was neither an empire, nor holy or

Roman. It can seem like a witticism applicable to the political situation this entity found itself in during the Age of Enlightenment. However, it is no less true that the solemnity of the formula hardly managed to hide many weaknesses of this political construction over the years, from its medieval genesis to its official disappearance at the start of the nineteenth century, which went almost unnoticed.

1.3 From uniqueness to plurality: the so-called feudal monarchies

In an excessively generalising pamphlet, Edgar Morin wrote that esta invención europea, la nación, se construyó entonces (en la Edad Moderna) sobre la base de una purificación religiosa. This observation could be a complement to another earlier rather bitter one vented by J. Benda shortly after the Second World War, el destino de Europa no es su unidad sino el crear naciones que acaban enfrentándose entre ellas. However, could the origin of this process not be made to date back to the epoch of the barbarian kingdoms at the start of the Middle Ages, preamble to the so-called feudal monarchies? To what extent did these entities use the defence of the righteous doctrinal opinion (orthodoxy) as an instrument of internal cohesion against the forces considered dissolvent: the heresies, the schism, Judaic or Islamic contaminations —sometimes identified with heresy itself— or the pure and simple persistence of pagan traditions identified with superstitions? In short, a small scale application of the Theodosian ideal of 380. A well-known author popularised an expression: micro-Christianities that would correspond, grosso modo in their political dimension, to the kingdoms that arose after the dissolution of the Western Empire.

22. In contrast, Chateaubriand recalled the shock of the execution of Louis XVI some years earlier and which caused a tremendous comotion among the crowned heads of Europe. Chateaubriand, François-René. Memorias de ultratumba, eds. Marc Fumaroli, Jean Claude Berchet, José Ramón Monreal. Barcelona: Acantilado, 2004: 989-990.
23. “This European invention, the nation, was built then (in the Modern Age) on the base of religious purification”. Morin, Edgar. Breve historia de la barbarie. Barcelona: Paidós, 2005: 25. Given its elemental nature, it is not precisely among this author’s most notable works.
25. An expression of the “feudal monarchy” that, while its terms might irritate some, is sufficiently consecrated, at least, since the publication of a work that has become a classic: Petit-Dutaillis, Charles. La monarchie féodale en France et en Angleterre (X-XII siècle). Paris: La Renaissance du livre, 1933. While now dated in many of its approaches, it has fortunately been republished on various occasions with the consequent bibliographic addenda. For an application of the principle beyond the Anglo-French setting, see Pascual Echegaray, Esther. Guerra y pacto en el siglo XII. La consolidación de un sistema de reinos en Europa occidental. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996.
26. See Mitre Fernández, Emilio. Los credos medievales...
A reading of the pages written recently by Bruno Dumezil is useful for getting to the roots of the problem. In principle, he defines three levels in this process: a Germanic ruling minority with tendency towards Arianism, the Orthodox provincial elites, and the essentially pagan mass of the population. The tensions between these tendencies generated more than a few conflicts before orthodoxy was officially imposed.

2. The view of ‘oneself’ as a model of integrity

When defining a political identity with a religious base, one must play with two opposing but complementary images. They may be mere inductions by elites but with there is no doubt about the power of social recruitment: How do I see myself from a feeling of non-contamination in matters of faith or simply of moral rectitude? How do I see “the other” (internal or external) who, in the case of a political confrontation, for example? I stigmatise with certain religious or simply moral defects?

2.1 Some initial generalisations

In the first of these cases —which we could call positive identity— this is not necessarily a case of a state, country, nation or kingdom with precise frontiers as these are relatively recent creations. We are, in principle, talking about peoples designated by the Romans as nationes or gentes, rather diffuse concepts (sometimes associated with the term barbari) that would have a more political sense in the former case, a more ethnic one in the latter.


30. The accusation of heresy against the other was also reinforced with the addition of various vices. The history of vice/sin in the Middle Ages is partly the story of its instrumentalisation: the accusation of the doctrinal opponent of having incurred a series of moral deviations. For the case of the struggle between heretics and orthodoxies, see Mitre Fernández, Emilio. “Los pecados desde le herejía: la moral del otro en la Edad Media”, Pecar en la Edad Media, Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado, María del Pilar Rábade Obradó, eds. Madrid: Sílex, 2008: 281-296. This is a preview of a monograph which is currently being prepared.

With the passing of time, these expressions took on a positive sense and referred to communities that were seen to display excellent, preferably spiritual, qualities. They contributed to giving shape and political structure to certain areas. This even led to changes in names: Transalpine Gaul became France (and the regnum Francorum became a regnum Franciae identified in the future with the territory of a nation-state), while the Cisalpine was, to a great extent, transformed into Lombardy, or the greater part of Britannia mutated into England.

In contrast, Paulo Orosio recalls an important gesture by the King Ataulf from the start of the fifth century. Convinced of the cultural backwardness of his Visigoths (Arians in those times, to be precise), he refused to change the name of Romania for Gothia and attempted to regenerate the dying forces of the latter with the vitality of the former. Hispania would continue to be Hispania/Spain. This would be no obstacle for the notion of regnum gothorum to appear as a successor to the regnum romanorum in an epoch in which the concept of respublica disappeared to be replaced by the new nations.

The mythification of these gentes would be bigger then expected by who wondered a line of continuity whose origins were lost in the mists of time, and a capacity to overcome all kinds of vicissitudes. The beginnings of the Middle Ages played an important role in legitimation that the later historiography would only reinforce. The French, despite the succession of three different dynasties, created a solid image of continuity: the succession of their kings was great from the Trojans, founders of Paris. This continuity was more problematic for the Spanish due to the fall of the promising Gothic monarchy and the caesura produced by the Islamic invasion. Or for the English, who experienced important dynastic changes with successive migratory waves.

However, one tendency would attempt to impose itself through the national histories: the absence of a solution of continuity in the trajectory of the different countries. This rested on a base: national identity absorbed by dynastic identity.

With the exaltation of the doctrinal orthodoxy, we can talk about two models for the west as a whole.

34. Teillet, Suzanne. Des Goths a la nation gothique…: 536.
36. What Jean Marie Moeglin called the “Bavarian model” identified with the Wittelsbach dynasty (national, or if one likes, regional, model) would, in his view, apart from the various myths, be the one imposed in France. Moeglin, Jean Marie. “Nation et nationalisme du Moyen Âge à l’époque moderne (France-Allemagne)”. Revue Historique, 611 (1999): 548-549.
2.2 The purity of ‘genetic’ faith: a people free of any stain

Such a characteristic possibly only occurred in one case that was however enormously representative for all the West: that of the Franks. As stated in the prologue to the Salic Law, they are

L’illustre tribu (gens) des Francs, créé par Dieu, courageuse à la guerre, fidèle à ses engagements en temps de paix, sage dans ses décisions, de race noble, saine de nature, blanche de peau, superbe de corps, hardie, prompte et tenace, convertie à la foi catholique, pure de toute hérésie [...] Telle est la nation qui secoue le lourd joug des Romains grâce à son courage et à sa ténacité. 37

Replacing Gauls with the Franks (where did ones end and the others begin?) the bishop and historian Gregory of Tours (538-594) echoed a tradition based on the apostolic dimension of the Gauls evangelised by seven bishops ordained by Saint Peter: Gatien of Tours, Trophimus of Arles, Paul of Narbonne, Saturnin of Toulouse, Denis of Paris, Austromoine of Clermont and Martial of Limoges. 38 At the end of the tenth century, the monk Richer lavished great praise on the Gauls.

Bien que tous ces peuples fussent originairement barbares, l’histoire rapporte qu’ils ont presque toujours été heureux dans leurs entreprises depuis l’antiquité, même quand ils étaient encore païens. Baptisés ensuite par saint Remi, ils se sont signalés dès leur conversion par une victoire éclatante et célèbre. Leur premier roi chrétien fut, dit-on, Clovis. Après lui leur État a été gouverné par une suite d’empereurs éminents jusqu’à Charles dont le règne marquera le point de départ de notre histoire. 39

This purity of faith would justify a kind of “manifest destiny” identified with the building of a state. This would take shape thanks to the ongoing impulse to unite the North —quintessential Frank— with a Midi was frequently home to people who were unreliable politically, spiritually and morally. The figures of Clovis, Charlemagne or Louis IX would symbolise the three lines of Frankish kings —

37. “The illustrious tribe (gens) of the Franks, created by God, valiant in war, loyal to agreements during the pace, prudent in decisions, of noble race, healthy by nature, white of skin, proud of body, valiant, speedy and tenacious, converted to the Catholic faith, clear of all heresy […] this is the nation that shook of the heavy yoke of the Romans thanks to their bravery and tenacity”. Prologue to the Lex Salica in Fichtenau, Henri. L’empire carolingien. Paris: Payot, 1981: 27.
39. “Although all the peoples were originally barbarians, history recalls that the Gauls have been happy since Antiquity, even when they were still pagans. Baptised by Saint Remigius, they have distinguished themselves since their conversion with a striking and celebrated victory. Their first Christian king is said to be Clovis. The later have been governed by a series of eminent emperors until Charles (the simple) whose reign would mark the starting point for our history”. Richer de Reims. Histoire de France (889-995), ed. Robert Latouche. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1967: I, 11 (this is a bilingual version of a text —originally simply titled Historiae—in which the terms Gaul and Gauls are almost systematically transferred into modern French as France and the French).
Merovingians, Carolingians and Capets—defenders of the orthodoxy while also promoting the joining of these two fractions of modern-day France.40

Gregory of Tours combined three items of his predecessors in the field of historiography in the Gaul of his epoch: The past as a question of immediacy and identity for the present; orthodoxy moulded into a kind of historiographic art and the Church and the State as its host in an important mixture.41 This is the declaration said to have been uttered by the Merovingian Clovis on the eve of his campaign against the Arian Visigoths of the Kingdom of Toulouse (507): C’est avec beaucoup de peine que je supporte que ces Ariens occupent une partie des Gaules. Marchons avec l’aide de Dieu et quand ils auront été vaincus nous soumettrons leur terre à notre domination.42 After some two centuries, the victory of the mayor of the palace, Charles Martel—root for the deuxième race of French monarchs—against the Moors at Poitiers (732) would create a myth: that of the saviour of the West from the enemies of the faith who threatened to swamp it.43 His grandson Charles the Great (the Charlemagne of history and legend) has gone down in the most triumphalist history as a sort of father of Europe.44

As Saint Charlemagne, he would be honoured by being raised to the altars of the Antipope Paschal III in 1166, a decision that enjoyed a certain popular acceptance, although it was not officially homologated. There was an imperialist ideology in favour of this peculiar canonisation: the Holy Empire could have a saint among its holders who would act as a go-between before the Almighty.45 However, the exaltation of Charlemagne also served the interests of a Frankish power that, apart from repulsing Islam, had defended Southern France from the infiltration of the adoptionist heresy from the other side of the Pyrenees.46

42. “Only with great sorrow can I support the Arians occupying part of Gaul. We march with the help of God and when we have overcome, their land will be subjected to our domination”. Gregoire de Tours. Histoire des francs…: I. 129.
44. Some reflections about this theme can be found in Isla Frez, Amancio. “Los orígenes de la idea de Europa y Carломagno”, Europa: proyecciones y percepciones históricas, Ángel Vaca Lorenzo, ed. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1997: 17-30.
46. For the historical evolution and peculiarities of the Midi of modern-day France at the start of the Mediiev, there is an excellent monographic study by Rouche, Michel. L’Aquitaine des wisigoths aux arabes. 418-781. Naissance d’une région. Paris: Éditions de l’École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1979. For
Some Capet kings, the *troisieme race* of French monarchs, also enjoyed a particular aura. Especially Louis IX (Saint Louis after his canonisation in 1297) synthesis of the *prudhomme* and Christian knight and personification of the ministerial sanctity, as his bio-hagiographer Jean de Joinville presented him. The religious purity of this royal lineage and its policies would lead to the struggles by his ancestors against the Arians or Muslims being prolonged in the fight against the Cathars. The French Midi again becoming a battlefield in defence of orthodoxy against the error and ended up converting this duality of lands into a recurrent theme: those of the language of Oil and those of the language of Oc.

The Chronicle of France, which was drafted in French on instructions from Louis IX and finished in 1274 by the monk Primat, was illustrated with miniatures by Fouquet around 1459. The miracles of God and the protection of Saint Denis are complemented with a collective protagonist, which is the kingdom of France, and the Franks who inhabit it. A circumstance is noted from an early date: the victory at Tolbiac in 496 against the Alemanni was granted by “divine ordinance” not so much by King Clovis as *au roi et aus François*.

According an idealised vision, the name *franco* —in its highest sense— designated a kind of chosen people, a sort of substitute for the old Israel. On this base, the figure of the *gesta Dei per francos* would be created as an expression of the crusades, the first great collective enterprise by the West. The self-esteem of the French monarchs as defenders of the purity of the faith led them into serious confrontation even with the pontificate that, in a way, reproduced the clashes that had occurred between the papacy and empire during the War of the Investitures. Extremely serious was the very well-known one that happened around 1300: against Boniface VIII, Phillip IV made use of a group of legal counsellors

the adoptionist heresy and what interests us here, a leading work is still the one by Abadal, Ramon d’. *La batalla del adopcionismo en la desintegración de la Iglesia visigoda*. Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras, 1949.


who backed a certain modern notion of the state and were also responsible for an important chapter in the history of political propaganda.\textsuperscript{51} From the royal circles, an authoritarian pope was accused of easily forgetting a fact: the Kingdom of France had always been in the vanguard of orthodoxy and had repeatedly sacrificed itself for the interests of the Holy See in defence of Christianity. This had reached the extreme that some of the kings had risked, or even lost, their lives in crusading style operations.\textsuperscript{52} In this case, it was not a case of reinforcing the religious identity of a state against that of the neighbour, but rather against the supreme authority of the Church culminating in a risky \textit{tour de force}: the outrage at Anagni and the threat of opening a process against the pontiff placed him in a disagreeable situation.\textsuperscript{53}

\section*{2.3 A purity of faith sullied (or lost) and later recovered}

From the fifth century and in various countries in the West, a very similar situation arose. The Arianism of some Germanic peoples (with their royal lineages in the front) meant an intermediate step between paganism and the ultimate acceptance of the Nicene faith. Faith rose to an authentic state religion, as we would call it nowadays.

\subsection*{2.3.1 The Hispanic case}

In Spain, as in other places in Europe, a set of traditions that talked about its early evangelisation was strengthened: The passage in one of the Pauline Epistles (Rom. 15,24), the mythical presence of Santiago or the tradition (similar to the one in Gaul) of Seven Apostolic Men consecrated in Rome by Saint Peter and Saint

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\textsuperscript{52} The one undertaken by Louis IX against Tunis in 1270 and the expedition under the banner of the crusade by his son and heir, Phillip III, against the Crown of Aragon (1285) whose monarch, Peter III, had been excommunicated.

\textsuperscript{53} The feeling of superiority of a prince over a pope considered unworthy can be appreciated in a letter sent by Henry IV to Gregory VII in 1076 in which, invectives aside, the monarch considered himself anxious to “preserve the honour of the Apostolic See” which, it was supposed, the papacy had sullied. See the anthology by Gallego Blanco, Enrique. \textit{Relaciones entre la Iglesia y el Estado en la Edad Media}. Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1973: 149.
\end{flushleft}
Paul and contained in some Mozarab calendars: Torquatus, Secundius, Indaletius, Ctesiphon, Euphrasius, Caecilius and Hesychius.54

The entry of the Suebi, Vandals and Alans into the Peninsula was presented by the bishop and chronicler Hydatius of Aquae Flaviae (actual Chaves) in apocalyptic terms: the plagues of the sword, hunger, pestilence and wild beasts lording it over Spain.55 The arraigada perfidia de los suevos56 oscillating between paganism and Arianism and preying on the Galecia region, was especially highlighted by the prelate. The entry of the Visigoths, theoretically federated to the Empire, in Hispania would add another element of complexity to the already convoluted political game. Although very slowly, the Visigoth monarchs would gradually become identified with a kind of guarantee of stability. Hence, this may seem a calculated ambiguity towards them by the chronicler of the time.

Especially striking for the Hispano-Roman episcopacy was it would end up being this religious duality that took shape: a fides romana (Nicene orthodoxy as the Hispano-Roman province rulers own creed) and a fides gothica—Arianism—a characteristic of the ruling political minority. Despite the tensions prior to the abjuration of heresy by the Visigoth monarchy, it is necessary to recall what would be the more official view of this dichotomy, that which recognised the original and ingrained virtues of the gens gothorum and that, while it had been temporarily led to heresy, this was only the fault of a few wayward doctors. This is what Saint Leander pronounced before Reccared and his court.58 From that date on, orthodoxy ended up being strictly militant in some Visigoth monarchs, like Sisebut, a sovereign with theological airs, who encouraged the Lombards (last bastion of Germanic Arianism) to take a step towards Catholicism.59

Saint Isidore was author of a Laus Hispaniae, a kind of prologue to his most important historical work, taken exaggeratedly as an expression of a heartfelt Spanish proto-patriotism. There is however, another fragment of the hispalense in

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59. Cited in Mitre Fernández, Emilio. Iglesia, herejía y vida política…: 41.
this same work, that should not go unnoticed: it refers to the expulsion of the last Byzantine garrisons in the Peninsula by Suintila (621). This Visigoth king, apart from his virtues, would be quien por primera vez logró establecer la monarquía sobre todo Hispania de más acá del océano. The authority of a royal lineage thus became identified with a territory with well-defined limits and compactly Catholic as was shown later with the measures against the Jews, the last religious community in the Peninsula outwith the norms of Nicenism.

The Islamic invasion of 711 that ended the Hispano-Gothic kingdom of Toledo, the “loss of Spain” or “the ruin of Spain”, gave rise to a new game of identity-otherwise. From the Hispano-Christian states, a double image abounded. The followers of Islam were perceived as “barbarians” in line with an early tradition in the Iberian world, and the Muslim faith was equated with a heresy, a mixture of heresies or, at least, presented as a danger similar to the various doctrinal errors that had placed the unity of the Church at risk throughout its history.

The long process that we know as the Reconquest, often the subject of heated debate among historians, was, for the Christian monarchs, like a great project to restore an old order fractured by the Muslim presence in the Peninsula. It is significant that, on the Christian conquest of the Hispano-Muslim cities, there was an immediate conversion of the great mosque into a cathedral. This limpieza de la

61. “who first managed to establish a monarchy over all Hispania on this side of the ocean”. There is an evaluation of these questions (Mater Spania) in Fontaine, Jacques. Isidoro de Sevilla. Génesis y originalidad de la cultura hispánica en tiempos de los visigodos. Madrid: Encuentro, 2002: 271-286.
66. About this play on Reconquest/Restoration in the authors in the Middle Ages and beginning of the Contemporary age, see the interesting study by Ríos, Martín Federico. La Reconquista. Una construcción historiográfica (siglos XVI-XIX). Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2011.
suciedad de Mahoma meant the recuperación de una pureza original profanada por los musulmanes. 67 

The Gothic myth would make its royal line (especially the figure of Reccared) into a stamp of glory. The crown of Castile would be particularly receptive to this tradition, considered of singular importance for forging a Hispanic political personality.68 To this myth, the Roman one was also added, which was accepted to a greater or lesser extent by various authors in the Medievo.69 At the end of the fifteenth century, Joan Margarit, bishop of Girona and historian, presented the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand as a reconstruction of the unity of the old Roman circumscriptions of the Citerior and the Ulterior.70

2.3.2 The Anglo-Saxon world and its legacy

According to Walter Goffart, at the start of the Medievo, Great Britain had the special fortune of having a historian of the stature of the Venerable Bede. He was the first with an authentically national status if we ignore the figure of Jordanes, who was also like this but in a very different sense.71 Bede, in fact, tells us about a (some) people(s) identified with a perfectly defined geographic setting.72 Angles, Jutes and Saxons evolved into a homogeneous gens anglorum, following the example of Pope Gregory the Great, the great promoter (via Augustine of Canterbury in 596) of their Christianisation under the banner of Romanism.73

This process was not always easy. It came up against the resistance of a persistent paganism, especially in its stronghold in the Kingdom of Mercia until 653, when its king Peada, son of the pagan Penda “accepted the true faith and its sacraments”.74 It also clashed with certain Celtic liturgical peculiarities that, tendentiously by

67. “Cleaning the filth of Mohammed” and “recovery of an original purity desecrated by the Muslims”. García Fitz, Francisco. La Reconquista. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2010: 145.


69. It has been highlighted, for example, that Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada gave such little importance to the presence of Rome in Hispania (only a few lines in Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. Historia de los hechos de España, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1989, in contrast with the wide coverage —over three hundred chapters— given to it in Alfonso X, Primera crónica General de España, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Madrid: Gredos, 1979).70

70. Tate, Robert B. Ensayos sobre historiografía peninsular del siglo XV. Madrid: Gredos, 1970: 149.


the Church, became assimilated ethnically with heresy: this was the case of the different date for Easter to the one imposed in the Council of Nicaea. More serious theologically would be the case of the Pelagianism also considered as a negative Breton identity trait (due to the geographic origins of its promoter) according to the guardians of orthodoxy.

The defeat (at least official) of liturgical Celtism converted Britannia into a kind of new Promised Land for the Angles and Saxons, now converted and responsible for their sins like, in their time, the Israelites were for theirs. Bede’s work summarised national history and ecclesiastic history, accepting (as Gregory of Tours and all the historiography of the High Medievo also did) the ideological assumptions of the providentialist historia ecclesiastica popularised from the fourth century by Eusebius of Caesarea.

Later historians continued to take the emergence of new peoples in the islands (the Danes and in then, the Normans from the other side of the Channel) as a sort of divine punishment for the infidelities of a people. Thus, the arrival of William the Conqueror in 1066 and the establishment of a new political power would be the result of the perjury by the last monarch of the Anglo-Saxon line —Harold— who, against all legitimacy, had seized the crown of England, according to a chronicler of the Middle Ages from a Norman family. Despite setbacks to his policies, the great architect of the so-called Plantagenet (or Angevine) Empire, Henry II would be a reliably king of his own propaganda. Artistic and literary manifestations present his dynasty under a very favourable prism, among other reasons, as a fighter against the “barbarian” Welsh, Irish and Saracens.

75. A Breton, although his main intellectual activity was in the Mediterranean world, where he had a strong opponent in Saint Augustine. Among other studies, see the highly appreciated one by Rees, Brinley Roderick. Pelagius. A Reluctant heretic. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989.


77. Bede. A History of the English Church...: 328, referring to the adoption by the monks of Iona of the Roman Paschal dating in 716.


80. Following the tradition of the monk Gildas, who wrote a De Excidio et conquestu Britanniae in the sixth century describing the ruin of the country at the hands of the barbarian invaders.


2.3.3 Italy: from the Ostrogoths to the Lombards and their legacy

The dethroning of the last Western emperor (Romulus Augustulus) in 476 left Italy at the mercy of successive avatars. These began with a brief reign by the Herulian Odoacer, and continued with the government of the Ostrogoths of Theoderic the Great (493-526). In his *Chronica*, the scholar Cassiodorus Senator, Theoderic’s *Magister officiorum*, would inspire a kind of Roman-Gothic ideology by including his monarch in the succession of the emperors.83 Then, in *De origine actibusque Getarum* (c. 551), the obscure historian Jordanes would claim that Theoderic’s authority spread, either by force or by friendship, to all the kingdoms of the West.84

Such promising perspectives were frustrated with the “reconquest” of Italy by Justinian after a gruelling war of attrition. With the *Pragmática sanctio* of 554, the restoration of the direct imperial rule in the Peninsula was taken for granted, but the operation degenerated into an authentic fiasco85 as the destruction of the Ostrogoths opened the way in Italy for a scantily Romanised, while also sincerely Arian people: the Lombards. Italy ended up divided into two fractions: a *pars romana*, ever smaller and subject to the emperors of Constantinople through his representative, the Exarchate resident in Ravenna; and a *pars longobarda*, a set of duchies with little cohesion.86

Even the “national” historian of the Lombards, Paul the Deacon, had difficulties (in contrast to other historical narratives) to show their conversion to Catholic orthodoxy up, a confusing process riddled with ups and downs. The furthest he went was to exalt the figure of King Liutprand who definitively ruled as a Catholic: *hombre de gran sabiduría, juicio sagaz, muy piadoso, amante de la paz, poderoso en la guerra, clemente con los criminales, casto, púdico, incansable orando, generoso en las limosnas*.87 It has been recognised that the amalgam between Romans and Lombards did not lead to the disappearance of the identity of the latter. In the eight century, the members of the social elite considered themselves Lombards beyond considerations biological.88 This is in contrast with the perception of another author who years ago talked about the “tragedy of the Lombards”: their inability to give Italy the needed

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political unity. That would facilitate their defeat by the Franks and the dethroning of their last national monarch by Charlemagne.89

That misfortune would be remedied by a certain official similarity in the Chancellery that was established between two peoples, by naming himself the great Carolingian rex francorum et langobardorum (and patricium romanorum) before his imperial coronation in 800.90 The Lombard kingdom would derive into another, part of the trilogy of crowns (Germania-Burgundy-Italy) that gave the “legal epiphenomenon” that was the Holy Empire its character.91

2.3.4 The Saxons of Germania, quintessence of the Teutonic world

The Saxons had earned fame for the tenacity of their paganism, which Charlemagne had tamed after a ferocious war of conquest that, according to Einhard, lasted over thirty years.92 With time (from 962), we find a radical change: the Saxons would be converted—dynasty of the Ottonians—into receptors of imperial dignity.93

The monk and historian Widukind of Corvey, descendent of the hero of the anti-Carolingian resistance, described an idealised image of this people that would expurgate old traumas. He established a parallelism regarding the enemies defeated: the Franks finished off the Avars who had settled on the middle reaches of the Danube, and at the Battle of Lechfeld (955), the Saxons put an end to the annual raids by the Magyars, supposedly their brother race, and which had been a nightmare for Europe in the first half of the tenth century.94

The emperor considered most Romanist among the early Ottonians (Otto III) would symbolise German pride in the heading of his diplomas by identified himself with the Saxon, Moi, Othon, Romain, Saxon et Italien, serviteur des apôtres, par la grâce divine empereur auguste du monde.95 Eneas Silvio Piccolomini would again recall this association of the Saxon people with the Christian empire at the end of the Medievo when he evoked the discreción exquisita y la grandeza de sus realizaciones of the first three monarchs who earned muchos méritos ante la Iglesia Romana y no me caben dudas de que gracias a ellos se ensancharon las fronteras de Sajonia.96

90. Folz, Robert. Le couronnement imperial...: 207.
91. Nöel, Jean François. Le Saint-Empire...: 17 and following.
93. For the grafting of the Franks and Saxons onto the Ottonian Empire, see Beumann, Helmut. “Sachsen und Franjen im Werdenden Regnum Teutonicum”, Angli e sassoni al di qua e al di là del mare. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull’Alto Medioevo, 1986: 885-912.
94. Folz, Robert. Le souveni...: 54-55.
96. “exquisite discretion and grandeur of their actions” and “many merits before the Roman Church and I have no doubt that thanks to these, the frontiers of Saxony were extended”. Piccolomini, Enea Silvio.
Over the centuries, it was thought that the *imperium*, the maximum symbol of political power, should be legitimately wielded by the Germans, whether these were Saxons or Franconians, Salians or Hapsburgs. To the same extent, according to the canon of Cologne, Alexander of Roes, (end of the thirteenth century) the highest level of the *sacerdotium* (the papacy) should correspond to the Italians; or the *studium* (intellectual power) to the French, in virtue of the prestige acquired by the University of Paris.97

2.4 The general survival of extra-Christian elements

S. Teillet has highlighted that with Gregory the Great (590-604), the barbarian *nationes* acquired recognition of their personality in a similar degree to the Empire with his court in Constantinople.98 It is not by chance that this pontiff has been considered the first authentically medieval pope. The anointment received by the monarchs of some countries earned them extra legitimacy by granting them a semi-sacerdotal status.99

All this did not avoid that, in countries that had become officially Christian-Catholics, old pagan traditions of identity persisted throughout the Medievo and even beyond its chronological limits. The myth of the defeated Trojans exerted a particular attraction.100 Princes of this origin scattered after the fall of their city would play a significant role in the genealogy of various European countries: Aeneas for the Romans,101 Pharamond for the Franks,102 and Brutus for the Britons.103 A significant claim is place in the mouth of Julius Caesar: *esos britanos y nosotros*,
romanos, hemos nacido de la misma sangre.104 Nor was there an absolute rejection of the pagan pantheon, some of whose figures appear mixed in the genealogies of kings with those of the Old Testament. This was the case of Alfred the Great whose ancestors included figures like Woden and Geat ("who the pagans considered as a God") with Seth and his father Adam.105

The chronicles of the Hispanic kingdoms are riddled with mythological heroes. This was the case of Tubal, fifth son of Japhet de quien descienden los íberos que también se llaman hispanos, según opinan Isidoro y Jerónimo as Archbishop Jiménez de Rada recalled.106 Lucas de Tuy, who refers to Saint Isidore, remembered the case of Ispán, first king of the Spanish, founder of Hispanis and from whom también España traxo el nombre,107 a legend found in the Crónica de San Juan de la Peña, written in the second half of the fourteenth century on orders from Peter the Ceremonious.108 The traditions linked to the figure of Hercules in the creation of the Spanish history and shaping the internal map of Hispania also gave an extraordinary degree of unity.109

In short, mythical characters from the classical world, conceived as human beings in the historiography of the Medievo and the Renaissance, would thus be exalted because of their contributions to humanity in general and a people in particular, in some cases even becoming their eponymous heroes.110 While the filosofía in its widest sense was ancilla theologiae, the mythology, duly instrumentalised, could also become an ancillary element for a political identity boasted purity of faith.

3. Identity through otherness: a negative view of the ‘other’

The excessive pride attributed to a people, proud of their superiority in front to the neighbours, could create broad mistrust. This would be, for example, the case

104. “these Britons and us, the Romans, have been born from the same blood”. Geoffreyy of Monmouth. Historia de los reyes…: 53, invoking the parallelism of Aeneas and Brutus.
106. “from whom the Iberians who are also called Hispanics are descended, according to the opinions of Isidore and Jerome.” Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. Historia de los hechos de España…: 64. See, among others, Príncipe de Viana. La crónica de los Reyes de Navarra del Príncipe de Viana, ed. Carmen Orcásteugui Gros. Pamplona: Diputación de Navarra-Institución Príncipe de Viana-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1978: 76.
107. “Spain also brought its name”. Lucas de Tuy. Crónica de España…: 151.
110. For these components in general applied to a certain territory, especially between the 13th (Jiménez de Rada) and sixteenth centuries (Florián de Ocampo), see Tate, Robert B. “Mitología en la historiografía española”, Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo XV, Robert B. Tate, ed. Madrid: Gredos, 1970: 13-32.
of the French, associated with the superbia gallicana, a circumstance that was even more serious given that pride was considered the worst of the vices, or at least, the root of all these.

### 3.1 Otherness and religious faith: the centre and periphery of the West

The proliferation of heretical movements from the start of the second millennium gave new strength to the tendencies of political-religious identity in different countries in the West.

For some in Languedoc, its cities (Albi, Toulouse, Béziers or Narbonne) deserved the opinion as a land prone to heresy, hatred of the French from the North and generally tending towards bad faith. Italian cities like Milan, so famous for many reasons, also led the field with their defects: they were the fovea haereticorum. The “Lombards” (who, in some case, like the bankers of Asti, were Piedmontese) and the “Cahorsini”, appear as usurers, when usury was quite the antithesis of respectability. In the form of greed, it competed even with pride as a perversion. The city in general, as a field of experimentation in all kinds of innovations, ended up being seen by the more conservative minds with undisguised suspicion.

A diffuse “internal” enemy was also facilitated by the places of origin of these routiers; soldiers of fortune identified with Biscayans, Aragonese, Brabançons,

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Triaverdini and Cotarelli, who the Third Council of the Lateran (1179) considered comparable to heretics for the damage they caused to the assets of the Church.\textsuperscript{118}

For the religious game of purity/impurity played with the ideas of schism, heresy, paganism, phylo-Judaism, etc. and also, the simple formal peculiarities or suspicion of twisted morality as this was appreciated from the hard core of Roman Christianity forged in the norms of Gregorianism.

The precautions taken against a \textit{gens}, kingdom or country situated near another or on the periphery of Europe were more than anecdotic.

The same happened with Romanist reservations towards insular Celtic communities like the Irish —still poorly assimilated into the political and social guidelines of the West— whom a figure of the stature of Saint Bernard considered \textit{Cristianos de nombre, pero paganos de hecho}. This implied that from a French, English or Italian mentality, their social order differed from the continental one.\textsuperscript{119}

The Bulgars had a poor religious and moral image, associated with the Bogomil heresy considered the mother of the various Manichaeisms of the Medievo. The demonym Bulgar —\textit{bougre}— was applied as a synonym of Cathar in particular and heretic in general.\textsuperscript{120} It even became related to the idea of homosexuality\textsuperscript{121}. The Balkan world in general would become suspected of “Manichaean” contamination. Thus, the Bosnians would be \textit{mala ralea que consideran que hay dos principios en la realidad, el del bien y el del mal},\textsuperscript{122} apart from disavowing the primacy of Rome, the consubstantiality of Father and Son, and their monks maintaining not very respectable habits.

The Bohemians, especially in the Germanic world, gained a particularly bad reputation when Juan Hus and his direct or indirect disciples made Bohemia an important focus of religious subversion towards the end of the Medievo, and expelled the Germans from the University of Prague. Hus drew the attention of the nonconformists of half Europe\textsuperscript{123} and the hatred of the other half. The neighbouring Moravia did not come out any better, its inhabitants considered a \textit{raza fiera y amiga


\textsuperscript{122} “bad ilk who believe that there are two principles in reality, good and evil”. Piccolomini, Enea Silvio. \textit{La Europa de mi tiempo…};: 104-105.

\textsuperscript{123} The expression “international Waldo-Hussite” has been used by various specialists in our times to define diffuse currents of dissent that linked to the religious concerns of the beginnings of Modernity. Enea Silvio Piccolomini wrote \textit{a Historia bohemica} that contributed powerfully to consolidating this bad image of the Czechs, also summarised in Piccolomini, Enea Silvio. \textit{La Europa de mi tiempo…};: 147-148.
de latrocinios and its barons casi todos contaminados por la herejía husita.124 An image that would contrast with the one the Bohemians had of themselves as defenders of a purity of faith against the corruption ecclesiastic assimilated with simony.125 In Bohemia —under the pro-Hussite monarch George of Poděbrady—a project for European unity against the Turkish threat would even arise, but this was rejected by the papacy.126

After Middle Ages, Miguel Servet would echo an opinion that was going round the continent: Hungria proporciona el ganado, Baviera los cerdos, Franconia las cebollas y la remolacha, Suabia las prostitutas y Bohemia los herejes.127 In contrast, Hussism as a national myth (the Bohemians as a kind of chosen people according to the most exalted expression) would persist from Hus until Palacky, one of the great historians of the Czech world.128

3.2 A singular Hispanic case?129

At the end of the nineteenth century, Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo gave birth to a well-known and widely debated work130 in which he mixed overwhelming erudition, patriotic ardour and profound Catholic militancy.131 Although he considered heresies (and among these especially Protestantism) foreign to the Spanish spirit, the abundance of religious discrepancies (real or supposed) reported

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124. “fierce race and friend of robbers”, “almost all contaminated with the Hussite heresy”. Piccolomini, Enea Silvio. La Europa de mi tiempo…: 119.
125. For these relations between nation and national peculiarities in the Bohemia of that epoch, see, among others, the considerations by Smahel, Frantisek. La revolución hussite, une anomalie historique. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1985: 85-104.
128. Macek, Joseph. La revolución hussita…: 267 and following.
129. See the appendix in Mitre Fernández, Emilio; Alvira Cabrer, Martín; Martínez Tur, José Emilio. “El debate ortodoxia-heresía y las relaciones franco-espáxolas en el Medievo (Conversación a tres: Emilio Mitre Fernández, Martín Alvira Cabrer y José Emilio Martínez Tur)”, Iglesia, herejía y vida política en la Edad Media, Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2007: 181-194.
131. A circumstance that earned him glowing praise and sharp criticism from the most varied sectors. Among the latter, Josep Pla, who wrote Como buen católico español Menéndez Pelayo resulta a menudo de un fanatismo indignante (“as a good Spanish Catholic, Menéndez Pelayo was often of an indignant fanatism”). Pla, Josep. Dietarix (I) El cuaderno gris/Notas dispersas. Madrid: Espasa, 2001: 644.
in the Iberian world created the impression of a territory perfectly homologous with the rest of Europe.\textsuperscript{132}

The fact that movements like Priscillianism, Arianism, Adoptionism, Islamic influences, various superstitions, etc, developed in the Peninsula allowed Pope Gregory VII to warn in 1074 about the serious spiritual dangers the Hispano-Christian kingdoms faced.\textsuperscript{133}

The particular liturgy known as Mozarab was considered fully orthodox by Pope John X around 924. However, with the years and the effect of the rigid uniformity imposed by Gregorianism, this was branded in certain sectors as a simple \textit{superstitio toletana}.\textsuperscript{134} When the Romans norms were finally imposed, there were various different reactions among the Hispanics. In some cases, they fuelled suspicion of opposing the \textit{ley y costumbres romanas} with the \textit{ley toledana}. When these were implanted, some said the \textit{borradas por completo las tinieblas de la ignorancia (y) empezaron a desarrollarse entre los hispanos las fuerzas de la Santa Iglesia}.\textsuperscript{135} In the opposite case, it was argued that the Hispanic clergy had books that were as good as the Roman ones. Undoubtedly they invoked the theological tradition of the Visigothic monarchy of Toledo.\textsuperscript{136}

The image that was created around the king of Aragon and count of Barcelona, Peter the Catholic from the other side of the Pyrenees was also significant. Killed at Muret defending the philo-Cathar lords in the French Midi against the crusades of Simón de Montfort, he added another negative element to the fame built up around the Hispanics in general on the other side of the Pyrenees.\textsuperscript{137} If not a heretic (his sobriquet speaks for itself), the monarch would be \textit{fautor de herejes}, something

\textsuperscript{132} The usefulness of this work by the polygraph from Santander for the world of medievalism is dealt with in Mitre Fernández, Emilio. “Las herejías medievales en la Historia de los Heterodoxos españoles”, \textit{Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles. Estudios}, Ramon Teja, Silvia Acerbi, dirs. Santander: PubliCan-Real Sociedad Menéndez Pelayo, 2012: 201-223. Of interest for the European heresies with roots in the Peninsula in the high medieval period is the recent synthesis by Grau, Sergi. \textit{Cátaros e Inquisición en los reinos hispánicos (siglos XII-XIV)}. Madrid: Cátedra, 2012.


\textsuperscript{137} Alvira, Martín. \textit{12 de septiembre de 1213}...
extremely serious as he was warned about it in an important missive from the papal
legate, Arnaldo Amaury.\footnote{138}{“heretics’ maker”. Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay. *Histoire albigoise…*: 151.}

Because of these heretical, Islamic and Judaic contaminations, would this
Hispania be judged similarly heretical as these other geographic areas cited?\footnote{139}{A question dealt with as an appendix in Mitre Fernández, Emilio; Alvira Cabrer, Martín; Martínez Tur, José Emilio. “El debate ortodoxia-herejía…”: 181-194.}

Beyond of these hypothesis, we can underline that the religious features,
independent of their orthodoxy, were a kind of interested game around identity
and alterity around the Hispanic society.

4. The Late Middle Ages in the West: the Hundred Year’s War and
the accentuation of identities

The great armed struggle at the end of the Middle Ages known as the Hundred
Year’s War was mainly a conflict (or series of conflicts) between the French and
English crowns, although it also affected other western countries.\footnote{140}{As an example, see Mitre Fernández, Emilio. “Castilla ante la guerra de los Cien Años: Actividad militar y diplomática de los orígenes del conflicto al fin de las Grandes Treguas (c.1340-c.1415)”, *Guerra y diplomacia en la Europa Occidental (1280-1480). XXXI Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella, 19 a 23 de julio de 2004*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2005: 199-235.}

Moreover, it overlapped with the serious religious split of the Western Schism, which contributed
to poisoning the relations between the sides even more.\footnote{141}{There is a clearly organised summary of this spiritual conflict in Álvarez Palenzuela, Vicente Ángel. *El cisma de Occidente*. Madrid: Rialp, 1982.}

The fact that the schism was considered by some as close to heresy added more fuel to the fire given that
both were characterised by the same fault: pertinacity.

4.1 The Anglo-French prototype

In order to defense the own reason, it was usual to acuse to the other part being a
kind of bad Christians: schismatics and, by extension, even heretics. A circumstance
that would accentuate what were, until then, vague national sentiments.

*Une nouveauté: les Anglais parlent anglais*, as one of the leading specialists in the

That John Wycliffe was a promoter of a version of the Bible in English at the end of the fourteenth century may be doubtful.\footnote{143}{For this question, see Hudson, Anne. “Wyclif and the English Language”, *Wyclif in his Times*, Anthony Kenny, ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986: 85-103.}

This topic,
however, can be given a non-trivial meaning: that of a “national” dignification of a language by a theologian considered a distant precursor of the reform movements of the 1500s.

In the later phases of the Hundred Years War, the fierce fighting in France between the Burgundians (allies of the English for some time) and Armagnacs was frequently marked by this standard accusation of bad Christians.\textsuperscript{144} Joan of Arc’s presence on the battlefields of France (1429-1431) would be the emotional replica of a widespread feeling of impotence. Although an ephemeral phenomenon, it would encourage an elemental political-messianic rhetoric. A good expression of this was in the well-known Letter to the English dated 22\textsuperscript{nd} of March 1429 to the King of England and his captains urging them to lift the siege of Orleans and leave France. The text was included in the accusation against the heroine in Rouen some months later.\textsuperscript{145}

The drama ended with her execution by burning as a “heretic, idolater, apostate and relapse” a string of invectives which included some technical incompatibilities that, in the heat of the conflict, did not appear to bother her accusers very much.\textsuperscript{146}

4.2 Back to the Hispanic peculiarities

The implications of the generalised war in the Peninsula became autochthonous dynastic conflicts that, on more than one occasion, took on an unequivocal religious hue.\textsuperscript{147}

Let us see some examples. The confrontation between Peter I of Castile and his half-brother Henry of Trastámara was heightened by the bad press spewed by the legitimate monarch. These included accusations of bougre [synonym of heretic] and mauvais creyten [evil Christian]\textsuperscript{148} and of collusion with enemies of the Christian faith: the Jews and, on occasions, the Moors in the Kingdom of Granada.\textsuperscript{149}

Years later, the Portuguese war of succession on the death of Ferdinand I, gave rise to a vague Portuguese national feeling that was cloaked in a religious sentiment. The siege of Lisbon by Castilian forces concluded in a failure as related by the

\textsuperscript{144} One of the first episodes in this conflict has been excellently recreated by Guenée, Bernard. \textit{Un meurtre, une société. L’assassinat de duc d’Orléans, 23 novembre 1407}. Paris: Gallimard, 1992.
\textsuperscript{146} Mitre Fernández, Emilio. \textit{Iglesia, herejía y vida política…}: 155.
\textsuperscript{147} For this see the recent overview in Mitre Fernández, Emilio. “Tensiones sociales y políticas de apaciguamiento en el ascenso y consolidación de los Trastámara (Una panorámica)”. \textit{Edad Media. Revista de Historia}, 8 (2007): 279-294, especially 280-283.
\textsuperscript{149} The great expert on this question was Julio Valdeón, from a work whose thesis he insisted on various occasions. Valdeón, Julio. \textit{Los judíos de Castilla y la revolución Trastámara}. Valladolid: Graficas A. Martín, 1968: 37-40.
chronicler Fernão Lopes in tones that ranged from epic to martyrdom. In the courts of Coimbra in 1385, the Portuguese jurist Joao das Regras disqualified John I of Trastámara as candidate-consort to the Portuguese throne. The reason: he and his followers were çismáticos y herejes as militants on the Avignonese papal side. He asked rhetorically, como tomariamos nos taes pessoas por nossos reis e senhores? Months later, and with two setbacks in between (the disaster of Aljubarrota and the invasion by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster as the pretender to the Castilian throne), John I of Trastámara attempted to raise the spirits of his loyal followers in the courts in Segovia in 1386. Resorting to xenophobia with a marked religious tone, he railed against the English who were always ayudadores e dieron fauor en las çismas que fueron en la Yglesia de Dios fasta oy at a moment when the western Schism had placed the two of them on opposing sides. One of the examples of the perfidiousness of the English was Thomas Becket’s murder (1170) at the hands of a group of knights from the entourage of Henry II Plantagenet, induced by imprudent declarations by the king. It was supposed that this left the pretender morally discredited and, thus, his dynastic aspirations delegitimated.

5. Conclusions

To conclude, it is worth mentioning another interesting outlook that gave some dynasties in the Peninsula a mystical symbolism. It granted them a special messianic ethos that tended to reinforce their political identity. This happened with the royal house of Aragon whose component states were metaphorically compared with a bunch of reeds by the chronicler Muntaner (1265-1336). In line with a Joaquinism lato sensu, some of its princes were augured a brilliant destiny.

As Alain Milhou highlighted, Arnau de Vilanova (c. 1240-1311) would be the first author who would transfer to the Aragonese dynasty (James II of Aragon, 150. The documentary support for the effusions of the chronicler has been studied by Viegas, Valentino. Lisboa. A força da Revolução (1383-1385). Os documentos comprovam Fernao Lopes. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1985.


his brother Fadrique of Sicily) the messianic prophecies about the conquest of Jerusalem or the creation of a universal royalty until then applied to Germany or the French royal family.\footnote{156} This messianism reinforced what, in principle, had been an expansionist policy of the Crown of Aragon towards the south of the Iberia Peninsula.\footnote{157} This image would contribute years later to giving a new impulse to the Franciscan Francesc Eiximenis (c. 1340-1409) from Girona when he proclaimed about the royal house of Aragon: \textit{D’aquesta casa és profetat que deu aconseguir monarchia quasi sobre lo món}.\footnote{158}

And what can one say about the Castilian Trastámara dynasty as the heir to the Hebraic monarchical traditions,\footnote{159} or the case of the Portuguese house of Avis as inaugurating a Seventh Age of the World.\footnote{160}

Talk about an officialist messianism-millenarianism that neutralised other more or less subversive ones\footnote{161} does not seem excessively unreasonable.

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\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{156} Milhou, Alain. “La chauve-souris, le Nouveau David et le roi caché (trois images de l’empereur des derniers temps dans le monde ibérique: XIII-XVII siècles)”. \textit{Melanges de la Casa de Velázquez}, 18 (1982): 64.
\item \footnote{157} Guadalajara Medina, José. \textit{Las profecías del anticristo en la Edad Media}. Madrid: Gredos, 1996: 199.
\item \footnote{158} “It is prophesied that this house must achieve monarchy over almost all the world”. Guadalajara Medina, José. \textit{Las profecías del anticristo...}: 212. As a counterpoint in the mid fourteenth century, the Franciscan visionary Juan de Rupescissa (or Roquetaillade) established 1370 as the date for the clash between the supporters of the Antichrist (Gibelines in Italy, kings of Spain, tyrants of Germany and the king of England) and the armies of the faithful led by the Pope, the king of France and King Charles of Bohemia. Guadalajara Medina, José. \textit{Las profecías del anticristo...}: 171.
\item \footnote{160} Lopes, Fernão. \textit{Cronica de D. João I...}: I, 349.
\item \footnote{161} In relation with this, two scatological tendencies that arose in the Church from a very early date could be added, as recalled in Carozzi, Claude. \textit{Visiones apocalípticas en la Edad Media. El fin del mundo y la salvación del alma}. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2000: 173-176.
\end{itemize}