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## PASTOR BONUS OR MILES CHRISTI? TWO IDEALS OF CLERICAL CONDUCT AT THE AGE OF CATHOLIC RENEWAL\*

### KEYWORDS

*Military Orders; Catholic Renewal; Clerical Conduct; Struggle for Christ; Christian Care for Everyone*

### INTRODUCTION

The bipolar structure of Military Orders, with priests on one hand, and the Knights Brethren on the other, are very suitable for the comparison in alterations of religious lifestyle. The Teutonic Knights and Hospitallers are the final subjects of our consideration. Both shall be examined with regard to charity and chivalry. It is remarkable that the spiritual and practical lives of the faithful had greatly changed during the Protestant Reformation<sup>1</sup>, and the Catholic clergy –

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<sup>1</sup> R. W. Scribner, *Religion und Kultur in Deutschland 1400–1800*, ed. L. Roper, Göttingen 2002, pp. 201–223.

spurred on by the Council of Trent – began to layout new standards of conduct.<sup>2</sup> Pastor Bonus and Miles Christi represent, at the Age of Catholic Renewal<sup>3</sup>, the two “Leitmotive” of public debates concerning good deeds and bravery. The following article’s goal is to scrutinize these principles via the historical procedure.

It tries to discuss the following questions: Is it possible that the Lutheran, Calvinistic and Zwingli Reformation (with its intensive theological debates and specific figures of religious codes) constitutes the reasons behind the modifications of Catholic standards and clerical conduct? Might have the growth of Renaissance humanism have been the motive? Or perhaps even more ancient Christian traditions show an effect? Given that all answers (offered in this article) are derived from various intellectual milieus, from several social situations and from a spectrum of individual decisions, the first part will describe the effects in which the Protestant Reformation had had on clerical conduct. It examines the lay piety of Protestant reformers, proving the ensuing status changes, while shedding light on some mendicant friars. A further section analyses some humanist approaches in solving social and military problems. It also takes a look at some cases of monastic ascetics, without forgetting the lifestyle of the noble courts. The final part attends to the modifications in clerical standards that had occurred since the latter half of the 16th century. It eventually takes a sharp look at Military Orders. A summary shall reply to the questions posed above.

#### CLERICAL CODES OF CONDUCT DURING THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

The Protestant Reformation resulted from many social and political struggles interwoven by different historical developments. One of these developments was the composition of bishoprics. In late medieval Europe, dioceses were organized in various ways depending on the balance of spiritual and temporal power executed in each country. While it was customary in Western countries to have close connections between kings and pontiffs, the bishops in Italy exclusively obeyed

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<sup>2</sup> J. Krasenbrink, *Die Congregatio Germanica und die Katholische Reform in Deutschland nach dem Tridentinum*, Münster 1972; Pastor Bonus, Ernest Claes: *Het Priesterbeeld in zijn werk*, ed. A. v. Tongerloo, E. Claes, Tiel 1993; K. M. Comerford, *Reforming Priests and Parishes: Tuscan Dioceses in the First Century of Seminary Education* (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 27), Leiden 2006. For the research concept of professionalism see firstly R. O’Day, *The English clergy: The emergence and consolidation of a profession, 1558–1642*, Leicester 1979.

<sup>3</sup> M. R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550–1750*, Cambridge 2001.

the Pope, despite all of their economic dependence on secular rulers. The Holy Roman Empire had the special situation of bishops owning rights and estates as secular princes did. Indeed, all these prelates were involved in several armed conflicts in the course of defending their properties.<sup>4</sup>

Another historical development that denotes the Protestant Reformation was the gradual introduction of secular power into Parishes: This process included the allocation of temporal estates from secular rulers to priests, in which the former, then in turn, often exercised the right to nominate the cleric. The election of a Parish priest was influenced by various factors and interests because the so called patron was allowed to control all the cleric's tasks, with the exception of administering the sacraments and the care of souls.<sup>5</sup> In general, the separation of secular and spiritual superiors led (especially in Flanders, Switzerland, and Germany) to a diversity of social conflicts, albeit the mutual relations between clerics and secular rulers were closer (even if they were more difficult) than elsewhere.<sup>6</sup>

A third historical development that could have stimulated clerical behavior up to the Protestant reforms was the dissipation of the monastic almsgiving. It resulted in the decline of monasteries. One vivid example of this process is evident in a debate between some prominent Church reformers and several Franciscan friars. This took place at a provincial synod of the Saxon Franciscans in 1519, and is a reflection of the monks' struggle for the survival of their abbeys. The Saxon Martinians (so named after a Papal bull by Martin V) pursued a moderate mode of life, while the Observant Franciscans preferred a stricter lifestyle (whereby they insisted on the observance of the vow of poverty). The whole debate was part of a wider reaching dispute which was argued out at the University of Wittenberg.

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<sup>4</sup> H. Hürten, *Die Verbindung von geistlicher und weltlicher Gewalt als Problem der Amtsführung des mittelalterlichen deutschen Bischofs*, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 82 (1971), pp. 16–28; *Der Bischof in seiner Zeit: Bischofstypus und Bischofsideal im Spiegel der Kölner Kirche*, ed. O. Engels, P. Berglar, Cologne 1986; T. Prügl, *Successores apostolorum: Zur Theologie des Bischofsamts im Basler Konziliarismus*, in: *Für euch Bischof, mit euch Christ: Festschrift für Friedrich Kardinal Wetter zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. M. Weitlauff, P. Neuner, St. Ottilien 1998, pp. 195–218; for changes within the Canon law see E. D. Hehl, *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert: Studien zu kanonischem Recht und politischer Wirklichkeit* (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 19), Stuttgart 1980.

<sup>5</sup> D. Kurze, *Pfarrerwahlen im Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gemeinde und des Niederkirchenwesens* (Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht 6), Cologne 1966, pp. 494, 507, 519–527, 532–534; Idem, *Klerus, Ketzer, Kriege und Prophetien: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. J. Sarnowsky, M.-L. Heckmann, S. Jenks, Warendorf 1996, pp. 9–15, 43–44, 53, 90.

<sup>6</sup> B.-U. Hergemöller, *Pfaffenkriege im spätmittelalterlichen Hanseraum: Quellen und Studien zu Braunschweig, Osnabrück, Lüneburg und Rostock*, 2 vols. (Städteforschung, Reihe C, 2), Cologne 1988.

This dispute reflected mendicant piety as opposed to common Christian religiousness. This became apparent in the reformers' presentation of the Protestant ecclesiology, the grace doctrine and in their disapproval of patristic and scholastic authors. The dispute reached its breaking point when Martin Luther and other Church reformers denied the spiritual significance of Saint Francis' stigmata. They rejected not only the friars' holy vows as being divine, but they also dismissed the practice of mendacity and contemplation as the core of monastic piety. Hence, it was financial matters and theological disagreement which caused the decline of monasteries and almsgiving. The main arguments for all this rejection stemmed from the value the reformers placed on human labour. They modified the common concept of charity, and they did so with regard to the spiritual sense of the Christian militia.<sup>7</sup> Conclusively, the Protestant side preferred from then on, to entrust the care of the poor to the Christian individual. Religious professionals were no longer necessary for spiritual or material support because everybody was now appointed to follow Christ in the Biblical way. The endeavour to do well (the "Struggle for Christ") became more important than the benefaction for itself, or – in other words – the Church reformers shifted their attention away from good deeds. It is important not to forget that Protestant preachers were never experts of Christian charity, in contrast to Catholic priests, as shown below.

By briefly examining the background, it is clearly visible that Christian schools of thought on poverty had become contradictory at this time: Luther's criticism of the wealth in the Roman Church, the Calvinist idea of personal wealth as a sign of divine grace, or Fugger's convictions of social welfare in Augsburg should be mentioned here. Welfare for the general public was indeed something initiated by state rulers, successful civic groups and prosperous private persons. The situation stayed that way all over the western world until recent times.<sup>8</sup> It must be kept in mind that by the end of the 15th century, several town councils had gained greater authority and power. When they devised ways of governing their townspeople, special rules for almsgiving were written up, but not without placing the supervision of charity into secular hands.<sup>9</sup> This procedure was in accordance with a long-term trend,

<sup>7</sup> G. Hammer, *Militia Franciscana seu militia Christi: Das neugefundene Protokoll einer Disputation der sächsischen Franziskaner mit Vertretern der Wittenberger theologischen Fakultät am 3. und 4. Oktober 1519*, Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 69 (1978), pp. 51–81; 70 (1979), pp. 59–105; for secularisation see *Orden und Klöster im Zeitalter von Reformation und Katholischer Reform 1500–1700*, 3 vols., ed. F. Jürgensmeier, R. E. Schwerdtfeger (Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 65–67), Münster 2005–2007.

<sup>8</sup> M.-L. Heckmann, *Die christliche Wohltätigkeit im Mittelalter*, in: *Frömmigkeitsformen in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, ed. J. Laudage (Studia humaniora 37), Düsseldorf 2004, pp. 108–109.

<sup>9</sup> For variation see E. Schubert, *Gestalt und Gestaltwandel des Almosens im Mittelalter*, Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung 52 (1992), pp. 241–262; Idem, 'Hausarme Leute', 'starke

which tried to replace personal responsibility for the needy with the introduction of common social activities initiated through an omnipotent welfare state.

### CHIVALRY AND CHARITY DURING THE RENAISSANCE HUMANISM

In the face of Humanist thinking, clerics encountered many hazards on their quest to save the immortal soul. If they had sought for new maxims, they might have found adequate models in the traditions of the ancient world – as humanism is often thought to be the missing link between Christianity and antiquity. For example, Cicero's treatise *De officiis* which expresses a statesman's duties during peace and war time had been printed in more than forty incunabula and about a hundred editions up to 1600; some of them are illustrated with "new" allegorical pictures which indicate how readers of the day perceived ancient political and military thought.<sup>10</sup> One particular example (translated into German in 1565) shows the Soldier of Christ (*miles christianus*) climbing a ladder to heaven (ill. 1). There the wounded Christ, accompanied by the Virgin Mary and Saint John, awaits him. If one inspects the details of the picture, he will notice that the soldier leaves several vices on the ground below him, for example, poverty, disease, gluttony and death which are all trying to pull him back with ropes.<sup>11</sup>

The Christian soldier, demonstrated here, is in this case a symbol of chivalry, having given his bodily life in a battle against the misery of the world and its accompaniments. He may also have fought the mental battle against sin. Most Humanist lay scholars preferred allegorical and spiritualized metaphors of this kind when they spoke about the Struggle for Christ (*militia Christi*), by which they meant living out Christ's message of charity in a chivalrous manner. They proceeded in that way, even if they knew the original tenor of Cicero's treatise quite well, as did, for example, Erasmus of Rotterdam.<sup>12</sup> His *Enchiridion militis Christiani*

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Bettler': *Einschränkungen und Umformungen des Almosengedankens um 1400 und um 1500*, in: *Armut im Mittelalter*, ed. O. G. Oexle (Vorträge und Forschungen 58), Ostfildern 2004, pp. 283–347.

<sup>10</sup> *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, vol. 6, ed. Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Leipzig, 1934, coll. 623–659, n° 6914–6978.

<sup>11</sup> A. Wang, *Der „Miles Christianus“ im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und seine mittelalterliche Tradition: Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von sprachlicher und graphischer Bildlichkeit*, Hamburg 1975, p. 32.

<sup>12</sup> Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Epistola ad Paulum Volzium: Enchiridion militis Christiani*, vol. 1. of *Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. W. Welzig, Darmstadt 1968; see R. Stupperich, *Das Enchiridion militis christiani des Erasmus von Rotterdam nach seiner Entstehung, seinem Sinn und Charakter*, Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 69 (1978), pp. 5–23, at p. 20; P. Walther, [*Erasmus von Rotterdam*,] *Theologische Schriften: Enchiridion militis Christiani*, in: *Deutscher Humanismus*

obviously had had a great influence on contemporary thought in general, because around thirty known editions had been printed by 1600, and there were several translations into the vernacular.<sup>13</sup> These publications were part of a long tradition which included works by the ancient author Prudence with pictorial commentaries of the day. One part of the tradition, which shaped the Struggle for Christ, was based on the Biblical prophet Job, and another on the Roman writer Seneca. Whereas the latter emphasized the virtue of patience, the former underlined passion as the driving force behind a Christian life.<sup>14</sup>

In addition, this kind of treatise or allegory was compatible with the *specula principum* of the time which was established against the background of urbanized Italy.<sup>15</sup> One example had been published twenty-six times since 1546, and it is significant that the author (Frá Sabba di Castiglione) was a Knight Hospitaller himself. Sabba explained to his great nephew (another knight of St. John) how to develop an understanding of warfare. He did so touching on Saint Anthony of Egypt's ascetics and Saint Augustine's doctrine of Just War. Sabba goes on to comment on which way pagan authorities could assist his nephew in setting out the rules of war. He then adds how Christian examples led him to better understand the inner motivation for war. In addition, he does not forget to explain that the duty of courtesy and tolerance (an imperative for every gentleman) should also be inclusive of women, even regarding the enemy side.

Last but not least, the author points out that during peace time, every knight is responsible for his own household, in particular for the sick and the poor. The reason why he should do so is that "the poor are able to save him through patience but the rich can't save him without the poor. God, Our Lord, did create the poor only for saving the rich."<sup>16</sup> In this case, we can detect one knight's recommendation

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1480–1520: *Verfasserlexikon*, ed. F. J. Worstbrock, 2. edition, vol. 3, Berlin 2008, coll. 742–744, 762–764.

<sup>13</sup> The VD 16 and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France list 1 edition of Antwerp (1509), 1 of Leuven (1515), 9 editions of Strasbourg (1516–1527, 1 of them in German), 2 of Leipzig (1516, 1522), 6 of Basel (1518–1540), 7 of Cologne (1519–1577), 4 of Mayence (1520–1523), 1 of Ulm (1522), 1 of Vienna (1524), 1 of Nuremberg (1529), 1 of Augsburg (1543, in German); compare also P. Schmitt, *La réforme catholique: Le combat de Maldonat (1534–1583)* (Théologie historique 74), Paris 1985, pp. 41–44; to the oldest English version see D. H. Parker, *The English Enchiridion Militis Christiani in the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, Renaissance and Reformation* 19 (1995), pp. 5–22.

<sup>14</sup> Wang (as n. 11), pp. 139–175.

<sup>15</sup> H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*, Princeton 1966; Q. Skinner, *The Foundation of Modern Political Thought*, vol. 1, Cambridge 1978.

<sup>16</sup> D. F. Allen, *The Hospitaller Castiglione's Catholic Synthesis of Warfare, Learning and Lay Piety on the Eve of the Council of Trent*, in: *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Fest-*

for chivalric and charitable behaviour in times of war just as in peace. There is no reason to ignore three further examples which confirm the chivalric battle and the mental fight as maxims: The first example is a complex treatise on the warship, drawn up by a Spanish archbishop (Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo). It makes the reader doubt whether it conformed to the Augustinian doctrine of Just War at all, or whether it justified the war as an end in itself.<sup>17</sup> In the second example, an Italian writer (Baldassare of Castiglione, the elder cousin of the above named Sabba) reports on the chivalric protocol at the court of the Duke of Gonzaga and his wife Elisabeth. This treatise named *Cortegiano* mainly suggests Roman poetical influence.<sup>18</sup> In the third example, a former monk (Lorenzo Scupoli) living as a layman in Genoa and Milan wrote a treatise on “Combattimento Spirituale” which revealed the longterm consequences of early Christian ascetics. It had even influenced Russian piety.<sup>19</sup>

It is the Spanish surroundings, once again, which provide our next, and possibly more lucid example of Humanist reflections. The case is drawn from a context of social welfare but also expresses a deep pacifism and a true Christian morality in a time of armed conflicts. The author of the treatise *De subventione pauperum* (Juan Luis Vives) originated from a multi-cultural background and urbanized milieu. Having descended from Spanish conversos at Valencia, he survived a private tragedy abroad, when a part of his family was damned and burnt by the Inquisition. He himself aroused suspicion of being a heretic. In truth, the most important reason for his life-long pacifism was probably his overall genius. This intelligence resulted from his diverse connections to several thinkers, and political leaders of his time. Despite his legitimate criticism of educational institutions of the day, Vives was a tutor himself. He taught not only at Bruges but also at Louvain and even at Oxford.<sup>20</sup>

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*schrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. K. Borchardt, N. Jaspert, H. J. Nicholson, Aldershot 2007, pp. 255–268, at p. 264.

<sup>17</sup> Kurze, *Klerus* (as n. 5), pp. 411–27; W. Benziger, *Zur Theorie von Krieg und Frieden in der italienischen Renaissance: Die Disputatio 'De pace et bello' zwischen Bartolomeo Platina und Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo und andere anlässlich der Pax Paolina (Rom 1468) entstandene Schriften: Mit Edition und Übersetzung* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 3), Frankfurt am Main 1996, pp. 158–163.

<sup>18</sup> P. Burke, *Die Geschichte des Hofmanns: Zur Wirkung eines Renaissance-Breviers über angemessenes Verhalten*, Berlin 1996.

<sup>19</sup> H. M. Knechten, *Katholische Spiritualität bei Theophan dem Klausner* (Studien zur russischen Spiritualität 1), Waltrop 2005.

<sup>20</sup> A. Buck, *Juan Luis Vives' Konzeption des humanistischen Gelehrten*, in: *Juan Luis Vives: Arbeitsgespräch in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 6. bis 8. November 1980* (Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissance-Forschung 3), ed. A. Buck, Hamburg 1981,

During that time in Bruges, almsgiving and relief practices for the poor were no longer sufficient, even though the urban underclass in Flanders was on the increase. Albeit institutional changes in social support were made in several Flemish towns, however, they never arrived in time at Bruges. This is astounding because it was in Bruges itself – a great center of trade and finance at the time – where Vives had addressed his treatise directly to the high officials.

Having a closer look at the piece itself could provide revealing clues. It is divided into two corresponding parts. On one hand, there are the external causes of poverty, and Vives' inner motivation on the other. The first part deals with a fundamental reflection on poverty. The second one names concrete solutions for social problems. Concerning his fundamental reflection on poverty, communal wealth is, in Vives' opinion, a worthy objective. Notably during the course of the post lapsarian era, mutual support is set up to replace human avarice for money, greed, and power. In this ideal world, the rich person would have to be asked to give alms and to do well, while the beggar should be able to tolerate his fate. Nevertheless, those who had become destitute (due to a stroke of fate and not of their own making) stood in an exclusive situation. What is even more significant, is the fact that (according to Vives) every man had the personal right to work, even if all are born naked and predestined for death.

A clever comparison would ascertain that most of these notions reveal the influence of Gregory the Great. It is nevertheless instructive to note that they suggest a kind of Christian communism. This situation was only modified by the directive that every good deed for the poor should result from a voluntary decision, and might not be a strictly legal obligation. In Vives' communism, private property was only tolerated within the clergy but also for some elevated laymen (it was allowed as long as bishops contributed to social support, as prosperous citizens made splendid donations and as generous princes wished to put a pauper out of his misery). If Vives' ideas were to be implemented, then education and practical work would have to be on the agenda. In general, he viewed work as the best remedy in preventing misery, of which poverty plays a key role. He propagated for this purpose, a sophisticated access system to education, and improved training, especially for the youth. Apart from these ideas, Vives did, in fact, suggest plenty of concrete measures for solving social problems. Instead of pursuing this point, it might be more desirable to consider the reasons why Vives' treatise left some visible traces in the

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pp. 11–22; K. Kohut, *Literaturtheorie und Literaturkritik bei Juan Luis Wohltätigkeit*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 35–47.



debate on poverty that arose in Alsace<sup>21</sup> and Spain<sup>22</sup> at this time. It is the existence of a civic society within Strasbourg, Colmar, Schlettstadt and other towns which possibly stimulated the people to internally reflect about poverty. They should not ignore the fact that, at the same time, a special formation motivated even feudal Spanish noblemen to be interested in social welfare.

To conclude, all these ideas fit into a lay context, but not without providing contemporary scholars with a spiritual basis for charitable and chivalric deeds. They did seldom apply in rural surroundings where the gentry and noblemen were too busy to tend to the poor, and their ventures often kept them fighting pagans and heretics. In many cases, feudalism had already lost its social hold but in Spain older customs were still alive. This was relevant also for this reason that the conquests of the two Americas had taken the place of the former Reconquista.<sup>23</sup> Hence, the gap between Medieval and Renaissance reflections on chivalry and charity do not seem to be as wide as often presumed.<sup>24</sup>

#### NOTIONS OF CLERICAL CONDUCT AS A LONG-TERM ISSUE

Several studies show that clerical conduct has long been a key issue in the Latin Church.<sup>25</sup> This procedure started with patristic scriptural treatises on the gospel of St. John (10. 11–16) and was readopted by many prominent Church reformers from the 11th up to the 15th centuries. The justly named treatises attempted to

<sup>21</sup> D. Briesemeister, *Die gedruckten deutschen Übersetzungen von Vives' Werken im 16. Jahrhundert*, in *ibidem*, pp. 177–191, at pp. 179–182 (the German translation of Vives' treatise, published in 1533/34, as answer to Luther's letter *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation* from 1520).

<sup>22</sup> Juan Luis Vives, *De Subventionem Pauperum sive De Humanis Necessitatibus libri II*, ed. C. Matheussen, Ch. Fantazzi, J. De Landtsheer (Selected works of Juan Luis Vives 4), Leiden 2002; using R. Stupperich, *Das Problem der Armenfürsorge bei Juan Luis Vives*, in *Vives* (as n. 20), pp. 49–62; not citing W. Weitzmann, *Die soziale Bedeutung des Humanisten Vives*, Diss. phil., Leipzig 1905; H. Merschmann, *Der Streit um die Armenschrift des Humanisten Vives: Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Sozialpolitik*, unpr. Diss. phil., Freiburg im Breisgau 1942.

<sup>23</sup> J. Höffner, *Christentum und Menschenwürde: Das Anliegen der spanischen Koloniaethik im Goldenen Zeitalter* (Thesis of Habilitation), Trier 1947.

<sup>24</sup> W. Benziger, *Zwischen 'bellum iustum' und modernem Völkerrecht: Überlegungen zum Denken über Krieg und Frieden am Ende des Mittelalters*, *Militärgeschichtliche Zeitschrift* 65/1 (2006), pp. 131–151, at pp. 147–149.

<sup>25</sup> H. Tüchle, *Abendländisches Priesterbild und Priesterleben im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, in: *Die Sendung des Priesters: seine Chance in der Gegenwartskirche: Eine Studientagung des Klerusverbandes in Bayern*, München 1971, pp. 44–64; *A companion to pastoral care in the late Middle Ages (1200–1500)*, ed. R. J. Stansbury (Brill's companions to the Christian tradition 22), Leyden 2010.

reanimate the good shepherd as a counter-model to the questionable daily behavior of priests. St. Augustine, for example, had tolerated mercantile priests who used parish collects for their own good<sup>26</sup>, not to forget other voices which refused to support simony of any kind. This position stemmed from Gregory the Great's vision that only Christ – who sacrifices his life and feeds his sheep – could be the appropriate role-model for the *bonus pastor*.<sup>27</sup> One might also claim that these notions underwent a phase of rethinking during the Gregorian Reform.<sup>28</sup> Many priests practicing simony and Nicolaitism thus provoked criticism.<sup>29</sup> It was especially the announcement of Sunday *Misericordia* (two weeks after Easter) that led to homilies regarding living up to the high standards of the priestly vocation.<sup>30</sup> When reading sermons of this kind, one notices that the Roman pontiff often pursued a more institutional interpretation of the *bonus pastor*. In particular, Innocent III emphasized governance and obedience as vital parts of a pastoral ministry, not to forget Parish loyalty but (in his mind) all these codes of conduct had their eventual end in the papacy. After his opinion, the Latin word *pastor* derives from *pascendo*. Therefore, he focused on the meaning “nutrition” when he interpreted the noun *pastor* as a collective term for doctrine, sacraments, and material deeds. With regards to the Fourth Council of the Lateran, his successor Honorius III accentuated the spiritual sense of the term. He understood that priestly duties included preaching and pastoral care.<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, it took two centuries until theologians again, picked up on the theme of priestly conduct. For example, one sermon of Jean Gerson provided clerics with a more than detailed compendium of the rules. The well-known Church reformer advised priests to adhere to the common needs of his protégés. At the beginning of the 15th century, he insisted following concrete techniques of sermon delivery, insisted on maintaining hospitals and schools, and pronounced to ad-

<sup>26</sup> Augustinus, *Sermo 137*, in: *Patrologiae Latinae cursus completus* 38, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1865, 754–763; compare J. M. Powell, “*Pastor bonus*”: some evidence of Honorius III's use of the sermons of pope Innocent III, *Speculum* 52 (1977), pp. 522–537, at p. 527.

<sup>27</sup> Gregorius Magnus, *Homilia 14*, in: *Patrologiae Latinae cursus completus* 76, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1857, 1127–1130; compare Powell (as n. 26), pp. 527, 528.

<sup>28</sup> W. Koch, „*Tagelöhner oder guter Hirte?*“: *Eine Predigt des Bischofs Hieronymus von Arezzo (gest. 1177) an seine Priester*, *Cistercienser-Chronik* 104 (1997), pp. 219–227.

<sup>29</sup> J. Laudage, *Priesterbild und Reformpapsttum im 11. Jahrhundert* (Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 22), Cologne, Vienna 1984.

<sup>30</sup> Powell (as n. 26), pp. 526–527.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 529–537.

minister the sacraments regularly.<sup>32</sup> Gerson's treatise revealed that, during the Age of Councils, standards of clerical conduct were obviously in need of improvement.

#### CLERGY, CHARITY AND CHIVALRY UP TO 1500

It was not conduct but social advancement which became the greater motivation for taking orders and joining the priesthood during the course of the Later Middle Ages. The social engineering of cardinals, bishops, abbots and priests helped their (often younger) relatives and followers to get bursaries or even prebends.<sup>33</sup> It was not conduct but social advancement which became the greater motivation for taking orders and joining the priesthood during the course of the Later Middle Ages. The social engineering of cardinals, bishops, abbots and priests helped their (often younger) relatives and followers to get bursaries or even prebends<sup>34</sup>, the lower clergy rarely reacted<sup>35</sup> and seemingly ignored this provocation (absence of office). The pastoral tasks carried out by Parish priests included baptisms, funerals and confessions.<sup>36</sup>

Private persons enjoyed employing their own lower clerics – still under the charge of a Parish priest – for the celebration of mass and in commemorating deaths. Mendicant friars also acquired some priestly duties, such as hearing confessions, preaching to the crowd or carrying out burials (particularly in times of excommunication or urgency).<sup>37</sup> The civic clergy often participated in local confraternities whose members came together for daily prayer – or weekly. Hence,

<sup>32</sup> J. Gerson, *Sermo de officio pastoris*, in: *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 5, éd. P. Glorieux, Paris, Tournai, Rome, New York 1963, pp. 123–144.

<sup>33</sup> A. Meyer, *Arme Kleriker auf Pfründensuche: Eine Studie über das In-forma-pauperum-Register Gregors XII. von 1407 und über päpstliche Anwartschaften im Spätmittelalter* (Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht 20), Cologne 1990.

<sup>34</sup> V. Reinhardt, *Der unheimliche Papst: Alexander VI. Borgia (1431–1503)*, Munich 2005.

<sup>35</sup> Kurze, *Klerus* (as n. 5), pp. 33–36.

<sup>36</sup> For example A. Trinkwalder, *Der Seelsorgeklerus der Diözese Brixen im Spätmittelalter*, Brixen 2000; *Klerus, Kirche und Frömmigkeit im spätmittelalterlichen Schleswig-Holstein*, ed. E. Bünz, K. J. Lorenzen-Schmidt (Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Schleswig-Holsteins 41), Neumünster 2006.

<sup>37</sup> For the debate about mendicant preaching and Papal authority see J. Ratzinger, *Der Einfluss des Bettelordensstreits auf die Entwicklung der Lehre vom päpstlichen Universalprimat unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des heiligen Bonaventura*, in: *Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Michael Schmaus zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Freunden und Schülern*, ed. J. Auer, H. Volk, Munich 1957, pp. 697–725; Y. Congar, *Aspects ecclésiologiques dans la querelle entre mendiants et séculiers dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe et le début du XIVe siècle*, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen-âge* 28 (1961), pp. 35–151.

these clerics gave more spiritual support than elsewhere, and occasionally spent social assistance.<sup>38</sup> Rural clerics were often linked to one another through “calands”, so called because of their common prayer meetings in the calends of every month.<sup>39</sup> Charity was actually an obligatory part of priestly services in the Parish but priests scarcely practiced this assignment. They did not support the needy, even if they commemorated the deceased.<sup>40</sup>

The intention to reform the head and every part of the Roman Church soon became widespread.<sup>41</sup> Many religious orders were undergoing a renovation, according to Canon law, but all these changes seem to have been uncoordinated responses to a multitude of social problems. While several social groups preferred to blurt out their economic, legal, or political demands, the surge of spiritual reform ideals led to the emergence of new religious groups. For example, the so called, *Devotio moderna*<sup>42</sup>, was a movement characterized by personal piety<sup>43</sup> but its followers seldom tried to improve social assistance.

With regard to ecclesiastical charity, recent studies argue that its roots lie in traditions of the first Christians. Charity appeared in the Roman Church in two

<sup>38</sup> For example T., *Bruderschaften im spätmittelalterlichen Kirchenstaat: Viterbo, Orvieto, Assisi* (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 100), Tübingen 2002.

<sup>39</sup> T. Helmert, *Kalendae, Kalenden, Kalande*, Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde 26 (1980, pr. 1982), pp. 1–55; M. Priezel, *Die Kalande im südlichen Niedersachsen: Zur Entstehung und Entwicklung von Priesterbruderschaften im Spätmittelalter* (Veröffentlichungen des Max Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 117), Göttingen, 1995.; idem, *Klerikerbruderschaften, Obrigkeiten und Laien: Die niedersächsischen Kalande im späten Mittelalter*, Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte 75 (2003), pp. 87–100.

<sup>40</sup> E. Bünz, *Der niedere Klerus im spätmittelalterlichen Thüringen: Studien zu Kirchenverfassung, Klerusbesteuerung, Pfarregeistlichkeit und Pfründenmarkt im thüringischen Teil des Erzbistums Mainz*, 3 vols. in 5 parts (Thesis of Habilitation), Jena 1999.

<sup>41</sup> *Die Konzilien von Pisa (1409), Konstanz (1414–1418) und Basel (1431–1449): Institution und Personen*, ed. H. Müller, J. Helmrath (Vorträge und Forschungen 67), Ostfildern 2007; *Nach dem Basler Konzil: Die Neuregelung der Kirche zwischen Konziliarismus und monarchischem Papst (ca. 1450–1455)*, ed. J. Dendorfer, C. Märtl (Pluralisierung und Autorität 13), Berlin 2008.

<sup>42</sup> For example M. van Dijk, *How to be a good shepherd in „Devotio moderna“: the example of Johannes Brinkerinck (1359–1419)*, in: *The Pastor Bonus: Papers read at the British-Dutch Colloquium at Utrecht, 18–21 September 2002*, ed. T. Clemens, W. Janse (Dutch Review of Church History 83), Leiden 2003, pp. 139–154.

<sup>43</sup> J. Sarnowsky, *Die ständische Kritik am Deutschen Orden in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Das Preußenland als Forschungsaufgabe: Eine europäische Region in ihren geschichtlichen Bezügen*, ed. B. Jähnig, G. Michels (Einzelschriften der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung 20), Lüneburg 2000), pp. 403–422; H. Eiden, *The Social Ideology of the rebels in Suffolk and Norfolk in 1381*, in: *Von Nowgorod bis London: Studien zu Handel, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Europa. Festschrift für Stuart Jenks zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. M.-L. Heckmann, J. Röhrkasten (Nova Mediaevalia 4), Göttingen 2008, pp. 425–440.

forms: Firstly as institutional care for the poor, under the charge of the bishop, and it was financed by a quarter of the income of any ecclesiastical estate; secondly, charity had the form of good deeds, as for example, the mutual support for widows and orphans, not to forget the old and infirm, the injured and the dying – all in all a continuation of early Christian prerogatives. While organized Episcopal charity (which also applied to slaves and even to strangers) was lost to a large extent at the beginning of the 12th century, the charitable practices of some civic confraternities and local hospices were still alive. The almsgiving and social assistance of Benedictine monks, Augustinian canons and mendicant friars widely remained intact up to the end of the 15th century, and continued still afterward – all this remained to relieve the poverty.<sup>44</sup>

If we turn our attention to Christian charity as described above, we realize that Military Orders assisted the poor in a unique way. The reason why they sheltered pilgrims and administered the sick was a Benedictine tradition with roots in the New Testament: It was Christ himself who was present in every stranger in need. Hence, the Knights Hospitaller called the diseased persons often “Sire” when they received them.<sup>45</sup> Given that the Knight Brethren defended pilgrims against their pagan enemies, it was actually the model of a three tiered society that motivated them to do so. According to this model, peasants had to deal with food, clerics with prayer, and the warriors with defense.<sup>46</sup>

It cannot be overlooked that the discrepancy of Military Orders with prayers on one hand and homicide on the other was based on a longer-term apology of war via Christians.<sup>47</sup> Therefore it was a deep *caesura* when the Lithuanian great-prince (who later became the Polish king) was the person who converted to the Christian faith in 1386: The battle for Christianity and hence the justification for the existence of Teutonic Knights ceased, at this moment, to exist.<sup>48</sup> After all, the

<sup>44</sup> M.-L. Laudage, *Caritas und Memoria mittelalterlicher Bischöfe* (Münstersche Historische Forschungen 3), Cologne 1993; Heckmann, *Wohltätigkeit* (as n. 8), pp. 96–133.

<sup>45</sup> R. Hiestand, *Die Anfänge der Johanniter*, in: *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein, M. Hellmann (Vorträge und Forschungen 26), Sigmaringen 1980, pp. 31–80, at pp. 56–57, 64–80.

<sup>46</sup> O. G. Oexle, *Die funktionale Dreiteilung als Deutungsschema der sozialen Wirklichkeit im frühen und hohen Mittelalter*, in: *Ständische Gesellschaft und soziale Mobilität*, ed. W. Schulze (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs. Kolloquien 12), München 1988, pp. 19–51.

<sup>47</sup> A. P. Bronisch, *Reconquista und Heiliger Krieg: Die Deutung des Krieges im christlichen Spanien bis ins frühe 12. Jahrhundert* (Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft 2,35), Münster 1998, pp. 15–46.

<sup>48</sup> For spiritual and military elements of self-comprehension see J. Sarnowsky, *Identität und Selbstgefühl der geistlichen Ritterorden*, in: *Ständische und religiöse Identität in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. S. Kwiatkowski, J. Mallek, Toruń 1998, pp. 109–130; idem, *Das historische Selbstver-*

collapse of charity as a virtue among Christians and the demise of chivalric ideas had become imminent via the decline of Constantinople and the Turkish sieges of Vienna. The imprisonment and torture of many Christians (caused by the Turks' asymmetric warfare) had rendered chivalric imperatives obsolete.<sup>49</sup>

In short, an explicit code of conduct for the Teutonic Knights was difficult to uncover (despite many public debates inspired by the Age of Councils)<sup>50</sup>, and, as it is well known, from 1453 and onwards the letterpress began to do the rest.

### CATHOLIC STANDARDS OF CHARITY AND CHIVALRY

It is not quite clear whether it was the ancient fashion of presenting pastoral scenes and Biblical illustrations by an actual shepherd carrying a lamb on his shoulders that influenced the new code of clerical conduct which had come into being since the second tierce of the 16th century (ill. 2).<sup>51</sup> Despite plenty of hospices which were revived or newly founded by prelates, spiritual reasons for charity (and even for chivalry) were scarcely expressed at the beginning of this period.<sup>52</sup> It might

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*ständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden*, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 110 (1999), pp. 315–330; M.-L. Heckmann, *Zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit: Die Selbstsicht der Führungsgruppe des Deutschen Ordens beim Ausbruch des Dreizehnjährigen Krieges*, in: *Der Blick auf sich und die anderen: Selbst- und Fremdbild von Frauen und Männern in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. S. Prühlen, L. Kuhse, J. Sarnowsky (Nova Mediaevalia 2), Göttingen 2007, pp. 237–263.

<sup>49</sup> For consequences of Turkish warfare see J. U. Büttner und M. Feuerle, *Schilderung des Balkan 1530/1531: Edition einer bislang unbekanntenen Handschrift der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*, *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge aus den Schätzen der Herzog August Bibliothek* 13 (2005), pp. 49–147.

<sup>50</sup> H. Boockmann, *Johannes Falkenberg, der Deutsche Orden und die polnische Politik: Untersuchungen zur politischen Theorie des späteren Mittelalters. Mit einem Anhang: Die Satira des Johannes Falkenberg* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 45), Göttingen 1975; S. Kwiatkowski, *Powstanie i rozwój krzyżackiej koncepcji przywództwa religijnego w Prusach* [The Beginnings and the Development of the Concept of Religious Crusade which became authoritative for Prussia], in: *Zakon krzyżacki a spoleczestwo państwa w Prusach* [The Teutonic Knights and Statal Community at Prussia], ed. Z. H. Nowak, Toruń 1995, pp. 137–149.

<sup>51</sup> W. N. Schumacher, *Hirt und „Guter Hirte“: Studien zum Hirtenbild in der römischen Kunst vom zweiten bis zum Anfang des vierten Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Mosaiken in der Südhalle von Aquileja* (Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte, Supplementheft 34), Rome 1977; without citing A. Legner, *Der Gute Hirte* (Lukas-Bücherei zur christlichen Ikonographie 11), Düsseldorf 1959; Idem, *Hirt, Guter Hirte*, in: *LCI: Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 2, Freiburg im Breisgau 1970, S. 289–299; uncritical T. Clemens, *Searching for a good shepherd*, in: *Pastor bonus* (as n. 42), pp. 11–54.

<sup>52</sup> For example M. Fanti, *La chiesa e la Compagnia dei Poveri in Bologna: Una istituzione di mutuo soccorso nella società bolognese fra il Cinquecento e il Seicento*, Bologna 1977.

have been the patristic, canonist or monastic influences, or even the renovation of hospices and the hagiography of the day, which caused the clergy to reflect on the so called *bonus pastor*: The good shepherd close by his sheep, definitely became the favourite model for the internal improvements of the Catholic clergy since about 1535/1540.

The first Episcopal mirrors which expounded on the Good Pastor were Portuguese models. They were followed by numerous Spanish and several Italian examples, not to forget one or two cardinals from Germany, with the same prerogative. Even in France, we meet a prominent cardinal who is preaching to his flock and succouring the needy within his diocese.<sup>53</sup> Detected now, for the first time, the Portuguese Archbishop, Bartholomew dos Mártires, made full use of the “Pastoral Rule” and the “Register” of Gregory the Great when he prepared a treatise about the bishop.<sup>54</sup> The *Regula Pastoralis* of Pope Gregory the Great was printed with eleven incunabula and six or more editions during the 16th century. Dos Mártires might have known also an early Spanish translation, when he wrote his *Stimulus pastorum* in 1565. His treatise appealed to bishops of the day. It concluded with a warning to each of them against ambition, avarice and the like. Special chapters were dedicated to pagan and Christian virtues, the most important of them focused on compassion and generosity towards the needy. Besides, courage, magnanimity, and justice were virtues estimated as necessary to repel every kind of sin.<sup>55</sup> If we draw into consideration whether a person was sick or healthy, doomed to disaster or destined to survive, whether he was living through purgatory or hoping for redemption, we can conclude that Borromeo’s instructions catered for every necessary distance or proximity between both groups.

<sup>53</sup> H. Jedin, *Das Bischofsideal der Katholischen Reformation: Eine Studie über die Bischofsspiegel vornehmlich des 16. Jahrhunderts* (orig. 1942; Italian 1950; French 1953), repr. in: *Kirche des Glaubens, Kirche der Geschichte: Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Vorträge*, vol. 2, Freiburg im Breisgau 1966, pp. 75–117; Idem, *Das tridentinische Bischofsideal: Ein Literaturbericht*, *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift* 69 (1960), pp. 237–46; see also J. I. Tellecha Idígoras, *La figura ideal del obispo en las obras de Erasmo*, *Scriptorium Victorienense* 2 (1955), pp. 201–230; Idem, *El Obispo ideal en el siglo de la Reforma*, Rome 1963; H. García, *El reformismo del ‘Pastor’ de Juan Maldonado*, *Hispania sacra* 35 (1983), pp. 193–218.

<sup>54</sup> The “Regula Pastoralis” of Pope Gregory the Great was printed with eleven incunabula and six or more editions during the 16th century, among them an early Spanish translation (Diego Hernandez, 1547); *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, vol. 10, ed. Deutsche Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Stuttgart 2000, coll. 98–105, n° 11440–11449; for its influence on Flemish spirituality P. Bange, *The Good Pastor in late medieval Dutch texts*, in: *Pastor bonus* (as n. 42), pp. 128–138, at pp. 128–129.

<sup>55</sup> Bartolomeu dos Mártires, *Estímulo de pastores*, ed., transl. and comm. M. B. Pinti, A. Freire and R. de Almeida Rolo (Bartolomeu dos Mártires: Obras Completas 8, Biblioteca Verdade et Vita 13), Braga 1981, pp. 11–129 (explicit citations of Gregory I, Hieronymus and Bernhard), 130–352 (frequent use of patristic and medieval authors and the Canon law).

They were in force for lay and clergy, for men and women, for locals and strangers. In particular, if the plague struck a cleric in the course of his duty, this person was greatly respected by the faithful, and distinguished by the clergy. In such cases, the Archbishop activated the compassion of all colleagues in his province, and every priest was obliged to pray and celebrate Mass for his ill fellow. The archbishop ordered this procedure, without losing sight of his own tasks. The most important of these tasks consisted of being a loyal father and pastor to his sheep, or in other words: *Quo in officio omni ita Episcopo se geret, ut cum se eleemosynarum largitionibus, pauperum miserabiliumque hominum vere parentem pastoremque ostenderit; exemplo etiam suo non minus quam cohortationibus, omnique alio officio cæteros ad illorum sustentationem alliciat, atque inflammaret.* We appreciate that a bishop had to carry out his duties. He aimed to be a good parent and Bonus Pastor by giving alms to the poor and to every pitiable person. A personal example, is when the bishop could kindle the enthusiasm of many followers and inspire his officials to give further assistance to the poor.

The reason for this statement was derived from a principle first quoted by the Roman writer Juvenal but then revised by Gregory the Great. It said that the care for the soul should always be more important than the care for the body. Apart from considering every practical aspect, Cardinal Borromeo seems to have been earnest in leading processions and prayers, hearing confessions and doing penance as well as in giving words of strength and courage to everyone who was hit by the plague.<sup>56</sup> To conclude, this practice of social and spiritual care demonstrated a comprehensive and pragmatic system. When considering the ill and healthy, the body and soul, laymen and clerics alike, it set high standards of charity in the Catholic domain. When, for example, the plague arrived in Germany, the Jesuits reacted in a very similar way, extending their welfare even to soldiers and war victims.<sup>57</sup>

Hence, the Jesuit founder (Ignatius of Loyola) figures as our penultimate example. His main work (the “Spiritual Exercises”) expressed these ideas and had remained a key document for the Jesuit code of conduct until today.<sup>58</sup> The Papal promulgation of a renovated Jesuit practice had also a quasi chivalric tonality, calling the meditating Jesuits into a mental battle, or in other words into “the bitter contest between Christ the King and the Prince of Darkness.”<sup>59</sup> He was influenced

<sup>56</sup> *Acta ecclesie Mediolanensis*, Passau 1754, pp. 191–219, 905–914, and the citation at p. 198.

<sup>57</sup> B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, vol. 1, Freiburg im Breisgau 1907, pp. 509–524; vol. 2, Freiburg im Breisgau 1913, pp. 123–156.

<sup>58</sup> K. Ruhstorfer, *Das Prinzip ignatianischen Denkens: Zum geschichtlichen Ort der ‘Geistlichen Übungen’ des Ignatius von Loyola*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1998.

<sup>59</sup> G. Switek, ‘*In Armut predigen*’: *Untersuchungen zum Armutsgedanken bei Ignatius von Loyola* (Studien zur Theologie des geistlichen Lebens 6), Würzburg 1972, pp. 38–52, 68–82, citations



by mendicant piety, by the model of Christ as crucified king of heaven as well as by the Biblical idea of an Apostolic mission. Besides, an edict of the Emperor Charles V, the Flemish welfare reforms and the Vives' treatise on poverty helped to shape Ignatius' concept of justice and charity.<sup>60</sup> Justice and charity featured well as maxims of Juan Maldonado's "defence of the poor" when he turned theologians from laymen. This distinction demonstrates significantly, the influence of his former educator Vives.<sup>61</sup>

Meanwhile, another prominent Jesuit scholar (Petrus Canisius) professed a preference for the model of the Soldier of Christ. His concept of a bipolar spiritual welfare marked a great part of his lectures on Christian piety at Ingolstadt. In his very metaphoric letter to the Cardinal-Protector of the German Catholics, he demanded more reforms. He also referred to the Reformation as a fire lit by the devil and stoked by heretics who acted like wolves hunting the lambs of Jesus, the true shepherd. The author maintained that the German Catholics needed curing as much as those with diseased characteristics for help via an adequate physician and suitable medication.<sup>62</sup> It remains to be noted that during the 16th and 17th centuries, in particular, the care of the poor constituted one of the eight virtues which had become rules of clerical conduct. There were innumerable treatises to instruct prelates and priests on improving spiritual welfare during the Age of Catholic Renewal, not to forget numerous cross-references to forthcoming Jansenism.<sup>63</sup>

## CHIVALRY AND CHARITY AS MAXIMS OF MILITARY ORDERS

Nevertheless, it might be more enlightening to regard the Military Orders, or in other words: to answer the question in which way chivalry and charity had become a significant feature of their religious behavior statt clerical conduct from the middle of the 16th century. The following analysis will underline how the Protestant Reformation absorbed not only lower clerics and members of religious orders, but

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at pp. 70, 76; W. W. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, St. Louis 1972, pp. 5-6, 8-10, at p. 10 (citation); see also J. O'Malley, *Frühe jesuitische Spiritualität: Spanien und Italien*, in: *Geschichte der christlichen Spiritualität*, 3, ed. L. Dupré, D. E. Saliers, J. Meyendorff, Würzburg 1997, pp. 29-52, at p. 32-33.

<sup>60</sup> Switek (as n. 59), pp. 30-32, 83-123, 131-139; Vives, *De Subventione* (as n. 22), p. XXV.

<sup>61</sup> Schmitt (as n. 13), pp. 57-58, 64-66.

<sup>62</sup> E. M. Buxbaum, *Petrus Canisius und die kirchliche Erneuerung des Herzogtums Bayern (1549-1556)* (Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I. 35), Rome 1973, pp. 188-191, 287-289.

<sup>63</sup> A. Schuchart, *Der 'Pastor bonus' des Johannes Opstraet: Zur Geschichte eines pastoraltheologischen Werkes aus der Geisteswelt des Jansenismus* (Trierer theologische Studien 26), Trier 1972, pp. 1-28.

also secular princes, gentry, peasants, and civics. Most of the ecclesiastical princes stayed on the Catholic side – obviously to keep and maintain their estates.

The only German clerical landlords who converted to Protestantism were the Teutonic Knights of Prussia and Livonia, for political reasons. Other Teutonic Knights had fortunately soon attained the order's permission to take on the denomination of their respective ruler. So it came about that, under the rule of a presiding Catholic grand master, the three denominations (Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists) continued to coexist.<sup>64</sup> The Knights Hospitaller, however, diverged into two separate branches. The first branch which survived in the Catholic areas of the Continent, was called Maltese, after the Isle of Malta, where the knights had founded a new headquarter in 1530. In contrast, the Protestant branch named itself, the Order of St. John after their patron.<sup>65</sup>

Further research has yet to examine whether such noblemen invented any other social ideas than the will to ensure their own income. There are some indications that they did so.<sup>66</sup> Let us return, for this purpose, to a prominent earlier chronicler of the Teutonic Knights (Peter of Dusburg). This priest of the Order was one of the first to emphasize the equilibrium between material and spiritual arms in the middle of the 14th century.<sup>67</sup> Some decades afterwards, a well-known female author (Brigide of Sweden) contrarily spiritualized the model of the Soldier of Christ and was harshly critical of the Teutonic Order.<sup>68</sup> The Knights Brethren

<sup>64</sup> U. Arnold, ed., *800 Jahre Deutscher Orden*, Gütersloh 1990, pp. 139–143, 247.

<sup>65</sup> J. Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts: Verfassung und Verwaltung der Johanniter auf Rhodos (1421–1522)* (Vita regularis 14), Münster 2001, pp. 329–344, 469–498; for the belonging publications of Anthony Luttrell see *The Hospitallers* (as n. 16), pp. 285–303.

<sup>66</sup> Some introductory remarks by J. Riley-Smith, *Towards a History of Military-Religious Orders*, in *The Hospitallers* (as n. 16), pp. 269–284, at pp. 277–282; see also A. Williams, *From Xenodochium to Sacred Infirmary: The Changing Role of the Hospital of the Order of St John, 1522–1631*, in: *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick: Proceedings of the International Conference on the Military Orders, London 3–6 September 1992*, ed. M. Barber, vol. 1, Aldershot 1994, pp. 97–102.

<sup>67</sup> M.-L. Heckmann, *Krieg und historische Erinnerung im landesherrlichen und im städtischen Milieu des Hanseraums*, in: *Das Bild und die Wahrnehmung der Stadt und der städtischen Gesellschaft im Hanseraum im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by R. Czaja, Toruń 2004, S. 115–162, an S. 127–128.

<sup>68</sup> Sancta Birgitta, *Revelaciones* I 36; IV 55. 74. 89; VII 13, ed. C. G. Undhagen, H. Aili, B. Bergh, vol. 1, 4, 7 (Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskrift-Sällskapet, Ser. 2: Latinska Skrifter 7/1, 7/4, 7/7), Uppsala 1978; Göteborg 1992; Uppsala 1967, pp. 345–347; 178–179, 219–231, 272–274; 152–162.

and the priests, tolerated these objections, as they sought for a new program of spiritual reforms in the early 16th century.<sup>69</sup>

It is only some decades later that a dramatic reduction of priests caused Archduke Maximilian I (the presiding Grand Master of the Teutonic Order) to revise the order's statutes and found its own priest seminary at Mergentheim.<sup>70</sup> One director of this seminary (Johann Caspar Venator) included chivalric and charitable ideas as standards of clerical conduct in his chronicles. He put forward the heroic and devoted lives of the Virgin Mary and Saint George as worthy examples for the order and referred to his priests as Good Pastors. It is precisely there, that he called on the Knight Brethren to be Soldiers of Christ. Moreover, they should act as servants of the poor, whereby the Christ was presented as the pauper receiving the alms. By the way, the justly named chronicles reflected the influence of the Catholic church-historian Caesar Baronius.<sup>71</sup>

The struggle against the Turks at the same time left the Archduke with no alternative than to define even himself as a combatant Soldier of Christ (ill. 3).<sup>72</sup> His secret scribe (and the councilor in Vienna) seemed to have come to terms with the military task at hand. Jakob Schrenck von Notzing had just dedicated a metaphorical treatise on weapons to the Archduke Ferdinand II, before he addressed a lengthy history of the Teutonic Knights to Maximilian. One of these manuscripts contains sketches of the Archduke as a Teutonic Knight.<sup>73</sup> There are drawings showing a Knight Hospitaller and a Templar while further pictures denote spiritual or material weapons. All this expresses the ambiguity that characterizes each Struggle for Christ.<sup>74</sup>

To support this argument we turn our attention to the initiation rites of the

<sup>69</sup> A. Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma spiritualia. Bibliotheken: Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Orden* (Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen 47), Wiesbaden 2003, pp. 355–357; see R. Schnur, *Lazarus von Schwendi (1522–1583): Ein unerledigtes Thema der historischen Forschung*, Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung 14 (1987), pp. 27–46, at p. 46.

<sup>70</sup> B. Demel, *Das Priesterseminar des Deutschen Ordens zu Mergentheim* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 12), Bonn–Godesberg 1972, pp. 29–37.

<sup>71</sup> J. C. Venator, *Historischer Bericht vom Marianisch Deutschen Ritter-Orden deß Hospitals Unser Lieben Frauen zu Jerusalem*, Nürnberg 1680, pp. 1–10 (second pagination).

<sup>72</sup> *800 Jahre Deutscher Orden* (as n. 64), pp. 157–158; Maximilian was possibly influenced by the preaching of a contemporary Jesuit; G. Scherer, *Lob und Dank-Predigt wegen glückseliger und ritterlicher Eroberung der Hauptvestung Raab: Gehalten zu Wienn in Osterreich in der Thumb Kirchen bey S. Stephan den 2. tag Aprilis, anno 1598*, Wien, 1598, pp. 1–3; see Duhr (as n. 57), 1, p. 816.

<sup>73</sup> Jakob Schrenck von Notzing, *Die Heldenrüstkammer (Armamentarium Heroicum) Erzherzog Ferdinands II. auf Schloß Ambras bei Innsbruck*, ed. by B. Thomas, Osnabrück 1981.

<sup>74</sup> W. Irtenkauf and I. Krekler, *Die Handschriften der ehemaligen Hofbibliothek Stuttgart*, vol. 2.2, sant Wiesbaden, 1975, pp. 82–83; see *800 Jahre Deutscher Orden* (as n. 64), p. 257.

Teutonic order. These reflected the traditional bipolarity between extern diversity and intern equity, between public exclusiveness and in-house inclusion. A contemporary painting presents, for example, a single person awaiting his admission by the chapter of Brethren (ill. 4). The candidate kneels before a cross. It is put up on a table, while three other Knight Brethren – on chairs – present him with bread and water and old clothes. The commander seats himself on a low chair holding a white gown on his lap. This rite denoted the rank that the candidate would eventually acquire. It confirmed that even candidates of noble descent had to make a vow of poverty.<sup>75</sup>

As an eyewitness report narrates, the members of the Military Order were a social body in which all members were in fact noblemen, regardless of their origins. This equality was probably the reason why the admission rites were integrated into the holy mass. The adoubement ceremony reached its peak when the knighthood was conferred to the fresh knight by three blows on his helmet. These blows were administered by the Grand Master. By this, the latter validated upon the knight that he had become a nobleman, and ought not endure servitude any longer. The new knight was then fitted out with his chivalric garments before the ceremony ended with a common meal.<sup>76</sup>

Interestingly, the commander of Biesen, met another problem when he agreed to reconvert the Protestant Knight Brethren of Utrecht who was married. When he decided – under Jesuit influence – to accept marriage as a sign of chastity (a true Protestant argument), he seemed only to do so because he wished to preserve ecclesiastical estates and military manpower.<sup>77</sup>

These and other lucid examples prove that (despite the new perception of the Good Pastor) the Catholic clergy of the day, including last but not least, the Military Orders, were subject to manifold diversification, social and otherwise. To conclude, a general guideline for clerical professionalism at the Age of Catholic Renewal is problematic to find, even if chivalry and charity had become strong ideals of clerical conduct.

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<sup>75</sup> Ibidem, p. 170, see also pp. 313–314.

<sup>76</sup> J. C. Venator, *Bericht von (...) Herrn Ludwig Anton / Pfalz-Grafen bey Rhein (...) / am 10<sup>ten</sup> Decembris / Anno 1679 / in der (...) Hoch-Teutsch-Meisterischen Residenz Mergentheim vorgangem Ritterschlag / und Einkleidung / in den Hochlöblichen Teutschen Ritter-Orden*, in: Idem, *Historischer Bericht* (as n. 76), pp. 1–15 (first pagination), at pp. 8–9.; see *800 Jahre Deutscher Orden* (as n. 64), pp. 158–159.

<sup>77</sup> B. Demel, *Unbekannte Aspekte der Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, Wien 2006, pp. 9–92.

## TENDENCIES AMONG THE CLERGY AT ABOUT 1600

This article attempted to answer the general question why the clergy seems to have denied new standards of behavior around 1500, and why it needed more than a century to introduce modernized standards of conduct. It is to say: On one hand, there were a number of social changes (although a direct influence of economic, and military processes on mental attitude can scarcely be found). On the other hand, it must be emphasized that closer social contacts between higher and lower clergy, prelates and civics, were very rare in the Romance-speaking world due to rank and birth. In Germany, Switzerland, and Flanders, the situation was more complicated because clerics were split into different social groups and diverse intellectual milieus. They were dominated by a special equilibrium of secular and ecclesiastical powers. Further problems arose from the distribution and the use of ecclesiastical property, not forgetting the influence of clerical privileges and exemptions. It is difficult to identify a uniform code of conduct for lower clerics during the later Middle Ages, especially if one agrees with the theory that the promotion of authority did, in fact, encourage social stratification.

It is against this background, that the concept of social welfare as formulated by the Spaniard Juan Luis Vives, brought about some utopian ideas among clerical thinkers. Moreover, this may have predetermined the Jesuit maxims of justice and charity. This concept seems to be the transitory model to the ideal of ascetics as a mental fight. Or in other words: While Protestant internalization accompanied social stratification, the search to find terrestrial and celestial justice motivated several Jesuits to care for the poor, and to preach moderation to everybody.<sup>78</sup>

The Struggle for Christ was an ideal developed by patristic and monastic authors but it was rediscovered by Humanists and passed on to Protestant Reformers and others. Enunciating this ideal, the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus of Rotterdam, seems to have appealed to Humanists and Church reformers, to mendicants and ascetic monks, to Military Orders and Jesuit preachers alike. It was hence, successful, because it pointed out, that the Care for the Soul, and Struggle for Christ work as a spiritual challenge. Therefore, the *Enchiridion* presented an obligatory maxim for every Christian, regardless of order or rank.

At the same time Portuguese, Spanish, French and Italian clerics – if they were searching for codes of conduct – reflected into their patristic and medieval past, in particular with regard to the Struggle for Christ. Finally, it is the Good

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<sup>78</sup> For diverse concepts of spirituality see also J. Raitt, *Heilige und Sünder: Römisch-katholische und protestantische Spiritualität im 16. Jahrhundert*, in: *Geschichte der christlichen Spiritualität*, ed. Idem, B. Ginn, J. Meyendorff, Würzburg 1995, pp. 462–471, at p. 469.

Pastor, which became the well-defined ideal in the course of Catholic Renewal, whereupon Jesuit clergymen presented the missing link between Italy and Central Europe when the new ideal crossed the Alps. Albeit the *Stimulus pastorum* seems to have applied to professional procedures of the clergy only, the Good Pastor as presented by the Portuguese prelate Bartholomew dos Mártires figured from then on as a threefold ideal: – an ideal combining the mental fight as a Soldier of Christ against sin and darkness with the service to the poor; – an ideal motivating Catholic clergymen to undertake a host of measures to relieve disease and poverty but also to accentuate the care for soul and body; – and an ideal by which the two opposing elements, chivalry, and charity, might fuse together. All things considered, *Miles Christi* and Good Pastor pointed out a rule to constitute what should become a wider concept of Christian care for everyone.

To resume the main question, the Military Orders of the early modern age shared in all these trends but they didn't foster them with their own drafts. While chivalry stayed a task of noblemen, charity became a duty of Christian woman.

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## ABSTRACT

### *Pastor Bonus or Miles Christi? – Two Ideals of Clerical Conduct at the Age of Catholic Renewal*

The bipolar structure of Military Orders, with priests on one hand, and the Knights Brethren on the other, are very suitable for the comparison in alterations of religious lifestyle. The Teutonic Knights and Hospitalers are the final subjects of this consideration. Both are examined with regard to charity and chivalry. The spiritual and practical lives of the faithful had greatly changed during the Protestant Reformation, and the Catholic clergy – spurred on by the Council of Trent – began to layout new standards of conduct. Pastor Bonus and Miles Christi represent, at the Age of Catholic Renewal, the two "Leitmotive" of public debates concerning good deeds and bravery.

The Struggle for Christ was an ideal developed by patristic and monastic authors but it was rediscovered by humanists and passed on to Protestant Reformers and others. Enunciating this ideal, the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus of Rotterdam, seems to have appealed to humanists and Church reformers, to mendicants and ascetic monks, to Military Orders and Jesuit preachers alike. It was hence, successful, because it pointed out, that the Care for

the Soul, and Struggle for Christ work as a spiritual challenge. Therefore, the *Enchiridion* presented an obligatory maxim for every Christian, regardless of order or rank.

At the same time Portuguese, Spanish, French and Italian clerics – if they were searching for codes of conduct – reflected into their patristic and medieval past, in particular with regard to the Struggle for Christ. The Good Pastor as presented by the Portuguese prelate Bartholomew dos Mártires figured from then on as a threefold ideal: – an ideal combining the mental fight as a Soldier of Christ against sin and darkness with the service to the poor; – an ideal motivating Catholic clergymen to undertake a host of measures to relieve disease and poverty but also to accentuate the care for soul and body; – and an ideal by which the two opposing elements, chivalry, and charity, might fuse together. All things considered, Miles Christi and Good Pastor pointed out a rule to constitute what should become a wider concept of Christian care for everyone.

To resume the main question, the Military Orders of the early modern age shared in all these trends but they didn't foster them with their own drafts. While chivalry stayed a task of noblemen, charity became a duty of Christian women.



Ill. 1. The Soldier of Christ fighting against poverty, disease, gluttony and death; Cicero-  
ne, *De officiis*, German translation, 1565, fol. XCVI, picture citation after Andreas  
Wang, *Der ‚Miles Christianus‘ im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und seine mittelalterliche  
Tradition. Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von sprachlicher und graphischer Bildlichkeit*,  
Hamburg 1975, ill. 32.





Ill. 2. The Bonus Pastor from Sarcophagus called “The Grand Pastoral”; Vatican Museum, Inv. N 31485, ex 150, picture by Marie-Luise Heckmann, 2009, March 24.



Ill. 3. Archduke Maximilian I as Soldier for Christ, about 1600; *800 Jahre Deutscher Orden*, ed. Udo Arnold, Gütersloh 1990, p. 157, ill. III. 4.5.



Ill. 4. The Vows of a Teutonic knight brethren, about 1610/1620; *800 Jahre Deutscher Orden*, ed. Udo Arnold, Gütersloh, 1990, p. 170, ill. III. 6.1.