

Abbreviations:Printed Editions:

PL: J. P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia cursus completus, series latina*, (Paris, 1844-1864).

SAO: F. S. Schmitt (ed.), *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera*, 1-4. (Thomas Nelson: Edinburgh, 1946-1961).

SBO: J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, H. M. Rochais, *Sancti Bernardi Opera, ad fidem codicum recensuerunt*, 1-8, (Editiones Cistercienses: Romae, 1957-1977).

Works Cited:

Ad cl. de con.: Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad clericos de conversione*, SBO, 4, (1966), 69-116.

Ap. ad Gui. ab.: Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem*, SBO, 3, (1963), 81-108.

CTB 1: A. Duggan (ed.), *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1162-1170, Volume One*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 2000).

De con.: Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione ad Eugenium Papam*, SBO, 4, (1963), 393-493.

De dil. Deo: Bernard of Clairvaux, *De diligendo Deo*, SBO, 3, (1963), 119-154.

De disc. cl.: Peter of Celle, *De disciplina claustrali*, PL 202, 1097-1146B.

De gr. et lib. arb.: Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, SBO, 3, (1963), 165-203.

De pr. et disp.: Bernard of Clairvaux, *De praecepto et dispensatione*, SBO, 3, (1963), 253-294.

Ep.: Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, SBO, 7-8, (1974, 1977).

His. pon.: M. Chibnall (ed. & trans.), *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, (Nelson: London, 1956).

In Cant.: Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, SBO, 1-2 (1957, 1958).

LJS: W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke (eds.), *The Letters of John of Salisbury. Volume II: The Later Letters (1163-1180)*, (The Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1979).

LPC: J. Haseldine (ed.), *The Letters of Peter of Celle*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 2001).

Poli.: John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, PL 175, 379A-822D.

s.: Peter of Celle, *Sermones*, PL 202, 637A-926D.

Book Series:

NCMH: New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume 4 (Parts 1-2), D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (eds.), (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2004).

SICH: Studies in Church History (Oxford, 1964-)

Contents:

Preface: 6-29.

Chapter One: 30-155.

Introduction: 30-41.

Via Vitae, Sua Pietate: The Rule and the Monastic Church: 41-82.

The Dove and the Ark: Monks in the Church: 82-117.

Business in the Shadows: Bernard and False Religion: 117-141.

Monks in the Mountain: Peter of Celle and the Monastic Church: 140-155.

Chapter Two: 156-209.

In hac necessitate: John of Salisbury and the Becket Conflict: 161-190.

Doeg and Achitophel: John and the English Bishops: 191-199.

The Grieving Angels: John and Monasticism: 199-205.

Conclusion: 205-209.

Chapter Three: 210-262.

Dignus itaque ad rem tam dignam digne accede: The Becket Conflict and the Eucharist: 220-238.

The Word and the Lamb: Bernard and False Teachers: 239-253.

The Wine of Sorrow and the Bread of Grief: Bernard and the Crusade: 253-261.

Conclusion: 263-279.

Bibliography: 280-320.

Preface

Blessed are the clean of heart, for they shall see God.¹

¹ Matthew 5.8: 'Beati mundo corde: quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.'

Christian culture in the European middle ages was the product of the religious imagination.² This vibrant power has been seen at the heart of social and political organization.³ Its exercise has been linked to every part and place of medieval Christendom. *Imaginatio* and its images were at the base of religious life and contemplation. This faculty was used by monks and clerics to take hold of the unseen and sacred.⁴ The learned and the curious also placed this broad internal power at the crossroads of the intellect as the force that acted on the fruits of the senses to

² For an overview: P. Brown, "Society and the Supernatural: A Medieval Change," *Daedalus*, volume 104, number 2, (Wisdom, Revelation, and Doubt: Perspectives on the First Millennium B.C; Spring, 1975), 133-151. A. Funkenstein, *Theology and the Scientific Imagination: From the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century*, (Princeton, 1986). G. Green, *Imagining God: Theology and the Religious Imagination*, (Grand Rapids; Cambridge, 1998). M. Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition in the Middle Ages*, (2013). R. Kearney, *The Wake of Imagination*, (London, 1988), 114-152. J. le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, A. Goldhammer (trans.), (Chicago, 1988). Also, J. le Goff, *Medieval Civilization*, J. Barrow (trans.), (Oxford, 1988), 152-165. Also, A. H. Bredero, "Against Misunderstanding the Medieval Mentality," in *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, R. Bruinsma (trans.), (Grand Rapids, 1986), 53-79.

³ B. P. Davies, "Beating the Bounds between Church and State: Official Documents in the Literary Imagination," *Essays in Medieval Studies: Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association*, volume 13, (1996), 31-38. G. Duby, *G. Duby, The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, A. Goldhammer (trans.), (Chicago; London, 1980). E. Archibald, *Incest and the Medieval Imagination*, (Oxford; New York, 2001).

⁴ M. Karnes, "Marvels in the Medieval Imagination," *Speculum*, volume 90, number 2, (April, 2015), 327-365, at 328, notes that the imagination as a mental power was ceaselessly debated in the middle ages and that its nature and function remained 'matters for debate.' For the overarching frame of this discussion: H. Berger Jr., "Ecology of the Medieval Imagination: An Introductory Overview," *The Centennial Review*, volume 12, number 3, (Summer, 1968), 279-313. A. Minnis, "Medieval Imagination and Memory," in A. Minnis and I. Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, Volume 2: The Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, 2005), 237-274. For unseen laws of nature: E. Grant, "Scientific Imagination in the Middle Ages," *Perspectives on Science*, volume 12, number 4, (Winter, 2004), 394-423. E. Grant, "How Theology, Imagination, and the Spirit of Inquiry shaped Natural Philosophy in the Late Middle Ages," *History of Science*, volume 49, number 1, (2011), 89-108, esp. 101-106. L. F. Hundersmarck, "The Use of Imagination, Emotion, and the Will in a Medieval Classic: The *Meditaciones Vite Christi*," *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture*, volume 6, number 2, (Spring, 2003), 46-62. M. Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition in the Middle Ages*, 63-141.

produce knowledge.⁵ In the medieval world these were in fact two sides of the same divine consciousness. For Church thinkers the mental pictures that were created by the imagination could be used to stir pride or shame and were thus at the heart of moral instruction.⁶ Even those who feared this internal power as the source of devious phantasms did so as a result of the dire effects that could flow from its false and harmful exercise.⁷ The imagination used outside reason was the enemy of a sound religious government. But this hidden faculty was also joined to the solid mass of human experience. Images were used to bring order to the Christian world

⁵ M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Second Edition, (Cambridge, 2008), 62-68. A. Minnis, "Medieval Imagination and Memory," 239-240: 'The brain...(following a description which goes back to Galen), is divided into three small cells, the first being ymaginativa, where things which the exterior senses perceive 'are ordered and put together'; the middle chamber is called logica, where the power of estimation is master; and the third and last is memorativa, the power of remembrance, by which things which are apprehended and known by imagination and reason are held and preserved in the treasury of memory...Images thus produced are handed over to the reason, which employs them in the formation of ideas.' Minnis refers to the *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomew the Englishman (completed before 1250). Also, S. Kemp and G. J. O. Fletcher, "The Medieval Theory of the Inner Senses," *The American Journal of Psychology*, volume 106, number 4, (Winter, 1993), 559-576, at 563-564. A. Minnis, "Medieval Imagination and Memory," in A. Minnis and I. Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, 2: The Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, 2005), 237-274. N. H. Steneck, "Albert the Great on the Classification and Localization of the Internal Senses," *Isis*, volume 65, number 2, (June, 1974), 193-211, at 197. But note, T. Breyfogle, "Memory and Imagination in Augustine's Confessions," *New Blackfriars*, volume 75, number 881, (April, 1994), 210-223, at 214-217: St Augustine, still the dominant theologian in our period, did not hold a theory of imagination as we might understand it. Nonetheless, imagination – in intellect and in memory – 'filled the gaps,' and 'supplied the images,' that did not yet exist. That is, it held a mediating role.

⁶ M. Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition*, 141-179. A. Minnis, "Medieval Imagination and Memory", 240-241.

⁷ R. Kearney, *The Wake of Imagination*, 114-117. A. Minnis, "Medieval Imagination and Memory," 243-246.

and its social relationships.⁸ Duby and others have shown how this fact goes to the heart of medieval civilization. Christians in the middle ages saw the world through some of the most powerful images ever used to arrange social life and to explain the cosmos and human existence.⁹ The greatest of these was the Church itself which is in the end an image of redemption.¹⁰ This approach to the world is linked to the modern use of the term 'imagination' to describe how the contents of that world have been conceived or represented.¹¹ From this

⁸ General: G. Duby, *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages*, 132. G. Duby, *The Three Orders*, 166. E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, (Princeton, 1957). J. le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, 1-17. Particular: J. Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200-1700," *Past & Present*, number 100, (August, 1983), 29-61. W. T. Cavanaugh, "Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Social Imagination in Early Modern Europe," *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, volume 31, number 3, (2001), 585-605. C. Elwood, *The Body Broken: The Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France*, (New York; Oxford, 1999), 4-11, 13-26. M. James, "Ritual, Drama, and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town," *Past & Present*, number 98, (February, 1983), 3-29. M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge, 1991), 1-11. Also, G. Green, *Imagining God*, 49, 50, 57 etc.

⁹ E.g. M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 1. B. Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, Mass; London, 2009) 3 ff. These images applied to love, to marriage, to birth, to death, to sex, to conflict, to power, to poverty: in short, to the fullness of human life whose meaning was grasped in these images and was in that way referred to some overarching authority [e.g. the Church, or the Emperor, etc].

¹⁰ H. de Lubac, *Catholicism: Christ and the Common Destiny of Man*, L. C. Sheppard and E. Englund (trans.), (Reprint: San Francisco, 1988), 76, 147. E. Schillebeeckx, *Christ, the Sacrament of the Encounter with God*, esp. 59 ff. For a useful meditation on this theme: G. Macy, "Demythologizing "the Church" in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology*, volume 3, (1995), 23-41. Reprinted in G. Macy, *Treasures from the Storeroom: Medieval Religion and the Eucharist*, (Collegeville, Minn., 1999), 121-142.

¹¹ E.g. M. Barasch, "Despair in the Medieval Imagination," *Social Research*, volume 66, number 2 (Hope and Despair), (Summer, 1999), 565-576. Cf. J. le Goff, *Medieval Civilization*, 325: '[Medieval] mentalities, sensibilities, and attitudes were prescribed predominantly by the need for reassurance.' J. Blackmore, "Imagining the Moor in Medieval Portugal," *Diacritics*, volume 36, number 3/4 (Theories of Medieval Iberia), (Fall-Winter, 2006), 27-43. M. Cassidy-Welch, *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination, c. 1150-1400*, (Basingstoke; New York, 2011). P. Freedman, *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination*, (London, 2008). I. G. Marcus, "Jews and Christians Imagining the Other in Medieval

point of view cultural history is at once restorative and archaeological: it unearths and rebuilds the images with which societies have seen themselves.¹² This power is used to grasp the known world and to supply that which is unknown. The Christian middle ages was a time in which the plastic and creative imagination was at the centre of human culture and was used to conjure the unseen and miraculous.¹³ Here again this action was at the heart of social order and spiritual perception.¹⁴ The Christian world was moved and shaken by the dreams and lurid apparitions

Europe," *Prooftexts*, volume 15, number 3, (September, 1995), 209-226. S. Ritchey, "Spiritual Arborescence: Trees in the Medieval Christian Imagination," *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality*, volume 8, number 1, (Spring, 2008), 64-82. K. Stratton, "Imagining Power: Magic, Miracle, and the Social Context of Rabbinic Self-Representation," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, volume 73, number 2, (June, 2005), 361-393. V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, (New York, 2002).

¹² On this process: P. Biller, "Words and the Medieval Notion of Religion," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, volume 36, issue 3, (July, 1985), 351-369. J. Bossy, "Some Elementary Forms of Durkheim," *Past & Present*, volume 95, (1985), 3-18. J. Coffey and A. Chapman, "Introduction: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion," A. Chapman, J. Coffey, and B. S. Gregory (eds.), *Seeing Things Their Way*, 1-23.

¹³ R. Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages: The Wiles Lectures Given at the Queen's University of Belfast*, (Cambridge, 2008), 1-33. M. Karnes, "Marvels in the Medieval Imagination." A. Schinkel, "Imagination as a Category of History: An Essay concerning Koselleck's concepts of Erfahrungsraum and Erwartungshorizont," *History and Theory*, volume 44, number 1, (February, 2005), 42-54, at 48-52, makes the case that imagination, as the creative and mediating faculty which is essential to historical experience as well as expectation, is a quintessentially 'modern' power. The expectations that were derived from the imagination in the middle ages were fixed in communal experience and were backward-looking (50). But this confuses the power with the concept: the creative faculty in the medieval mind was ascribed rather to memory. M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 1-56, 153-195. For a practical debate on this distinction: J. Barr, "Creative Imagination and Didactic Intent in Medieval Visions of the Other World: A Response to Fritz Kemmler," *Connotations*, volume 20, number 1, (2010-2011), 1-11. F. Kemmler, "Painful Restoration: Transformations of Life and Death in Medieval Visions of the Other World," *Connotations*, volume 17, number 2/3, (2007-2008), 129-143.

¹⁴ R. Bartlett, *op. cit.* J. C. Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*, (Chicago, 1999). C. S. Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England*, (Cambridge, 2007), 1-67.

that lurked outside its borders and that were found within its Church and people.¹⁵ This was a culture in which the dead pressed upon the living and great explorers brought home stories of the strange men and weird beasts that roamed the earth. Warriors were drawn across the ocean and into Christian violence by the image of Jerusalem.¹⁶ Thus the imagination flowed into the fullness of medieval thought and experience. It stands now at the base of much modern interest and a vast modern literature. Scholars have looked for its source and streams like the explorers that we have described.

The intention of this thesis to provide a new view of the Church in the medieval imagination. It proposes to show how the imagination as a mental power and the imagination as a social force were united in the cause of Church reform in the twelfth century. It argues that our view of medieval society and culture has until now been restricted by the division that has been made

¹⁵ M. Karnes, "Marvels in the Medieval Imagination." J. le Goff, "The Marvellous in the Medieval West," in *The Medieval Imagination*, 27-47. J. le Goff, "The Medieval West and the Indian Ocean: An Oneiric Horizon," in J. le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, A. Goldhammer (trans.), (Chicago; London, 1980), 189-201. C. J. Mews, "From *Scivias* to the *Liber Divinorum Operum*: Hildegard's Apocalyptic Imagination and the Call to Reform," *The Journal of Religious History*, volume 24, number 1, (February, 2000), 44-56. Also on this theme, R. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion. Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200*, (New York, 2002), 64-142. B. E. Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, Mass; London, 2009). This culture was not of course restricted to Christian Europe. See A. Hughes, "Imagining the Divine: Ghazali on Imagination, Dreams, and Dreaming," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, volume 70, number 1, (2002), 33-53.

¹⁶ P. Alphandéry and A. Dupront, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de Croisade*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1954-1959). A. Bredero, "Jerusalem in the West," in *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, 79-105. Cf. J. le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, 12.

between the public and the private imagination. Imagination is not seen here simply as an aspect of culture or social description.¹⁷ It is viewed instead as the motive power at the heart of Christian experience.¹⁸ Conceived as the power to seize the unseen in the world the medieval imagination was used to link Christian events to a truth that was real as well as supernatural.¹⁹ This action had a pastoral function that far exceeded the moral improvement and learned (or biblical) inquiry with which it has until now been associated.²⁰ This exercise was used instead to show Christian souls how God communicated His truth in the social action and events that joined the world to His Presence.²¹ This notion was related to but was not the same as the Apocalyptic and providential sense of the created world that was at the base of medieval thought

¹⁷ G. Duby, *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages*, 132.

¹⁸ D. Headley, *Living Forms of the Imagination*, (London; New York, 2008). R. L. Hart, *Unfinished Man and the Imagination: Toward an Ontology and a Rhetoric of Revelation*, (New York, 1968).

¹⁹ W. James, *The Will to Believe*, (New York, 1956), 56-57: 'It is a fact of human nature, that men can live and die by the help of a sort of faith that goes without a single dogma or definition. The bare assurance that this natural order is not ultimate but a mere sign or vision, the external staging of a many-storied universe, in which spiritual forces have the last word and are eternal, this bare assurance is to such men enough to make life seem worth living in spite of every contrary presumption suggested by its circumstances on the natural plane.'

²⁰ P. Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, (Cambridge, 1998), 3: 'All of the elements of the empirical world are "figures" which have been invested with divinely instituted significance.' M. Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition in the Middle Ages*, 111: '[M]editation relies similarly on imagination to impel the meditant from Christ's humanity to His divinity.' J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, 5, 73 ff. J. le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, 5: 'Medieval Christianity was one long effort of internalization.'

²¹ E. Schillebeeckx, *Revelation and Theology*, N. D. Smith (trans.), (London; Melbourne, 1967), 11, 19, etc.

and enterprise.²² The eternal power that is seen here did not burst from afar on the Christian world.²³ Instead, it was the spiritual force that was seen to rest inside the material universe. It was the spiritual truth that Christ had released from an old and carnal integument. This notion of the divine has been seen until now as an aspect of Christian education. It has been viewed in relation to the Bible and as part of liturgy and the sacraments. But it has not been joined to the Church as a whole and to its historical condition. This thesis proposes to fill this gap and to show how this vision came to influence the Church and the Christian life in Europe at a time of wide and unprecedented change.

Between 1050 and 1200 the Church and the Christian world underwent a drastic transformation.²⁴

This European revolution touched all aspects of Latin thought and experience.²⁵ Social and

²² M.-D. Chenu, "Theology and the New Awareness of History," in *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, J. Taylor and L. K. Little (trans.), (Toronto; Buffalo; London, 1997), 198. R. K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (eds.), *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, (Ithaca, 1992). Cf. R. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, 60-88. Cf. D. Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 4, for the 'dialectical process' of politics and prophecy.

²³ But note, A. H. Bredero, "The Announcement of the Coming of Antichrist and the Medieval Concept of Time," *SICH 10*, 3-13, at 6.

²⁴ D. Barthélemy and S. D. White, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," *Past and Present*, number 152, (August, 1996), 196-223. R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change*, (London, 1994). T. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government*, (Princeton; Oxford, 2009). R. I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, 900-1200*, (Oxford, 2000). R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, (London, 1953), 13 ff.

²⁵ J. M. Howe, "The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church," *The American Historical Review*, volume 93, number 2, (April, 1988), 317-339. R. I. Moore, "Duby's Eleventh Century," *History*, volume 79, (1984), 36-49. R. I. Moore, "Family, Community, and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, volume 30, (1980), 49-69. R. I. Moore, *The First European Revolution*, 12

economic growth put pressure on the land and promoted urban settlement.²⁶ Fierce armies on the borders of Europe started a new phase of Christian expansion. Latin culture saw a burst of new life that has been called a rebirth or renaissance.²⁷ A continent that was once small and poor was now a forceful and optimistic domain.²⁸ The Christian power at the heart of this revival was the Church and its priesthood.²⁹ Perhaps no other area of Christian life was so invested in this general development. The tendrils of the Church reached out into each part and place of Christendom, and its power would be used to bend the new world to its purpose and advantage.³⁰ But the Church was in turn swept up in the momentous tide of this revolution.³¹ Christians across

ff. R. I. Moore, "Postscript: The Peace of God and the Social Revolution," in T. Head and R. Landes (eds.), *Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, (Ithaca; London, 1992), 308-325. T. Reuter and C. Wickham, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," *Past and Present*, number 155, (May, 1997), 177-208.

²⁶ R. Fossier, "The Rural Economy and Demographic Growth," in D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (eds.), *NCMH 4, 1*, (Cambridge, 2004), 11-47.

²⁷ E.g. C. N. L. Brooke, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance*, (London, 1969). C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, (Cambridge, Mass; London; Oxford, 1927). R. N. Swanson, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance*, (Manchester, 1999).

²⁸ K. Leyser, "The Ascent of Latin Europe," in T. Reuter (ed.), *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, (London; Rio Grande, 1994), 217-231. P. Brown, "Society and the Supernatural," 133, for 'the small emergent world of northwestern Europe.'

²⁹ C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, (Oxford, 1989). I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1990). G. Tellenbach, *Church, State, and Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, R. F. Bennett (trans), (Oxford, 1940). B. Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300*, (Toronto, 1988).

³⁰ S. Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900-1200* (Harlow, 2013). R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1970), 106-131.

³¹ G. Constable, *The Twelfth Century Reformation*, (Cambridge, 1996). For a close study of this process: J. Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and His Patrons*, (Philadelphia, 1997).

Europe demanded a religion that suited the new environment. The ancient order that ruled Europe at the start of this period was overwhelmed as a result of this desire for new forms of Christian life and an end to clerical corruption.³² This was the context in which the vision that is our theme was built and elaborated. A Christian world that had been sealed up within a hostile and alien environment was seen now to have passed into a new phase of growth and optimistic progress.³³ The Church and its people turned to Christ to explain this wide and sudden expansion.³⁴ Christians looked on the Lord whose flesh was burst open in the cross of Golgotha as a model for a world that was itself burst open in the work of the Christian cross. This opinion can be traced in the works that were used to describe Latin Christendom. It was believed to point to the truth of this world for its anxious contemporaries. It was used to describe the Christian action with which this world was transformed. This vision allows us to show in a new way the power of the Christian imagination. It illuminates the hopes and fears of those who shared in this historical enterprise. It permits us to throw new light on the Church in a period of Christian revolution. This image stands at the heart of this thesis and is the base of its original contribution.

³² J. L. Nelson, "Society, Theodicy, and the Origins of Heresy: Towards a Reassessment of the Medieval Evidence," in D. Baker (ed.), *SICH 9*, (Cambridge, 1972), 65-78.

³³ U-R. Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, 1-4, for an outline of the conflict and insecurity of the tenth century. J. Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change*, 6-10, for a discussion of the practical and psychological impact of the invasions. J. France, "War and Christendom in the Thought of Rodulfus Glaber", *Studia Monastica* 30 (1989), 105-119. G. Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, T. Reuter (trans.), (Cambridge, 1993), 1-27.

³⁴ R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 13.

The chapters that follow will range over several areas of research in pursuit of our objective. This method is bold but essential if we are to prove the thesis that we have described. Indeed, the simple fact that this is needed will show the novelty of the argument. In the absence of this approach our thesis could not be proved and would collapse. To confine it to a discrete focus would confirm the tradition that it seeks to overcome. Its internal structure and cohesion is found instead in the public and private association of the famous and prolific western clergy who stand at the base of this dissertation. Its principal subjects are the French monks Peter of Celle and Bernard of Clairvaux, as well as the learned English scholar, cleric, and later bishop, John of Salisbury. These men were linked in time and space as well as in ideas and public commitments, and so provide the text with a definite context and a firm historical foundation. Each was adept in the use of letters and written (or spoken) tracts (or sermons) to move souls and to win them to the cause of the Church and its spiritual leaders. Their success in this venture is seen above all in the literary materials that have survived to show how these men were viewed (in the clerical world) as models in this respect. The written works that they directed to this end were of high and lasting importance to the growth of the power of the Church in a period of wide and decisive change. Indeed, each shared in the fierce and varied desire for Christian reform and restoration that swept across Europe like a great tide in the years with which we are concerned. As famous lords in the Church they were able to shape this many-sided enterprise, and to harness its zeal

in the service of clerical power and the Roman obedience. For this reason the form and the content of their works must be of central importance to those who wish to explain the rise as well as the appeal of this religious movement.

However, this process has been ill-served by the studies that are directed to this literature, and that seek to explain its role in the Christian life and its power in the medieval imagination.³⁵ This is made clear above all in relation to the words with which these Christian reformers hoped to build a vision of the Church in a state of distress and spiritual decline. It is often noted that the clergy in this period used a harsh and dramatic symbolism to show the Church in a state of peril and to urge the need for penance and conversion.³⁶ That tendency was given new life at this time as a result of the many-sided revolution that broke upon Europe and that forced the clergy to face new and menacing difficulties. Christians turned to this method in order to capture the enormity of their experience. These images were drawn from the main sources of Christian life

³⁵ K. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change*, (Manchester; New York, 2005), 111 ff. A. G. Remensnyder, "Pollution, Purity, and Peace: An Aspect of Social Reform between the Late Tenth Century and 1076," in *Social Violence and Religious Response*, 280-307. I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century*, (Manchester, 1978). Also, P. Brown, "A Dark Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy," *The English Historical Review*, volume 88, number 346, (January, 1973), 1-34, for Christian images in an historical context.

³⁶ G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 125-168. A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, (London, 2004), 6.

and consciousness. The greatest of these were the Bible and the cosmos as well as the revealed truth that was found in the saints and in the form of Christian liturgy and scholarship. Letters and sermons are filled at this time with visions of ships and storm-tossed seas and a world in which sin runs like a fire over the Church and its anxious people. Christ sleeps inside the surging waves while a New Israel is punished for its offences.³⁷ Bernard and John and Peter were well versed in these poetic laments and jeremiads. Each man made an appeal to this method in his tracts and in his correspondence. But the modern view of this imagery has up to now been limited and superficial. It has focused on this method as a fictive device or as the product of a literary convention that was meant to adorn a basic reality and to fulfil a desire for erudition and refinement.³⁸ The second and related purpose of what follows is to place this Christian symbolism in a new context and to show how it came to shape the worldview that we have described.

The Christian literature that is our subject has been linked in the first place to the priesthood and its cultural milieu as well as the habits that were associated with a formal education. These images are from this point of view the literary remains of a small clerical elite who used world play to affirm their shared values and to declare their biblical learning.³⁹ This method is the mark

³⁷ See Chapter 2, 189-193.

³⁸ F. Young, "The Rhetorical Schools and their Influence on Patristic Exegesis," in R. Williams (ed.), *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick*, (Cambridge, 1988), 182-196.

³⁹ R. I. Moore, *The First European Revolution*, 121 ff.

of a self-conscious group that delighted in its spiritual cultivation, like the book clubs of high status that are found in the Late Roman Mediterranean.⁴⁰ It has also been seen as a poetic fiction as well as a rhetorical instrument, used to give form to Christian ideas and to reflect social and historical experience.⁴¹ This is based on the use of myth and fable to describe a moral or philosophical truth as well as the use of the poetic form to capture an unseen or spiritual Reality.⁴² This contrast is at the centre of Christian faith and doctrine because it corresponds to the distinction made in the Church between an abstract idea and a divine Presence.⁴³ It also gained a new force in our period as a result of the mystical and cosmological designs that were used to give new insight into the world and the human condition.⁴⁴ Masters like Alan of Lille in his *De planctu Naturae* and Bernard Silvestris in his *Cosmographia* used the poetic form to seize on the truths of human nature and the created universe.⁴⁵ Christian monks like Bernard used the riches

⁴⁰ P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography: New Edition with an Epilogue*, (Berkeley; Los Angeles, 2000), 50-54, 151-183, 256-267.

⁴¹ G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 125-168.

⁴² G. Green, *op. cit.* J. M. Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, (Oxford, 1985).

⁴³ H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis 2: The Four Senses of Scripture*, E. M. Macierowski (trans.), (Edinburgh, 2000), 90 ff.

⁴⁴ M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society*, 4-49. R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe 1*, (Oxford, 1995), 99: 'The driving force in the development of scholastic thought came from a growing demand for a full and detailed body of doctrine about the natural and supernatural worlds, which could be used for the instruction and building up of the organized life of the whole of western Christendom.' Also, at 118: 'The function of the schools was to collect, clarify and arrange the biblical interpretations of the past, just as it was their function to collect, clarify and arrange the whole body of Christian doctrine and elucidate its consequences for human behavior.'

⁴⁵ M.-D. Chenu, "Nature ou Histoire? Une controverse exégétique sur la création au XIIe siècle," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale Et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, volume 20, (1953), 25-20. W. Cizewski, "Reading the World as Scripture: Hugh of St. Victor's *De tribus diebus*," *Florilegium*, volume 9, (1987), 65-88. C. J.

of the Bible in its symbolic or allegorical mode to show how the devoted soul was joined to God in a warm and spiritual embrace.⁴⁶ Both these traditions flowed from a new religious mood as well as a new awareness of the cosmos as a system based on laws that were open to the exercise of reason.⁴⁷ The images we have described were in this context used to express divine or metaphysical truths that were known to the mind but that the ordinary word alone could not apprehend.⁴⁸ This approach to the world was linked in the first place to western monasticism and to the notion that the Word of God could be found above all in created things, an opinion that was based on the Bible and that was still at the heart of Christian exegesis.⁴⁹ For masters and

Mews, "Livre de la nature et débat trinitaire au XIIe siècle: Le "De tribus diebus" de Hugues de Saint-Victor, by Dominique Poirel," Review Article, *Speculum*, volume 79, number 1, (January, 2004), 255-257. W. Wetherbee, "Philosophy, Cosmology, and the Twelfth Century Renaissance," in P. Dronke (ed.), *A History of Twelfth Century Philosophy*, (Cambridge, 1988), 25 ff. W. Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres*, (Princeton, 1972). On the school of Chartres debate, this dissertation takes the side of R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism*, (New York, 1970), 61-86, as well as his belief that the influence of the mode of thought and writing that is associated with that school – a creative and poetical form of Platonism – is magnified, and not diminished, by its being restored to Paris and its schools.

⁴⁶ J. C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/1-1216): To Root up and to Plant*, (Indiana, 2009), 17.

⁴⁷ On the new mood: B. Bolton, *The Medieval Reformation*, 11-33. G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 296-329. R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 209-245. M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society*, 239-270. P. Harrison, "The Bible and the Emergence of Modern Science," *Science and Christian Belief* 18 (2006), 115-132. P. Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1998).

⁴⁸ What Chenu called 'the primary reality which reason could not obtain.' M.-D. Chenu, 'The Symbolist Mentality', in *Nature, Man, and Society*, pp. 99-145, at 103. Also, W. Wetherbee, "Philosophy, Cosmology, and the Twelfth Century Renaissance," 51-52.

⁴⁹ E.g. Hugh of St. Victor, *De script.*, 5, (PL 175, 13C-13D: On Christ as 'Lion'): 'Aut enim falsa est sententia, qua dixisti quod dictio ista, leo, Christum significat, aut inconueniens causa quam subjunxisti, quod ideo leo Christum significat, quia apertis oculis dormit. Non enim dictio apertis oculis dormit, sed animal ipsum quod dictio significat. Intellige igitur quod cum leo Christum significare dicit, non nomen

students it was a way to convey the fruits of Christian investigation in a pleasing style as well as a form that could be used to cloak controversial ideas.⁵⁰ For Christian monks it was a way to grasp the truth of God in His spiritual *Essentia*, and to move the soul to desire Him as well as to seize Him in the monastic discipline.⁵¹ This discourse is related in this way to the social, cultural, and intellectual environment in Europe at a time in which each of these historical areas was altered and transformed.

But these traditions do not exhaust the power of this literature in the Church and the imagination. Here again what follows will seek to make an original and distinctive contribution. This approach is based once more on the view that historical zones and activities that have been seen until now as distinct must be brought into a new and fruitful combination. The rhetoric that is our theme is seen as the product of social and cultural convention, but its purpose in these areas has been viewed as discrete and largely unconnected. The biblical ideas with which Latin writers adorned their written correspondence are not seen in the same light as the poetry with which sermons moved souls. This opinion applies to the form as well as the content of the literary mode

animalis, sed animal ipsum significatur.' P. Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, 14-15.

⁵⁰ R. W. Southern, *Platonism and the School of Chartres*, The Stenton Lecture 1978, (Reading, 1979), 21-25.

⁵¹ J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, 5.

in question. The Christian letter is rich with gnomic allusion but its nature is solid and businesslike, composed in accord with ancient custom and a source of social and historical information.⁵² The Christian sermon is also a fount of precious detail and is also constructed in accord with ancient custom but this fact is mainly incidental to its major purpose, which is to expound the truth of the Christian faith and to build the Christian religion. It is important to note that these genres were fluid and that a sermon might masquerade as a letter while a letter might also mutate into a treatise on Christian doctrine. Bernard wrote a number of works of this kind and John used a missive to outline the biblical canon while Peter often used letter-writing as a means of dogmatic speculation.⁵³ Each medium was a mode in which every kind of opinion was formed and disseminated. The connection between political and spiritual ideas has been noted in this context.⁵⁴ However, this historical link does not stand out against our claim to an original argument. It is instead an invitation to widen as well as to deepen the present state of research. Christian letters and sermons would be used in the medieval Church to communicate beliefs and ideas

⁵² R. G. Witt, "The Arts of Letter-Writing," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, Volume 2*, 68-83.

⁵³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 190, Ad Inn. Pap.*, SBO 8, 12-40. John of Salisbury, *Ep. 209, Com. Hen.*, LJS 2, 314-339. Peter of Celle, *Ep. 42, Ad Mon. C.*, LPC, 160-173.

⁵⁴ An illustration of this connection is supplied in relation to Stephen Langton, a Paris scholar who became Archbishop of Canterbury and who used his sermons as well as his letters to communicate the theological and ecclesiastical ideas he learned in the French capital. J. Baldwin, "Master Stephen Langton, Future Archbishop of Canterbury: The Paris Schools and Magna Carta" *English Historical Review*, volume 123, number 503, (August, 2008), 811-846. P. B. Roberts, "Master Stephen Langton Preaches to the People and Clergy: Sermon Texts from Twelfth Century Paris," *Traditio*, volume 36, (1980), 237-268. N. Vincent, "Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury," in L-J Bataillon, N. Bériou, G. Dahan, R. Quinto (eds.), *Étienne Langton: predicateur, bibliste, théologien*, (2010), 61 ff.

that seem at first to fall outside their basic and original function, but more must be done to show how this link came to shape the world of Christendom. These documents are not only a source of political ideas and spiritual sentiment, artefacts with which Christian doctrine was elucidated and Christian power was enforced. This literature was not used simply to communicate a social or religious abstraction. Instead, we will see how it was used to promote a collision with a Divine Presence, and so to advance the cause of the Church in Europe at a time of momentous change.⁵⁵ This function was based above all on the power of the Christian image to represent the absent and was used to show the truth of a world filled with violence and confusion. The Christian symbols that burst from the written works of this period were an instrument used to grasp the spiritual power that was seen to move across an altered landscape.⁵⁶ Bernard and Peter and John would each use this mode of literary representation to link the action of their peers in the Church to a place outside human perception, and to prove that their deeds on earth brought unseen and mystical consequences. In what follows we will see how they came to touch the very life-force of God. 'For your works do not pass away in time, but are scattered like seeds

⁵⁵ Capitalized references of this kind are meant in the thesis to refer to God in His various manifestations, in a manner consistent with the 'onto-theological' sense of God as Truth and Goodness and Being, and in order to distinguish this Christian sentiment from cloudier ideas of the unseen and supernatural. Cf. R. Kearney, *The Wake of Imagination*, 114-115. For the notion of trauma as an 'entry into the extraordinary,' D. LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, (Baltimore; London, 2001), 23.

⁵⁶ E.g. Rodulfus Glaber, *Hist. lib. quin.*, 3.4.8. Cf. T. Head and R. Landes, "Introduction," in *The Peace of God*, 11-12.

into Eternity.⁵⁷ This symbolism was thus essential and not incidental to the vision that we have described. It is revealed to us when we place this Christian literature in its proper theological context and show how its images were used to relate this tradition to a changed continent. The chapters that follow must be seen as a series of meditations on this larger theme. This supplies in its fullness a new way to see the Church in the medieval imagination.

This dissertation thus hopes in all its parts to provide a new approach to the medieval imagination, as well as the Christian literature that was used to give its symbols a solid expression. Its ultimate purpose is to link this mode and method to the Christian revolution that swept over Europe in this period and to shed new light on that formative development. The Christian vision that is our theme helps us to see how the world appeared to those who stood at the heart of the Church in this time of social and spiritual agitation, and to show in a new way how the Church came to bend that zeal to its purpose.⁵⁸ It proposes in other words to offer a new view of the twelfth century reform movement, as a product of the hopes and fears of those who shared in this dramatic adventure.⁵⁹ This conviction is based at every point on the

⁵⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad cl. de con.*, 8.16, SBO 3, 90: 'Nec enim opera nostra transeunt, ut videntur; sed temporalia quaeque velut aeternitatis semina iaciuntur.'

⁵⁸ For a different view of this process, R. I. Moore, *The First European Revolution*, 79-111.

⁵⁹ 'Reform' is taken here to mean 'change'. That is, the action taken by a class of people – however competitive or variegated – to change the world or to bend it to their purpose. I refer to a tendency, a sentiment, a motion. The close debate over the precise nature of reform does not concern us here.

idea of the Christian imagination as a power that inspires action and the sustains that action once it has been initiated.

This tradition and its spiritual potency was based on the motive force of the Christian imagination.

The inward power that is our theme allowed the Christian mind to comprehend the hidden truth of the world and to use this vision to promote a mystical encounter, between those who viewed this image and the *Veritas* this image communicated. The image was in this case the ground on which God and Christian souls collided: in the world as in the mind this clash was meant to bring forth an unseen essence.⁶⁰ This notion would place the image at the heart of social and pastoral enterprise. But its purpose in this context would exceed the cultural and the representational.⁶¹ It was instead the power that allowed the mind to seize the supernatural truth that was offered to it in a world that was marked by growth and reformation. It was the force that helped the soul to enact the *capax Dei* that it possessed.⁶² This power did not precede and

⁶⁰ John of Salisbury, *Poli.*, 7.8 (PL 199: 653B-653C): ‘Cum vero virtus sola beatum faciat, ad thronum ejus, sumpta occasione, ex traditionibus doctorum per varios calles ascendere conati sunt. Stoicus enim ut rerum contemptum doceat, in mortis meditatione versatur. Peripateticus in inquisitione veri volutatur: in voluptatibus Epicurus: et licet ad unum tendant, varias sententias, quasi vias beatitudinis auditoribus suis aperiant. De quibus dubitare et quaerere liberum est, *donec ex collatione propositorum, quasi ex quadam rationum collisione, veritas illucescat.*’ (My emphasis).

⁶¹ E.g. G. Duby, *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages*, 132. Cf. J. le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, 1-17.

⁶² H. de Lubac, *The Mystery of the Supernatural*, R. Sheed (trans.), (New York, 2013), 110, 139: ‘For the moment it is enough to know that there is something in man, a certain capacity for the infinite, which

nor was it added to social and religious experience. This action was not closed up in the mind or in the church and its observance. It reached out instead for the call of God that was heard in a world transformed. For this reason it may be said to have guided the course of that transformation. It affirms in actual events the belief that Fr. de Lubac has superbly described:

‘How could one take the supernatural gift to be an element which would simply complete nature?...How could nature require it? By what title? It does not need it for its natural completion. No obligation can arise in it in regard to a reality which is absolutely beyond it. The supernatural is not owed to nature; it is nature which, if it is to obey God’s plan, owes itself to the supernatural if that supernatural is offered to it...’⁶³

To confirm this point of view what follows is split into two sections that are nonetheless connected. The intention of this division is to explain our method and to show its distribution. The first section will relate our chosen image to the growth of the new monasticism. It argues that this event was seen not as an historical but as a mystical restoration. The harsh monastic Rule that was revived in the Church at this time was associated with the passion that had freed

makes it impossible to consider him one of those beings whose whole nature and destiny are inscribed within the cosmos,’ at 110.

⁶³ H. de Lubac, *The Mystery of the Supernatural*, 94.

the truth of God from an Old and carnal Testament. The subject of this long section is the great Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux. In his sermons and letters Bernard offered this vision of the world to Christendom, and hoped to draw fallen souls out of a carnal mass and into spiritual freedom. This represents a new view not only of monastic life at this time but also exegesis. What has until now been seen above all as a learned method and a cultural practice will be shown in this way to stand at the heart of the Church in a time of transformation.

The second chapter will show how this image would reach out into alternative environments. The theme of this section will be the English church during the Becket controversy. Its chosen subject is the Christian scholar (and later bishop) John of Salisbury. This chapter will show how John used the image of Christ in His passion and resurrection to seize the unseen truth that was shown to faith in a Church crippled by violence. He used this terrible image of God to link the pastoral duty of the English priesthood to His life or death in the Church and so to move his friends and foes to repentance. At the heart of this vision was the notion of acute human need – or *necessitas* – that was at this time the subject of revived interest in Latin Christian scholarship. This notion has been seen until now in relation to moral and modal philosophy, and to the growth of canon law that took place across the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But it was also used to describe the captive state that had surrounded the soul as a result of the

original sin and that was broken in God's crucifixion. John used this term to convey the state of the Church during the Becket controversy. He did so in order to show how Christ had died where His love was extinguished. But he also did so in order to affirm the miracle that took place in that dissolution. By a wonderful paradox Christ had stooped in death into the harsh imprisonment that had closed over the Church as a result of king Henry II's ambitious designs. The images John used to describe the conflict in his letters relayed this circumstance. They were meant to show how even defeat for the Church would end in victory. This vision was in the end meant to prove that the Church shared in eternal redemption.

In the closing chapter we will see how the Church in this period was viewed as a sacrament. It presents a new version of the old relation between the Church and the Eucharist. The Eucharist was at the heart of the Church at this time and its spiritual environment. The Eucharist was also a vision in which the Christian world was comprehended. This section will build on these ideas to provide a new vision of the Eucharist as an image in which the growth of a new Christian order in Europe was conceived. This Christian event was presented as a chance to enter into virtuous communion with the Lord who was held to abide in the union of souls that advocated renewal. This opinion was based on the fierce debate on the nature of the Christian sacraments that took place in the schools at this time and that involved each of our protagonists. Devotion

and unease in relation to the Mass and the miracle of transubstantiation found a new outlet in those who saw the work of reform as a Christian sacrifice. This chapter will show how this vision was related to Becket and Latin scholarship, as well as to the great event that would be known in time as the Second Crusade. Each of these Christian events was seen in relation to the Mass and the Eucharist. This image could be used to exhort virtuous souls to share in a Christian enterprise, and to attack those who shared in this Christian action while in sin or disobedience. The notion of the Church as Christ and its trial as His death meet in this connection. In the vision of the Church as an offering to God they are united and combined.

The footnotes have been enlarged in form and content where a wider debate is important but has been omitted from the main text in order to protect its central argument. In the absence of this method the thesis would dissolve in a series of digressions. Latin translations of the primary texts as well as the Bible are mine, unless a printed version of the text in English is so close to mine that a division seems unnecessary. However, this applies only to Bible texts with which the thesis has been illustrated. The translation is literal apart from where the sense would otherwise be impoverished. The original text is supplied in the places I have made this editorial judgement. The Christian genre that is our theme is of course allusive as well as metaphorical. It is intended

to move the heart away from the letter and into spiritual freedom. Should the reader find fault with my chosen words I beg the same indulgence.

Chapter One:

And I saw a strong angel declare with a loud voice:

“Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?”⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Apocalypse 5.2: ‘Et vidi angelum fortem, praedicantem voce magna: Quis est dignus aperire librum, et solvere signacula ejus?’

Exegesis in the middle ages has been seen as a biblical method and a cultural practice.⁶⁵ Its influence on the Church has been seen as a function of this action and enterprise.⁶⁶ This essential

⁶⁵ The literature on exegesis is vast. For what follows I have found especially useful: R. Berndt (ed.), *Bibel und Exegese in der Abtei Saint-Victor zu Paris: Form und Function eines Grundtextes im europäischen Rahmen*, (Münster, 2009). S. Boynton and D. Reilly (eds.), *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Medieval Christianity*, (New York, 2011). G. E. Caspary, *Politics and Exegesis: Origen and the Two Swords*, (Los Angeles; London, 1979). M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, J. Taylor and L. K. Little (trans.), (Reprinted Toronto; Buffalo; London, 1997), 99-162. M. L. Colish, "Psalterium Scholasticorum: Peter Lombard and the Emergence of Scholastic Psalms Exegesis," *Speculum*, volume 67, number 3, (July, 1992), 531-548. R. Copeland and P. T. Struck (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2010). M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307*, Second Edition, (Oxford, 1993). G. Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval, XIe-XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1999). J. Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, (Notre Dame, 1956). J. Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers*, (London, 1960). H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, E. M. Macierowski and M. Sebanc (trans.), (Grand Rapids; Edinburgh, 2000-). H. de Lubac, *History and Spirit: The Understanding of Scripture according to Origen*, A. E. Nash (trans.), (San Francisco, 2007). E. D. English (ed.), *Reading and Wisdom: The De Doctrina Christiana of Augustine in the Middle Ages*, (University of Notre Dame Press: Notre Dame; London, 1995). G. R. Evans, *Old Arts and New Theology: The Beginnings of Theology as an Academic Discipline*, (Oxford, 1980). R. Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion, Marian Exegesis, and the Historical Sense of the Song of Songs," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, volume 27, (1996), 85-116. J. de Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique du xiiie siècle*, (Bruges, 1948). F. T. Harkins, *Reading and the Work of Restoration: History and Scripture in the Theology of Hugh of St. Victor*, (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies: Toronto, 2009). F. T. Harkins and F. van Liere (eds.), *Interpretation of Scripture: Theory. A Selection of Works of Hugh, Andrew, Richard, and Godfrey of St Victor, and of Robert Melun*, Victorine Texts in Translation: Exegesis, Theology, and Spirituality from the Abbey of St Victor 3, (Turnhout, 2013). P. Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, (Cambridge, 1998). T. J. Heffernan and T. E. Burman (eds.), *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 123, (Leiden; Boston, 2005). A. J. Hingst, *The Written World: Past and Place in the Work of Orderic Vitalis*, (Notre Dame, 2009). E. Jager, *The Tempter's Voice: Language and the Fall in Medieval Literature*, (Ithaca; London, 1993). G. W. H. Lampe (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible 2: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, (Cambridge, 1969). J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, Third Edition, (New York, 1982). G. Macy, "Some Examples of the Influence of Exegesis on the Theology of the Eucharist in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, volume 52, (1985), 64-77. R. Marsden and E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible 2: From 600 to 1450*, (Cambridge, 2011). J. D. McAuliffe, B. D. Walfish, and J. W. Goering, *With Reverence for the Word: Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity,*

fact has not changed since interest in this theme was regenerated over half a century ago by the work of Smalley, de Lubac and de Ghellinck.⁶⁷ Modern research in this context has moved from a limited and original emphasis on Christian ideas into a wider view of the Bible at the centre of Christian experience.⁶⁸ Medieval exegesis was not restricted to the exercise of formal interpretation.⁶⁹ The Bible at this time was at the heart of western thought and achievement. The Christian rite was based on the Bible and Christian art and architecture were filled with biblical

and Islam, (Oxford, 2003). C. Ocker, "Medieval Exegesis and the Origin of Hermeneutics," *Scottish Journal of Theology*, volume 52, issue 3, (August, 1999), 328-345. P. Riché and G. Lobrichon (eds.), *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1984). B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Third Edition, (London, 1983). B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, (Princeton; Guildford, 1983). B. Stock, "Toward Interpretive Pluralism: Literary History and the History of Reading," *New Literary History*, volume 39, number 3, (Summer, 2008), 389-413. F. van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible*, (Cambridge, 2014). I. van't Spijker (ed.), *The Multiple Meaning of Scripture: The Role of Exegesis in Early-Christian and Medieval Culture*, (Leiden, 2009). K. Walsh and D. Wood, "The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley," *SICH 4*, (Oxford, 1985). R. Williams, *The Edge of Words: God and the Habits of Language*, (Bloomsbury: London, 2014). F. M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, (Cambridge, 1997).

⁶⁶ I.e. Exegesis as part of Christian education and spiritual formation. E.g. Harkins, *Reading and the Work of Restoration*, 11 ff, 86 ff etc. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, 191 ff. Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, notes the integration of Christian exegesis and Christian *praxis* in the ancient Church (Harkins carries this into the middle ages). But the question remains: 'the crucial function of the Bible in the formation of Christian culture,' 5. Also, 28 (Exegesis and right doctrine).

⁶⁷ For a review of this process, F. van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible*, 1-19. Also, R. W. Southern, "Beryl Smalley and the Place of the Bible in Medieval Studies, 1927-1984," in K. Walsh and D. Wood (eds.), *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, *SICH 4*, (Oxford, 1985), 1-16.

⁶⁸ S. Boynton and D. Reilly (eds.), *The Practice of the Bible*, is at once a tribute to Beryl Smalley ['The study of the Bible'] and a proof that modern research has moved away from 'ideas' history to a focus on context and method.

⁶⁹ D. L. Goodwin, "Herbert of Bosham and the Horizons of Twelfth Century Exegesis," *Traditio*, volume 58, (2003), 133 ff.

tropes that were meant to instruct the Christian people.⁷⁰ The *Verbum Dei* flowed from the Bible into public cult and private observance.⁷¹ The monastic life was built round the Bible and the words that it contained.⁷² Natural science and learned inquiry were the product of scriptural exegesis.⁷³ Every aspect of Christian life was joined in some way to the Bible and its exposition.

Though debate on this topic has grown wide and deep it is not complete or comprehensive. Each year some new aspect of this theme is pointed out and elaborated. The richness of modern research shows that much remains to be understood. It confirms that Scripture is indeed the mind in which the Church has been developed.⁷⁴ In this relation the present chapter seeks to make a new and original contribution. It proposes to show the practice of exegesis in a new context and

⁷⁰ E. Saxon, *The Eucharist in Romanesque France: Iconography and Theology*, (2006), esp. 64-113.

⁷¹ S. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125*, (Ithaca, 2006).

⁷² S. Boynton, "Performative Exegesis in the Fleury *Interfectio Puerorum*," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, volume 29, (1998), 39-61. S. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125*, (Ithaca, 2006). J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*. D. Robertson, *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading*, (Collegeville, 2011).

⁷³ M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society*, . P. Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, 3, 14, 15, 29 etc. R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe, volume 1: Foundations*, (Oxford, 1995), 3-4, 118: 'The function of the schools was to collect, clarify, and arrange the biblical interpretations of the past...'. R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe, 2: The Heroic Age*, (Oxford, 2001), 4.

⁷⁴ John Henry Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, (Aylesbury: Reprint, 1974), 336-337: 'The divines of the Church are in every age engaged in regulating themselves by Scripture, appealing to Scripture in proof of their conclusions, and exhorting and teaching in the thoughts and language of Scripture. Scripture may be said to be the medium in which the mind of the Church has energized and developed.'

environment. This context is the zone of Christian action that we outlined in the introduction. It is the Church *in der Welt* at a time of radical change and transformation.⁷⁵ In what follows we will see how the Church was related to a hermeneutical vision drawn from the Bible in a period of Christian contest and social upheaval. We will see how this Christian vision was used across Europe to comprehend the divine truth that had been shown to faithful souls in a time of reformation. This belief would inspire as well as endorse the austere religious movements that have been seen as the motive force in the Church at this point of revolution.⁷⁶ For this reason the vision at the base of this chapter held a wide importance in Europe at this time as a source and motive for social and spiritual renovation.⁷⁷ Exegesis is found in this way at the heart of the twelfth century reformation.

The Christian vision that is our theme in what follows was at the base of medieval exegesis. It is indeed a vision that has moved the Christian Church since its foundation. This image is the

⁷⁵ Preface, 13-15.

⁷⁶ B. Bolton, *The Medieval Reformation*, 17-54. G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 1-44.

⁷⁷ For *renovatio* in this period: R. L. Benson, "Political *Renovatio*: Two Models from Antiquity," in R. L. Benson, G. Constable, and C. D. Lanham (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, (Toronto; Buffalo; London, 1982), 339-386. G. Constable, "Renewal and Reform in the Religious Life: Concepts and Realities," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, 37-67. G. B. Ladner, "Gregory the Great and Gregory VII: A Comparison of their Concepts of Renewal," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, volume 4, (1973), 1-27. Also, K. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change*, (Manchester; New York, 2005), 111 ff.

Letter and the Spirit seen as a tool of biblical interpretation.⁷⁸ The Church in the ancient world used this image to express the essential contrast between what was human and carnal and what was divine and supernatural.⁷⁹ This intuition was applied in turn to all aspects of thought and experience. It pertained in the first place to the written word and its internal understanding. But this was not the only matter that this division was used to represent. Christians linked this image to every mode of life where this contrast obtained. It depicted what was known to the senses and what was outside human perception. It described the human soul and the mass of flesh with which it was surrounded. However, this image was used above all in relation to biblical interpretation. Letter and Spirit were terms used to describe the Old and New Testaments. The contrast that this image implied was mystical as well as moral and historical. The Old covenant had preceded the New covenant in time and moral excellence. The predictions of the Torah found in the Gospel their end and consummation.⁸⁰ But the translation from Old to New was also a spiritual transformation.⁸¹ The revelation of God was not the result only of an historical progression. Christ had pointed out the path to a truth that was unseen and everlasting.⁸² He was indeed the gift in whom the world and the Spirit had been combined.

⁷⁸ E.g. H. de Lubac, *History and Spirit: The Understanding of Scripture according to Origen*, A. E. Nash (trans.), (San Francisco, 2007).

⁷⁹ Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacr. scr.*, 5, (PL 175, 13A-15A)

⁸⁰ Matthew 1.21-25.

⁸¹ H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis 2*, 98-99.

⁸² H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis 2*, 94-96.

This famous biblical image has been seen until now as an aspect of Christian culture and education.⁸³ It is restricted to the fields of formal study and moral or doctrinal instruction.⁸⁴ The Letter could be seen as the foundation stone of the house of Scripture. The Christian reader would raise on this base a more robust and spiritual structure.⁸⁵ Monks and masters used the notion of the Letter and the Spirit to determine the basic form of the Bible and to guide their inquiry into nature and the universe.⁸⁶ This distinction is in each case a pattern with which a hidden truth is apprehended. The purpose of what follows is to show the power of this vision in a new environment. It is to prove that it was linked to the social and political world of Latin Christendom.

The passion of Christ was the event at the heart of this change and its spiritual achievement. Christ had proved that He was the Word of God in His death and resurrection. He had shown to the Church and its people a truth that had once been concealed. The image of the Letter and

⁸³ F. T. Harkins, *Reading and the Work of Restoration*, 13 ff. Grover A. Zinn, "Historia fundamentum est: The role of History in the Contemplative Life according to Hugh of St. Victor", in *Contemporary Reflections on the Medieval Christian Tradition: Essays in Honor of Ray C. Petry* George H Shriver (ed) (Durham, NC, 1974), pp. 135-158.

⁸⁴ F. T. Harkins and F. van Liere (eds.), *Interpretation of Scripture*, 207.

⁸⁵ Hugh of St. Victor, *Er. Did.*, 6.2.

⁸⁶ P. Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, 3 ff.

the Spirit was used to denote this Gospel revelation. The Letter was seen as a carnal mass that had closed round the supernatural truth of God and that had hidden this truth from the soul and human perception. The Letter with which the truth had been sealed was also used to comprehend the moral and social state of the human race as a result of the Original Sin.⁸⁷ The human couple who had lived in the Garden were blessed with an unmediated vision of the Lord who had made them to serve Him and to complete His creation. However, God had ended this vision as a result of sin and its dreadful punishment. The human soul was now trapped in its sins and doomed to toil in the darkness. Buried now in the gloom the soul came to forget the beauty of its original condition.⁸⁸ Christ was seen as a lamp that was lit in the world and that had illuminated the soul to see its true state as well as to find in His blood the path to deliverance.⁸⁹

The process used to illustrate this fact will be the growth at this time of a new monasticism.⁹⁰

This expansion is one of the great works of this period of Christian revolution. Few events at this

⁸⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 57.3.8, SBO 2, 124.

⁸⁸ See below, 126 ff.

⁸⁹ E.g. Anselm of Canterbury, *Med. red. hum.*, SAO, 90: 'O bone, O dimine Christe Iesu, sic posito nec petenti nec opinanti ut sol mihi illuxisti, et mihi quomodo eram ostendisti.'

⁹⁰ For an overview: B. Bolton, *The Medieval Reformation*, 33-54. A. H. Bredero, "Cistercians and Cluniacs," in *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, 130-151. G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 1-125. P. G. Jestice, *Wayward Monks and the Religious Revolution of the Eleventh Century*, (Leiden; New York; Köln, 1997). D. Knowles, *Christian Monasticism*, 66-97. C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, Third Edition, (Harlow, 2001), 146-205. L. K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, (Ithaca; New York, 1976), 59-171. G. Melville, *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life: Its History*

time have so gripped the modern and romantic imagination. Our admiration for this movement was shared by its medieval contemporaries. The monastic revival that took place in Europe flowed from the emphatic desire to renew the world that is found across the west in this turbulent period.⁹¹ The new monasticism and its ideals touched every aspect of this many-sided enterprise.⁹²

To observe its progress is to move to the heart of the medieval reformation. However, the new houses are not chosen here just because they were influential. The monastic revival has been chosen instead because its success was understood in relation to the Christian vision that stands at the base of the present argument. The success of this mode of life in the world as well as its ferocious discipline would each be seen as a work of the cross that had opened the Flesh to the Spirit.⁹³ In combination with the biblical culture that we have described this comprehensive vision was used to impress on Christian society the power of the new monasteries. It was meant to show how these Christian men had freed a divine presence that had been buried over time under

and Forms of Life, 89-192. G. Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, T. Reuter (trans.), (Cambridge, 1993), 91-185. J. van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, Publications of the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies 18, (Berkeley, 1983).

⁹¹ N. F. Cantor, "The Crisis of Western Monasticism, 1050-1130," *The American Historical Review*, volume 66, number 1, (October, 1960), 47-67. G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 296-329.

⁹² G. Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, 101-105. For space: A. Jotischky, "Monastic Reform and the Geography of Christendom: Experience, Observation, and Influence," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 22, (December, 2012), 58-74.

⁹³ For discipline in this relation: H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis* 1, 15-24. Also, J. Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)*, The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine, (Chicago; London, 1978), 118 ff., and 129: 'Discipline, even "the discipline of Jesus," was a term for the effects of Christ upon the life and behavior of believers.'

a mass of carnal habit and now stood revealed.⁹⁴ This provides a new and important view of this form of life and its early achievement.

To prove this point of view our chapter is based on the great abbot Bernard of Clairvaux.⁹⁵ There are abundant reasons to choose Bernard in this context and connection. This little monk was at that time one of the most powerful men in Christendom. Bernard stood both in fact and in idea at the base of Cistercian monasticism during the years in which this order was in the full bloom of its development.⁹⁶ Between 1115 and 1153 the number of white houses surged and multiplied, and Cistercian literature moved to the heart of western devotion and spirituality.⁹⁷ Over 300 new churches were laid down in the years with which we are concerned.⁹⁸ Bernard in his letters and in his sermons lent a decisive force to this achievement. His powerful words poured over Europe

⁹⁴ E.g. Augustine of Hippo, *sermo 352.1.6*, (PL 39, 1555): ‘Adhuc enim nubilabatur quod praenuntiabatur: adhuc occultabatur quod promittebatur. Iam modo recessit nubes, manifestatae veritatis serenitas facta est: quia recessit et velum, per quod loquebatur Moyses. Hoc velum et in templo pendeat, ne secreta templi viderentur: sed in cruce Domini velum concisum est, ut paterent.’

⁹⁵ On Bernard, A. H. Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux: Between Cult and History*, (Edinburgh, 1996). G. R. Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, (New York; Oxford, 2000). G. R. Evans, *The Mind of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, (New York, 1983). E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St Bernard*, A. H. C. Downes (trans.), (New York, 1940). B. P. McGuire (ed.), *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux*, (Leiden, 2011). B. P. McGuire, *The Difficult Saint: Bernard of Clairvaux and His Tradition*, Cistercian Studies Series 126, (Kalamazoo, 1991). M. B. Pranger, *Bernard of Clairvaux and the Shape of Monastic Thought*, (New York, 1994).

⁹⁶ For this dichotomy: L. J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality*, (Kent Ohio, 1977).

⁹⁷ Bernard founded Clairvaux in 1115. He died in 1153. R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 212-229.

⁹⁸ C. N. L. Brooke, *The Age of the Cloister*, 10.

in a torrent of inspiring eloquence. The greatest lords of the Christian west were included in his correspondence. His homilies on the Canticle are one of the glories of this brilliant period. Those who heard him speak could claim that he was filled with the voice of God. Modern scholars have from time to time thrown cold water on this eager admiration. Bernard would not hold in life the power with which he was later associated. The dramatic extent of his fame was in part the creation of his contemporaries, and in part of those in his order who were charged with his remembrance.⁹⁹ Bernard owed his position to his own qualities but also to his prodigious capacity to express a religious ideal that was shared by Christians across Europe.¹⁰⁰ He was indeed a mirror as well as a motive force of this age of transformation.¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, his influence was great enough for us to draw conclusions from his work that might also be applied to the Church and society more generally. His opinion on the Church would carry much weight with the Latin authorities. The letters and other writings in which he chose to record this opinion contained images that were meant to move his audience to carry out his religious objectives. Bernard was also a tribune of the new orders and their many-sided expansion.¹⁰² His personal actions were joined at every point to a wider Christian enterprise. The vision that is our theme came in this

⁹⁹ A. H. Bredero, *Between Cult and History*, 16-23, 141-194.

¹⁰⁰ G. Melville, *Medieval Monasticism*, 153: '[Bernard] epitomized a way of life that was attractive because it resonated with the time and met contemporary needs.' G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 326: 'Bernard of Clairvaux was the great master of late medieval and early modern piety.' R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 217-221.

¹⁰¹ B. Bolton, *The Medieval Reformation*, 44-45.

¹⁰² B. Bolton, *The Medieval Reformation*, 27.

way to hold a more general importance. In microcosm and macrocosm Bernard allows us to make an original contribution.

*Via Vitae, Sua Pietate.*¹⁰³

The Rule and the Monastic Church

Bernard in his book *On loving God* would affirm the vision at the base of this argument.¹⁰⁴ He showed here how the soul was united with the truth that Christ had announced.¹⁰⁵ For him this truth was the love that was found in His Cross and crucifixion.¹⁰⁶ Bernard would set out his views on this matter as part of a spiritual progression. He wrote that the soul would grow in love for God by a fourfold movement.¹⁰⁷ It passed from selfish love to the divine union that was also a

¹⁰³ *Reg. S. Ben.*, pr: 'Ecce pietate sua demonstrat nobis Dominus viam vitae.'

¹⁰⁴ The text was written between 1126 and 1141 (the dates when Cardinal Haimeric, to whom it was dedicated, held his office). SBO 3, 10. On this text, M. Casey, "In Pursuit of Ecstasy: Reflections on Bernard of Clairvaux's *De diligendo Deo*," *Monastic Studies* 16, (Christmas 1985), 139-156. E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, which is a series of lectures on the themes that Bernard set out in this 'fundamental text' (143). E. Stiegman, "An Analytical Commentary," in R. Walton (trans.), *On Loving God, with an Analytical Commentary by Emero Stiegman*, (Kalamazoo, 1995), 45-197.

¹⁰⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De dil. Deo*, 2.3, 2.5, 3, 7, 4.12, 7.17, 7.22 etc.

¹⁰⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De dil. Deo*, 3.7., SBO 3, 124: 'Contra quod plane fideles norunt, quam omnino necessarium habeant Iesum, et hunc crucifixum: dum admirantes et amplexantes supereminentem scientiae caritatem in ipso...' 1 Corinthians 2.2. Ephesians 3.19. Bernard refers to Christ as the Word of love that is the Highest Truth of all. E.g. E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, 22-23.

¹⁰⁷ E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, 37, 245.

mystical absorption.¹⁰⁸ For the abbot divine love (*caritas*) was the virtue at the heart of this incorporation.¹⁰⁹ Bernard saw divine love as a power of the soul that Christ had liberated.¹¹⁰ The soul as a result of sin was not free to love God or to keep His commandments.¹¹¹ It was buried under the sins it had piled up in greed and selfishness. It was caught in the net it had made for itself from lust and base corruption. This burden had been lifted when God came to earth and died and was resurrected. Christ had shown the soul how to love as well as the power of its redemption.¹¹² He moved the soul to seek the grace that His death on the Cross had revealed.

The power of this image in the Church at this time was as wide as it was controversial.¹¹³ It would remain in this period a source of dispute as well as collaboration.¹¹⁴ Christians would engage in fierce debate on the passion and the atonement, and the nature of the soul was now

¹⁰⁸ E. Stiegman, "An Analytical Commentary," 125-127.

¹⁰⁹ On this power: E. Gilson, *The Christian Philosophy of St. Augustine*, L. E. M. Lynch (trans), (London, 1961), 130. S. Grabowski, "The Role of Charity in the Mystical Body of Christ according to Saint Augustine," *Revue des études augustiniennes*, volume 3, number 1, (1957), 29-63. A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros: A Study of the Christian Idea of Love*, (London, 1941), 127. Also, H. Feiss, "General Introduction," in H. Feiss (ed.), *On Love: A Selection of Works of Hugh, Adam, Achard, Richard, and Godfrey of St Victor*, Victorine Texts in Translation 2, (New City Press: New York, 2012), 33-113. F. Harkins, *Reading and the Work of Restoration*, 254-296.

¹¹⁰ E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, 54-62.

¹¹¹ See below, 126 ff.

¹¹² M. T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life*, (Oxford, 1997), 286-287.

¹¹³ J. Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology*. 127-130.

¹¹⁴ M.-D. Chenu, "The Masters of the Theological 'Science'," in *Nature, Man, and Society*, 276, 286, on quarrels over the nature of Christ.

a point of precise and formal speculation. Bernard shared in this process with his little treatise *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, as well as his contest with master Peter Abelard on the doctrine of redemption.¹¹⁵ This image was also a motive force in the Church and the new monasticism. It became the idea round which the monastic life was built and elaborated. In Paris the school of St Victor and its masters based a wide and comprehensive mode of study on the fallen soul and its need for moral and spiritual restoration.¹¹⁶ A Christian life fixed on the Bible would renew the soul in the love of its Redeemer.¹¹⁷ To read the Bible was to find the Word in whom the ruined soul was repaired.¹¹⁸ This famous model was carried across the Latin west by its students and admirers, but St Victor had given new form to an idea that was old within monasticism.¹¹⁹ The

¹¹⁵ B. McGinn, "Introduction," in D. O'Donovan (trans.), *On Grace and Free Choice (De gratia et libero arbitrio)*, by Bernard of Clairvaux, (Kalamazoo, 1977), 6-14, 38-50. Also, B. P. McGuire, "Bernard's Life and Works: A Review," in B. P. McGuire (ed.), *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux*, (Leiden, 2011), 38.

¹¹⁶ F. T. Harkins, *Reading and the Work of Restoration*, 1-12,

¹¹⁷ F. T. Harkins, "*Lectio exhortatio debet esse: Reading as a Way of Life at the Twelfth Century Abbey of St. Victor*," in E. A. Mather and L. Smith (eds.), *From Knowledge to Beatitude: St. Victor, Twelfth Century Scholars, and Beyond*, (Notre Dame, 2013), 103-131, esp., 104-111. F. T. Harkins, *Reading and the Work of Restoration*, 12.

¹¹⁸ Hugh of St. Victor, *Didasc.*, 2.1. F. T. Harkins and F van Liere, "General Introduction," in *Interpretation of Scripture: Theory*, 33: '[Hugh of St Victor's] program of ordered reading in the liberal arts and in Scripture has as its goal to re-order the human reader himself following the damning ontological dis-order (sic) caused by the fall into sin, ignorance, and inordinate desire. The reading program that Hugh sets forth in the *Didascalicon*, therefore, is ultimately restorative or salvific.'

¹¹⁹ H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, 1, 24-25. For England: R. M. Thomson, "The English Reception of the Writings of Hugh of St. Victor," in *Bibel und Exegese in der Abtei Saint-Victor zu Paris*, 527-537, for Master Laurence of Durham and the circle which surrounded him, and was responsible for 'publicizing' Hugh's writings in that country (532). There were Victorine houses at Bristol, Wigmore, and Wormsley. St. Albans – the great southern abbey – was 'close' to St Victor (533). In relation to Hugh's writings and their entry into England, 'most' roads seem to lead there (537).

Christian monk hoped to re-build what was lost in the Fall from Paradise. This desire stood at the base of the monastic church and its religious observance.¹²⁰ Here both word and deed were filled with God as part of a rite and discipline that placed the sacred page at the heart of the work of prayer and Christian meditation.¹²¹ *Lectio divina* joined the soul to the divine Word in a solemn form of devotion that was seen to lead the monk to God and out of this world of greed and bitterness.¹²² The coarse regime that was used to control the body shared in this pious liberation. The Rule would clean the soul and free it to love God in a state of righteousness.¹²³

¹²⁰ The devastation of the Fall and the return to life in Christ lies behind the Rule of Benedict itself. E.g. 7.5 ff. This connection had been made more explicit in the twelfth century. E.g. Peter of Celle, *De disc. cl.*, 5, (PL 202, 1108A-1108D): 'Natura humana, sive libertas arbitrii, in praevaricatione originali viribus, bonitate naturali, summpere debilitata, ex quo de ventre matris homo egreditur, indiget disciplina pedetentim tanquam remedialibus suffragiis reparari... induruerat nimia veteratione et insufficienti curatione morbus; nec curatio fraterna liberabat aegrotantem, qui exspectabat Dominum Salvatorem, quatenus Dominus liberaret servum, et Salvator aegrum. Praemisit Salvator iste disciplinam tanquam virgam Moysi, sed sibi retinuit virgam virtutis suae in cruce, in qua fuso sanguine tela ignea nequissimi diaboli exstinxit, et ab omni febre infirmum suum sanavit.'

¹²¹ J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, 71 ff. Also, F. T. Harkins, "*Lectio exhortatio debet esse*," 108: Monasticism, as a *philosophia*, was based on the early Christian view that a religious discipline meant a life lived 'in obedience to the commands of the incarnate *Logos*.' Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 83.1.2-3, SBO 2, 299: 'Iam animae reditus, conversio eius ad Verbum, reformandae per ipsum, conformandae ipsi. In quo? In caritate. Ait enim: ESTOTE IMITATORES DEI, SICUT FILII CARISSIMI, ET AMBULATE IN DILECTIONE, SICUT ET CHRISTUS DILEXIT VOS. Talis conformitas maritat Verbo, cum cui videlicet similis est per naturam, similem nihilominus ipsi se exhibit per voluntatem, diligens sicut dilecta est. Ergo si perfecte diligit, nupsit. Quid hac conformitate iucundius? Quid optabilius caritate, qua fit ut, humano magisterio non contenta, per temet, O anima, fiducialiter accedes ad Verbum, Verbo constanter inhaereas, Verbum familiariter percuncteris de omni re...' This in relation to the monastery as the *schola caritatis*. E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, 60 ff.

¹²² See now, D. Robertson, *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading*, (Collegeville, Minn., 2011).

¹²³ *Reg. S. Ben.*, pr. 8 ff. E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, 98.

This attitude to the fallen soul is well known to modern students of medieval monasticism. The vision that is our chosen theme has been seen until now in this connection. It is viewed as an aspect of doctrine as well as monastic culture and religion. For this reason it has been detached from what we have called the *Ecclesia animata*. Placed in the context of the monastic life as a religious culture and a mode of spirituality, the force of this image in the Church is diffuse and indirect not solid and immediate. Its influence in the wider Church is seen as a function of a previous enterprise. Cult and dogma are seen to flow out into the judicial and pastoral institutions on which the Church is built as well as the spiritual climate in which it has developed. This transfer is often posited in relation to the period with which we are concerned. New interest in the soul would lead to a new system of penance and confession, and an intimate piety that filled the Church with warmth as well as perturbation.¹²⁴ God's death was praised above all as the pledge of His freely given affection.¹²⁵ This opinion was shared by those who are otherwise noted for their differences. Bernard related the inward desire of the soul to an act of passionate

¹²⁴ For this intense and introspective piety: P. Brown, "Society and the Supernatural: A Medieval Change," *Wisdom, Revelation, and Doubt: Perspectives on the First Millennium B. C., Daedalus*, volume 104, number 2, (Spring, 1975), 133-151. C. W. Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?", *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, volume 31, issue 2, (January, 1980), 1-17 (which confirms the link between this form of devotion and the outward structures in which it was embodied – the great genius of medieval Christianity). C. Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050-1200*, (New York, 1973). R. W. Southern, "Medieval Humanism," *Medieval Humanism and other studies*, (New York, 1970), 29-60. R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 219-257.

¹²⁵ E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 22.3.7, SBO 1, 133. Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology*, 129-131.

communion. The fruit picked from the Tree of Life represented for him the human affection which had been changed by the power of Christ into the food of spiritual charity.¹²⁶ He imagined the substitution of one love for another as an example of transubstantiation.¹²⁷ This potent vision was based on the view of charity we have described. The motion of the heart was directed by God away from base or carnal affections, and was moved by Christ away from the world in pursuit of an eternal objective.¹²⁸ Bernard referred this mystical exchange to the Paschal sacrifice of the Eucharist. In the Word of God the vile affection of the mind had acquired a new substance. In the labour of the cross the fallen soul had gained a new taste and colour.¹²⁹ Finally, the burden

¹²⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De dil. Deo.*, 3.7, SBO 3, 125: 'Haec sunt quippe mala punica, quae in hortum introducta dilecti sponsa carpit ex lingo vitae, a caelesti pane proprium mutuata saporem, colorem a sanguine Christi. Videt deinde [i.e. in caritate] mortem mortuam, et mortis auctorem triumphatum.'

¹²⁷ J. Goering, "The Invention of Transubstantiation," *Traditio*, volume 46, (1991), 147-170. G. Macy, "The 'Dogma of Transubstantiation' in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, volume 45, (1994), 11-41. Reprinted in G. Macy, *Treasures from the Storeroom: Medieval Religion and the Eucharist*, (Collegeville, 1999), 81-121. J. Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology*, 268, for the classical view.

¹²⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 20.5.6. (SBO 1), 118-119: 'Et nota amorem cordis quodammodo esse carnalem, quod magis erga carnem Christi, et quae in carne Christus gessit vel iussit, cor humanum afficiat. Nihil audit libentius, nihil legit studiosius, nihil frequentius recolit, nihil suavius meditatur...Adstat oranti Hominis Dei sacra imago, aut nascentis, aut lactentis, aut docentis, aut morientis, aut resurgentis, aut ascendentis: *et quidquid tale occurrerit, vel stringat necesse est animum in amore virtutum, vel carnis exturbet vitia, fuget illecebras, desideria sedet. Hanc ego arbitror praecipuam invisibili Deo fuisse causam, quod voluit in carne videri et cum hominibus homo conversari, ut carnalium videlicet, qui nisi carnaliter amare non poterant, cunctas primo ad suae carnis salutarem amorem affectiones retraheret, atque ita graditim ad amorem perduceret spiritualem.*' (My emphasis). On Bernard's view of carnal love as the first grade in the ascent to spiritual union, E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St Bernard*, 41-46.

¹²⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De dil. Deo.*, 10. 28, SBO 3, 143 : 'O pura et defaecata intentio voluntatis, eo certe defaecatior et purior, quo in ea de proprio nil iam admixtum relinquitur...Sic affici, deificari est. Quomodo stilla aquae modica, multo infusa vino, deficere a se tota videtur, dum et saporem vini induit et colorem...'

of human sin was dissolved in the power of Christian freedom.¹³⁰ Thus the image of the passion had by turns drawn the soul into spiritual happiness. From the initial encounter with Christ the heart came to know its future redemption. For Bernard this freedom was not only a mystery but was profoundly supernatural. It rested in the divine love found in God and above all in His human torment, and was present to the heart moved to seize Christ by the image of His immolation. The abbot viewed this unseen progress in the first place as an interior movement. It was conducted in the soul drawn to God by the love of the crucified Redeemer. This sustains the famous view of Bernard as the high priest of wordless contemplation. It is how this famous work has until now been presented in modern historiography.¹³¹ But the ideal recorded by the abbot also pertained to monastic observance. It was embodied in the harsh routine he followed in the house of holy Clairvaux. The idea that the vision of the passion drew fallen souls out of carnal confinement and into the love of God assumed a stark and visual form in the new monasteries, whose inmates claimed to have restored the Church and the Rule of Benedict.¹³²

¹³⁰ E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *De dil. Deo*, 9.26, SBO 3, 140: 'At si frequens ingruerit tribulatio, ob quam et frequens ad Deum conversio fiat, et a Deo aequae frequens liberatio consequatur, nonne, etsi fuerit ferreum pectus vel cor lapideum toties liberati, emolliri necesse est ad gratiam liberantis, quatenus Deum homo diligat, non propter se tantum, sed et propter ipsum?' Also, Bernard of Clairvaux, *De dil. Deo.*, 13.36. Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 83.2.4, SBO 3, 300: 'Servilis est timor, quamdiu ab amore non manumittitur.'

¹³¹ E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St Bernard*, 36 ff. E. Stiegman, "An Analytical Commentary," in E. Stiegman (trans.), *Bernard of Clairvaux. On Loving God: An Analytical Commentary*, (Kalamzoo, 1995), 45-197.

¹³² W. E. Goodrich, "The Cistercian Founders and the Rule: Some Reconsiderations," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, volume 35, Issue 3, (July, 1984), 358-375.

A mournful proof of this opinion is found in letters Bernard sent to Thomas of Beverley (a house in Yorkshire), a priest who vowed to adopt the regular life but had not entered the monastery.¹³³

The abbot urged Thomas to redeem his great vow without delay or deferment, before death could negate his promise and he was barred forever from heaven. But Thomas did not heed Bernard and died before he made solemn profession. Undeterred, the abbot turned this sad episode into a means of Christian instruction. For this reason his letters may be seen as an instance of the genre of *exempla*. Bernard used the priest to show the moral lesson of his unfinished conversion.¹³⁴ Later, he would remind his friends of the tragic case of Thomas of Beverley, who had not fulfilled his vow to God and had been thrown into His Judgement.¹³⁵ Better to endure the pain of worldly solitude ahead of an eternal punishment. He knew that 'every sacrament of union is also a sacrament of separation.'¹³⁶ To recount this tale is to show how it carried a wide and

¹³³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 107*, SBO 7, 267-276. The note by Leclercq/Rochais: 'In hac vero tota salutis oeconomia profundissime describitur,' 267.

¹³⁴ S. O. Sønnesyn, *Words Incarnate: History, Ethics, and the Epistemology of Exempla*, (unpublished). I am grateful to Dr Sønnesyn for access to this paper and to the many other kindnesses he has shown me during the preparation of this manuscript.

¹³⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 108.3, ad Th. de S. Aud., 3*, SBO 7, 278-279: 'Heu, heu, videris mihi uno spiritu ambulare, sicut et uno censeri nomine, cum altero illo Thoma, olim scilicet praeposito de Beverla, qui cum se similiter nostro Ordini et nostrae domui toto desiderio devovisset, coepit induciari, et ita paulatim refrigescere, donec, subita et horrenda morte praeruptus, factus de medio est saecularis et praevaricator, et duplo filius gehennae: quod ab eo, si fieri potest, avertat miserator et misericors Dominus. Exstat epistola, quam ad eum frustra scripsi...' Matthew 23.15.

¹³⁶ T. Merton, *No Man is an Island*, (London, 1955), 71.

forceful influence, in relation to a written *corpus* meant to draw souls to the power of monasticism.¹³⁷ But our interest is focused on the words Bernard used in his correspondence to express the view that the Rule was the source of mystical revelation. The abbot assured Thomas he had been shown a ‘great and secret counsel’:¹³⁸ he meant here the secret power of election to the saints known as predestination.¹³⁹ But Bernard did not view this spiritual fact only in relation to providence. For him this truth was not a point of dogma which was mainly eschatological. He meant instead the divine power that was found in monastic observance. This power was the love of God the monk had freed from hostile confinement. It was the union with Christ found in the body now bruised and blackened.¹⁴⁰ For the abbot this action shared in the Lord whose sacrifice

¹³⁷ Bernard's epistles enjoyed a vast popularity. The letters are preserved in some 400 manuscripts: 'ce qui constitue un nombre fort élevé,' (SBO 7), 2.

¹³⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 108, ad Th. pr. de Bev., 4*, SBO 7, 270: 'Magnum secretumque innotuit consilium. NOVIT DOMINUS QUI SUNT EIUS.' 2 Timothy 2.19.

¹³⁹ E.g. above: Novit Dominus qui sunt Eius. J. Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology*, 80-98, 271-277.

¹⁴⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 25.6, SBO 1, 166: 'Audi denique quid per Prophetam Deus promittat istiusmodi nigris, quos aut humilitas paenitentiae, aut caritatis zelus, tamquam solis aestus, decolorasse videtur: SI FUERINT, ait, PECCATA VESTRA UT COCCINUM, QUASI NIX DEALBABUNTUR; ET SI FUERINT RUBRA QUASI VERMICULUS, VELUT LANA ALBA ERUNT...Candida proinde Pauli anima erat, et sapientia sedebat in ea, ita ut sapientiam loqueretur inter perfectos, *sapientiam in mysterio absconditam, quam nemo principum mundi huius agnovit.*' (My emphasis – wisdom hidden in mystery, that is, the Word of God, bound with the soul, and revealed in the crucified Body which unveils this Truth). Isaiah 1.18. On the essential link between humility and truth in Bernard's thought (and monastic ideal): J. W. Koterski, "The Epistemology of Bernard of Clairvaux: Humility and Freedom for Truth," *Proceedings of the PMR Conference 8*, (1983), 47-52. On this theme, D. Appleby, "'Beautiful on the Cross, Beautiful in His Torments," The Place of the Body in the Thought of Paschasius Radbertus," *Traditio*, volume 60, (2005), 1-46. My approach to Bernard's exegesis differs from that of K. F. Morrison, "Hermeneutics and Enigma: Bernard of Clairvaux's *De consideratione*," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, volume 19, (1988), 129-151. Morrison locates the growth of understanding in the *affectus* that is moved to reach out for God

it had reproduced: this routine he viewed as the death in which God's mercy was announced.¹⁴¹

Bernard looked on the Rule as the cross in which His truth was emancipated from the chains of sin with which it was bound before the Gospel incarnation.¹⁴² This opinion was not restricted to the idea of Jesus Christ as a moral example: He came to the Church not only as a model of virtue and spiritual instruction.¹⁴³ The Benedictine rule was also the source of a new and mystical consciousness. The Rule was the work in which the love of God was known and apprehended.¹⁴⁴

in the fear and then the love promoted by the inscrutable nature of His doings (Morrison's 'enigma': 'insoluble, inexplicable, and bottomless as an abyss,' 150). However, the source of this motion is still in the spiritual emotion produced by the written text (in this case *De consideratione*). Our image shows how it was also stimulated by the monk and the Rule that he followed.

¹⁴¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 114.2*, SBO 7, 292: 'At vero nunc per Dei misericordiam incipis reviviscere, non peccato, sed justitiae, non saeculo, sed Christo, sciens qui et saeculo vivere mors est, et in Christo etiam mori vita. BEATI nemp MORTUI QUI IN DOMINO MORIUNTUR.' Phillipians 1.22.

¹⁴² I.e. in relation to the knowledge of the world (in which the mind has not passed into and beyond the purifying death of God): Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 108.2, ad. Th. de S. Aud.*, SBO 7, 278: 'Sed, quaeso te, quod memoriale virtutis, quae laus disciplinae, quis scientiae profectus, vel artis fructus, trepidare timore ubi non est timor, et timorem Domini derelinquere? Quam salubris disceres lesum, et hunc crucifixum, quam utique scientiam haud facile, nisi qui mundo crucifixus erit (in regula sancti Benedicti – mine), apprehendit. Falleris, fili, falleris, si te putas invenire apud mundi magistros, quam soli Christi discipuli, id est mundi contemptores, Dei munere assequuntur. Nec enim hanc lectio docet, sed unctio, *non littera, sed spiritus* (i.e. the Gospel truth of God, contrasted here with the literal inquiry of the *magistri mundi*); non eruditio, sed exercitatio in mandatis Domini.' 1 Corinthians 2.2. Also, Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad cl. de conv.*, 12.24, SBO 4, 97: 'Ex hoc' – i.e. a life of sorrow and pain – 'sane suspiciat per foramen, prospiciat per cancellos, praeduce[m] radium pio sequatur obtutu, et Magorum sedulus imitator, lumen lumine quaerat. Inveniet enim locum tabernaculi admirabilis, ubi panem angelorum manducet homo; inveniet paradisum voluptatis plantatum a Domino; inveniet hortum floridum et amoenissum...' Song 5.4, 2.9. Matthew 2.1. Psalm 41.5. *Viz* the abbey and its discipline as a Paradise, or Jerusalem. E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 114.1, ad sanct.*, SBO 7, 291-292: 'Magnum est mihi gaudium, quod te ad verum et perfectum gaudium velle tendere comperi, quod non est terra, sed de caelo, id est non de hac convalle plorationis, *sed de illa quam fluminis impetus laetificat civitate Dei.*' My emphasis. Psalm 83.7. Psalm 45.5.

¹⁴³ Also, M.-D. Chenu, "The Evangelical Awakening," in *Nature, Man, and Society*, 239-269.

¹⁴⁴ E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *De pra. et dis.*, 17.54. I. P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c. 1100-1330*, (Cambridge, 2012), 60-61.

The essence of the Rule was not only in the power of Christian discipline: its ethical force was but one aspect of its appeal to faith and the imagination.¹⁴⁵ The deeds with which the power of the flesh was reduced and abbreviated were also viewed as a portal into a *Veritas* at once unseen and supernatural.¹⁴⁶ The Christian who nailed his flesh to God was made clean and transparent to the Word who filled his soul and flowed out of his sorrow and mortification:

'How then this shaggy-haired likeness to Esau? Where do these hairs come from, and who holds this creased and hideous image? *They are mine*. For these hairy hands show my likeness to sinful men. I claim these hairs as my own, and in this hairy skin I shall see God my Saviour...'¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ G. Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious Life and Thought*, (Cambridge, 1995), 185-188. P. Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault*, A. L. Davidson (ed.), M. Chase (trans.), (Oxford, 1995).

¹⁴⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 22.3.7, SBO 1, 133: 'Addidit quoque sancte inter peccatores vivere, et sic tradere formam vitae, tamquam viae qua redires ad patriam. [Enim] in omnem terram exivit odor vitae, quoniam misericordia Domini plena est terra, et miserationes eius super omnia opera eius,' 133. Psalm 18.5. II Corinthians 2.16. Psalm 32.5. Psalm 144.9.

¹⁴⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 28.1.2, SBO 1, 194: 'Unde nunc ad instar Esau pilosus et hispidus? Cuiusnam rugosa et tetra imago haec, et unde hi pili? Mei sunt: nam pilosae manus similitudinem exprimunt peccatoris. Meos agnosco hos pilos: et in pelle mea videbo Deum Salvatorum meum,' 194. Genesis 27.11. Genesis 27.23. Job 19.26.

The truth of God was not shown to human sight but was seized in Christian compassion.¹⁴⁸ The monk's bleak and beaten flesh would inspire the mind to contemplate the divine power which was made known in Jesus Christ and His immolation.¹⁴⁹ From there it would be drawn to the spiritual union the monk had announced. For this reason our chosen vision was at the base of monastic conversion.¹⁵⁰ But this power at the heart of the monastic life was above all

¹⁴⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 31.2.4, SBO 1, 221: 'Sed est divina inspectio eo differentior ab his,' – i.e. from the historical proof of God – 'quo interior, cum per seipsum dignatur invisere Deus animam quaerentem se, quae tamen ad quarendum toto se desiderio et amore devovit.' Lamentations 3.25. Bernard enumerates two different ways of seeing God. But while the contemplative vision was of a different order to the vision known to carnal eyes, the love that Christ promoted in His death, which was the visitation of His grace to the earth, was at the centre of each encounter. This notion continued to obtain in Christian exegesis well into the thirteenth century. J. R. Ginther, "*Laudat sensum et significationem*: Robert Grosseteste on the Four Senses of Scripture," in *With Reverence for the Word*, 242: 'The goal of biblical exegesis is to interpret the closed book in order to increase the reader's faith and love.'

¹⁴⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad Th. de Bev.*, 8, SBO 7, 273: 'Amavit, inquam, amavit. Habes enim dilectionis pignus Spiritum, habes et testem fidelem Iesum, ET HUNC CRUCIFIXUM.' Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 11.3.8, SBO 1, 59: 'Haec (i.e. Christ's sufferings) meditamini, in his versamini. Talibus odoramentis refovet viscera vestra' etc. Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 34.3.4, SBO 1, 247: 'LIBENTER, inquit, GLORIABOR IN INFIRMITATIBUS MEIS, UT INHABITET IN ME VIRTUS CHRISTI...nisi et gratiam accipiat tamquam sponte humiliatus.' 2 Corinthians 12.9. This was a common view in monastic culture: Hugh of St. Victor, *De scrip. et scrip. sac.*, 5, (PL 14D-15A): Teste namque Apostolo, *quod carnale est, prius est, deinde quod spirituale* (I Cor. XV). Et ipsa Dei sapientia, nisi prius corporaliter cognita fuisset, nunquam lippientis mentis acies ad illam spiritualiter contemplandam illuminari potuisset. Noli igitur in verbo Dei despiciere humilitatem, quia per humilitatem, illuminaris ad divinitatem. Quasi lutum tibi videtur totum hoc quod verbum Dei foris habet, et ideo forte pedibus conculcas, quia lutum est, et contemnis quod corporaliter et visibiliter gestum littera narrat. Sed audi: luto isto quod pedibus tuis conculcatur, caeci oculus ad videndum illuminatur.' B. P. Gaybba, "The Characteristics of Monastic Theology," in *Aspects of the Mediaeval History of Theology*, (Pretoria, 1988), 7-57, at 32-35.

¹⁵⁰ For the same view in a different context: C. J. Mews, "From *Scivias* to the *Liber Divinorum Operum*: Hildegard's Apocalyptic Imagination and the Call to Reform," 56: 'Hildegard concludes the *Book of Divine Works* by referring back to the frailty of her own body, which she sees as weak and frail, animated only by the Holy Spirit to give instruction to the Church.' I have not had time to take Hildegard into account here, but there is no doubt that the prophetic aspect of this witness was essential and was linked in part to mystics like the abbess (and her contemporary Elisabeth of Schönau).

hermeneutical. To prove this was the case we must return to the point raised in our introduction. The image was used at this time to express a reality that was unseen and supernatural. This was its central role in public debate at a time of change and revolution. The Christian image was used to join the soul with God in a mystical encounter. This collision could be used to advance the interests of the Church and its priesthood. The letters Bernard sent to Thomas must be placed in this larger perspective. Bernard in these letters did not seek to depict an inward and moral condition that was distant from the Word of God and from the work of mystical revelation. The Christian soul was for him a sign in which a deeper mystery was concealed: the *Verbum* who glowed hot in the mind and was found in this unseen sacrament. Christian faith was indeed viewed at this time as a *mysterium in sacramento*. *Fides* was seen as the grace-filled sign of the Lord in whom it also participated. This opinion was held by Hugh of St Victor and others with whom Bernard corresponded.¹⁵¹ That this Truth was found in faith did not make it less real or extraordinary. It reflected a new devotion to God in His humanity across western Europe. The sacrifice to which it was related was at the centre of the Christian imagination.

From this point of view the Rule shared in the living power of the passion and the incarnation. This provides a new view of its appeal to Christian faith and the imagination. Christ was alive in

¹⁵¹ For Bernard's letter to Hugh on the subject of Baptism, *Ep. 77, Ad Mag. Hug. de San. Vic.*, SBO 7, 184-200.

the Rule and this provoked a desire to enter monasticism.¹⁵² This motion must be seen in relation to the biblical culture and hermeneutic which was known to the monks and carried out in the western monasteries.¹⁵³ The carnal mass which had buried the soul was like the biblical integument which had sealed up the truth of Christ until the passion and the resurrection. Bernard related this view in vibrant terms in his famous sermon *On Conversion*. The soul was buried in weeds and sealed in a house of 'filth and wretchedness.'¹⁵⁴ But this fence could not block out the Lord to whom all was transparent:

'A barrier of stones cannot shut out the rays of the Sun who made them; nor can the walls of this body close out the gaze of truth. For all is laid bare in His eyes, which are sharper than a two-edged sword...Nothing is covered up that will not be revealed, or hidden that will not be known. The works of darkness, once they have come to light, will be confounded by the light...'¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 98.5, Ad ign.*, SBO 7, 251: 'Vitae iam in carne manifestae mortem'.

¹⁵³ See pp. 43-48 above.

¹⁵⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad cl. de con.*, 7.12, SBO 3, 86: 'Hoc quoque consilium pietatis, ut qui sibi displicet, placeat Deo, qui propriam domum [i.e. anima] odit, domum utique plenam spurcitiae et infelicitatis...'

¹⁵⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad cl. de con.*, SBO 3, 91-92: 'Non illius Solis arcet radios maceria lapidum, quos ipse creavit; non vel ipse corporis hujus paries veritatis excludit aspectum. Nulla sunt ejus oculis omnia, penetrabilior est ancipiti gladio...Nihil opertum quod non reveletur, vel occultum quod non sciatur. Arguentur a luce in lucem prolata opera tenebrarum...'

This mantle was made from sins which massed up in life and were revealed in Judgement. But Christian faith holds that the Doom of God is always-already anticipated: the Lord had once and for all time freed the soul from death and condemnation.¹⁵⁶ This eternal path would remain open in the Church and in her sacraments. From there the blood of God flowed onto faithful souls until the Consummation. But in the monastic church this Christian power was fiercely concentrated. For Bernard the Spirit of God and the blood of His cross were ceaselessly active in the Rule which cleaned the soul and restored its original brightness.¹⁵⁷ The Cistercian house was the school of divine love in which the adamantine bonds of flesh were cleared away and

¹⁵⁶ John 17. 1-5: 'Haec locutus est Jesus: et sublevatis oculis in caelum, dixit: Pater, venit hora: clarifica Filium tuum, ut Filius tuus clarificet te: sicut dedisti ei potestatem omnis carnis, ut omne, quod dedisti ei, det eis vitam aeternam. Haec est autem vita aeterna: ut cognoscant te, solum Deum verum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum. Ego te clarificavi super terram : opus consummavi, quod dedisti mihi ut faciam : et nunc clarifica me tu, Pater, apud te ipsum, claritate quam habui, prius quam mundus esset, apud te.' John of Salisbury, Ep. 187, LJS 2: 'Semel locutus est Deus et id ipsum secundo non repetit; nec ad eruditionem uiuorum suscitatur mortuos, cum in ecclesia praesentes sint Moyses et prophetae ut audiantur et doceant populum,' 246. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament, I*, (London, 1983), 306. J. le Goff, "Merchant's Time and Church's Time in the Middle Ages," in *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, 29-43. R. Koselleck and M. Richter, "Crisis," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, volume 67, number 2, (April, 2006), 360. K. Rahner, "Priest and Poet," in *Theological Foundations* (3), 294: The End of Things 'has already come upon us' in Scripture and the Christ. Thus, 'our highest possibilities are not merely empty postulates and abstract ideals. *They have already begun to exist.*' (My emphasis).

¹⁵⁷ Clairvaux was the *schola Christi*. Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 107, *Ad Th. de Bev.*, SBO 7, 9, 273-274. Also, Peter of Celle, *De disc. cl.*, 6 (PL 202, 1108D): 'Vicarium itaque suae crucis claustrum constituit, ut sicut disciplina pacis nostrae in corpore suo super lignum crucis fuit, sic nos extra saecularia castra exeuntes ad claustrum improprium ejus portemus, et tanquam filii juxta sapientissimi Salomonis consilium, disciplinam ejus apprehendamus: FILII, inquit Salomon, APPREHENDE DISCIPLINAM PATRIS ET NE DIMITTAS LEGEM MATRIS TUAE...' Proverbs 6.20. E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, 63 ff.

the *caritas* of Christ was demonstrated. This was the unseen truth which the moral status of the soul communicated. The notion that God was present to the mind in the soul was Augustinian, but would in this period receive new interest and new forms of development.¹⁵⁸ This belief has been linked to monastic culture and mystical consciousness: the search for the image of God was at the heart of ascetic contemplation.¹⁵⁹ In famous lectures Etienne Gilson would show how this school was understood by the Cistercian *ordo* above all as a place of moral and spiritual restoration.¹⁶⁰ The Rule united the flesh and the soul in the quest for blessed perfection.¹⁶¹ Thus the main purpose of that school has been seen as internal communion with the Lord who was found in the soul that was made new by monastic observance.¹⁶² Divine vision was limited to the soul and was a matter of interior comprehension. Bernard was indeed an eloquent advocate of this ideal and perspective. For him the divine union of Word and soul was outside material perception.¹⁶³ However, the product of this inner motion was not only curative but exegetical. The Christian action that revived the love of God also moved the soul to apprehend the spiritual

¹⁵⁸ M. Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition*, 65-75.

¹⁵⁹ F. T. Harkins, "*Lectio exhortatio debet esse*," 115-118.

¹⁶⁰ E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, 60-85.

¹⁶¹ E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, 62, 64, 67 etc.

¹⁶² Also, F. T. Harkins, *Reading and the Work of Restoration*, 5-6 etc.

¹⁶³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 31.2.6, SBO 1, 223: 'Vide autem tu, ne quid nos in hac Verbi animaque commixtione corporeum seu imaginarium sentire existemes. Id loquimur quod Apostolus dicit, quoniam QUI ADHAERET DEO, UNUS SPIRITUS EST. Excessum purae mentis in Deum, sive Dei pium descensum in animam, nostris, quibus possumus, exprimimus verbis, spiritualibus spiritualia comparentes,' 223. I Corinthians 6.17.

Veritas which was shown in this way to faith and the imagination. The Word was known to the soul that was struck with love and overwhelmed with desire for the Lord who cried out in the flesh the Rule had humiliated. The *affectus* this action inspired was filled with spiritual truth as well as authority, for those who saw God in the monks who had moved their hearts to compassion.¹⁶⁴ Thus the mind was shown a truth that was eternal as well as supernatural.

Bernard in *On loving God* had related the first part of this twofold movement:

'[The Church] sees King Solomon (i.e. Christ) in the diadem with which his mother crowned him. She sees the Father's only Son, bearing His cross; she sees the Lord of majesty, struck down and covered in spittle; she sees the Author of life and glory, pierced by nails, gored by a lance, drenched with abuse, and finally laying down His life for His friends. She beholds this, and the sword of love transfixes her soul all the more, and she cries: "Cushion me about with flowers, pile up apples around me, for I languish with love..."¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, 2, 188-197.

¹⁶⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De dil. Deo*, 3.7, SBO 3, 124: 'Cernit regem Salomonem in diademate, quo coronavit eum mater sua; cernit Unicum Patris, crucem sibi baiulantem; cernit caesum et consputum Dominum maiestatis; cernit auctorem vitae et gloriae confixum clavis, percussus lancea, opprobriis saturatum, tandem illam dilectam animam suam ponere pro amicis suis. Cernit haec, et suam magis ipsius animam gladius amoris transverberat, et dicit: FULCITE ME FLORIBUS, STIPATE ME MALIS, QUIA AMORE LANGUEO.' Song 2.5.

In his sermons on the Canticle the abbot would complete this inward and Gospel conversion.

Love was joined with the power of God to produce a new and spiritual consciousness:

'You were trapped, O man, in darkness, and the shadow of death, through ignorance of the truth. You were trapped, bound by the chains of your sins (*delictum*). [Christ] came down to you in your prison, not to torture you, but to free you from the power of the darkness. First, as the Doctor of Truth, He banished the shadow of your ignorance with the light of His Wisdom. Then, by the righteousness that comes from faith, He loosed the bonds of sin (*peccatum*), and justified the sinner by grace. By this twofold kindness He fulfilled the words of holy David: "The Lord frees those who are captive; the Lord opens the eyes of the blind..."¹⁶⁶

The notion of unseen (or spiritual) sight on which this vision of the Rule and monasticism was based has been of some interest to modern scholars as well as theologians.¹⁶⁷ Rahner included

¹⁶⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 22.3.7, SBO 1, 133: 'Sedebas, o homo, in tenebris et umbra mortis per ignorantiam veritatis, sedebas vinctus catenis delictorum. Descendit ad te in carcerem, non ut torqueret, sed ut erueret de potestate tenebrarum. Et primo quidem veritatis doctor depulit umbram ignorantiae tuae luce sapientiae suae. Per iustitiam deinde, quae ex fide est, solvit funes peccatorum, gratis iustificans peccatorem. Quo gemino beneficio implevit sermonem illum sancti David: DOMINUS SOLVIS COMPEDITOS, DOMINUS ILLUMINAT CAECOS.' Psalm 145.7, 8.

¹⁶⁷ A. Astell, *Eating Beauty: The Eucharist and the Spiritual Arts in the Middle Ages*, (New York, 2006).

a brilliant paper on this theme in his *Schriften zur Theologie*.¹⁶⁸ He argued that the human mind was granted spiritual senses that corresponded to the material senses and were used to guide the inward or mystical intellect.¹⁶⁹ The human soul had eyes to see and ears to hear the unseen and everlasting truths that God had shown the mind but that he gave only to the *potestas spiritualis*.¹⁷⁰ Rahner linked his opinion on this topic to the Roman thinker Origen of Alexandria, who described how these senses were used to reach out for the Unfathomable: a *μυστήριον* so hidden that even the spirit would proceed by signs and similitudes.¹⁷¹ The mind must await this truth like the vision in the night that Daniel had received.¹⁷² This approach places the spiritual senses in the tradition of mystical darkness or negation that was popular in the later middle ages and that Turner has described.¹⁷³ Here spiritual truth is in the end outside sense and known in its annihilation: flesh and the world is stripped away and the Lord is found in that dissolution. This doctrine has been linked to the Church as a cultural and political phenomenon. The pursuit

¹⁶⁸ K. Rahner, "The Doctrine of the 'Spiritual Senses' in the Middle Ages," *Theological Foundations*, 104-134.

¹⁶⁹ K. Rahner, *op. cit.*. Also, G. Frank, "'Taste and See': The Eucharist and the Eyes of Faith in the Fourth Century," *Church History*, volume 70, number 4, (December, 2001), 619-643. N. Largier, "The Plasticity of the Soul: Mystical Darkness, Touch, and Aesthetic Experience," *MLN*, volume 125, number 3, (April, 2010), 536-551, e.g. 551: 'the elaboration of the structure of this (internal – mine) experience in terms of touch, which, as the ground of the sensation, is the place of indeterminacy, openness, and possibility to be virtually everything.'

¹⁷⁰ And also a mouth to feast. E.g. John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, 7.10.

¹⁷¹ Also, Hugh of St Victor, *De sacr.*, on how faith is a sacrament, inasmuch as it participates in the reality of things as yet unseen.

¹⁷² Daniel 2.19: 'Tunc Danieli mysterium per visionem nocte revelatum est: et benedixit Daniel Deum caeli.'

¹⁷³ D. Turner, *The Darkness of God*, (Cambridge, 1995).

of God in the nameless void produced a brilliant efflorescence of spiritual culture but also promoted the suspicion of the Catholic authorities, who found a threat in the view that truth was known outside material communion.¹⁷⁴ Bynum and others have linked this spiritual sense to the Mass and the Eucharist.¹⁷⁵ That image is seen in this way to have shaped the social world of Latin Christendom. But our chosen vision shows its power outside cult and Christian mysticism. It erases the division between culture and *Ereignisse* that is implied by this approach.¹⁷⁶ From this point of view God was known to the heart filled with sorrow and compassion for the monks whose broken flesh moved the soul to reach out for deliverance. *Deum videre* meant in this case to seek Him in the monks and their observance.¹⁷⁷ Bernard depicted this spiritual fact in words that were poetic and metaphorical. Here was the light that burst on the soul that had been buried in blackness, and the taste of a fruit that had freed the soul from sin as well as punishment. Here

¹⁷⁴ B. McGinn, "Evil-Sounding, Rash, and Suspect of Heresy: Tensions between Mysticism and Magisterium in the History of the Church," *The Catholic Historical Review*, volume 90, number 2, (April, 2004), 193-212. For the orthodox view of mysticism within the Church: B. McGinn, "Mystical Consciousness: A Modest Proposal," *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality*, volume 8, number 1, (Spring, 2008), 44-63: '[Mysticism is] the inner and hidden realization of spirituality through a transforming consciousness of God's immediate presence. Mysticism, or more precisely, the mystical element within Christian spirituality, is the goal to which spiritual practices aim. It is a personal appropriation, but not an individualistic one, because it is rooted in the life of the Christian community and the grace mediated through that community and its sacraments and rituals,' 44.

¹⁷⁵ A. Astell, *op. cit.* C. W. Bynum, *Holy Feast, Holy Fast*, 31 ff.

¹⁷⁶ On the use of *das Ereignis* to express the notion of Event as Being, see A. Hofstadter, "Introduction," in *Martin Heidegger: Poetry, Language, Thought*, A. Hofstadter (trans.), (New York, 1971), xviii-xxii. In the same volume: "The Origin of the Work of Art," 85. "The Thing," 177, 178-179.

¹⁷⁷ Bernard of Clairvax, *In Cant.*, 28.4.9, SBO 1, 198, for the secret known to faith that was otherwise wrapped up in shadow and kept under a seal. These images must at every point be taken as a synonym for every carnal mass that was seen to cover the spirit.

was the *nomen Jesu* that lit the fire of love and cleared away the darkness.¹⁷⁸ 'Behold, the scent of my son is the scent of a rich field the Lord has blessed.'¹⁷⁹ The Christian soul would enter this garden not on foot but by inward affections, the power of the heart that was set in motion by the glories of monasticism.¹⁸⁰ The abbot in a sermon to the schoolmen of Paris described this encounter. He equated the monastic church to the Word that gathered souls into heaven:

¹⁷⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 15.3.6, SBO 1, 85-86: 'Unde putas in toto orbe tanta et tam subita fidei lux, nisi de praedicatione Jesu? Nonne in huius nominis luce Deus nos vocavit in admirabile lumen sum, quibus illuminatis, et in lumine isto videntibus lumen, dicat merito Paulus: FUISTIS ALIQUANDO TENEBRAE, NUNC AUTEM LUX IN DOMINO? Hoc denique nomen coram regibus, et gentibus, et filiis Israel portare iussus est isdem Apostolus; et portabat nomen tamquam lumen, et illuminabat patriam, et clamabat ubique: NOX PRAECESSIT, DIES AUTEM APPROPINQUAVIT. ABICIAMUS ERGO OPERA TENEBRARUM, ET INDUAMUR ARMA LUCIS: SICUT IN DEI HONESTE AMBULEMUS. *Et monstrabat omnibus lucernam super candelabrum, annuntians in omni loco Jesum, et hunc crucifixum.* Quomodo lux ista insplenduit ac perstrinxit cunctorum intuentium oculos, quando de ore Petri, tamquam fulgur, egrediens, claudi unius corporales plantas solidavit et bases, multosque spiritualiter caecos illuminavit! Numquid non ignem sparsit, cum ait: IN NOMINE JESU CHRISTI NAZARENI, SURGE ET AMBULA?' My emphasis. 1 Peter 2.9. Psalm 35.10. Ephesians 5.8. Acts 9.15. Romans 13.12-13. Matthew 5.15. 1 Corinthians 2.2. Acts 3.6-7. Acts 3.6. In this glorious phrase – Arise and walk, in the name of Jesus the Christ of Nazareth! – we find the heart of the monastic church as a plea to the soul in supernatural love: Also, Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 1.13, ad Rob.*, (SBO 7), 10: 'Surge, MILES CHRISTI, surge, EXCUTERE DE PULVERE, revertere ad proelium unde fugisti, fortius post fugam proeliaturus, gloriosus triumphaturus.' 2 Timothy 2.3. Isaiah 52.2. On the preaching of Christ and the *witness* (and not only in words) of the apostles (that is, of those who are the Gospel), E. Schillebeeckx, *Revelation and Theology*, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De con. ad. cl.*, 13.25, SBO 4, 99. Genesis 27.27. Also, Bernard of Clairvaux, *De dil. Deo*, 3.8. SBO 3, 125: 'Denique ait: ECCE TU PULCHER ES, DILECTE MI, ET DECORUS; LECTULUS NOSTER FLORIDUS. Quae lectulum monstrat, satis quid desideret aperit; et cum floridum nuntiat, satis indicat unde, quod desiderat, obtinere praesumat: non enim de suis meritis, sed de floribus agri, cui benedixit Dominus.' These are the flowers of the passion and resurrection, and where the Bridegroom finds them (in the heart): 'ibi profecto adest sedulus, adest libens.' Song 1.15.

¹⁸⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De con. ad. cl.*, 13.25, SBO 4, 98-99: 'Nec vero locum reputes corporalem paradisum hunc voluptatis internae. Non pedibus in hunc hortum, sed affectibus introitur. Nec terrenarum tibi commendatur arborum copia, sed virtutum utique spiritualium iucunda decoraque plantatio. Hortus conclusus, ubi fons signatus in quatuor capita derivatur, et ex una sapientiae vena virtus quadripartita procedit. Splendidissima quoque inibi lilia vernant et, dum flores apparent, etiam vox turturis auditur. Illic

'And so at the gate of Paradise (i.e. the monastic church) the voice of God is heard to whisper His most sacred and secret counsel, that has been hidden from the wise and prudent but revealed to the little ones. *Indeed, reason alone does not grasp the sound of this voice, but shares it joyfully with the will.* "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice, for they shall be satisfied." Deep is the counsel, and priceless the sacrament. "A faithful word, and worthy of all acceptance," that came to us from heaven, and from the Royal Throne...'¹⁸¹

(My emphasis).

The Cistercian Rule in its fullness may be viewed in this way as a Christian hermeneutic. Its work was viewed as a portal to a truth at once unseen and supernatural. That door was made

nardus sponsae fragrantissimum praestat odorem, et cetera quoque aromata fluunt, austro spirante, aquilone fugato. Ibi media est arbor vitae, malus illa de Cantico, cunctis pretiosior lignis silvarum, cuius et umbra sponsam refrigerat, et fructus dulcis gutturi eius. Ibi continentiae nitor, et sinceræ veritatis intuitus oculis cordis irradiat; auditui quoque dat gaudium et laetitiam dulcissima vox consolatoris interni. Ibi quibusdam spei naribus influit iucundissimus odor agri pleni, cui benedixit Dominus.' Also, Bernard of Clairvaux, *De dil. Deo*, 3.9, SBO 3, 126: 'Horum ergo novitiate florum ac fructuum, et pulchritudine agri suavissimum spirantis odorem, *ipse quoque Pater in Filio innovante omnia delectatur*, ita ut dicat: ECCE ODOR FILII MEI, SICUT ODOR AGRIS PLENI, CUI BENEDIXIT DOMINUS.' My emphasis. Here again Bernard linked the blessing of the Father to the renewal (of the world) that takes place in the Son.

¹⁸¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De con. ad. cl.*, SBO 4, 100: 'In huius igitur ostio paradisi divini susurri vox auditur, sacratissimum secretissimumque consilium, quod absconditum est a sapientibus et prudentibus, parvulis revelatur. Cuius sane vocis auditum non sola iam ratio capit, sed gratanter eum communicat etiam voluntati. BEATI QUI ESURIUNT ET SITIUNT IUSTITIAM, QUONIAM IPSI SATURABUNTUR. Altissimum plane consilium, et inestimabile sacramentum. FIDELIS SERMO ET OMNI ACCEPTIONE DIGNUS, qui de caelo nobis a regalibus sedibus venit.' Matthew 5.6. | Timothy 1.15.

in the soul drawn to God and the body freed of wickedness. Our image was linked in this way to wider currents of thought and devotion. For Christians at this time the truth of God which was His love was associated above all with the broken *corpus* in which the *caritas Dei* had been disclosed.¹⁸² This *Veritas* was shown to the mind in the deed with which it was commensurate. The death of God was a vision in which that truth was utterly comprehended.¹⁸³ The ashen flesh from which His blood flowed on the cross represented the fallen world which this action broke open to the truth of its redemption.¹⁸⁴ In his prayer to the Holy Cross Anselm gave voice to this vibrant sentiment. To place his work in this context is to see how the Bible as well as its exegesis flowed from the divine *lectio* he carried out in the church and into his famous *orationes*.¹⁸⁵

'How shall I praise you, in what way shall I exalt you?

By you the world is renewed and adorned with the light of truth and the rule of justice,

¹⁸² M. Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition*, 65 ff.

¹⁸³ J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, 90.

¹⁸⁴ E.g. Peter of Celle, *De disc. cl.*, 6, (PL 202, 1110B): 'Lucerna evangelica sic perfusa et infusa, non solum lucerna est, sed LUX VERA QUAE ILLUMINAT OMNEM HOMINEM VENIENTEM IN HUNC MUNDUM. Et nos de plenitudine ejus accipimus, et in effusione illa quando latus ejus miles aperuit, et exivit sanguis et aqua, et oliva in torculari misit spiritum tanquam oleum.' John 1.1.

¹⁸⁵ This relationship has long been noted. G. E. M. Gasper, "Between Dialectic and the Sacred Scripture: Anselm of Canterbury and the Bible," in S. Bhattacharji, R. Williams, and D. Mattos (eds.), *Prayer and Thought in Monastic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Benedicta Ward, SRG*, (London, 2014), 181-197: Exegesis 'plays an important, if not central, role in the elaboration of his theological vision [and] the architecture of his thought,' at 181-182. Also, R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in Landscape*, (Cambridge, 1990), 70.

By you sinful human nature is justified,

The damned are saved,

The servants of sin and of Hell are set free...¹⁸⁶

For Anselm the cross was to be glorified above all as the work as well as the instrument that

Christ had chosen to open His flesh and to reveal His eternal Testament:

'O Cross, chosen and prepared for such ineffable good,

The work that was done through you praises and exalts you more than human or angelic
thought or tongue

O you, in whom and through whom is my life and my salvation,

O you, in whom and through whom is the whole and all my good.

"Forbid that I should glory" save in you.

¹⁸⁶ Anselm of Canterbury, *Or. ad. s. Cr.*, SAO 3, 11-12, 'Quomodo igitur te laudabo, qualiter te exaltabo...Per te mundus renovator atque veritate in illo lucent et iustitia regnante decorator. Per te humana natura peccatrix est iustificata, damnata salvata, ancilla peccati et tartari liberata...'

With what love [*affectus*], then, shall I glory in you, *without whom there would be nothing in which I could glory...*¹⁸⁷ (My emphasis)

The notion of the monastic Rule as a doorway to eternal truth was based on this conception. The image of Christ as the path from Old to New was seen to be reproduced in the Rule which would open the captive soul to divine love and spiritual meditation.¹⁸⁸ Here the carnal mass was parted in the action that poured out His *miser cordia*. The mind was drawn to enter the truth that the cross had again emancipated from the chains of flesh with which it had been bound as well as concealed. This pious action was once more the sign in which God's love was manifested: infernal chains were seen to recede round the Christ this action announced.¹⁸⁹ Anselm would unfold the power of this vision in a famous prayer to St Benedict. His intimate words may be related in this way to the wider Christian community, because his tender and effusive idiom flowed out into the Church and its people.¹⁹⁰ This reminds us that this mode of piety was not limited to

¹⁸⁷ Anselm of Canterbury, *Or. ad. s. Cr.*, SAO 3, 12: 'O crux, quae ad tam ineffabilia bona es electa et praeparata, laudant et exaltant te non tam humana sive angelica mens aut lingua, quam opera quae per te sunt facta...O tu, in qua et per quam est salus et vita mea; o tu, in qua et per quam est totum et omne bonum meum: ABSIT MIHI GLORIARI NISI in te...Quo ergo affectu gloriabor in te, sine qua non solum nulla mihi esset gloria...' Galatians 6.14

¹⁸⁸ For the Cistercian Rule as the New Testament, see below, 99 ff.

¹⁸⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 61.2.4, SBO, 2, 150-151: 'Patet Arcanum cordis perforamina corporis, patet magnum illud pietatis sacramentum, patent VISCERA MISERICORDIAE.' 1 Timothy 3.16. Luke 1.78.

¹⁹⁰ For Anselm and the new style of prayer, v. esp. R. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, 170-179. Also, R. W. Southern, "Forward," in B. Ward (trans.), *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm, with the Proslogion*, (London, 1973), 9-15.

private or interior devotion. Here again is the monastic event that thrilled and inspired medieval Christendom. Here is the Rule that both freed the faithful soul and showed it the truth of its salvation:

'Holy and blessed Benedict, whom the grace of heaven has made rich with such a blessing of virtue, not only that you might be raised to the glory that you desire, to the remainder of the blessed, to a seat in heaven, but that countless others might be drawn to the same blessedness by your admirable life, stirred by your gentle advice, instructed by your pleasing doctrine, called on by your miracles...

See, then, blessed Benedict, how strongly fights this soldier of Christ who is under your leadership! See the progress your pupil has made in your school! See this noble monk, who is dead to sin and the desires of the flesh, who is made fervent and lives only for virtue!

No, you see instead a false monk, in whom virtue is dissolved, who is dominated by a crowd of vices, and pressed down by a mass of sin...

I beg you! I rush to you as my protector. *Dig me out from the sin that buries me. Free me from the ropes of sin that bind me. Loose me from the crimes that entangle me.*

Bring me the victory, and lead me to the crown...¹⁹¹ (My emphasis)

This view of the monastic church and its spiritual power differs from the normal approach to this question as well as the methods used by modern scholars in this context.¹⁹² The point of contrast is found in the mode as well as the object of our inquiries. In this relation the monk has been seen above all as a blessed person or individual. Presented as a path to God the monk has stood alone in the Christian imagination. The power of the Benedictine house is linked above all to cult and ceremonial; and its formal rite has in turn been seen as an aspect of its social importance.¹⁹³ Its holiness is seldom discussed outside the liturgy of the monastic corporation. The monks drew their power from the saints round whom they were gathered, the dead whose

¹⁹¹ Anselm of Canterbury, *Or. ad S. Ben.*, SAO 3, 61-64: 'Sancte et beate Benedicte, quem tam opulenta benediction virtutum suprema gratia ditavit, ut non solum te ad desideratam gloriam, ad beatam requiem, ad caelestem sedem sublimaret, sed et alios innumerabiles ad eandem beatitudinem tua admirabilis vita attraheret, dulcis admonitio incitaret, suavis doctrina instrueret, miracula provocarent...Ecce beate Benedicti, quam strenue pugnat hic miles Christi sub ducatu! Ecce quam efficaciter proficit hic tuus discipulus in tua schola! Ecce bonum monachum, qui sic mortificatis vitiis et voluptatibus carnis, sic fervet et vivit solis virtutibus! Immo ecce falsum monachum, cui sic extinctis virtutibus, sic turba dominator vitiorum, premit moles peccatorum!...Succurre te patronum clamanti, exonera mole peccatorum obrutum, solve delictorum funibus ligatum, expedi criminibus irretitum...Exige mihi victoriam et perduc me ad coronam.'

¹⁹² For a concise overview of this difficulty, R. A. Orsi, "The Problem of the Holy," in R. A. Orsi (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Religious Studies*, (Cambridge, 2012), 84-105.

¹⁹³ S. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125*, (Ithaca, 2006). S. Boynton, "The Bible and the Liturgy," in S. Boynton and D. Reilly (eds.), *The Practice of the Bible*, 10-33. G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, (Glasgow, 1945). E. Ann Matter and T. J. Heffernan (eds.), *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, Second Edition, (Kalamzoo, 2005).

shrines were heavy with the Spirit to whom they were transparent.¹⁹⁴ Their piety is therefore seen as the piety of the dead for whom the enormous majesty of the monastic rite was created and which served the needs of Christians, who were at this time fiercely aware of the nearness of death and the otherworld.¹⁹⁵ The giant structure of Christian power that was built round the monasteries at this time must in the end be set in relation to this act of salvific preparation. It shows a desire to protect the soul against the Fire in whom it was dissolved.¹⁹⁶ In this context the hermit is the genius of a distinct and personal Christianity.¹⁹⁷ He is the point round which a fierce sense of the holy formed and gathered.¹⁹⁸ This Christian image has been the subject of much debate since the publication in 1971 of Brown's famous article on the Roman eremite and his social function.¹⁹⁹ The course of this debate has followed wider trends in modern

¹⁹⁴ But see M. E. Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*, (New Haven, 2010), for the essential link between the liturgy and the historical form and self-perception of the Latin churches. Also, M. E. Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth Century Paris*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music, (New York, 1993), which elucidates the connection between the Christian liturgy and the desire for religious and political renewal.

¹⁹⁵ E.g. R. Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages: The Wiles Lectures given at the Queen's University of Belfast, 2006*, (Cambridge, 2008). J. C. Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*, (Chicago, 1999). C. S. Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England*, (Cambridge, 2007), 1-67.

¹⁹⁶ Peter of Celle, sermo 23, *Pr. Dom. in Ram. Pal.*, (PL 202, 738A): 'Deus noster ignis consumens veniet cum tempestate valida.'

¹⁹⁷ M.D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society*, 202-270.

¹⁹⁸ G. Melville, *The World of Medieval Monasticism*, 1-23, shows how the monastic ideal flowed from the charismatic solitude in the desert. Also, I. F. Silber, "Dissent through Holiness. The Case of the Radical Renouncer in Theravada Buddhist Countries," *Numen*, volume 28, fasc. 2, (December, 1981), 164-193.

¹⁹⁹ P. Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, volume 61, (1971), 80-101.

historiography. It has been shown that the holy man was above all a discursive phenomenon, and that his spiritual power was based on the text and its production or distribution.²⁰⁰ This Christian vision has also been related to gender and its historical construction: Bynum and others have shown how holiness was an especially female preserve.²⁰¹ Sanctity in its various forms has been seen as an ideal that was manufactured to control the social order and to sustain clerical (and male) power and authority.²⁰² The sacred figure is in this way the product of their social and political environment. However, as the context of this vision has grown its content has diminished. The idea of holiness has been reduced to a social artifice and a textual invention. The notion of the spiritual person as the mark of a mystical reality has been suppressed. This situation is in part a result of the sources used by scholars in this connection. Holiness and its social effects are seen above all in relation to the historiographical literature that was built round the saint as a witness and also a memorial. This second-hand resource has fed the view that holiness is a partial construction whose living force is placed outside our reach as a result of that cultural process. It has promoted the view that the saint was an icon whose memory was contested in order to advance the affairs of the religious bodies with which they were associated.

²⁰⁰ J. Howe, "Revisiting the Holy Man (Review Article)," *The Catholic Historical Review*, volume 86, number 4, (October, 2000), 640-644.

²⁰¹ C. W. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*, (1991). B. M. Bolton, "Mulieres Sanctae," 77-95.

²⁰² T. M. Shaw, "Askesis and the Appearance of Holiness," *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, volume 6, number 3, (Fall, 1998), 485-500.

This shows us not the saint but the society in which they were commemorated. This approach to sanctity is justified where there is a dearth of contemporary sources that can be ascribed to the saint or to those who surrounded them. The Christian myth of the founder was vital to the growth of the monastic foundation. But Bernard and others like him have left behind a rich and varied testimony. This literature is in its own way difficult to read and to interpret with accuracy. Bernard for instance is known to have re-worked his writings for years afterwards. But these documents are a portal into the living world in a way that historiographical works are not unless they are seen as a window into the author themselves. For this reason we may say that the sermons and letters Bernard addressed to the Church help us to view the Rule as a path into the unseen and supernatural.

The image of the monastic life that is offered here is different to that which has hitherto obtained. The Rule was not a model alone but an action in which a secret truth was demonstrated. Its exercise would move carnal souls and was a source of eternal communion. This is the ideal Bernard would relate to Thomas in his written correspondence. He would remind Thomas of the Christ who called out to him in shattered flesh as well as the divine love which was made known in the monastic brotherhood.²⁰³ The abbot wrote that this love was rare indeed but had been

²⁰³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 107 Ad Th. de Bev.*, 5, 8, 13, SBO 7, 270, 275-276: 'Audiat itaque in sui vocatione peccator (i.e. Thomas, in this case) quod timeat, et sic, acedens ad Solem iustitiae, videat

communicated to Thomas in his desire to leave the world and to enter into monasticism.²⁰⁴

Bernard would offer his opinion as a sermon on the miracle of conversion.²⁰⁵ The secret of God

was hidden from sinful minds but shown to the preordained: He would reveal to His chosen sons

what for others remained in darkness.²⁰⁶ Bernard affirmed here a doctrine which applied to the

entire Catholic communion. But there is no doubt that in this case he refers above all to Cistercian

monasticism. This house was like the Lord who had called out to the Church and population.²⁰⁷

illuminatus quod diligit...Nemo itaque se amari diffidat, qui iam amat...Habes enim dilectionis pignus Spiritum, habes et testem fidelem lesum, ET HUNC CRUCIFIXUM...Ceterum tu, o carissime, fuic voci Dei tui...fuge curam exteriorem...Parati sumus cum panibus occurrere fugienti...' 1 Corinthians 2.2. Note the Eucharistic reference to Isaiah 21.14. The Bread of Life which is Christ is in this case the monastic union offered by Bernard to Thomas and those like him. The *caritas* which is the *res* of the sacrament is in this case the union found in the monastic church (the external sacrament – that is, the Christ whose body is broken beneath the outer skin of the monks themselves, leading the soul on to the charity within). See Chapter 3 for more on this theme.

²⁰⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 107, Ad Th. de Bev.*, SBO 7, 4, 270: 'Nec alios sane dignatur tanti participatione mysterii, nisi eos ipsos, quos suos praescivit et praedestinavit. Nam QUOS PRAEDESTINAVIT, HOS ET VOCAVIT.' Romans 8.29-30.

²⁰⁵ Though it is included in Bernard's letters there is no doubt that this speech was intended for public consumption and was meant to instruct the reader in the moral and spiritual benefits – and dangers – of conversion.

²⁰⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 107, Ad Th. de Bev.*, 4, SBO 7: 'Clamat in populis idem Unigenitus, tamquam magni consilii angelus: QUI HABET AURES AUDIENDI, AUDIAT. Et quoniam dignos non invenit sensus, quibus Patris committat arcanum, textit parabolas turbis, UT AUDIENTES NON AUDIANT ET VIDENTES NON INTELLIGANT,' 270. John 1.18. Isaiah 9.5. Matthew 13.9. Luke 8.10. *Ibid*, 6, 271: 'Verbi gratia, ponamus hominem in saeculo, saeculi adhuc et suae carnis amore retentum, et, cum terrestri hominis imaginem portet, incubantem terrenis, nil de caelestibus cogitantem. Quis nunc non videat horrendis circumfusum tenebris, nisi qui in eadem umbra mortis sedet?'

²⁰⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 109, Ad Gau. de Perr.*, SBO 7, 280 (on the call to the monastic life): 'Ipse, ipse colligit vos, qui diligit vos tamquam viscera sua, tamquam fructum pretiosissimum crucis suae, tamquam dignissimam recompensationem effusi sanguinis sui...'

Here the love of God flowed from the work of bleak and ascetic contemplation.²⁰⁸ Like the passion this action was the basis of true and spiritual judgement.²⁰⁹ For carnal men the Rule was a brash and empty act of brutal degradation. For spiritual souls it was filled with the *caritas* found in selfless renunciation.²¹⁰ The abbot held that this spiritual virtue was above all the power of illumination which awoke in the heart a desire for the truth this action had demonstrated.²¹¹ For this reason he called this order a lamp and the Sun of Righteousness.²¹² The Gospel truth that the monastic Rule had revealed as well as confirmed was also the light that drew the soul into divine union and eternal redemption.²¹³

²⁰⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 107, Ad Th. de Bev.*, 9, SBO 7,273-274: 'Cum ergo geminum teneamus nostrae salutis indicium, geminam Sanguinis et Spiritus effusionem, neutra sine altera potest...Quae sane revelatio non est aliud quam infusio gratiae spiritalis, per quam, *dum facta carnis mortificantur*, homo ad regnum praeparatur...Hoc itaque est illud sacrum secretumque consilium, quod, a Patre Filius in Spiritu Sancto accipiens, suis, quos novit, per eundem Spiritum, iustificando eos, communicat et communicando iustificat...' etc. 2 Timothy 2.19.

²⁰⁹ E.g. Peter of Celle, *s. 29, In Co. Dom.*, 6, (PL 202, 762C-763C). M. Rubin, "Whose Eucharist? Eucharistic Identity as Historical Subject," *Modern Theology*, volume 15, number 2, (1999), 197-208, at 199.

²¹⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 11, Ad Car. et Gui. Pr.*, SBO 7, 52-60, for a classic statement of *caritas* as the renunciation of fear and of self-will that was found in the monastic church alone.

²¹¹ Also, John of Salisbury, *Poli.*, 7.13, *op. cit* : This shows how the spiritual vision that Bernard related to Christian monasticism was based on a mode of Bible reading that was known across the western Church.

²¹² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 107, Ad Th. de Bev.*, 4, 5, SBO 7, 270: 'VOBIS, inquit, QUI TIMETIS DEUM, ORIETUR SOL IUSTITIAE...Audiant itaque...accedens ad Solem iustitiae,' etc. Malachi 4.2.

²¹³ E.g. Augustine of Hippo, *Tr. in Io.*, 28.9.3.

This spiritual image is found in the works on the soul which now surged and proliferated. In these tracts the soul before Christ was like a pearl sunk in foul darkness.²¹⁴ The abbot outlined this ancient notion in a missive to William of St Thierry.²¹⁵ This letter supplies a proof of the view that the power of *caritas* was imagined not only as a moral ideal but as a divine lamp lit in the soul that was imprisoned, and that this light had shone on those moved to enter the monastic community:

'But Lord, I am content for the time being to see my own darkness in your light, until you come to those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death, and through you the things of the heart are revealed, and the hidden places of the dark are made manifest, and the shadows melt away, now nothing is seen in your light save the light...O Lord, my God, who lights up the lamp by which I now see and hate my own darkness, light up my very darkness, so that I may see within myself an ordered charity, and be gladdened by it, knowing, and loving, what is to be loved...'²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad cl. de con.*, 6.11, SBO 4: '[Ratio] [v]idet enim memoriam plenam spurcitarum, videt abundantius alias atque alias influere sordes, videt ipsas fenestras morti patulas claudi omnino, non posse, quod adhuc praesidens voluntas languida dominetur, e cuius ulceribus sanies universa profluxit...At ne quid ex omnibus quae sunt hominis relinquatur, ipsum etiam corpus rebelle est, et singulae membra fenestrae singulae, quibus mors intrat ad animam, et incessanter exuberat ipsa confusio,' 84-85.

²¹⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 85, Ad Gui. ab. S. Th.*, SBO, 7, 220-223.

²¹⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 85, Ad Gui. ab. S. Th.*, 3, SBO 7, 221-222: 'Ego autem, Domini, interim contentus videre in lumine tuo tenebras meas, quoadusque visites sedentem in tenebris et umbra mortis, et per tu revelentur cogitationes cordium, et manifesta fiant abscondita tenebrarum, fugatisque tenebris iam

The abbot would return to this image in the twenty eighth of his sermons on the Canticle:

'The dawn, then, and a clouded one, was the whole of Christ's conduct [*conversatio*] on earth, until He met His death and again in His rising (to new life), the Sun that put the dawn to flight in the clearer light of His presence, and with its coming night was swallowed up in victory. Indeed we hold: "And very early in the morning, on the Sabbath, they came to the Tomb, the Sun now risen." Was it not morning, when the Sun had risen? The resurrection, however, brought it new beauty, and a more serene light than usual, because we once knew Him according to the flesh, but now we do not know Him in this way. It is as the Prophet wrote: "He is clothed in beauty, He is clothed with strength, and He has girded Himself," because He shook off the frailties of the flesh like dark clouds, and put on the robe of glory. Since then the Sun is indeed risen, and has poured its rays slowly over the earth. Little by little, it has started to appear more clearly, and to feel warmer.'²¹⁷

non videatur in lumine...O Domine, qui ILLUMINAS LUCERNAM MEAM, qua iam video et horreo tenebras meas, Deus meus, ILLUMINA ipsas quoque TENEBRAS MEAS, ut videam et gaudeam ordinatam in me caritatem, sciens et diligens quae diligenda sunt...' Psalm 17.29. Song 2.4.

²¹⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 33.3.6, SBO, 1, 237: 'Erat ergo aurora, et ipsa subobscura satis, tota illa videlicet Christi conversatio super terram, usque dum occumbens et rursum exoriens, solaris suae praesentiae lumine clariori fugavit auroram, et mane facto absorpta est nox in victoria. Denique habes: ET VALDE MANE, UNA SABBATORUM, VENIUNT AD MONUMENTUM, ORTO IAM SOLE. An non mane fuit, quando ortus est Sol? Attulit autem novum de resurrectione decorum, et sereniorem solito lucem, quoniam etsi noveramus eum secundum carnem, sed nunc iam non novimus. Est scriptum est in Propheta:

For the abbot this Sun would flood the heart from the cross in which it was promulgated. From here the day star from on high rose over the souls He had redeemed.²¹⁸ The power which Christ had shown in Jerusalem was seen to be reproduced in the divine love which called Thomas from the world and into monasticism.²¹⁹ This spiritual love reached out to the priest in the blasted and condemned, the crucified men who had been chosen to reveal the secret of his redemption. Even the letter Bernard wrote to Thomas had shown the charity that radiated from the Christ who in His monks had invited the priest to a heavenly communion.²²⁰ This was the power found in the union of those whose ferocious discipline was at once a portal to God and a means to fulfill His moral and spiritual commandments. The Rule had made known a truth at once individual and comprehensive: it unfolded the secret of God that the cross had shown as well as proclaimed.

DECOREM INDUIT, INDUIT FORTITUDINEM ET PRAECINXIT SE, quod carnis infirma tamquam nubila quaedam excusserit, stolam gloriae induens. Sane ex tunc elevatus est sol, et sensim demum infundens suos radios super terram, coepit paulatim clarior apparere fervidiorque sentiri.' Mark 16.2. Psalm 92.1.

²¹⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 107, Ad Th. de Bev.*, SBO 7, 272: 'ad tantam visitantis se Orientis ex alto dignationem respirans...' Also, Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 393, (Gui.) Pat. Iero.*, (SBO 8), 364-367, at 2, 365. Luke 1. 78.

²¹⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad cl. de con.*, 2.3, SBO 4, 72: 'Adhuc nobis proximus est [Deus], adhuc loquitur, et non est forte qui audiat. Adhuc dicit: HI ERRANT CORDE; adhuc Sapientia clamitat in plateis: REDITE, PRAEVARICATORES, AD COR. Hoc nempe initium loquendi Domino, et hoc verbum ad omnes qui convertuntur ad cor, praecessisse videtur, et non modo revocans eos, sed et reducens et statuens contra faciem suam. Est enim non tantum vox virtutis, sed et radius lucis, annuntians pariter hominibus peccata eorum et illuminans abscondita tenebrarum.' Proverbs 1.21. Isaiah 46.8. The context of this sermon – to secular students on the conversion of the soul – makes clear that the voice Bernard describes here is the voice that is heard above all in the monastic church.

²²⁰ For the cult of *amicitia* at this time, see n. 420 below.

This truth embraced both the soul and the action with which it was stimulated.²²¹ The wound which poured out the Spirit was also the source of compassion for the Lord whose vile death was the path from falsehood into blessedness:

'For this revelation is nothing more than the infusion of the grace of the Spirit, through whom, while he mortifies the works of the flesh, a man is made ready for the Kingdom which flesh and blood do not possess. He receives this all at once and in the one Spirit, whence he dares to believe himself loved, and whence he loves in return, lest he should be loved without reward.'²²²

This was the Christian image with which Thomas was now rebuked as well as comforted. Bernard advised the priest that he was most fortunate the Lord had unstopped for him the living waters of the Spirit and had called his heart to righteousness.²²³ This Word was known to those who

²²¹ H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis 1*, 234-241.

²²² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 107, Ad Th. de Bev.*, 9, SBO 7, 274: 'Quae sane revelatio non est aliud quam infusio gratiae spiritalis, per quam, dum facta carnis mortificantur, homo ad regnum praeparatur, quod caro et sanguis non possident, simul accipiens in uno Spiritu, et unde se praesumat amatum, et unde redamat, ne gratis amatus sit.'

²²³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 107, Ad Th. de Bev.*, 11, SBO 7, 275: 'Habentibus autem, ut dictum est, sanctis atque impiis suum ad se quibusque consilium magnum procul dubio inter utrosque chaos firmatum est...Est quippe iustorum consilium pluvia voluntaria, quam segregavit Deus hereditati suae; est consilium

had been shown His recommendations, the monks who were filled with the Lord whose truth they contemplated. Bernard wrote in general terms of God and His secrets in this correspondence. However, the context makes clear that he meant the power of monasticism. Those who lived in Christ would know the mind of God as well as its conclusions.²²⁴ Thomas could be sure that the white monks knew his purpose and redemption:

'Father, I praise you, for you have hidden these things from the wise and the prudent and have revealed them to little children. Even so, Father, because it seemed good in your sight, not because they deserved it of themselves. For all have sinned and stand in need of your glory, that you might send freely the Spirit of the Son, crying out in the hearts of your adopted sons, Abba, Father. Indeed, those who are led by the Spirit, these are your sons, who shall not be left out of the sincere counsels (*prorsus consilio*) of the Father. *Truly, they have*

vere secretum, descendens nimirum pluvia in vellus; est fons signatus, cui alienus non communicat...' Etc. Luke 16.26. Psalm 67.10. Psalm 71.6. Song 4.12.

²²⁴ Also, Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 23.5.12, SBO 1, 146: 'Est item locus, de quo super rationalem, reprobam quidem, creaturam immobilis vigilat secretissima et severissima animadversio iusti iudicis Dei, terribilis in consiliis super filios hominum. *Cernitur, inquam, a timorato contemplatore hoc loco Deus, iusto sed occulto iudicio suo, reprobatorum nec diluens mala, nec acceptans bona, insuper et corda indurans, ne forte doleant et respiciant, et convertantur et sanet eo.*' My emphasis. Psalm 7.12. Psalm 65.6. John 12.40. Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 57.4.11, SBO 2, 126: 'Adsit ipse, ut et huius nobis sacramenti rationem aperire dignetur, sponsus Ecclesiae, Iesus Christus Dominus noster...' Etc.

dwelling within themselves the Spirit, who searches even the depths of God. In short, what could they not know, who are taught all things by this anointing (*unctio*)?²²⁵ (My emphasis).

Clairvaux showed Thomas the love God had reserved for him and Christ had announced.²²⁶ His hidden truth was made known in bodies that had been broken and abbreviated, in the cross and the Rule that had bound them to the Crucified Nazarene.²²⁷ This contemplative belief must be related to our chosen image and exegesis. The Spirit was freed from the flesh as it had been from the letter of the Old Testament, in those who called Thomas to the union of divine love found in the monastery. This vision was at the heart of its power as well as the appeal of conversion to a form of Christian life that was seen in its fullness as a work of spiritual revelation.

²²⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 107.3, Ad. Th. de Bev.*, SBO 7, 269: 'CONFITEOR TIBI, PATER, QUIA ABSCONDISTI HAEC A SAPIENTIBUS ET PRUDENTIBUS ET REVELASTI EA PARVULIS. ITA, PATER, QUIA SIC PLACITUM FUIT CORAM TE, non quia sic meritum vel ab ipsis. OMNES ENIM PECCAVERUNT ET EGENT GLORIA tua, ut gratis mittas Spiritum Filii tui clamantem in cordibus filiorum adoptionis: Abba, pater. Hoc quippe Spiritu qui aguntur, hi filii sunt, nec paterno prorsus arcendi consilio. Habent nempe in se manentem Spiritum, quia scrutatur etiam profunda Dei. Denique quid ignorent, quos unctio docet de omnibus?' Matthew 11.25-26. Romans 3.23. Galatians 4.6. Romans 8.14.

²²⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 107.2, 9, Ad Th. de Bev.*, SBO 7, 268: 'Tu tuae promissionis memor, tui nobis copiam diutius non negaris, amantibus te sinceriter et amatoris perenniter. Pure siquidem nos amantes in vita nostra, in morte quoque non erimus separati...lustus autem est, nisi qui amanti se Deo vicem rependit amoris? Quod non fit nisi revelante Spiritu per fidem homini aeternum Dei propositum super sua salute future. Quae sane revelatio non est aliud quam infusio gratiae spiritalis, per quam, dum facta carnis mortificantur, homo ad regnum praeparatur, quod caro et sanguis non possident, simul accipiens in uno Spiritu, et unde se praesumat amatum, et unde redamet, ne gratis amatus sit.' The flesh that is mortified to disclose the love of God and to prepare the way for conversion must be seen here in a twofold manner, as an expression of doctrine and as a commentary on the monastic life itself.

²²⁷ E.g. G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 125-126.

It provides for us a new image of the monk in a Christian society whose experience of the divine was based above all on the rite of the Church and its sacraments. This in turn shared in the view that Christ was not only a model to be reproduced, but the Flesh in whose death on the cross the Spirit of God was communicated. That vision was not diffuse but made solid in the world of Christian monasticism. Here too the Spirit raised the dead to new life in the Rule that had liberated the *corpus* from the bonds of hell and had shown the world a true and eternal Testament.²²⁸ This was the distinctive ideal that the abbot's letter to Thomas had demonstrated. For Bernard the Cistercian rule was filled with the Word of the Redeemer. The Cistercian house flowed over with a truth at once eternal and supernatural. Here the road was open to a secret realm whose scale defied comprehension. Thus the priest and his vow shared in the universal Fact of redemption. He had been offered infinite love and to refuse it meant infinite condemnation. This notion had been made famous by the works of Anselm on the Atonement.²²⁹ Bernard would face Thomas with the whole of Christ and His achievement:

²²⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 107, Ad Th. de Bev.*, 1, SBO 7, 268: 'Sic revera, sic unici Filii Spiritus testimonium perhibet spiritui nostro, quod filii Dei sumus et nos, cum, suscitans ex operibus mortuis, largitur opera vitae.' Romans 8.16. Hebrews 6.1. The Christological content of this passage is clear. Bernard asks Thomas to show witness of his faith – that is, to show the Christ who is alive again in flesh that turns from the world to God in the discipline of the cross (i.e. in the Rule of monasticism).

²²⁹ E.g. Anselm of Canterbury, *Med. red. hum.*, SAO, 86-87.

'How shameful [it would be] to look upon the dying Son of God with ungrateful eyes! But this could easily be the case if the Spirit were lacking. Now, however, because the charity of God is poured forth in our hearts by the Holy Spirit who is given to us, we love because we are loved, and, in loving, we deserve to be loved all the more. For if when we were still His enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved by His life. And how? "He who did not spare His own Son, but gave Him up for us all, how has He not also, with Him, given us all things?"²³⁰

Later in the letter Bernard presented the same view in the words that Jeremiah thundered:

'Again, when the Prophet turns to those who remain in their barrenness and blindness, outside the rain and the light of the just, he derides them as those without fruit and sealed in darkness, confused, and with their backs turned: "Here is the people," he says, "who will not listen to the voice of their God!" O wretched people, will you not say with David: "Let me listen to the voice of the Lord God within me!" In truth you are poured out in vanities and follies, and

²³⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 107, Ad Th. de Bev.*, 8, SBO 7, 273: 'Quanta confusio, Dei Filium ingratis oculis cernere morientem! Quod quidem facile contingit, si desit Spiritus. Nunc autem, quia CARITAS DEI DIFFUSA EST IN CORDIBUS NOSTRIS PER SPIRITUM SANCTUM QUI DATUS EST NOBIS, amati amamus, amantes amplius meremur amari. SI ENIM CUM adhuc INIMICI ESSEMUS, RECONCILIATI SUMUS DEO PER MORTEM FILII EIUS, MULTO MAGIS RECONCILIATI SALVI ERIMUS IN VITA IPSIUS. Quid enim? QUI PROPRIO FILIO NON PEPERCIT, SED PRO NOBIS OMNIBUS TRADIDIT ILLUM, NON ETIAM OMNIA CUM IPSO DATURUS EST NOBIS?' Romans 5.5. Romans 5.10. Romans 8.32.

you do not seek to listen to the great and tender words of Truth: "Sons of humanity, how long shall your hearts be hardened? Why do you love emptiness, and seek after falsehood?" Deaf to the voice of truth, the counsel of peace, not knowing the thoughts He thinks, He who speaks peace to His people, to His saints, to those who are turned to Him (*ad cor*)...²³¹

Thomas was urged to heed the spiritual truth which was found in Cistercian monasticism. Bernard pressed him to receive the charity which its Rule had demonstrated, and which was also the grace to love God and to know His righteousness. He used in this relation terms that were familiar to biblical interpretation.²³² The monastic union awoke the mind to God in remorse and compassion, and showed the heart the hidden truth which this action had communicated:

²³¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 107, Ad Th. de Bev.*, 12, SBO 7, 275: 'Porro ceteros advertens Propheta in sui siccitate et caecitate remanentes, iustorum siquidem imbris et lucis expertes, infecundos ac tenebros, confusos et aversos, subsannat et notet: HAEC EST, inquit, GENS QUAE NON AUDIVIT VOCEM DEI SUI. Non vultis, o miseri, dicere cum David: AUDIAM QUID LOQUATUR IN ME DOMINUS DEUS. Utique foris fusi IN VANITATES ET INSANIAS FALSAS, intimum optimumque non requiritis veritatis auditum. FILII HOMINUM, USQUEQUO GRAVI CORDE? UT QUID DILIGITIS VANITATEM ET QUAERITIS MENDACIUM? Surdi ad vocem veritatis, ignorantes consilium cogitantis cogitationes pacis, sed et loquentis PACEM IN PLEBEM SUAM, ET SUPER SANCTOS SUOS, ET IN EOS QUI CONVERTUNTUR AD COR.' Jeremiah 7.28. Psalm 84.9. Psalm 39.5. Psalm 4.3. Jeremiah 29.11. Psalm 84.9. For the contrast between *veritas* and *vanitas*, monasticism and the world, in relation to the exegesis that is our concern, see section 3 below.

²³² H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis 2*, 162-177.

'But you, O dearest one, if you prepare your inner ear for this the voice of God, sweeter than honey and the honeycomb, then flee from external cares, so that, with your inner sense free and made ready, you can say with Samuel: "Speak, Lord, for your servant hears you." This voice does not sound in marketplace, but nor is it heard in public. A secret counsel seeks a secret hearing. Certainly, to hear it will bring both joy and delight, if you but listen with a serious ear...'²³³

The Dove and the Ark

Monks and the Church

The exegesis of the Bible was linked in this way to the Rule and to the monastic life. But this notion may also be applied to the larger reform of the Church at this time. It is well known that the Church in the Latin world was engulfed in spiritual agitation from the middle part of the eleventh century.²³⁴ The dramatic changes that swept over Europe in this period inspired people

²³³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 107, Ad Th. de Bev.*, 13, (SBO 7), 275-276: 'Ceterum tu, o carissime, huic voci Dei tui, dulciori super mel et favum, si praeparas aurem interiorem, fuge curam exteriorem, ut, expedito et vacante interno sensu, dicas et tu cum Samuele: LOQUERE DOMINE, QUIA AUDIT SERVUS TUUS. Vox haec non sona in foro, sed nec auditur in public. Secretum consilium secretum quaerit et auditum. Auditui gaudium pro certo dabit et laetitiam, si sobria aure perceperis.' Psalm 18.11. 1 Kings 3.10. Psalm 50.10.

²³⁴

across the west to reject the old religious order and to seek ideas and institutions better able to fulfil their spiritual wishes.²³⁵ Bernard and the Cistercians were a famous product of a larger movement whose effects were so profound that it has been called a medieval 'revolution' or 'reformation.'²³⁶ The Christian vision that is our theme offers a new approach to this mood and development. This is based once more on the Rule not as a pattern but as an instrument. The harsh routine which had opened the human body and its material environment to the Christian truth of God was now seen to unbolt a false religious order.²³⁷ It made a path to the *Veritas* this *ordo* had voided as well as concealed.²³⁸ This widened the appeal of reform to the clerical and Christian imagination.²³⁹ The struggle to reduce carnal power over the Church was now associated with the Lord who had shown the soul an End both eternal and supernatural. This

²³⁵

²³⁶

²³⁷ For Christian order as 'false peace': J. Y. Malegam, *The Sleep of Behemoth: Disputing Peace and Violence in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200*, (Ithaca; London, 2013).

²³⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ap. ad Gui. abb.*, 1.1, 6.12 etc, SBO 3, 81-82, 91-93. In the first of these passages, Bernard affects to criticize his own order, who have been assailed by the Cluniacs for their presumption in attacking the discipline of their monastic brothers. But the remainder of the document makes clear that the abbot here deploys a range of images that he more readily associated with monks who did not hold to the strict Rule of the Cistercians. These were the men whose outward cowl concealed the emptiness that was within.

²³⁹ On this theme, e.g. G. Constable, "Renewal and Reform in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities," in R. L. Benson, G. Constable, and C. D. Lanham (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, (Toronto; Buffalo; London, 1991), 37 ff. G. B. Ladner, "Gregory the Great and Gregory VII: A Comparison of their Concepts of Renewal," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, volume 4, (1973), 1-27. G. B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers*, (Cambridge, Mass, 1959). G. W. Olsen, "The Image of the First Community of Christians at Jerusalem in the Time of Lanfranc and Anselm," *Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XIe-XIIe siècles: études anselmiennes* (IVe session), (Paris, 1984), 341-353.

monastic action would clear in His name the bleak and carnal integument which had buried divine truth and would also restore the Church to communion. This opinion would relate an unseen power to the work of religious abbreviation, which modern studies have placed at the centre of the reform movement.²⁴⁰ From this point of view the heavy mass of custom which had accumulated over many years and which had closed round the Church and Christendom had revealed not only decline and division but burial and spiritual concealment. The reform-minded wished to reverse this situation and to restore true religion.

This image was once more linked above all to the routine and the power of monasticism. Here a portal was open to Christian truth in the Rule and its harsh observance. Here the jungle of flesh was cut down to reveal the power of the otherworld.²⁴¹ But the traditional view of this mystical action now groaned and shuddered under the blows of those who believed that this example had been corrupted.²⁴² This opinion applied to both the public and private state of the

²⁴⁰ B. Bolton, "*Paupertas Christi*: Old Wealth and New Poverty in the Twelfth Century," in *SICH 14*, 95-103. G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 257-296. G. Constable, *Three Studies*, 169-213. R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, 250-251.

²⁴¹ See note 274 below.

²⁴² B. Bolton, *The Medieval Reformation*, 21-24. N. F. Cantor, "The Crisis of Western Monasticism, 1050-1130," *The American Historical Review*, volume 66, number 1, (October, 1960), 47-67. D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943-1216*, Reprinted, (Cambridge, 1950), 209. C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 146 ff. J. van Engen, "The 'Crisis of Cenobitism' Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050-1150," *Speculum*, volume 61, number 2, (April, 1986), 269-304.

monasteries. It moved those who wished to return them to a more primitive observance. For years now the vision of God in the monastic church had been associated with the gigantic scale of its liturgy and the wonder of its constant celebration.²⁴³ His divine and unseen power was made known in the grand and superabundant routine of those who prayed in a house filled with precious commodities.²⁴⁴ But this consensus would not survive a period of European transformation. For those worried about the effects of social and economic development, the splendid Benedictine rite was related to the human pride and wickedness that had reduced the Catholic world to a harsh and barbarous confinement.²⁴⁵ This opinion inspired a desire to reduce the mass of liturgical observance and to return the monastic world to the simple discipline it had abandoned.²⁴⁶ The new Christian men wished to revive plain chant and sober architecture: the insistent office was reduced and time made for prayer and meditation.²⁴⁷ This mood reached into the world with which the abbey was encompassed. The growth of the Benedictine office had been paralleled by the enlargement of the public ties with which its status and position had been consolidated.²⁴⁸ The monastic church was at the centre of a dense material arrangement, and

²⁴³ C. N. L. Brooke, *The Age of the Cloister*, 64-86. C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 96 ff.

²⁴⁴ C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 96.

²⁴⁵ For the context of the criticism of the old orders, J. van Engen, "The 'Crisis of Cenobitism Reconsidered,'" esp. 298-306.

²⁴⁶ A. Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, 22. R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 161-162.

²⁴⁷ G. Melville, *Medieval Monasticism*, 141 ff.

²⁴⁸ C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 94-97.

was found at the heart of social and urban power and administration.²⁴⁹ The reform-minded wished to reduce the burden of these commitments.²⁵⁰ But the Christians who adopted this rigorous perspective also understood the Church to be assailed by forces which must be resisted and overpowered.²⁵¹ Like the human soul the Church was seen now to have been surrounded by a carnal mass that had reduced its virtue as well as its spiritual illumination.

This opinion has until now been linked to the appetite for imitation that we have described. The solution to the religious problems posed by social and economic development has been found in a return to a model that was remote as well as authoritative.²⁵² For monks this was the Rule of Benedict and the Christ who was Crucified.²⁵³ This model promised a means to lessen the dense and historical concentration of carnal power which had sealed away the original integrity

²⁴⁹ D. Knowles, *Christian Monasticism*, 69-71.

²⁵⁰ C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 203: 'Behind the wrangling over the interpretation of the Rule lurked a deeper confrontation between the traditional monasticism, with its relatively humane and gentle *askesis*, its elaborate liturgical rituals, and its many-sided involvement in the society and public life of its time, and on the other hand the more austere spirit of the new orders, which drew their inspiration from the primitive desert tradition and sought to institutionalize the quest for poverty, of which manual labour was the symbol, simplicity, and detachment from the world.'

²⁵¹ E.g. R. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, 64-96. B. Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 43-65.

²⁵² B. Bolton, *The Medieval Reformation*, 13. G. Constable, "Renewal and Reform in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities," in *Renaissance and Renewal*, 37-67. R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, 251.

²⁵³ Alongside the writings of the Church Fathers that elucidated these central themes.

of monasticism.²⁵⁴ This distant pattern would correct the false legacy of sinful custom and would return the Christian world to the pristine state that it had lost.²⁵⁵ However, this confuses the objective with the purpose of the reform movement. This Latin motion was inspired by the past but its goal was not only historical. The reform-minded looked also to a power that was eternal

²⁵⁴ G. W. Olsen, "The Idea of the 'Ecclesia Primitiva' in the Writings of the Twelfth Century Canonists," *Traditio*, volume 25, (January, 1969), 61-86.

²⁵⁵ . G. W. Olsen, "Recovering the Homeland: Acts 4.32 and the *Ecclesia Primitiva* in St. Bernard's Sermons on the Song of Songs," *Word and Spirit*, volume 12, (1990), 92-117. This is a brilliant meditation on Bernard's incarnational ecclesiology. Olsen's view that Bernard looked to the Kiss of God known in His Son (through the Church) is at the base of what follows. G. W. Olsen, "The Idea of the 'Ecclesia Primitiva' in the Writings of the Twelfth Century Canonists," *Traditio*, volume 25, (January, 1969), 61-86. G. W. Olsen, "The Image of the First Community of Christians at Jerusalem in the Time of Lanfranc and Anselm," *Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XIe-XIIe siècles: études anselmiennes (IVe session)*, (Paris, 1984), 341-353. For comparison: L. S. Handelman, "Ecclesia Primitiva: Alvarus Pelagius and Marsilius of Padua," *Medioevo: rivista di storia della filosofia medievale*, volume 6, (1980), 431-448. This paper shows how the primitive Church was a permanent desire and a source of political and religious conflict. In the earlier middle ages the conflict that arose from this ideal was linked to the debate over the quintessential nature of the early Church: was it monastic and remote from society, or pastoral and engaged? In the later middle ages this conflict was still linked to the desire to imitate and to comprehend the true nature of the early Church but was made sharp by the belief on the part of certain groups that they alone were loyal to this ideal and that other forms of Christian life were illegitimate (or *outside* the true Church). The notion of special status within the Church that was previously ascribed to monasticism was now used to support the idea of a 'remnant' within the Church that would be saved. Higher status was substituted for absolute truth. On this ideological progress, S. H. Hendrix, "In Quest of the *Vera Ecclesia*: the Crises of Late Medieval Ecclesiology," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, volume 7 (1976), 347-379. 'Although the employment of the apostolic ideal *per se* was by no means a new ecclesiological strategy in the later Middle Ages, the peculiar critical intensity with which it was applied marked the first stage in the later medieval quest for the true church,' 352. Also, L. B. Pascoe, "Jean Gerson, the 'Ecclesia Primitiva' and Reform," *Traditio*, volume 30, (1974), 379-409. But G. W. Olsen, "Reform after the pattern of the Primitive Church in the thought of Salvian of Marseilles," *The Catholic Historical Review*, volume 68, number 1, (1982), 1-12, for an earlier opinion. G. Tellenbach, *Church, State, and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, for a cogent (if contested) view of the monk and the monastic view of the Church in this period. I. S. Robinson, "Reform and the Church, 1073-1122," in *NCMH*, 4.1, on the desire for the *aureum saeculum*.

and supernatural. From this point of view the old houses were closed to God's *mysterium*.²⁵⁶

Their complex office and social position were seen now to have concealed the simple action in which the Lord had shown the world a spiritual covenant. This notion filled the desire for Church reform with new urgency and importance. The Christian office and social attachments which were increased and elaborated when this was seen to praise God were seen now to banish His achievement. The *porta* that stood open in the true Rule was now shut to His Presence. This helps explain the ferocious appeal of the new monks to the medieval imagination. The forceful desire in this period to return to the Gospel and to emancipate the Church from carnal ties was now linked to the passion as a hermeneutic.

The Cistercian body and its Christian mission were linked firmly to this new perspective. Bernard of Clairvaux shared this opinion and so did his friends and companions. It was seen above all in the Cistercian dispute with Cluniac monasticism.²⁵⁷ The vision that is our subject throws new

²⁵⁶ H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis 2*, 93-94: 'Now all the preceding shows clearly enough that this mystery is entirely concrete. It does not exist in idea. It does not consist in any atemporal truth or object of detached speculation. This mystery is a reality in act, the realization of a Grand Design; it is therefore, in the strongest sense, even something historical, in which personal beings are engaged.'

²⁵⁷ A. H. Bredero, *op. cit.* D. Knowles, *Christian Monasticism*, 59-81. Notes in J. Leclercq, "Introduction," *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux, volume 1: Treatises 1*, (Shannon, 1970), 3-4. For a discussion of Cluniac liturgy and its social and political context, B. H. Rosenwein, "Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression," 129-157. Also, The collection of essays in: A. H. Bredero, *Cluny et Cîteaux au douzième siècle: L'histoire d'une controverse monastique*, (Amsterdam, 1985). Bredero places the dispute in a political context (Bernard as the external ally of the reformer Pons of Mergeuil against the traditional party at Cluny led by Peter the Venerable) that has not generally been accepted.

light on this bitter controversy: it shows in a new way how this contest burst on the Christian imagination.²⁵⁸ For the white monks their retreat from Cluniac customs and magnificence had freed the divine power of God from a closed and carnal integument.²⁵⁹ Nicholas of Clairvaux wrote that the Cistercian order and ideal represented the spiritual truth which had flown from the shadow of the Old Testament.²⁶⁰ The Old Testament was in this case the black body of Cluniac monasticism.²⁶¹ Nicholas meant that black preceded white in time and moral excellence. But he also related this biblical transfer to a new and mystical consciousness. The Cistercians were the reality which Cluny had obscured as well as prefigured.²⁶² Nicholas would use the Latin verb *evolare* to outline this temporal progress. He described a thing which had flown or rushed from a place or circumstance. The monk did not use this verb to express a simple series or temporal development. Nicholas did not seek only to portray an historical advance or succession.²⁶³ He meant instead the spiritual truth which had burst from carnal obstruction, like the spiritual power which had poured from the side of Christ Crucified.²⁶⁴ Nicholas compared the Cluniac order to

²⁵⁸ G. Melville, *Medieval Monasticism*, 136-157, for an historical overview.

²⁵⁹ E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *De pr. et disp.*, 7.16-18, 12.28, SBO 3, 264-266, 273: 'et mihi quodammodo repraesentant antiquum ritum Iudaeorum.'

²⁶⁰ Nicholas of Clairvaux, *Ep. 8, ad Theo. prior.*, (PL 196, 1603B-C): 'Uno denique consensus reliquimus omnia: et de Veteri Testamento et umbra Cluniacensium, ad Cisterciensium evolavimus puritatem.'

²⁶¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De pr. et disp.*, 10-11.24-26. SBO 3, 270-272.

²⁶² H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis 2*, 83-107.

²⁶³ M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society*, 162-202, describes this history as 'an expression of the temporal order of salvation,' at 162.

²⁶⁴ Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 61.2.5, SBO 2, 151.

the Letter the cross had unfastened, and the Cistercian order to the truth which had rushed from this perforation. This approach to the Benedictine houses would be of far-reaching importance to the drastic contest which erupted at this time inside Christian monasticism. *Veritas* could not be known outside the violent work of the cross and crucifixion, and this justified the force with which the new men assailed their competitors.²⁶⁵ This vision would also affirm a brutal piety on the borders of Christendom.²⁶⁶ In the third chapter we will see how this image was also used to represent the efforts of those who worked to liberate the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem from the Muslim power with which it was now menaced as well as surrounded.²⁶⁷ Here too the cross was seen to release the Lord from a carnal *involucrum*: a hostile power was cleared from the eternal temple which it had imprisoned. The Christian soldiers who battled this enemy also reduced their own wickedness, which received a material form in the enemies they cleaved and slaughtered. But the divine action Nicholas described was instead the simple claustral arrangement with which the Cistercian order opposed the largess of Cluniac monasticism. For him this was the solid work in which the power of Christ was demonstrated.

²⁶⁵ For Cistercian violence as an expression of love, M. G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098-1180*, (Stanford: 1996), 123-141.

²⁶⁶ B. McGinn, "Violence and Spirituality: The Enigma of the First Crusade," *The Journal of Religion*, volume 69, number 3, (1989), 375-379. W. J. Purkiss, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095-c. 1187*, (Suffolk, 2008).

²⁶⁷ See Chapter 3, 253 ff.

For Bernard the cross of God held the central role in this unseen and spiritual translation.²⁶⁸ The passion alone had cleared a path from the world to mystical perception.²⁶⁹ This granted the Cistercian routine a power which was above all hermeneutical: the pallid flesh of Christ was a key which had passed into their possession. Those who refused this Gospel severity were closed to the Word it expounded. They had sealed away the charity of God behind a slack and lenient discipline. To deviate from the Rule was to douse the light which shone in this observance: it was to conceal the divine love which was shown in that human achievement. To Bernard the sound of a carnal church was the sound of doors slammed shut on the hidden secret which the monastic rite was supposed to demonstrate.²⁷⁰ This image would come to shape the social world of the western kingdoms, because it moved the abbot to attack those in whom God was now extinguished. The belief that the older houses had buried the mystery of Christ prompted Bernard to write strong letters to those who had allowed this gloomy development. This motion proves the idea that is at the heart of the present dissertation, because it shows the historical force of this action of the Christian imagination. Bernard hoped to move others to reform by an appeal to our chosen hermeneutic. His desire to renew the world was sustained in part by this pious conception. The abbot hoped to revive the Word which was cloaked by carnal observance.

²⁶⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 11.3.7-8, SBO 1, 58-59.

²⁶⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 61.2.4, SBO 2, 150-151.

²⁷⁰ E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *De pr. et disp.*, 11-12.28-29, SBO 3, 272-274: 'Denique quid haec ad pauperes, ad monachos, ad spirituales viros...totumque diem occupare singula ista mirando, quam in lege Dei meditando

Bernard would not respect rank in his quest to reverse this morbid situation. He would in fact appeal to the status of his friends as a proof of this purpose. 'God's Son now turns to you as one of the greatest princes of His household.'²⁷¹ This vision moved him to burst on the highest figures in the Christian Church. He planned to subdue the disquiet that his invasion of worldly affairs had promoted with the claim that from this public agony the power of Christ would be restored.²⁷² This view would be found at the heart of his attack on his European opponents. However, his greatest fear was drawn from the church in the French kingdom. The Cistercian body was rooted here and from here its religious power radiated.²⁷³ For this reason Bernard worked hard to ensure that its religion was conserved.²⁷⁴ He believed that a sickness of the head

²⁷¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 521.1, ad Pet. Ab. Clun*, SBO 8, 483-484: 'Recurrit et ad vos Filius Dei tamquam ad unum de maximis principibus suis domus suae.'

²⁷² E.g. on the phrase *My mother's sons fought against me* (Song 1.5): Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 29.3.6, SBO 1, 207: 'Quosdam altius intellexi sentire istud, quasi de diabolo et angelis eius dictum...Sed neque contendo, si quis usurpet hoc etiam in bonam significationem, secundum quod spiritualis, qui sunt in Ecclesia, adversus carnales fratres suos dimicant in gladio spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, vulnerantes eos ad salutem atque ad spiritualia istiusmodi impugnationibus provehentes. Utinam corripiat me iustus in misericordia et increpet me, percutiens et sanans, occidens et vivificans, quo audeam et ego dicere: VIVO EGO, IAM NON EGO, VIVIT VERO IN ME CHRISTUS. ESTO, inquit, CONSENTIENS ADVERSARIO TUO, DUM ES CUM EO IN VIA, NE TRADAT TE IUDICI, ET IUDEX TORTORI. Bonus adversarius, cui si consentiens ero, non erit unde aut iudex me calumnietur, aut tortor. Ego profecto si quos vestrum aliquando pro huiusmodi contristavi, non me piget; contristati enim sunt ad salutem. Et quidem nescio me id umquam fecisse absque mea quoque magna tristitia, secundum illud: MULIER, CUM PARIT, TRISTITIAM HABETb. *Sed absit ut iam meminerim pressurae, tenens fructum doloris mei, dum perinde videam Christum format in sobole.* Nescio autem quomodo etiam tenerius mihi adstricti sunt, qui post increpatoria et per increpatoria tandem convaluerunt de infirmitate, quam qui fortes ab initio permanserunt, non indigentes istiusmodi medicamento.' My emphasis.

²⁷³ M. G. Newman, "Foundation and Twelfth Century," and E. Jamroziak, "Centres and Peripheries," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order*, 25-37, 65-79.

²⁷⁴ See Chapter 3, 257-262.

would rot the body of the Church. This opinion has been noted by those who have studied the abbot's thought.²⁷⁵ But it has been linked above all to the political climate or Christian theology.²⁷⁶

The vision outlined here allows us to relate it to another form of interpretation; in the context of our chosen image the abbot's action is better understood.²⁷⁷

In 1127 the abbot wrote a letter to Suger of St Denis that affirms this spiritual perspective. As the chief hand to King Louis VI Suger was of wide and drastic importance to the conduct of Christian affairs in France and the security of its population.²⁷⁸ He was named the father of the nation and guided the French government. Later, Bernard came to term Suger the *princeps maximus* in the kingdom.²⁷⁹ But his house had been turned over to earthly affairs and carnal

²⁷⁵ K. Schatz, "The Gregorian Reform and the Beginning of a Universal Ecclesiology," R. E. Jenkins (trans.), *The Jurist*, (1997), 123-136, esp. 129.

²⁷⁶ G. Constable, "The Disputed Election at Langres in 1138," *Traditio*, volume 13, (1957), 119-152. E. Kennan, "The 'De Consideratione' of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the Papacy in the Mid-Twelfth Century: A Review of Scholarship," *Traditio*, volume 23, (1967), 73-115. H. V. White, "The Gregorian Ideal and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, volume 21, number 3, (1960), 321-348.

²⁷⁷ For a stimulating review of this problem, H. Mayr-Harting, "Two Abbots in Politics: Wala of Corbie and Bernard of Clairvaux," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, volume 40, (1990), 217-237.

²⁷⁸ On Suger, L. Grant, *Abbot Suger of St. Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth Century France*, (London; New York, 1998).

²⁷⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux *Ep. 376.1, ad Sug.*, SBO 8, 339-340: 'Supplico et consulo sublimitati vestrae, quia maximus princeps estis in regno, ut vel dissuasione, vel vi, totis vos viribus opponatis, ne fiat hoc, quia sic convenit honori personae vestrae, et terrae vestrae, et utilitati Ecclesiae Dei.'

business.²⁸⁰ This created unease in those who saw a royal church invaded by worldliness. Bernard noted that it was to Suger and not his monks that this anger was directed: 'It was against you and not against them that the people spoke and murmured.'²⁸¹ Anxiety could turn to agitation and might threaten priestly power and government. For Bernard this Christian mutiny was the product of the mystical concealment that took place when an austere routine was replaced by worldly indolence.²⁸² The divine love that was found in that *regula* was masked by this reduction. Its power of Christian union would be substituted for rebellion and disenchantment.²⁸³ This spiritual truth was known in the carnal habits that filled the monastic church and that had closed out the Christ who was known in ascetic observance. The central force of this vision is not found in a moral code or an ethical comparison but in a belief that a harsh rule was also a portal to God and the supernatural. The church that was buried in the world could not perform this vital function. It had chosen to seal away the power that was at the heart of monastic discipline. Christian society was seen to fall back into sin when this *virtus* was concealed. This notion proves from a

²⁸⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 78.4*, SBO 7, 203: 'claustrum ipsum monasterii frequenter, ut aiunt, stipari militibus, urgeri negotiis, iurgiis personare, patere interdum et feminis.'

²⁸¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 78.3, ad Sug.*, SBO 7, 203: 'Tua certe, non et tuorum errata, sanctorum carpebat zelus; tuis, non ipsorum excessibus succensebant, solamque in personam tuam, non etiam in abbatiam fratrum susurrium immurmurabat.'

²⁸² For Suger's Gothic and its place in relation to the new monasticism, C. Rudolph, *Artistic Change at St. Denis: Abbot Suger's Program and the Early-Twelfth Century Controversy over Art*, (Princeton, 1990).

²⁸³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ap. ad Gui. ab.*, 10.25, SBO 3, 102: 'Ubi nunc illud unanimatis exercitium?'

new point of view the power of our chosen hermeneutic. The Church was seen to be harmed by the truth this exegesis comprehended.

For this reason the reform of the church at St Denis was of wide and spiritual importance. Bernard linked this action to Christ who had pushed aside a carnal darkness and had shown in his death the divine love with which the world would be redeemed. At the church of St Denis this work had been repeated in new circumstances. Bernard praised its abbot for clearing his church of rough men and royal officials, and the repeal of those deeds and habits that had dimmed its spiritual reputation.²⁸⁴ He believed its high status meant the effect of its revival would be increased. The medieval church was a site on which business of all kinds was conducted. But Bernard feared that the growth of affairs at St Denis was especially harmful, because its fallen state was seen by Christian souls and inspired them to wickedness.²⁸⁵ The world acted in the dark because it was deprived of Gospel illumination.²⁸⁶ The Christian renewal which Bernard described was above all supernatural. The sinful action which had made that house a source of fury and rebellion was

²⁸⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 78.4, Ad Sug.*, SBO 8, 203: 'Nunc vero vacatur inibi Deo, studetur continentiae, disciplinae invigilator, lectionibus sanctis intenditur. luge quippe silentium et ab omni strepitu saecularium perpetuae quies cogit caelestia meditari.'

²⁸⁵ The carnal climate at St Denis provoked restless tumult within the larger Church. Division between Christian souls was a tactic used by the Devil to invade the Church and to corrupt it. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. Ad Sug., 78.3-4.*, SBO 7, 203-204.

²⁸⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De pr. et disp.*, 11.27, SBO 3, 103: 'Quomodo lux mundi obtenebrata est? Quomodo sal terrae infatuatum est?'

traded for the severe routine which was a source of praise and communion.²⁸⁷ For him the previous life at St Denis was not only a pattern or representation. It was a partition which had been placed between the human community and the eternal realm which would lead Christians from the world into blessedness. The monastic church was meant to act as a portal to this hidden kingdom. Here the cross of Christ had opened the road to the heavenly city of Jerusalem.²⁸⁸ Its general appeal must be related to this amazed and numinous perspective. This belief was in part the result of the vision with which we are concerned. Christ was seen to have removed the shadow with which France was oppressed: the heart and the world were drawn by this action into the truth of redemption. The power to continue this labor was the special grace of Christian monasticism. Here the passion parted the shroud with which the Church was surrounded; here the soul was freed from the mass of sin with which it was dominated.²⁸⁹ The Rule was in each

²⁸⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 78.6, Ad Sug.*, SBO 7, 205: 'nil supernis civibus magis spectare libet, nil Regi summon iucundius exhibetur. Quid enim aliud est quod ait: SACRIFICIUM LAUDIS HONORIFICABIT ME?'

²⁸⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 64, Ad Al. Lin. ep.*, SBO 7, 157-158.

²⁸⁹ Suger had removed a mass of sin to disclose a mystery. See Augustine of Hippo, *In Ev. Io. Tr.*, 21.1-22.2: 'LACRYMATUS EST IESUS. DIXERUNT ERGO IUDAEI: ECCE QUOMODO AMABAT EUM. Quid est, AMABAT EUM? NON VENI VOCARE IUSTOS, SED PECCATORES IN POENITENTIAM. QUIDAM AUTEM EX IPSIS DIXERUNT: NON POTERAT HIC QUI APERUIT OCULOS CAECI, FACERE UT ET HIC NON MORERETUR? Qui noluit facere ut non moreretur, plus est quod facturus est, ut mortuus suscitetur. IESUS ERGO RURSUS FREMENS IN SEMETIPSO, VENIT AD MONUMENTUM. Fremat et in te, si disponis reviviscere. Omni homini dicitur, qui premitur pessima consuetudine: VENIT AD MONUMENTUM. ERAT AUTEM SPELUNCA, ET LAPIS SUPERPOSITUS ERAT EI. Mortuus sub lapide, reus sub lege. Scitis enim quia Lex quae data est Iudaeis, in lapide scripta est. Omnes autem rei sub lege sunt: bene viventes cum lege sunt. Iusto lex posita non est. Quid est ergo: LAPIDEM REMOVETE? Gratiam praedicate. Apostolus enim Paulus ministrum se dicit Novi Testamenti, non litterae, sed spiritus: NAM LITTERA, inquit, OCCIDIT, SPIRITUS VIVIFICAT. Littera occidens, quasi lapis est premens. REMOVETE, inquit,

case the Act which had opened an earthly integument: it battled hellish forces and showed the soul a new and spiritual consciousness. This was the function which the abbot of St Denis had hitherto abandoned. A carnal screen had been formed from the habits that had filled his monastery. Its monks had closed the door to heaven that was open in an ascetic observance. The flame of God was doused in this place by the power of His adversaries. This was a Christian idea whose truth was known to faith and the imagination. Its inward power reaches beyond the social and moral aspects of monasticism. Its nature is closer to the Christian rite and above all the Paschal sacrament.²⁹⁰ The reform at the church of St Denis had restored this mode of communication. The uproar which had muted the gentle voice of God had been replaced by the glorious sound of Him who was heard in the work of Christian meditation.²⁹¹ The Benedictine order was once more a vessel of light and not darkness.²⁹² That Suger now filled his house with riches did not detract from this sentiment. The miracle here was not in baubles but in the return

LAPIDEM. Removete Legis pondus; gratiam praedicate. SI ENIM DATA ESSET LEX, QUAE POSSET VIVIFICARE, OMNINO EX LEGE ESSET IUSTITIA. SED CONCLUSIT OMNIA SCRIPTURA SUB PECCATO, UT PROMISSIO EX FIDE IESU CHRISTI DARETUR CREDENTIBUS. Ergo, REMOVE TE LAPIDEM.'

²⁹⁰ See Chapter 3 for more on this theme.

²⁹¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 78.4, 6, Ad Sug.*, SBO 7, 203, 205: 'Iugo quippe silentium et ab omni strepitu saecularium perpetua quies cogit caelestia meditari. Porro continentiae labor et rigor disciplinae psalmodum hymnorumque dulcedine relevantur...et pro forensibus causis, canticis spiritualibus sacra tecta resultant...'

²⁹² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 78.5, Ad Sug.*, SBO 7, 204: 'iunge nigra candidis, et mutua collatione in proprio quaeque colore distinctius enitescunt. Sic foeda admota pulchris, pulchriora reddunt, magis foeda redduntur. Ne qua tamen offensionis vel confusionis subrepat occasio, replicamus et nos vobis illud Apostoli: ET HOC QUIDEM FUISTIS, SED ABLUTI ESTIS, SED SANCTIFICATI ESTIS.' 1 Corinthians 6.11.

of heavenly government to a place where the affairs of France once came before the True Emperor.²⁹³ Bernard linked the effects of this action to the advent of the New Testament, and the divine Word which was shown to the mind by this Gospel revelation. ‘The good word has gone out in our land, [with which] the good will [now] cooperate.’²⁹⁴ Those who heard what had been done praised God in the abbot’s person:²⁹⁵ Bernard leaves his reader in no doubt he refers to an act of spiritual illumination. His letter to Suger is thus a proof of the Christian vision we have enumerated:

‘Truly, the wonder and the gladness are equally exalted, because you rush to fulfill that of which we read, the saving counsel which you pour out without delay, and which has been poured into you from heaven: “And he that heareth, let him say, come!,” and that “that which I tell you in the dark, speak in the light, and that which you hear in the ear, preach upon the rooftops”.’²⁹⁶

²⁹³ Bernard was present at the dedication of the east end of Suger’s church. He did not view the works with which Suger adorned that place with the same ferocious disdain he reserved for the Cluniacs in his *Apologia*.

²⁹⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 78*, SBO 7, 201: ‘Exiit sermo bonus in terram nostram, in bonum sine dubio bonis cooperaturus, ad quoscumque pervenerit.’

²⁹⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 78*, SBO 7, 201: ‘Enimvero audientes omnes qui timent Deum quanta fecit anima tuae...atque in te Deum glorificant.’

²⁹⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 78*, SBO 7: ‘Auget vero gaudium et miraculum partier quod salutis consilium, caelitus infusum tibi, protinus tuis refundere, atque ita implere satigesti quod legitur: QUI AUDIT, DICAT: VENI, et illud: QUOD DICO VOBIS IN TENEBRIS, DICITE IN LUMINE, ET QUOD IN AURE AUDITIS, PRAEDICATE SUPER TECTA,’ 201. Apoc. 22.17. Matt. 10.27.

In 1140 a dispute began over the see of York which offers a further proof of this perspective.²⁹⁷

In that year the death of archbishop Thurstan sparked a dash for the episcopate. The Cistercian choice for this exalted position was blocked by King Stephen, who wished instead for his nephew and treasurer William to assume the bishopric.²⁹⁸ In York the white monks and their local allies exploded in ardent indignation.²⁹⁹ The ensuing contest may be linked to the clash between new and old monasticism, as an example of the fierce rivalry between the Cluniacs and the Cistercians.

While William was publicly rejected for simony and a life of sordid irreverence, the abbot feared above all the influence of the old 'wizard' Henry of Winchester, a Cluniac monk and brother of the king who agitated for his unhappy relative.³⁰⁰ His desire to advance Cistercian power was matched by the might of his opponent. But the inner workings of the dispute have been debated

²⁹⁷ For this controversy, D. Knowles, "The Case of Saint William of York," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, volume 5, number 2, (1936), 162-177.

²⁹⁸ Stephen vetoed Waldef's candidacy on the grounds that he was related to the Scottish royal house. D. Knowles, "The Case of Saint William," 165.

²⁹⁹ D. Knowles, "The Case of Saint William," 164 (on William of Rievaulx, Richard of Fountains, Ailred of Rievaulx, and Waldef of Kirkham – an Augustinian house – who formed the Cistercian party): 'They were indeed a formidable group of opponents, and when to their cause were added Henry Murdac and St Bernard himself, it may be doubted whether there could have been found in all Europe another half-dozen so tenacious and indefatigable.'

³⁰⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 346*, SBO 8: 'Causa eius infirma est et languida, et, sicut virorum veracium attestazione deprehendimus, A PLANTA PEDIS USQUE AD VERTICEM NON EST IN ea SANITAS. Quid igitur? Quid quaerit homo sine iustitia apud examinatore iustitiae, apud custodem aequitatis?', 288-289. Isaiah 1.6. D. Knowles, "The Case of St William," 162-163, notes that Henry 'stood for a free Church' and was in sympathy with the Gregorian party. His motives are difficult at every stage to establish with certainty. But he stood with Thomas Becket in his tribulation and there is little evidence to support the image of an ambitious schemer that Bernard created in his correspondence.

and discussed elsewhere, and it will not be our concern here to enter into the high politics of the controversy. We are interested instead in the way the collision was imagined by its contemporaries, and above all with how Bernard chose to present it in his written correspondence.

The abbot hurtled fiercely into the fray with a series of passionate letters, addressed to members of the Cistercian body and to powerful figures in the Church. His intention was to break the English resistance by the sheer force of this assault, and to ensure that a Cistercian was installed at York in place of the hapless William. The rhetoric he used to perform this task was therefore of the utmost importance. It was meant to discredit his enemies and to lend his cause a heavenly sanction. The image of Christ we have unfolded in this chapter was essential to this purpose. It linked the historical action of the white monks to the zone of Christian mystery, and showed to their friends in the Church the falsehood of their worldly opposition.

For Bernard the earthly conduct of his brothers in England affirmed this mystical conception. He saw this resolute action as the deed round which falsehood had withdrawn, the *passio* which showed the truth of God to those buried in an earthly darkness. Bernard opposed the moral restraint which had been shown by the Cistercians to the greed and fatness of those who wished to defend a dissolute archbishop. This worthy act was like the cross from which moral excess visibly retreated. His vision of the conflict as well as the forceful activity that this vision promoted was based once more on the biblical view of the world that we have described. Bernard in his sermons on the Song of Songs made clear that the exegetical method that is our theme was the

source of an eternal truth in the Christian Church. For him the world and its sins were like the evil clouds that had closed round spiritual truth until the Lord had come to suffer and to die and so to clear a path to redemption.³⁰¹ He imagined them as weeds with which the power of Christ was suffocated.³⁰² This image was linked to the view of Christian time that we have described.³⁰³

The death of God and His return to life had once and for all time demonstrated that the reign of sin was broken and that the *malae nubes* had been dispersed. But the world itself had not ended and so this power had passed to the Church, which would carry to the ends of the earth the work that Christ had accomplished. The Church was thus the vessel in which this mission was now embodied; the Church across the ages would refresh the work that Jesus had commenced.³⁰⁴

Moreover, the nature of this spiritual power was viewed in relation to Scripture, which revealed

³⁰¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 58.3.8, SBO 2, 131, 132: 'Cur putas adiunxisse signanter MEIS, nisi quia sunt et malae nubes, quae non sunt eius? TOLLE, TOLLE, inquit, CRUCIFIGE EUM! O nubes violentas et turbidas! O imbrem procellosum! (etc)...Donec ergo istiusmodi aquae pestilentes occupaverunt terram et invaluerunt super eam, tempus suum vineae non habuerunt, nec fuit quod sponsa invitaretur ad putandas vineas. Ceterum, illis decurrentibus, terra apparuit arida et flores apparuerunt in ea, significantes tempus putationis adesse. Quaeris quando fuit? Quando, putas, nisi cum reffloruit caro Christi in resurrectione? Et hic primus et maximus flos, qui apparuit in terra nostra: nam primitiae Christus.' Isaiah 5.6. John 19.15.

³⁰² Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 58.4.10, SBO 2, 134: 'Medium denique vitiorum virtus tenet, ac perinde sedula eget non solum putatione, sed et circumcissione. Alioquin verendum ne, undique allabentibus vel potius arrodentibus vitiis, illa, dum nescis, paulatim elangueat, aut, si supercreverint, suffocetur.'

³⁰³ See above, 87-88.

³⁰⁴ Compare with, G. B. Ladner, "Gregory the Great and Gregory VII: A Comparison of their Concepts of Renewal," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, volume 4, (1973), 1-27. Ladner contrasts the personal ethos of Gregory the Great with the 'juridical' focus of Gregory VII (though he describes how Gregory VII applies the concept of reform to 'groups of persons' and not 'the whole Church'), at 13-14.

the work of God in the creation of the world as well as its redemption.³⁰⁵ The progress of the Church in time was linked to images and taxonomies drawn from the Bible and used to show how the world was related to providence.³⁰⁶ This method could be used to instruct the soul in the work of spiritual restoration, as well as to reveal the state of the world and the role of the Church in its deliverance.³⁰⁷ The patterns that were found in the biblical text had long been used to determine the spiritual truth of the world and to relate that truth to Christian life and experience.³⁰⁸ This notion has been linked to the political life of the Church as an instrument used to explain the *status mundi* and also as a source of prophecy and prediction. The learned might use this method to account for the nature of Christian authority, as well as to judge the power of the Church in the light of this mode of calculation. The German bishop Otto of Freising based his great world-chronicle on the conviction that the growth of the Church and the decline of the world were foretold in scripture.³⁰⁹ A belief that the earth was near its end often inspired the call to spiritual renewal.³¹⁰ However, this tradition does not exhaust the scope of that biblical perspective. It rests on a view of the Bible and its study that we have said is too restrictive. Both these historical ideas are the result of the practice of scriptural exposition, whose fruits are applied

³⁰⁵ F. T. Harkins, *Reading and the Work of Restoration*, 137 ff.

³⁰⁶ F. T. Harkins and F. van Liere, *Interpretation of Scripture: Theory*, 73-74.

³⁰⁷ Robert of Melun, *Sent.*, 14.

³⁰⁸ H. de Lubac, *Catholicism*, 137-156.

³⁰⁹ E.g. Otto of Freising, *Chron. de dua. civ.*, 1, pr.

³¹⁰ R. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, 64 ff.

to the data of Christian history and human observation. The Bible was used in this way to bring order to the hectic mass of experience, and to invest this hectic world in turn with a Christian purpose and foundation.³¹¹ It is in this context that it is seen as a source of belief and therefore of action, and so to shape the ebb and flow of the world which is the theme of the historian.

But the results of this method have not been used to show how the method itself determined the vision of the world that moved Christians to act on their historical environment. Biblical exegesis in fact supplied a means to assess the turbulent association between the Church and the world whose effects have until now remained invisible. Bernard in his letters on York points the way to a new view of this enterprise. The notion that Christ and then the Church had opened the Letter that once concealed the Spirit found new power in a world filled with social conflict and religious upheaval. It suggested a profound truth at the heart of the Church and its earthly government. For Bernard it stood at the base of the Christian office and its Gospel commission. He thought that it distilled the essence of the many-sided western movement that wished at this time to return the Church to its original and primitive condition. The human forces that resisted this new order seemed to him a hostile integument that had closed out the truth of Christ and so had blocked the road to His presence. This was in part the result of moral decline and in part the

³¹¹ Cf. G. Green, *Imagining God*, 49, 50 ff.

result of violent rebellion. The spiritual occlusion that is our theme was the product of this hateful combination.

This image of the Church was drawn in the first place from monastic life and spirituality. Bernard in his letters and sermons set out a vision of truth that was at once uncompromising and based on a belief that divine love was the very substance of God.³¹² He often wrote that charity was found in the soul that cleaved to God absolutely, and was absent from the soul that failed to serve God out of timidity or weakness.³¹³ This alarmed those monks who had seen charity as a mark of divine sympathy and a desire to show mercy to those who had fallen away from strict discipline.³¹⁴ However, the debate thus sparked would not remain a rarefied disagreement. The verdict the abbot reached could not remain a quarrel over monastic discipline. The remorseless logic of his position led him to attack those whose tolerant observance he saw as an abuse in which the charity of God was closed off and extinguished. This opinion can be met from time to time in Bernard's written correspondence. In a famous letter to his nephew Robert the abbot

³¹² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 11.4, Ad Gui.*, SBO 7, 55: 'Nemo tamen me existimet in caritatem hic accipere qualitatem, vel aliquod accidens – alioquin in Deo dicerem, quod absit, esse aliquid quod Deus non est – sed substantiam illam divinam, quod utique nec novum nec insolitum est, dicente Ioanne: DEUS CARITAS EST.' 1 John 4.16. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 7.1, Ad Adam mon.*, SBO 7, 32: 'Caritas ipse Deus est.' Etc. L.-A. Dannenberg, "Charity and Law," 11-14.

³¹³ M. H. Newman, *op. cit.*

³¹⁴ Dannenberg, "Charity and Law," 15. M. H. Newman, *op. cit.*

described the moral contrast between the Cistercian order and the Cluniac monks to whom Robert had retreated.³¹⁵ The image of the monastic life that he created in this letter is of high importance, because it was written in relation to a wider dispute and meant for public consumption.³¹⁶ Bernard warned that flight from a harsh to an easier life was not permitted, and urged Robert to return from Cluny to the abbey in which he was professed.³¹⁷ This notion was normally raised in relation to the monastic vow of *stabilitas*: it was meant to prevent or approve the transfer of monks to other monasteries.³¹⁸ Bernard informed his nephew that a translation from austerity to comfort was not acceptable. He pressed the point home with verve and creativity as well as literary accomplishment. The abbot turned to the woolen clothing worn by the Cluniac monks. Their ample folds and fur-lined sleeves seemed to mask the bleak humanity of the Lord who had died upon the cross and the monks who served Him in Egypt.³¹⁹ 'Is *salus* rather in fine gowns and rich food than in sober fare and modest clothes?'³²⁰ This criticism was linked to the power of

³¹⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. Ad Rob.*, SBO 7, 1-11.

³¹⁶ A. Bredero, "Cistercians and Cluniacs," in *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, (Grand Rapids, 1986): 'Everyone agrees that the letter to Robert was not meant for him personally, but must rather be considered a pamphlet used by Bernard to attack Cluny,' 140.

³¹⁷ Robert was promised to Cluny as a boy. As a young man he was drawn to the Cistercians. Professed at Clairvaux, he came to resent its harsh life and fled to Cluny, under cover of his parent's vow. Leclercq/Rochais, SBO 7, 1. B. Scott James, *The Letters of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, (Reprinted: Kalamazoo, 1998), 1.

³¹⁸ J. H. van Engen, "Professing Religion: From Liturgy to Law," *Viator*, volume 29, (1998), 323-344.

³¹⁹ I.e. the world. E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 1.11, Ad Rob.*, SBO 7, 9: 'Multi in Aegypto fratres, multo tempore Deo sine piscibus servierunt.'

³²⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 1.11, Ad. Rob.*, SBO 7, 9: 'Salus ergo magis in cultu vestium, et ciborum est opulentia, quam in sobrio victu vestituque moderato?'

carnal luxury to inflame the appetite, and to lead the soul away from Christ into the bonds of slavery He had broken.³²¹ It seems to confirm a desire to return to a model from which Cluny had departed. The abbot referred to the Egyptian fathers whose deeds were recorded by Cassian.³²² But for Bernard the wealth of Cluny was not only an invitation to moral captivity. Nor was it a variation to be corrected by a return to an ancient Christian example. The liberal customs followed in the black house also indicated a spiritual absence. A graceful habit was merely the outward sign of an interior and mystical emptiness. Bernard referred these facts to the contrast between day and darkness. His language is fiercely biblical and steeped in the tradition of Christian exegesis. The progress from leisure to labour he saw as a motion from shadow to sunlight.³²³ This notion of Cluny was joined to the Christian vision that we have described. The movement *de umbra ad Solem* that was achieved in the Cistercian discipline reflected the transition from Old to New that was carried out in the Passion.³²⁴ The battle between the new

³²¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 1.11, Ad. Rob.*, SBO 7, 9: 'Prudenter sobrieque conversanti satis est ad omne condimentum sal cum fame, qua sola non exspectata, necesse est alias atque de nescio quibus succis extraneis confici permixtiones, quae videlicet palatum reparent, gulam provocent, excitant appetitum....Surge, MILES CHRISTI, surge, EXCUTERE DE PULVERE...' Etc. In relation to 2 Timothy 2.3. and Isaiah 52.2. (Excute de pulvere, consurge; sede, Jerusalem! Solve vincula colli tui, captiva filia Sion).

³²² G. Melville, *Medieval Monasticism*, 1-23.

³²³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 1.13, Ad. Rob.*, SBO 7, 11: 'Et quidem subito procedenti de umbra ad solem, de otio ad laborem, grave cernitur omne quod incipit.'

³²⁴ E.g. Matthew 13.6. Mark 16.2. Revelation 1.16.

and the old monks was thus linked to biblical interpretation. This confirms its essential place in the dispute which pervaded monasticism.

Bernard's vision of the Cluniac monks in relation to his own was linked to our chosen hermeneutic.

Divine love was found in those who knew Christ in harsh and solemn austerities: to moderate this standard was an action in which that spiritual power was dissolved.³²⁵ To return to the Rule

was from this point of view to break apart the carnal membrane that had grown over the path to

God that was open in Christ and His sufferings. The primitive routine that the white monks

followed was from this perspective a hole punched in the wall of flesh that had sealed away the

Spiritus Christi. From this wound the blood of God was seen to cry out against those who had

smothered His voice in the mass of sinful works with which the Church was surrounded.³²⁶ To

discard this mass was to re-open the portal between the earth and heaven that was known in

the cross and shown above all in the Bible and its exposition. The Bible proved that Christ was

the way from a carnal to a spiritual covenant. We have seen how this image was related to

³²⁵ L.-A. Dannenberg, "Charity and Law," 14: Bernard saw the Rule of God as charity and because the Rule of Benedict was at this time closely linked to the Gospel the monastic Rule in turn was invested with the power of divine love.

³²⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 239, Ad pap. Eug.*, SBO 8, 122: 'Obsecramus itaque per ipsum quo redemptae sunt animae, immo sanguis ipse clamat ad vos de caelo, ne relinquatis VIRGAM PECCATORUM SUPER SORTEM IUSTORUM, UT NON EXTENDANT IUSTI AD INIQUITATEM MANUS SUAS.' Genesis 4.10. Psalm 124.3.

Suger and the individual church. But Bernard ensured that this vision of the world also carried a political importance. The contrast between the shadow and the spirit assumed a fierce and dramatic form in the contest for Christian power that now took place within the western Church. Bernard saw this as a battle between those who revived the love of God in an ascetic mode of life and those who hoped to seal Him up in the tomb of carnal tradition.³²⁷ Those who opposed this Gospel motion were like Herod, who wished to suffocate the Lord in His crib before He could grow to be a man and to preach deliverance.³²⁸ This forceful notion and the belief that it helped to sustain cannot be understood outside Bernard's view of divine truth and its relation to our chosen hermeneutic. The Christ-child was born in the souls of those who had chosen to abandon the carnal lives that they had once led and to take up the cross in a life of humility.³²⁹ Louis VI became a new Herod when he chose to attack Henry, the archbishop of Sens, who came to the aid of the bishop of Paris in his quarrel with the King.³³⁰ Divine love was seen in its purest form in the blood that the cross had released from the flesh of God and that flowed from His body and onto the Christian people. This cross was found above all in the fierce Rule of monks and the new monasticism. To oppose this Rule and the reform of the Church with which it was

³²⁷ For this image, Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 7.11, Ad Adam mon.*, SBO 7, 39: 'Magnus eius clamor, et vehemens, qui corpora de sepulcris, animas ab inferis excitavit.' (note the context of Adam's dissolute life).

³²⁸ E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epp. 49/50, Ad pap. Hon.*, SBO 7, 140-142.

³²⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 51, Ad Haim. can.*, SBO 7, 143: 'At nunc sub pannis infantiae Iesu quaeritur simonia, et inter nascentes virtutes emortuorum vel cadavera vitiorum scrutatur curiosa malitia.'

³³⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 49, Ad pap. Hon.*, SBO 7, 141: 'Et alter Herodes Christum non iam in cunabulis habet suspectum, sed in ecclesiis invidet exaltatum.'

associated was as a result seen to banish from the world the Christ who lived in this presence.³³¹

This notion applied to kings who attacked the new men, as well as to lenient monasticism.

Bernard thus offered an image of conflict that was drawn in relation to Christ and His crucifixion.

He linked the dispute to the man whose death had shown the truth to the Church, and whose

work on the cross was viewed as the source of spiritual illumination. But the source of this view

was not found only in a moral or biblical example. Rather, it was the product of an historical

contrast which was above all hermeneutical. This contrast had been drawn between the

Cistercians and their competitors. For Bernard the truth of this murky contest was revealed in

that comparison. He related the moral stand of the monks to the carnal intent of their opponents.

He referred this spiritual deed to the blood of God in which it was comprehended.³³² Like Christ

the monks disclosed the Word in an act of patient sacrifice.³³³ They offered a union of charity in

³³¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 126.3, Ad Ep. Aq.*, SBO 7, 311: 'Quid nisi ante oculos vestros conantur, si patimini, proscribere Christi?'

³³² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 239, Ad Eug. pap.*, SBO 8, 122: 'Obsecramus itaque per ipsum quo redemptae sunt animae, immo sanguis ipse clamat ad vos de caelo...Ipse enim *qui per nos clamat* potestatem dedit vobis, tantum voluntas non desit.' (My emphasis).

³³³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 535, Ad coabb. in Ang.*, SBO 8, 500: 'Libenter irem et viderem quid agitur erga fratres meos et pecora, et renunciarem Iacob patri meo. Libenter transirem et viderem Dominum exercituum in castris Israel...Utinam responsum accipiat anima mea a Spiritu Sancto non visurum me mortem donec possem satiari et vobiscum, non in solo pane, sed in omni verbo quod procedit de ore Dei. Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum ante quam moriar.'

souls purged of desire and earthly ambition.³³⁴ In these men we find a proof of the vision with which we have been concerned: the power of God was shown in the action which divided truth from falsehood. This path to Christian truth was linked above all to the study of holy Scripture. Bernard saw this as the purpose of the images he used to describe the controversy. In his letters he hoped to catch the reality which lay behind earthly circumstances: in his unhappy monks cried the God by whom all souls had been redeemed.³³⁵ For him the deeds of those who fought were also a source of spiritual revelation. The earthly actions of the warring parties pointed to the inner truth of the argument. Bernard in his letters used our chosen vision to grasp the secrets it contained.

The abbot in turn related this carnal veil to the base action that defined his Christian opponents. For him a hidden force was found in their deeds and shown to the imagination. Bernard saw this action as the shroud with which the truth was surrounded: a divine reality was made known in the works with which it was elaborated. This Christian vision came to shape the abbot's fierce and public intervention. Bernard viewed the letters that William and his friends wrote and

³³⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 347, Ad Inn. pap.*, SBO 8, 290: 'Neque enim vel inimicum arbitror suspicari eos privato amore, vel odio in id negotii excitatos, sed solo timore Dei.'

³³⁵ Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 239, Ad Eug. pap.*, SBO 8, 122.

distributed as vessels of shadow that he could not believe had been created by churchmen.³³⁶

These letters had spun a web of sin that would trap the simple and innocent.³³⁷ He attacked

those who had built this carnal edifice as leprous and contaminated: those who had vowed their

souls to Christ must not enter this rancid communion.³³⁸ This monastic vision was a product of

the exegesis we have enumerated. Bernard wished to show how the base works of William and

his companions were like the Old veil that had sealed away the truth of God until the incarnation.

He used this idea to prove that his cause was just and filled with blessedness. For him the

conflict that now took place in the English church and kingdom shared in the death of Christ that

had freed the world from sin and punishment. This opinion was based on the view that divine

truth was found in historical events and that this truth was shown above all in God's blood and

immolation. The Lord who was known in the white monks had opened the fleshly integument that

had grown over the truth of God in York as a result of this violent controversy. This attitude was

for Bernard the result of a contrast between the Cistercians and their rivals that shared in the

³³⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *EP. 236.2, Ad Tot. Cur.*, SBO 8, 112: 'Quid enim de eo dicam, quod occultas et vere tenebrosas litteras habuisse se gloriatur Willelmus ille, utinam a principibus tenebrarum, non a principibus apostolorum?'

³³⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *236.2, Ad Tot. Cur.* SBO 8, 112.

³³⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 236.2, Ad Tot. Cur.*, SBO 8, 112: 'Alioquin quid facietis religiosus viris, qui omnino non inveniunt, salva conscientia, vel ipsa communia sacramenta de leprosa manu suscipere? Ante, nisi fallor, eligent fugere quam dare manus morti, et exsulare prius quam vesci idolothytis.' This was a common and radical fear at this time. Christians across Europe attacked those who handled the sacraments with unclean hands and who polluted the cult of the Church with the sins of simony and clerical marriage. We will return to this issue in the final chapter of the present thesis.

work that had divided the Old and New Testaments.³³⁹ His letters would affirm a point of view that he had linked to biblical exegesis in the images that filled his homilies and that he used to explain this learned enterprise. The Cistercians were as the cross that had torn open a mass of sinful fleshliness, and had shown the truth of God in the blood that flowed from this mournful achievement. Bernard would present the carnal power of their critics as a tangled wilderness that had sealed off the *veritas Dei* but that the cross had opened and dispersed.³⁴⁰ This opinion granted our chosen vision a concrete and political importance. The abbot sought to use this pious vision to shape wider and material circumstances. His words were meant to lead the minds of others to this divine perspective, and so to move them to side with the white monks on this point of disagreement.³⁴¹ This political image was based on the mystical power and classification that Bernard linked to the monastic life and that we have met in that context. The broken flesh of the Cistercian monk was once more the signal that transported the mind from the carnal mass of the world to a new and spiritual consciousness. His Christian cause was once more the love that filled and transubstantiated the soul into the union with God that was the mark of His spiritual

³³⁹ For a discussion of this theme, H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis 2*, 225-269.

³⁴⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 240.2, Ad Eug. pap.*, SBO 8, 124: 'Age ergo, transeat iam sanctus hic pietatis zelus et ad miseram illam ecclesiam transmarinam...Vinea Domini Saboath est, vinea electa, vinea speciosissima, sed, heu! in desertum paene redacta...Quousque sarmento inutili occupatur tellus, suffocatur fructus? Et certe TEMPUS PUTATIONIS ADVENIT.' Psalm 40.10.

³⁴¹ E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 347, Ad Inn. pap.*, SBO 8, 290: 'Itaque si quis Dei est, iungatur eis.' Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 534, Ad Mat. reginam Ang.*, SBO 8, 499: 'Vobis committimus hanc causus Dei, vos agite ut digno effectui mancipetur.'

presence. This notion flowed from the use of a biblical method to explain historical events. The exegesis of the Bible shaped the course and content of the abbot's intervention.

For some in Europe this stance showed Bernard of Clairvaux to be a *lupus* and violent hypocrite, a master of the Christian system of appeal that he criticized and reprimanded, whose fearsome piety could shade into the power to bully and to dominate.³⁴² For others he was made a tribune of Christ in all His weakness and humanity. In each case he is shown to be a saint of his time and of this difficult century.³⁴³ But this chimera is better understood in the light of the vision we have described. His grim and frugal piety must be related to the image of a world now arranged around the action of a Lord who in His death had divided the truth from illusion.³⁴⁴ This image would sustain a notion of Christian action as a version of the crucifixion: the spiritual deed that had made a path in a mass of shadow and oppression. The force of the Cistercian ideal must be related to this image of the *Redemptor*. Their action in the world had been united with Christ in the monastic imagination. For Bernard those who assisted his brothers were joined to this eternal Passover. They were signed with the passion of Christ and had struck away fleshly

³⁴² What Panofsky called his 'uncompromising fideism.' E. Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, 3. A. Bredero, *op. cit.*

³⁴³ B. P. McGuire, *The Difficult Saint: Bernard of Clairvaux and His Tradition*, (Kalamazoo, 1991).

³⁴⁴ M. Rubin, "Whose Eucharist?", 204, 206.

burdens.³⁴⁵ The abbot saw this dread vision in the patient action of the English Cistercians. He saw the secret of Christ in the cause for which they fought and contended. The exegesis we have described was at the heart of his ecclesiastical conception. More than once he would remind the Cistercian pope Eugene that his business included the need to drive the power of the world from the Ark of holy simplicity, and banish the forces of Hell from the body which kept the charity of Christ.³⁴⁶ In the image of God as an axe and a tree this awesome vision would be expressed. Bernard related it to the ministry of Rome and the mission of the Latin episcopate. Here too the power of the world must be cleared from the divine purpose.³⁴⁷ 'At home the flowers have started to blossom; the time for pruning has come.'³⁴⁸ This was what happened at York when the powers of God and the Devil collided, and the passion of the white monks divided a spiritual light from a carnal darkness. The little band of sufferers was in that moment filled with the power of

³⁴⁵ Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 239, Ad Eug. pap.*, SBO 8, 122: 'Ipse enim qui per nos clamat potestatem dedit vobis, tantum voluntas non desit...' The pope must strike away the carnal power that had suffocated the Church in England.

³⁴⁶ Bernard likened his opponents to the Devil. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 520, Ad Luc. pap.*, SBO 8, 481 (On Henry of Winchester, envoy to the Curia): 'Ecce enim, ecce inquam, ecce inimicus homo ille, praeambulus Satanae, filius perditionis, adversator iuris et legum...'

³⁴⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 58.3.9, SBO 2, 133: 'Alioquin sumere in manus gladius ancipites, facere vindictam in nationibus, increpationes in populis, alligare reges eorum in compedibus et nobiles eorum in manicis ferries, et facere in eis iudicium conscriptum – hoc quippe putare vineas est -, haec, inquam, omnia vix vel pacis tempore actitantur in pace.'

³⁴⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 238, Ad Eug. pap.*, SBO 8, 119: 'FLORES APPARUERUNT IN TERRA NOSTRA, TEMPUS PUTATIONIS ADVENIT, in quo sarmenta sterilia recidentur, ut ea quae praevalent uberius fructum ferant.' Song 2.12.

heaven.³⁴⁹ In pursuit of this goal a love as brutal as that shown on the cross was required.³⁵⁰

For the salvation of souls it might be necessary to drench the world in blood. In the last part of this thesis we will see how armies would march to this opinion.³⁵¹ There can be no higher proof of the power of this idea in the medieval imagination.

This Christian image provides a new vision of the giant success of the new monasticism, as well as the primitive ideal which was at the heart of its spiritual programme. It inspired the view that the monastic church was above all a path to heaven. It helps us perceive how the contest promoted by the new houses was a dispute not only over adherence to the Rule but the authority to display an unseen kingdom. For if the charity of God was possessed in actions directed to His Gospel purpose, then it was possible to believe that a departure from that strict and original discipline had evacuated the monastic body of the divinity to which its observance pertained. The church which was built to give glory to Christ would mask that holy reality. In this relation the Cistercians were imagined as a motion from shadow into sunlight. The reaction against the established houses must be linked to this spiritual perspective. The harsh regime practiced by

³⁴⁹ Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 239, Ad Eug. pap.*, SBO 8, 122.

³⁵⁰ M. H. Newman, *op. cit.*

³⁵¹ See Chapter 3, 253 ff.

the new monks was opposed to the old religious not as a model from which they had deviated but as a mystery they had concealed.

The spiritual appeal of the new houses cannot be understood outside this mystical context. It was not restricted to a desire to restore the past in response to an altered present. This did not comprise the essence of reform to Bernard and his religious companions. The potent biblical images used by the abbot to describe the spiritual purpose of the new monasteries did not confirm their fidelity to a remote historical example. They confirmed instead the function of the monastery as an instrument of revelation. This constituted their spiritual importance as part of the larger Christian firmament. Bernard's vision was based on the exegesis with which we have been concerned, and was expressed in the Christian images which we have up to now described. He looked on the abbey as the tree of the passion which had burst into flower, and as the pallid flesh of God through which His Word would speak to the ordained.³⁵² He wished to grasp the hidden secret that could be found in the new churches, in order to promote a desire in Christian society to enter this spiritual Presence. His use of rhetoric therefore accords with the definition we offered in our introduction. We have seen how this view was central to the abbey as a source

³⁵² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 109, Ad Gaufr. de Perr.*, SBO 7, 280: 'Omnino refluuit et nunc quasi de novo lignum in quo pependit Dominus gloriae, qui mortuus est NON TANTUM PRO GENTE, SED UT FILIOS DEI, QUI ERANT DISPERSI, CONGREGARET IN UNUM. Ipse, ipse colligit vos...tanquam fructum pretiosissimum crucis suae...'

of conversion. The monastery was imagined as the Christ who gathered the world into mystery. But the conviction that holy discipline would open the flesh to a spiritual presence also applied to the influence of the new houses on the established western order. Here too a carnal membrane had closed over and sealed up the rich light of heaven. Here too the cross would part a shroud of flesh and would reveal the Holy Ghost. For Bernard the social bonds that had grown up round the older houses represented a carnal mass that had buried the portal to truth that was opened in Jesus Christ. He saw their slack routine as a cloak that had snuffed out the light of holy charity. This was the ancient vision he linked to the new houses and their wide success. In the shadow of the world the true monk was like the Star who lit up the darkness.³⁵³

Business in the Shadows

Bernard and False Religion

This vision would acquire new power in a Christian world filled with novelty and experiment.³⁵⁴

Bernard had praised this fact when it had aided the purpose of the Cistercians. But he feared the wiles of the Devil in the work of social and economic stratification. For men raised in the

³⁵³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 27.5.8, SBO 1, 187: 'Est ergo caelum sancta aliqua anima, habens solem intellectum, lunam fidem, astra virtutes.'

³⁵⁴ R. W. Southern, *Medieval humanism*, 29-61.

Rule there was much that was sinister in this new mobility. It was also because they saw in social change an eruption of mystical falsehood. For Bernard the whole of the Christian world had been swallowed by a new darkness. This sentiment was promoted and sustained by the hermeneutic we have described. To understand this mood we must enlarge on the world in which it was generated, and the anxiety excited by the changes made by social and economic development.

Bernard believed that the Word of God was found above all in a stable life of contemplation. For this reason he feared those new forms of religion that hoped to communicate the Word outside the Rule that Bernard saw as the portal to this presence. The Word had therefore been detached from its firm and monastic foundation. This created a void filled with the absence of God which was the very Antichrist, who tempted the weak out of solid mystery and into a vast and spiritual emptiness.³⁵⁵ His agents were found among those who had created new forms of Christianity. His power was found in those who pillaged the Church in a time of abundance.³⁵⁶ The new forms of life whose role in Europe at this time has been celebrated were seen in this way as the sign

³⁵⁵ G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 162.

³⁵⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 23.5.12, SBO 1, 146-147: 'Timeant clerici, timeant ministri Ecclesiae, qui in terries sanctorum quas possident, tam iniqua gerunt ut stipendiis, quae sufficere debeant, minime contenti, superflua, quibus egeni sustentandi forent, impie sacrilegeque sibi retineant, et in usus suae superbiae atque luxuriate victum pauperum consumere non vereantur: duplici profecto iniquitate peccantes, quod et aliena diripiunt, et sacris in suis turpitudinibus et vanitatibus abutuntur.' Luke 3.14.

of a new attack on the Church and its adherents. Like bees they spread their poison across the towns and cities of Christendom, scale joined to scale like the great beast that was found in holy scripture.³⁵⁷ The abbot would affirm this opinion in a letter on Peter Abelard sent to Innocent II:

'But [Peter Abelard] no longer waits in ambush, [he] whose poisonous writings I hoped until now might be hidden away in boxes, not read at the crossroads! His books have taken flight, and those who hate the light, because they are evil, strike out against the light, believing light to be the darkness. Darkness has burst into towns and castles in place of light, and for honey, poison (or, rather, poison in honey) is offered to everyone on all sides to drink...'³⁵⁸

These imposters offered a bounty of souls to an Enemy who worked through spiritual illusion, the angel who had rejected his Maker and had been cast out by Him from heaven. As a vessel of God the monastery held a central role in the battle with the Demon.³⁵⁹ The Rule alone assured

³⁵⁷ Isaiah 27.1. Job 3.8. Job 40.20.

³⁵⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 189, Ad Inn. pap.*, SBO 8, 13: 'Quamquam non iam in insidiis, cuius virulenta folia utinam adhuc laterent in scriniis, et non in triviis legerentur. Volant libri, et qui oderant lucem, quoniam mali sunt, impegerunt in lucem, putantes lucem tenebras. Urbibus et castellis ingeruntur pro luce Tenebrae, pro melle vel potius in melle venenum passim omnibus propinatur.' Note the allusion here to Job, and those who curse the day and are ready to raise up a Leviathan. Job 3.8. The Leviathan in this case is the body of sin that is raised up against Christian light (i.e. the Church and its members) by those who hate it.

³⁵⁹ The abbey was a *concha Dei*, as we shall see.

that Christ was present to a persuasive earthly appearance. The monastic life joined the Lord to the will expressed in external activity.³⁶⁰ Novelties practiced apart from the abbey threatened to bind the Church to falsehood. Unsupervised, they would empty the will of Christ and join it to worldly appetites. Unmolested, they would gather souls out of light and plunge them into shadow. This familiar verdict was inspired and sustained by the exegesis we have described, which saw in a world alive with novelty a source of bleak and impious communion.

³⁶⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gr. et lib. arb.*, 14.46, SBO 3, 199: ‘Si ergo Deus tria haec, hoc est bonum cogitare, velle, perficere, operatur in nobis: primum profecto sine nobis; secundum, nobiscum; tertium, per nos facit. Siquidem immittendo bonam cogitationem, nos praevenit; immutando etiam malam voluntatem, sibi per consensum jungit: ministrando et consensui facultatem, foris per apertum opus nostrum internus opifex innotescit.’ G. Venuta, *Libero Arbitrio e Libertà della Grazia nel Pensiero di S. Bernardo* (Rome, 1953), 17, showed how Bernard integrated his notion of freedom and his mystical doctrine with the monastic life which carried these themes to concrete perfection. E. Gilson, *Mystical Theology*, . Also, Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 16.2.2, SBO 1, 90: ‘Hoc semel contulit universitati; hoc quotidie singuli in nobis actitari sentimus, et cordi scilicet tribui intelligentiae lumen, et ori aedificationis verbum, et manibus opus justitiae. Dat sentire fideliter, dat proferre utiliter, dat efficaciter adimplere. Et est funiculus triplex, qui difficile rumpitur, ad extrahendas animas de carcere diaboli, et trahendas post se ad regna coelestia, si recte sentias, si digne proloquaris, si vivendo confirmes.’ Note how this passage is related to the image of Cistercian monasticism we described in the first part of this chapter. Here, too, the monastic life in its fullness as an extension of the power of God is understood ‘to drag souls out of the prison of the devil, and to haul them into the Kingdom of Heaven.’ The Gospel image of Christ as the fisher of souls is the inspiration for this vision. The Lord is seen to act in those whose wills are bound to His. His charity joins the soul to Himself. His love spills over into the world and draws souls into Him and out of a carnal imprisonment. For the political context in which *On grace and free choice* was written, see now B. P. McGuire, in *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux*, (Leiden, 2011), 38. In 1128/9, when this treatise was created, Bernard began to assume a more public role in the affairs of the Church. The image of the Church that we have outlined here shows further how Bernard’s theological views flowed into an out of his larger view of the Church and the need to defend it against its infernal opponents.

For Bernard the Church was filled with souls who worked as canals and holy vessels (*conchae*). He used these ideas to explain the power of grace and its mode of operation.³⁶¹ The abbot wished to relate an interior power to the exercise of the pastorate. Indeed, this power was known in the natural gifts with which it was expressed. Bernard saw the proper use of these gifts as the topmost point of contention.³⁶² He based his opinion in this context once more on the Rule of St Benedict. Benedict argued the soul must not think itself holy outside the life of perfection.³⁶³ In the prologue he had linked the proper use of grace to monastic observance:

‘With his good gifts which are in us, we must obey Him at all times that He may never become the angry father who disinherits his sons, nor the dread lord, enraged by our sins, who punishes us forever as worthless servants for refusing to follow him to glory...’³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant*, 18.1.1,2,3, SBO 1, 103-104: ‘OLEUM EFFUSUM NOMEN TUUM. Quid certum demonstrat Spiritus Sanctus nobis in nobis, occasione huius capituli? Profecto, quod interim occurrit, geminae cuiusdam suae operationis experimentum: unius quidem, qua nos primo intus virtutibus solidat ad salutem, alterius vero, qua foris quoque muneribus ornat ad lucrum. Illas nobis, haec nostris accipimus...Sed sane cavendum in his, aut dare quod nobis accepimus, aut quod erogandum accepimus retinere...Quamobrem, si sapis, concham te exhibebis, et non canalem.’ Song 1.2.

³⁶² E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad cl. de con.*, 20.34, SBO 4, 111-112.

³⁶³ *Reg. S. Ben.*, 4.62.

³⁶⁴ *Reg. S. Ben.*, Prologue 6-7.

Thus Benedict had at the start of his Rule linked the true exercise of grace to monasticism. It was in this context that Bernard wrote of a Church of canals and *conchae*. The canal was the soul which poured out the grace it was given instantaneously, while the *concha* was the soul which preserved the grace it had received.³⁶⁵ The canal poured out the power it was granted in a life of pride and dissolution; the *concha* was filled with divine love which flowed into works of conversion.³⁶⁶ For the abbot the solid base of this union was the Rule and life of monasticism.³⁶⁷ The Rule followed there stopped up the frothing waters of God's presence, and ensured this terrible power did not burst the banks of a Christian moderation. At a time when river and fen across Europe were tamed by human ingenuity, Bernard related the torrent of grace to the sober work of Christian improvement.³⁶⁸ He believed that this work was every day being reduced and

³⁶⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 18.1.3, SBO 1, 104: '[Canalis] siquidem pene simul et recipit, et refundit; [Concha] vero donec impleatur expectat, et sic quod superabundat sine suo damno communicat, sciens maledictum qui partem suam facit deteriore.'

³⁶⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 18.1.2,3, SBO 1, 104: 'Nimirum vita atque salute, quam alteri das, te fraudas, dum sana vacuus intentione, gloriae inanis vento inflaris, aut terrenae cupiditatis veneno inficeris, et letali apostemate turgens interis...Tantae caritatis sunt per quos [*canales*] nobis fluenta caelestia manant, ut ante effundere quam infundi velint, loqui quam audire paratiores, et prompti docere quod non didicerunt, et aliis praeesse gestientes, qui seipsos regere nesciunt.'

³⁶⁷ The implication of e.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 18.2.4, SBO 1, 105-106: 'Dicit David: SICUT ADIPE ET PINGUEDINE REPLEATUR ANIMA MEA, ET LABIS EXSULTATIONIS LAUDABIT OS MEUM, infundi nimirum prius volens et sic effundere, nec solum infundi prius, sed et impleri, quatenus de plenitudine eructaret, non oscitaret de inanitate...Non pudeat concham non esse suo fonte profusorem. Denique ipse Fons vitae plenus in seipso et plenus seipso, nonne primum quidem ebulliens et saliens in proxima secreta caelorum, omnia implevit bonitate...' The Font (Christ) that fills up and dances round the souls that offer him praise in the monastic church, where the *conchae* are filled to overflowing.

³⁶⁸ R. I. Moore, *The First European Revolution*, 38: 'The face of Europe was transformed as wood and scrub were cleared, marsh drained, and polder reclaimed from the sea.' R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, (Oxford, 2000), 287 ff.

undermined, by those who rushed to preach and to instruct outside the safety of monasticism. For him this was the source of much that afflicted the Church and Christianity. 'Today there are many canals in the Church but there are too few *conchae*.³⁶⁹ They were found not only in the heretic or the false priest but in the schoolman who used his wisdom not to glorify the Church but to satisfy his own ambition.³⁷⁰ He returned to this theme in the famous sermon he delivered *On conversion*, which moved a number of Paris students to leave the schools for the monastery.³⁷¹ Bernard spoke in lurid terms of the sinful soul which was not yet consecrated to God and which served Christ for profit and not out of zeal for righteousness. How many men like this had assumed the rank of our Lord and Peacemaker?³⁷² Bernard would outline this opinion in relation to the Psalm *Qui habitat*, in a series of homilies that were written (but not given) near the time of his Paris address.³⁷³ He came here to the Christian vision with which we have hitherto been concerned. The abbot wrote that the Church was assailed not by heresy but camouflage: the

³⁶⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 18.1.3, (SBO 1), 104: 'Verum canales hodie in Ecclesia multos habemus, conchas vero perpauca.'

³⁷⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad cl. de con.*, 19.33, SBO 4, 110: 'Nihil illi de spiritu mansuetudinis, quo praeoccupatos in delicto possit instruere, considerans seipsum, ne et ipse tenetur...Pecuniam, non iustitiam concupiscit; oculi eius omne sublime vident. Insatiabiliter esurit dignitates, gloriam sitit humanam.'

³⁷¹ The 'short' (that is, the orally delivered) sermon was preached between Lent 1139 and the early part of 1140.

³⁷² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad cl. de con.*, 19.32, SBO 4, 110: 'Vae filiis irae, qui se ministros gratiae profitentur! Vae filiis irae, qui pacificorum sibi usurpare gradus et nomina non verentur!'

³⁷³ J. Leclercq, *Introduction Générale*, SBO 4, np: '[Bernard] a aussi écrit des sermons qui étaient sans relation avec une prédication réelle (qui inclut) une série de sermons sur le Psaume *Qui habitat in adiutorio Altissimi*...' M.-B Saïd, *Sermons on Conversion*, (Kalamazoo, 1981), describes it as 'a commentary in the form of sermons,' 94. The text was written in 1139.

gravest threat to the Christian people at this time was pious dissimulation.³⁷⁴ He came now to believe that the power of Hell was in those who pretended to be Christian but who used their human gifts to lead souls into damnation.³⁷⁵ The modern Church was in fact defined by false zeal and moral fabrication: she had passed from the age of martyrs and heretics to pseudo Christianity.³⁷⁶ She had peace now from pagans and heretics but not from false sons.³⁷⁷ 'The people are increased and all are Christians but most look to their own interests.'³⁷⁸ For Bernard the gravest threat to the Church was not dissent but base hypocrisy. The world had now received the Christian faith and would resist open rebellion. However, it might fall to those who would lead true piety into carnal perdition.³⁷⁹ This vision sheds new light on one of the major themes of modern research, which has found in this period a new concern with heresy and violent reaction, and therefore the genesis of the later medieval apparatus of Catholic persecution.³⁸⁰ Bernard has

³⁷⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Qui hab.*, 6.7, SBO 4, 409-410.

³⁷⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Qui hab.*, 6.5, SBO 4, 408-409: 'Videsne quod ambitionis via adoratio diaboli est, qua videlicet ad honores at gloriam mundi perveniendum suis ille adoratibus pollicetur?'

³⁷⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Qui hab.*, 6.7, SBO 4, 409-410: 'Quattuor has tentationes etiam in generali statu Ecclesiae haud difficile diligens considerator inveniet...' Etc. Also, Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 33.7.14-16, SBO 1, 243: 'En tempora ista, libera quidem, Deo miserante, ab utraque illa militia, sed plane faeda A NEGOTIO PERAMBULANTE IN TENEBRIS.' Psalm 90.6.

³⁷⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Qui hab.*, 6.7, SBO 4, 410: 'At nunc quidem pax a paganis, pax ab haereticis, sed non est pax a falsis filiis.'

³⁷⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Qui hab.*, 6.7, SBO 4, 410: 'Omnes christiani, et omnes fere quae sua sunt quaerunt, non quae Iesu Christi.'

³⁷⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 33.5.8, SBO 1, 239: 'Sunt quidem et alii pastores, qui dicunt se esse sodales tuos et non sunt, habentes greges suos et fines suos pabulo mortis refertos, in quibus pascunt nec tecum, nec per te, quorum utique terminus non intravi, nec appropinquavi eis. Ipsi sunt qui dicunt: ECCE HIC EST CHRISTUS, ECCE ILLIC EST...' Mark 13.21.

³⁸⁰ R. I. Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 1-13.

often been seen as the hammer of dissent as well as heterodoxy, and even as a symbol of Christian reaction against a burst of liberal philosophy.³⁸¹ Much of this opinion could survive the alternative image we have proposed. Bernard did oppose and tirelessly all those who spoke against Christian authority. The origins of a desire to punish western dissent are still found in the association of Catholic reform and social change which created the new religious atmosphere. But we must still confront the unusual fact that the most prominent churchman of his time did not see heresy as the main threat to the people of Christendom. We must look elsewhere for the source of his actions beyond the monastery. The impulse which would motivate his fierce emphasis on Christian orthodoxy was not the growth of religious dissent but an outbreak of spiritual deception.

The abbot's view that Christian falsehood and not heretical action now posed the greatest challenge to the Church was shared by some of his eminent Catholic contemporaries. John of Salisbury had made this issue a major subject of his *Policraticus*.³⁸² For him the fierce and eternal threat of false religion had been intensified during a period in which many Christian groups had claimed Gospel authority.³⁸³ The Christian in a caustic mood might classify the monastic orders

³⁸¹ E. Jeuneau, *Rethinking the School of Chartres*, C. P. Desmarais (trans.), (Toronto, 2009), 20-23.

³⁸² John of Salisbury, *Poli.*, 7.17, 18, 19, 21, 22.

³⁸³ John of Salisbury, *Poli.*, 7.21.

according to the specific ways in which they hoped to swindle and betray the population.³⁸⁴ Here was the regal Cluniac who looked to cow dissent with his magnificence, and there was the grave Cistercian who confused austerity with miserliness.³⁸⁵ Peril increased with piety and showed how the Devil filled and manipulated a society whose desire for Christ had made it fervent but also unsuspecting.³⁸⁶ Bernard himself appears to have viewed the state of the world as an extension of the state of the soul which had fallen from God into a zone of sin and punishment. He explained how the fallen soul had been exiled to the Land of Unlikeness, which was formed when the divine image was cloaked by wicked corruption.³⁸⁷ The spiritual love which was the essence of this image had been exchanged for the carnal lust which turned the soul from God and into

³⁸⁴ John of Salisbury, *Poli.*, 7.21.

³⁸⁵ John of Salisbury, *Poli.*, 7.21, (PL 199, 692C, 693D-694A): 'Inde est quod facie pallorem ostentant, profunda ab usu trahunt suspiria, artificiosis et obsequentibus lacrymis subito inundantur, obstipo capite, liminibus interclusis, coma brevi, capite fere raso, voce demissa, labiis ab oratione mobilibus, incessu tranquillo, et quasi gressu quadam proportione composito, pannosi, obsiti, sordes vestium, et affectatam vindicant vilitatem... Hi sunt qui beneficia, quae necdum sanctis collata sunt, praedicant auferenda. Hi sunt qui potestatibus persuadent, ut propter vitia personarum, jure suo priventur ecclesiae. Decimationes et primitias ecclesiis subtrahunt, et ecclesias ipsas accipiunt de manu laicorum, episcopis inconsultis... Primas cathedras, recubitus primos, primas salutationes usurpant, et si eas differas, vehementissime indignantur. Si eis obloqueris, religionis inimicus et veritatis diceris impugnator. '

³⁸⁶ Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 1.3, Ad Rob.*, SBO 7, 4: 'Huc accredit quod nec, sicut illos Babylonicos senes, species decepit eum, nec, sicut Giezi, pecuniae amor, nec honoris ambitio, sicut Iulianum apostatam, sed fefellit illum sanctitas, seduxit religio, perdidit auctoritas seniorum.'

³⁸⁷ Augustine coined the term. E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, 45, 115, 117, 145 etc.

sinful imprisonment.³⁸⁸ The charity found in Christ alone would negate this region of dissimilarity, and would release the soul to exercise its will outside the Devil's supervision.³⁸⁹

'Nor could the likeness be found anywhere in this world, the image would still have lain filthy and deformed, if the woman in the Gospel had not lit her lamp, that is, the Wisdom who appeared in flesh, cleared the house (namely, the vices), searched for the coin which she had lost, that is, her image, which, stripped of its original beauty, sealed up in a coarse hide of sin, lay buried, as it were, in the dust. Having found it, she wiped it clean and carried it

³⁸⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 36.4.5, SBO 2, 7.

³⁸⁹ G. Constable, *Three Studies*, 183: 'The progression from loving Christ to being with Him in heaven, through preaching and imitating Him, corresponded to the view found in various works of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries that to recover the lost image of God man must imitate the life of Christ and conform to His humanity.' E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, 45 ff. Importantly, this was now an *embodied* charity. Bernard was but the greatest example of a piety that moved from the love of Christ in His humanity to union with God in His divinity (a progress that now took place in a climate of heightened emotion). G. Constable, *Three Studies*, 167-168: 'The imitation of Christ [was] the means provided by God for man to recover the lost image and likeness to God, and to pass from the visible and material to the invisible and immaterial, bridging the "region of dissimilitude" (as it was called) between his present condition and the form in which he was created.' Also, G. Constable, *Three Studies*, 183: '[The] progression from loving Christ to being with Him in heaven, through preaching and imitating Him, corresponded to the view found in various works of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries that to recover the lost image of God man must imitate the life of Christ and conform to His humanity.' For this progress, e.g., Thomas of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, (PL 206, 378B): 'Quatuor sunt facies Domini, unde dictum est: QUATUOR FACIES UNI ERANT, UT QUATUOR PENNAE UNI. Prima est humanae nativitatis, secunda mundanae calamitatis, tertia glorificatae humanitatis, quarta divinae majestatis...In prima est quarendus conformando ad Christi humanitatem, in secunda imitando ejus passionem, in tertia deposito vetere homine teneamus vitae novitatem, in quarta si assidue suspiramus ad videndam Dei majestatem.' Ezekiel 1.6. Note above (on Bernard and love of Christ)

away from the Region of Unlikeness, restored to its unspoilt condition (*reformatam in speciem pristinam*), and made like the saints in glory...³⁹⁰

This Christian view of the soul has until now been limited to inward and monastic spirituality. It is related to the larger Church as an aspect of Latin thought and practice.³⁹¹ But Bernard believed that this harsh and internal slavery had been distributed across the Latin world by those whose actions were inspired by that perversion. Preachers and masters who acted in this way were empty of God and occupied by Hell and hoped to bind the Church to the power of this infernal Unlikeness.³⁹² The state of the fallen soul reached out in this way into the whole of Christendom.³⁹³

³⁹⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gr. et lib. arb.*, 10.32, SBO 3, 188-189: 'Sed neque in hoc saeculo aequae inveniri usquam posset similitudo, sed adhuc hic foeda et deformis iacuisset imago, si non evangelica illa mulier lucernam accenderet, id est Sapientia in carne appareret, everteret domum, videlicet vitiorum, drachman suam requireret quam perdidit, hoc est imaginem suam, quae nato spoliata decore, sub pelle peccati sordens, tamquam in pulvere latitabat, inventam tergeret et tolleret de regione dissimilitudinis, pristinamque in speciem reformatam, similem faceret illam in gloria sanctorum...' Luke 15.8. Ecclesiasticus 45.2.

³⁹¹ E. Gilson, "Regio dissimilitudinis de Platon à Saint Bernard de Clairvaux," *Mediaeval Studies*, volume 9, (1947), 108-130. E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, 33-59, 115-117, 134, 205 etc. B. McGinn, "Introduction," in D. O'Donovan (trans.), *On Grace and Free Choice, by Bernard of Clairvaux*, (Kalamazoo, 1977), 29-30. Also, M. L. Colish, *Peter Lombard, volume 1*, (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1994), 174.

³⁹² For Bernard the will opposed to God was filled with the reality of Hell. E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St Bernard*, n. 109, 234.

³⁹³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad cl. de con.*, 19.33, 34, 35, SBO 4, 110: 'Non miramur, fratres, quicumque praesentem statum Ecclesiae miseramur, non miramur de radice colubri regulam orientem...[clerus] in quibus avaritia regnat, ambitio imperat, dominator superbia...Amputata sunt hydrae capita quinque, sed heu! innumera surrexerunt. Quis reaedificavit urbes flagitii? Quis turpitudinis moenia dilatavit? Quis extendit propagines virulentas? Vae, vae, inimicus hominum sulfurei illius incendii reliquias infelices circumquaque

To explain the nature of this lurid fear we must return to the vision that we have described. Bernard's anxiety would reach beyond the simple charge of moral corruption.³⁹⁴ It would rest instead on the Christian contrast between sign and signified.³⁹⁵ This theme would receive new ideas and interest during the twelfth century.³⁹⁶ However, it was not limited to the realm of Bible study or learned scholarship. It was joined to the battle for truth in which the Church was seen to be engaged. In relation to this conflict Bernard would make a famous and decisive contribution. Bernard used this notion to contrast the spiritual void which he had associated with false religion with the spiritual fullness that was found in true monasticism. For the abbot those who had taught the Word outside this ancient discipline were seized with pride and distant from God save in their outer appearance.³⁹⁷ This failure was in the first place the result of a vicious and wicked betrayal: the capable soul who acted contrary to Christ abused the grace of its Redeemer.³⁹⁸ But the

dispersit, execrabili illo cinere Ecclesiae corpus adpersit, et ipsorum quoque ministrorum nonnullos sanie foetidissima spurcissimaeque respersit.' G. W. Olsen, "Recovering the Homeland," 103 ff., shows how Bernard saw the revival of the original likeness as the central purpose of the Church as *mediatrix*.

³⁹⁴ E.g. E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, 45-46.

³⁹⁵ On this distinction, K. Rahner, "The Theology of the Symbol," *Theological Investigations 4*, 221-252.

³⁹⁶ E.g. B. M. Bedos-Rezak, "Semiotic Anthropology: The Twelfth-Century Approach," in T. F. X. Noble and J. van Engen (eds.), *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century*, (Notre Dame, 2012), 426-468.

³⁹⁷ For the spiritual light that shines on the surface as a result of Christian discipline, C. S. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, (Philadelphia, 1994), 269-277.

³⁹⁸ E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 16.5.6-7, SBO 1, 93: 'Qui ergo quod tuum est defensat tibi et servat, putas et pro se aliquando non zelabit? Putas sui non requiret principatus honorem?...Sed requiret usque ad novissimum quadrentem, requiret et retribute abundanter facientibus superbiam. Requiret a

contrast between spiritual truth and spiritual deceit was also hermeneutical. Catholic and heretic alike showed Christian grace in their outer comportment.³⁹⁹ But one was rooted in the Spirit while the other was filled with emptiness; one was a path into eternal union while the other was a path into damnation.⁴⁰⁰ This universal confusion was more fearful than open and heretical rebellion: the power to divide the Sun from the shadow was now of ultimate importance.⁴⁰¹ In the absence of this action the Church would be seduced by its adversaries.⁴⁰² Across Europe men who had refused the hard path of monastic correction had rushed to teach the Word but had instead drawn

redempto servitium, honorem et gloriam ab eo quem plasmavit...et [Deus] qui parcat filio, non parcat figmento, non parcat servo nequam. Pensa cuius sit formidinis et horroris, tuum atque omnium contempsisse factorem, offendisse Dominum maiestatis.'

³⁹⁹ E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 193, Ad Mag. Ivo Card.*, SBO 8, 44-45: 'Magister Petrus Abaelardus...Homo sibi dissimilis est, intus Herodes, foris Ioannes, totus ambiguus, nihil habens de monacho praeter nomen et habitum.'

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. Bernard's warning in the sermon *On conversion*. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad cl. de con.*, 21.37, SBO 4, 113: 'Parcite, obsecro, fratres, parcite animabus vestris, parcite sanguine qui pro vobis effusus est. Horrendum cavete periculum, ignem qui paratus est declinate. Inveniatur tandem non irrisoria professio perfectionis; exhibeatur etiam virtus in specie pietatis. *Non sit inanis caelibis vitae forma, et vacua veritatis.*' Etc. (My emphasis).

⁴⁰¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 33.5.8-9, SBO 1, 239, (referring to the vanities of false and heretical teachers, as well as false preachers): 'facileque (populi) pro (vero) recipitur falsitas propter veri similitudinem, quae non facile in obscure a vero discernitur, praesertim quia AQUA FURTIVAE DULCIORES SUNT, ET PANIS ABSCONDITUS SUAVIOR...propter hos, inquam, et maxime, videtur mihi illa merities optanda etiam nobis, ut clara luce deprehendamus astutias diabolic, atque angelum Satanae illum, qui se transfiguratur in angelum lucis, ab nostro angelo facillime discernamus.' Proverbs 9.17.

⁴⁰² This is the larger theme of Bernard's letters to Pope Innocent II, the Curia, and various prelates on the subject of Abelard and Arnold of Brescia. E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 330, Ad Inn. pap.*, SBO 8, 267: 'CORRUPTI SUNT ET ABOMINABILES FACTI SUNT IN STUDIIS SUIIS, et de ferment suae corruptionis corrumpunt fidem simplicium, morum ordinem conturbant, Ecclesiae maculant castitatem; AD IMAGINEM ET SIMILITUDINEM illius qui TRANSFIGURAT SE IN ANGELUM LUCIS, HABENTES FORMAM PIETATIS, SED VIRTUTEM EIUS ABNEGANTES, circumornati sunt UT SIMILITUDO TEMPLI, UT SAGITENT IN OBSCURO RECTOS CORDE.' Psalm 13.1. Genesis 1.26. 2 Corinthians 11.14. 2 Timothy 3.5. Psalm 143.12.

souls to false communion.⁴⁰³ The actions with which they meant to instruct society had been evacuated of the divine love that fixed the soul to God and was found above all in the cloister.⁴⁰⁴

This *inanis* was filled with a monster who brought death to those it sucked into the abyss of carnal lust and who shrieked aloud at those who stood against this invasion. Bernard hated this hellish fiend and wrote of the power that flowed from its barren void:

‘I am fearful of the teeth of the infernal beast, the guts of hell, the roaring as he readies for the feast. I shake with terror at the gnawing worm, the stream that smokes with fire, and the

⁴⁰³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 332, Ad G. cardi.*, SBO 8, 271: ‘Silere non possum iniurias Christi, angustias et dolores Ecclesiae, et MISERIAM INOPUM ET GENITUM PAUPERUM...Habemus in Francia monachum sine regula...Petrum Abaelardum...Aguas furtivas et pane absconditos domesticis suis apponit in libris...Accedit non solus, sicut Moyses, AD CALIGINEM IN QUA ERAT DEUS, sed cum turba multa et discipulis suis.’ Exodus 20.21. For the Eucharistic content of Bernard’s letters in this relation, see Chapter 3, 239 ff.

⁴⁰⁴ E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 11.6, Ad cart. et Gui. pr.*, SBO 7, 57: ‘IUSTIS NON EST LEX POSITA, hoc est non tanquam invitis imposita, sed voluntariis eo liberaliter data, quo suaviter inspirata. Unde de pulchre Dominus: TOLLITE, ait, IUGUM MEUM SUPER VOS.’ Romans 8.15. Matthew 11.29. This yoke is of course the Rule itself: Bernard of Clairvaux, *De prae. et disp.*, 1.2, SBO 3, 255: ‘Itaque, ut sentio ego, Regula sancti Benedicti omni homini proponitur, imponitur nulli....Attamen hoc ipsum quod dico voluntarium, si quis ex propria voluntate semel admiserit et promiserit deinceps tenendum, profecto in necessarium sibi ipse convertit, nec iam liberum habet dimittere, quod ante tamen non suscipere liberum habuit. Ideoque quod ex voluntate suscepit, ex necessitate tenebit...Ceterum FELIX, ut quidam sanctorum (i.e. Augustinus) ait, NECESSITAS, QUAE IN MELIUS COGIT.’ Augustine of Hippo, *Ep. 127.8*. The highest necessity – to which the monk who has vowed himself is bound – is charity itself. The Rule (voluntarily assumed) is the binding yoke of charity that saves the soul from sin. On this: L.-A. Dannenberg, “Charity and Law: The Juristic Implementation of a Core Monastic Principle,” in G. Melville (ed.), *Aspects of Charity: Concern for One’s Neighbour in Medieval Vita Religiosa*, (Berlin, 2011). 11-28. This *necessitas* was linked to the magisterial assumption of mortality by God in Christ and the concomitant freedom from death (the wages of sin) that this assumption offered to those who imitated His sacrifice. See Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion of this subject.

storm-tossed winds. I fear the outer darkness. Who, then, shall give water to my head, and to my eyes a spring of tears, that I might avert the moans and laments, the rattling teeth and girdled hooves (*anus pes*), the harsh chains, the heavy bonds that burn and oppress but do not consume...⁴⁰⁵

From this point of view the false doctrine which these base and carnal men had publicized in Europe was the product and not the essence of that wider and numinous departure. This notion would extend the power of that vision in the medieval imagination. An ancient threat was restored but had taken a new and elusive appearance. That opinion was the bedrock of the vision of the Church Bernard advanced. For him the human pride which turned its clergy into vile and bogus hypocrites was not only a cause of Christian error but the living power of the Antichrist.⁴⁰⁶ He had not been defeated in their souls and he had invaded their outer achievements. The words of the monk or priest who acted in this way were an 'empty yawning:' the charity which was the

⁴⁰⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 16.5.7, SBO 1: 'Contremisco a dentibus bestiae infernalis, a ventre inferi, a rugientibus praeparatis ad escam. Horreo vermem rodentem, et ignem torrentem, fumum, et vaporem, et sulphur, et spiritum procellarum; horreo tenebras exteriores. QUIS DABIT CAPITI MEO AQUAM, ET OCULIS MEIS FONTEM LACRYMARUM, ut praeveniam fletibus fletum, et stridorem dentium, et manuum pedumque dura vincula, et pondus catenarum prementium, stringentium, urentium, nec consumentium?' Jeremiah 9.1.

⁴⁰⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad cl. de con.*, 19.33, SBO 4, 110: 'Non miramur, fratres, quicumque praesentem statum Ecclesiae miseramur, non miramur de radice colubri regulum orientem...'

reality of God was absent from his earthly practices.⁴⁰⁷ Like the creature which has been infected by a fungal parasite (or entomopathogen), he was internally dead but was still directed by his insidious murderer. The horror inspired by this vision was not only a reaction to religious disobedience. Bernard did not oppose free thought or dispute the fruits of material progress. His zeal must be related above all to his belief that the Church was endangered by an Enemy who used a world filled with piety to capture unwary Christians. This climate opened an avenue through which the Church could be contaminated. The simple and infirm would hurry to embrace this envoy of the darkness.⁴⁰⁸ Like Leviathan he would swallow up the Jordan in the body of the damned.⁴⁰⁹ This vision moved Bernard to enter the fray in the name of the *Ecclesia Catholica*. The abbot rose to contest the land with those in whom Satan was embodied.⁴¹⁰ Bernard would

⁴⁰⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 18.2.4, SBO 1, 105: 'Sufficit ut diligas proximum tuum tamquam teipsum...infundi nimirum prius volens et sic effundere, nec solum infundi prius, sed et impleri, quatenus de plenitudine eructaret, non oscitaret de inanitate...'

⁴⁰⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 33.5.8, SBO 1, 239.

⁴⁰⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 33.7.16, SBO 1, 245: 'Siquidem absorbit fluvios sapientium et torrents potentium, et habet fiduciam ut Iordanis influat in os eius...' For Leviathan and the 'want that goeth before his face' (Job 41.13) as a biblical symbol of the Apocalypse, A. H. Bredero, "The Announcement of the Coming of the Antichrist and the Medieval Concept of Time," in *SICH 10*, M. Wilks (ed.), (Oxford, 1994), 3-13. See now, J. Malegam, *op. cit.* Malegam confirms that the symbol of the beast was used to express the divine reality buried in a political or social arrangement.

⁴¹⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 189.3*, SBO 8, 14: '[Arnold et Petrus] transfigurant se in angelos lucis, cum sint Satanae. Stans ergo Goliath una cum armigero suo inter utrasque acies, clamat adversus phalngas Israel exprobatque agminibus sanctorum, eo nimirum audacius quo sentit David non adesse. Denique in suggillationem Doctorum Ecclesiae, magnis effert laudibus philosophos (etc) et, cum omnes fugiant a facie eius, me omnium minimum expetit ad singular certamen.'

affirm in his sermons on the Canticle this spiritual perspective. The passage will be cited in full because through it our vision is comprehended:

'Indeed, I think that (Satan) is called the noontide devil for this reason, because there are some among those wicked spirits who, because their wills are hard and blackened, are like the night, and even eternal night, but who can become like the day, and even as the noon, in order to deceive others...'

'Long ago a prophecy was made, and comes now to be fulfilled: "Behold, in peace my bitterness is most bitter." It was bitter at first in the death of the martyrs, more bitter afterwards in the contest with heretics, and now it is most bitter of all in the moral life of its servants. She cannot escape them, nor can she drive them off, so strong have they grown, and numerous beyond counting. This sickness of the Church is in its guts and is incurable, and this is why in peace its bitterness is most bitter. But what is her peace? It is peace, and it is not peace. Peace from pagans, peace from heretics, but not from her own sons. A voice mourns in these times: "Sons have I reared and brought up; the same have rebelled against me." They have rebelled and they have dishonoured by their shameful lives, their shameful gains, their shameful trafficking. Indeed, by the business that goes about the darkness. It remains now for the noontide devil to appear in our midst, to seduce those who still abide in Christ, who have until now kept a simple faith. For he has already swallowed up the rivers of

the wide and the streams of the powerful, and he trusts that the Jordan shall flow into his mouth (that is, the humble and the simple who are in the Church). For he is Antichrist, who pretends that he is not only the day but the very noon, and who exalts himself above that which names or honours God; he whom the Lord Jesus shall strike down with the breath of His mouth, and destroy with the light of His coming, for He is the true and eternal Noontide, the Bridegroom, and the defender of the Church..."⁴¹¹

For Bernard of Clairvaux the deeds of the proud and the wicked were not a pattern but a sacrament.⁴¹² In these men the Great Beast hurled himself at the walls of Latin Christendom.

The abbot saw in them a power which was unseen as well as supernatural: fire burned under

⁴¹¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 33.5.9, 7.16, SBO 1, 240, 244-245: 'Quod quidem deamonium idcirco meridianum dictum existimo, quia sunt aliqui de numero malignorum, qui cum merito tenebrosae obstinataeque voluntatis suae nox et nox perpetua sint, diem tamen se ad fallendum simulare noverunt, nec modo diem, sed meridiem...Olim praedictum est, et nunc tempus impletionis advenit: ECCE IN PACE AMARITUDO MEA AMARISSIMA. Amara prius in nece martyrum, amarior post in conflictu haereticorum, amarissima nunc in moribus domesticorum. Non fugare, non fugere eos potest: ita invaluerunt et multiplicati sunt super numerum. Intestina et insanabilis est plaga Ecclesiae, et ideo in pace amaritudo eius amarissima. Sed in qua pace? Et pax est, et non est pax. Pax a paganis, pax a haereticis, sed non profecto a filiis. Vox plangentis in tempore isto: FILIOS ENUTRIVI ET EXALTAVI; IPSI AUTEM SPREVERUNT ME. Spreverunt et maculaverunt a turpi vita, a turpi quaestu, a turpi commercio, a negotio denique perambulante in tenebris. Superest ut iam de medio fiat deamonium et meridianum, ad seducendos, si qui in Christo sunt residui, adhuc permanentes et simplicitate sua. Siquidem absorbit fluvios sapientium et torrentes potentium, et habet fiduciam ut Iordanis influat in os eius, id est humiles et simplices qui sunt in Ecclesia. Ipse enim Antichristus, qui se non solum diem, sed et meridiem mentietur, et extolletur supra id quod dicitur aut quod colitur Deus: quem Dominus Iesus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et destruet illuminatione adventus sui, utpote verus et aeternus Meridies, sponsus et advocatus Ecclesiae...'

⁴¹² Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 33.2.3, SBO 1, 235. See Chapter 3 for more on this theme.

the surface of a world of wealth and new achievement.⁴¹³ This secret truth outdid the truth of the world because it was immutable. *Veritas Dei* was altered only in accord with its chosen mode of expression.⁴¹⁴ But in harsh and violent hands the Word could be harmed and mutilated.⁴¹⁵ God must be relied on to guide the action with which it was communicated. The historical condition of the Christian world formed as well as revealed the nature of the union between the Church and the source of its redemption.⁴¹⁶ In this temporal context the union with God was disturbed or consolidated. Bernard had built his view of the Church on this idea of historical progress. He related it to the Church's state before and after the conversion of Constantine. Roman violence had joined God and His people in witness and communion. Roman support had created doubt and had sustained doctrinal controversies. The Church had now crossed into a new phase of supernatural turbulence. Power and riches had sparked an outburst of greed and spiritual dissolution:

⁴¹³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 57.3.7-8, SBO 2, 123-124.

⁴¹⁴ J. le Goff, *Medieval Civilization*, 165: 'time [was] merely a moment of eternity.' Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad cl. de con.*, 8.17, SBO 4, 90: 'Nec enim opera nostra transeunt, ut videntur; sed temporalia quaeque velut aeternitatis semina iaciuntur.'

⁴¹⁵ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 187, ad Bal. arc. Tot.*, LJS 2, 233: 'Sed alia profecto archisinagogi et complicitium eius sententia est, qui fraudulenta uerborum interpretatione ad arbitrium, non ad mentem auctoris, detorquent legem, eique nolunt suum accomodare intellectum, sed id agunt modis omnibus ut, quod eis libitum fuerit, diuino quoque iuri consentaneum uideatur...'

⁴¹⁶ The temptations of the soul which Bernard enumerated could be perceived *in generali statu Ecclesiae*. Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Qui hab.*, 6.7, SBO 4, 409-411.

'The foundations of faith are disturbed and shaken.

Lord, your eyes look out for faith,

But among whom and in whom is faith to be found?'⁴¹⁷

In this storm-tossed world the monastic church was seen to hold a wide and vital importance.

The monastic Rule alone joined the image of Christ to the power of His presence. Here the outer sign would lead the soul to an inner truth that was supernatural. The monk who was fixed in this union could preach God without hesitation. This was the vision of the abbey that the abbot offered in his letters and sermons. The Devil had no hold on the soul from which carnal lust had been evacuated, and its worldly ardor was filled with the divine love that was its spiritual foundation. He joined the ranks of those who stood on the walls of the Church as a watchtower, and hurled torches of light at the beast that lurched from the outer darkness.⁴¹⁸ He confessed

⁴¹⁷ Peter of Celle, *s.*, 23, *Pr. Dom. in Ram. Pal.*, (PL 202, 736B): ' Domine, oculi tui respiciunt fidem, sed apud quos, et in quibus est fides? Fundamenta fidei conturbata et concussa sunt,'

⁴¹⁸ B. H. Rosenwein, "Feudal War and Monastic Peace," 157, suggests the force of liturgy as a weapon in the battle between Heaven and Hell had waned by the middle of the twelfth century, and was replaced by the internal warfare which was at the centre of a new and personal Christianity (or monasticism). This chapter has again shown how that distinction was not as clear-cut as was once supposed. For monks like Bernard, the Devil filled the souls of false Christians and hoped in this way to seduce and to condemn the larger population. His presence was diffused in this moral emptiness. The internal struggle of the Christian monk was in this way implicated in a wider and cosmic warfare.

the Word that would cut like a blade into the *squamas Leviathan*.⁴¹⁹ Bernard had related this inward action to the supply of a Christian *concha*.⁴²⁰ The Rule ensured that souls which flowed over with fervor would be replenished, and were not drained by a desire to pour out what was not yet confirmed.⁴²¹ But this sober process was not only a form of abstract or moral instruction. It filled the monastic soul with a power that went beyond a simple agreement with the Word as related in the Bible or with Christ in His spotless humanity. This *virtus* made the monastic house a bulwark in a world that had been electrified by change and that was moved by the fervor inspired by this general revolution. Its secret power was shown in the vision with which we have been concerned. The church was a mountain of light in a world filled with infernal darkness.⁴²² The *Umbra* was on the other hand the union of souls outside this obedience, who used fraud to tempt the careless into the open mouth of the Antichrist.⁴²³ To grasp the force of this vision we must not see it as diffuse or metaphorical. Bernard used it to name the spiritual reality he found in earthly circumstances. It relayed the mystical contest which had erupted in a period of

⁴¹⁹ Peter of Celle, *De disc. cl.*, 21, (PL 202, 1129A): 'Et hic gladius magnus qui datus est sedenti super equum rufum, cujus etiam acies dissecat penitus, et discindit squammas antiqui Leviathan; quarum una uni sic jungitur, ut nec spiraculum incedat per eas.'

⁴²⁰ Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 18.1.3, 4, SBO 1, 104, 106.

⁴²¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 18.3.6, SBO 1, 108: 'En quanta prius infundenda sunt, ut effundere audeamus, de plenitudine, non de penuria largientes.'

⁴²² Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 27.2.4, SBO 1, 184 (speaking of the earthly Church): 'caelum hoc visibile atque corporeum, quamvis in suo genere quidem siderea varietate pulcherrimum.'

⁴²³ The enemies of the Church who lived in this way were for Bernard the very mouth (*porta*) of Hell. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 334, Ad Gui. Pis.*, SBO 8, 273: 'Cum haeretici exacerint linguam suam sicut serpentes, cum omnes aculeos ingenii sui excusserint, ut pacem Ecclesiae conturbent, tamen, quoniam PORTAE INFERI sunt, NON PRAEVALEBUNT ADVERSUS EAM.' Matthew 16.18.

revolution. The shadow was unseen but made solid in those whose action was emptied of charity and was instead used to draw souls into a union of carnal appetites.⁴²⁴ The light was the light of souls joined to God in love and Christian compassion, the light of *caritas* which shone in those who were empty of carnal ambition. The soul which lived in this way followed the advice that was given by Saint Benedict:

‘Let such a man preach, let him bear fruit, let him show new signs and do fresh wonders, for vanity can find no toehold in the man whom charity totally possesses.’⁴²⁵

Thus a motion of inward sympathy in pursuit of spiritual renewal was given outward form. The remorse promoted by meditation on the crucified flesh of Christ was not restricted to personal devotion but was integral to the monastic house as a source of mystery. The love promoted by sorrow for a humiliated God was not limited to the revival of the individual soul but was central to the monastery as a source of social harmony. The progress from seen to unseen conducted in the death of Jesus was not confined to an internal journey but was embodied in the abbey as the threshold of divinity. This was the Gospel function of men consecrated to Christ in the

⁴²⁴ Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 330, Ad Inn. pap.*, SBO 8, 267.

⁴²⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 18.3.6, SBO 1, 107: ‘Praedicet, fructificet, innovet signa et immutet mirabilia: non est quo se immisceat vanitas, ubi totum occupat caritas.’

monastic church, His Word gently enveloping those whose broken flesh revealed a spiritual presence, like the divided Host of the Eucharist which commended Christ to simple belief. The primitive discipline favoured by the new monks was a means to this vivid End. It is a perception wholly lost to a historiography of reform which presents the Gospel as a far-flung and historical pattern reproduced by those alarmed at material progress. The meaningful comparison of past and present supposedly stimulated by historical growth is the product of a modern method that is alien to medieval experience. In this chapter we have shown how that outlook must be restored in our scholarship, and used to throw new light on the monastic world in a time of Latin renewal. It offers the firm foundation on which the rest of this dissertation will be constructed.

Monks in the Mountain

Peter of Celle and the Monastic Church

The Christian vision that we have studied in this review was not known only to the new monasticism. It moved those who praised the new monks from within the traditional houses. This opinion was true above all of Peter of Celle, a black abbot and reformer.⁴²⁶ Peter bears witness

⁴²⁶ On Peter, J. Leclercq, *La Spiritualité de Pierre de Celle, 1115-1183*, Etudes de théologie et d'histoire de la spiritualité, VII, (Paris, 1946).

to the Christian ferment that we have hitherto enumerated. From his home near Rheims he was at the heart of the French reform movement, whose leaders and partisans are often found in his warm and extensive correspondence.⁴²⁷ Peter loved many in the new orders and aided their wide expansion.⁴²⁸ His letters spread from his own church to the far reaches of western Europe, and Haseldine has shown how he made much of the monastic ideal of friendship.⁴²⁹ He was close to the Cistercians and would look for their prayers and assistance.⁴³⁰ He revered Bernard and his deeds and acquired a copy of his letter collection.⁴³¹ After his death Peter wrote to the white monks in words of comfort and remorse.⁴³² The abbot was at the heart of the new Church and the vision we have described. His letters and homilies express the forceful ideas with which we are concerned. It is therefore with this open-hearted man that this chapter will find its conclusion.

⁴²⁷ J. Haseldine, "The Creation of a Literary Memorial: The Letter Collection of Peter of Celle," *Sacris Erudiri*, volume 37, (1997), 333-379, esp. 339-341. For a cogent review of the state of Christian learning in that city in Peter's time, J. R. Williams, "The Cathedral School of Reims in the Time of Master Alberic," *Traditio*, volume 20, (1964), 93-114.

⁴²⁸ J. Haseldine, "The Creation of a Literary Memorial," 374.

⁴²⁹ J. Haseldine, "Understanding the Language of *Amicitia*: The Friendship Circle of Peter of Celle (c. 1115-1183), *Journal of Medieval History*, volume 20, (1994), 237-260. On Peter's letter collection and its posterity, J. Haseldine, "The Creation of a Literary Memorial."

⁴³⁰ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 147*, LPC, 540: 'Alienos ad sinum suum colligit uestra caritas et me leonibus, lupis, ursis, et malis bestiis indefensum exponitis? Cellensem enutristis, Remensem amastis, Carnotensem proicietis.' Peter had recently been elected bishop of Chartres.

⁴³¹ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 147*, LPC, 540. Peter describes himself as a 'disciple of the most blessed Bernard.' He was, he writes, present at a General Chapter of the Cistercian order 'when [Bernard] was living' (eo vivente), 540.

⁴³² Peter of Celle, *Ep. 147*, LPC, 540 ff.

The Christian vision that is our chosen theme was supplied by Peter in the correspondence that stands as ample witness to his warm soul and his religious sensibility. To relate these vibrant letters to the exegesis which we have hitherto described is to confirm that Peter saw the Rule not only as a discipline but a living instrument. Like Bernard the abbot saw this routine as a means to break open all fleshliness, and in this act to reveal the Spirit to which the soul was drawn for its refreshment. The soul which stretched out into the realm of faith found there the spiritual reality shown to them in the loving deed which was done in the monastic church. They were like the witness seen drinking blood from the wounds of the Saviour, in the art not only of this period but also of the later middle ages and the Renaissance. They too would drink from the side of God and receive the power of improvement, the strength to grow in His love and to persist in the life of Christian religion. In the monastic life this power was poured from the wound the Rule had introduced, in bodies whose souls had chosen now to submit to the passion of the Redeemer.⁴³³ This choice was seen not only as an act of inward rigour and moral discipline, but

⁴³³ Peter of Celle, *De disc. cl.*, 4, (PL 202, 1105D-1106A). Peter compares the Rule to the blood smeared on the doorposts of the houses of Israel, which showed their faith in God and distinguished them from sinners. This Christological image was related to the passion – those marked with the blood of God would be saved. Inside the house was the power of love – *caritas* – which was outwardly shown in holy simplicity. This was a spectacle to the angels who saw the space between thought and works. The image is Eucharistic – the angels see, and mediate, the power of God which is shown in outward things to human minds, and to the Lord in the heart itself. 'Claustralis disciplina spectaculum est Deo, et angelis, et hominibus: Deo in medulla intentionis; angelis in gemitibus et suspiriis; hominibus in factis et dictis: HOMO VIDET IN FACIE; DEUS IN CORDE; angelus medius fines cogitationis et operis. Ad Deum respicit CHARITAS DE CORDE PURO, ET CONSCIENTIA BONA, ET FIDE NON FICTA; ad angelos simplicitas sancta cum bona specie, de qua dicitur: SPECIE TUA ET PULCHRITUDINE TUA, INTENDE PROSPERE, PROCEDE, ET REGNA...Unde et Dominus in Exodo percutiens Aegyptios percussorem non sinit ingredi domos, in quarum

of union with the Holy Ghost in flesh burst open by Christ and His crucifixion. God was known in their sacrifice and in their sacrifice His will was manifested.⁴³⁴ Peter saw monks as a crowd of little ants who marched out into the harvest of virtues and brought back to the nest of the heart the riches of the passion of Christ.⁴³⁵ This virtue was the power whose scent was released in the work of the crucifixion.⁴³⁶ Peter used this biblical image to show the love for God that was promoted in the soul drawn to Him by the sight of monks who had mortified their bodies. The Christian monk shared in this way in a power that was eternal as well as universal. This power was placed in turn at the base of the desire for monastic conversion. To perceive how this was

superliminario, et utroque poste viderit sanguinem agni.' I Kings 16.7. 1 Timothy 1.5. Psalm 45.5. Altogether, the strict Benedictine routine was like the sacrifice immolated in the temple of the soul: '[Disciplina claustrali: i.e. monachus] Cum ambulaverit, dicit: PER SINGULOS GRADUS MEOS PRONUNTIABO DOMINUM. Item: CIRCUIVI, ET IMMOLAVI IN TABERNACULO EJUS HOSTIAM JUBILATIONIS...' Job 31.37. Psalm 26.6. On this, see Chapter 3.

⁴³⁴ Peter of Celle, sermo 23, *Pr. Dom. in Ram. Pal.*, (PL 202, 736C-737A): 'Dic ergo nobis de Jesu quomodo comprehensus sit, quando, ubi, a quibus, quare, qualiter vexatus sit ante crucem; quis prodiderit eum, quis defendere voluerit, quid responderit cum unus suorum vellet eum defendere? Quanto postea timore idem ipse tertio eum negaverit, quomodo Pilatus eum flagellaverit; quomodo milites plectentes spineam coronam capiti ejus imposuerint, et irrisorie veste purpurea circumdederint, et genuflexo salutaverint, et alapas in faciem dederint? Quomodo ipse Jesus portans spineam coronam et purpureum vestimentum, tum non clarus imperio sed opprobrio, ad Judaeos exierit, quanto rugitu: *Crucifige* ingeminaverint, et tandem in Golgotha cum duobus latronibus eum crucifixerint, et vestimenta ejus sibi partiti sint, et acetum porrexerint, et inclinato capite spiritum tradiderit? *Haec signa sunt Jesu, nemo nisi Jesus omnia signa ista habuit: Jesus est ergo qui tibi occurrit, si quem sic insignitum inveneris*, talis est, inquit, Sponsa sive Maria Domini Mater, sive Maria Magdalene, sive ipse Joseph: talis est dilectus meus, et ipse est amicus meus.' (My emphasis).

⁴³⁵ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 28, Ad Hard. ab. de Rip.*, LPC, 94: 'Videres singulos tanquam formicas impigras ad speluncam suam ab oratorio, tanquam de agro, manipulos iustitiae referre, spicas orationum, fasciculos mirre, id est congeriem passionis Christi dilecti sui inter ubera in principali cordis sui collocantes.'

⁴³⁶ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 28, Ad Hard. ab. de Rip.*, LPC, 94-96: 'Et revera mirram redolent quia carnem suam crucifigunt...'

so we must relate this process to our chosen exegesis. This method helped Peter to reach into the space he claimed the angels occupied, between the ideas formed in the mind and the works in which they were expressed. In the good soul this space was filled with a love which the angels saw and celebrated, while in the bad soul it was filled with sins that spoiled this heavenly sacrifice.⁴³⁷ The sacrifice worthy of praise was one that was made in Christ and Him crucified, and this was found in monks whose flesh was fixed in the cross and its discipline.⁴³⁸

But this famous image was not used only to express an ethical state or a moral distinction, between those who followed God in the Church and those who rejected His example. His passion was also seen as the path into a truth that was unseen and supernatural: this truth was open in His death for those who chose to believe in its achievement. This awesome fact was known above all in the Bible and Christian exegesis. Here above all the mind learned to find a truth that flesh had once concealed. Peter like Bernard would relate this method to the Rule and western monasticism. The monastic church was for him the cross of God which had emancipated the

⁴³⁷ See Chapter 3, 215-218.

⁴³⁸ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 42, Ad frat. et priori Cell.*, LPC, 172: 'Credite michi, cor vestrum, si caro afflicta fuerit et disciplinis assueta, mansuescet indomitum, quiescent vagum, et stabit in loco suo pacatum. Ligetur itaque in vinculis quibus hostia nostra Iesus ligatus est, nam ligatus est et ductus est Annam primum...Describam itaque formam crucis et omnes circumstantias eius...' Etc.

human soul from base desire and had shown it the power of spiritual affection.⁴³⁹ This motion must be placed in the context of a Christian culture that was immersed in Scripture and that used this text to interpret the world and human experience. The monastic church was in its fullness an exegete whose activity introduced the believing soul to a spiritual truth that was beyond the realm of carnal perception. For Peter the soul who loved God alone would find the secret this offering contained. Here was the force of the monastic life not only as a model but as a sacrament, as the Christian vessel in which the grace of God was shown and distributed.

Peter offers a moving example of this opinion in letters he wrote from the Carthusian abbey of Mont-Dieu to his monks at Rheims and to the Cistercian house of Larrivour.⁴⁴⁰ Mont-Dieu was a hard place to which Peter would go for prayer and nourishment. The source of this spiritual food was the harshness of its Carthusian inhabitants.⁴⁴¹ He wished to find in their broken bodies an escape from his heavy responsibilities, as well as the God he served as a father of souls and

⁴³⁹ Peter of Celle, *De disc. cl.*, (PL 202, 1108D, 1110B): ' Vicarium itaque suae crucis claustrum constituit, ut sicut disciplina pacis nostrae in corpore suo super lignum crucis fuit, sic nos extra saecularia castra exeuntes ad claustrum improperium ejus portemus...Plane tota forma claustralis disciplinae emanavit de cruce...' Etc.

⁴⁴⁰ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 28, Ad. Hard. ab. de Rip.*, LPC, 92-103.

⁴⁴¹ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 57, Ad. frat. et priori de Monte Dei*, LPC, 264: 'Decoquitur uero panis iste aut in clibano profundi misterii incarnationis Christi aut in sartagine uiuifice crucis aut in craticula mortis et sepulcri, cum uita uestra, locutio uestra, cogitatio uestra commoritur et concorporatur, uel consepeltur, Christo nouo genere uiuendi.'

abbot of his monastery. The vision he described was in this way essential to the exercise of the pastorate. It helped the abbot find peace and to return to his monks ecstatic and refreshed, marked with new awareness of his faults and a desire to revive his own ministry. He would affirm this desire in a letter sent from Mont-Dieu to his own brethren: 'I have come to the Mount of God to grasp the hem of the Lord in His mercies.'⁴⁴² His report would also help his brother abbots to reflect on their own position, and so by little gestures to build the quality of life in the Church of Christendom. Nor was his view remote from wider currents of thought in western Christianity. This was a concern which occupied the clergy in a time of dramatic upheaval: across the west there was a desire to improve the quality of Christian instruction.⁴⁴³ That desire has been related to the monastic and papal reform movements, and has been linked to a burst of Christian interest in the rite of the Eucharist.⁴⁴⁴ Peter was joined closely to each of these streams of thought and sentiment.⁴⁴⁵ In his letters from Mont-Dieu we catch the mood which sustained this commitment. Not only in the abbey but across the west the sign of mystery was encountered, in those who hoped to free the Gospel from the mass with which it was concealed. Everywhere a ferocious zeal had cleared away the shadows of false observance. This was nowhere more evident than in the church and Rule of the Carthusians. In them the image which we have

⁴⁴² Peter of Celle, *Ep. 2 Ad frat. et priori Cell.*,

⁴⁴³ Overview in C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 287 ff.

⁴⁴⁴ M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge, 1991), 83-129.

⁴⁴⁵ J. Haseldine, *The Letters of Peter of Celle*, xix-xxxiv. J. Leclercq, *La Spiritualité de Pierre de Celle (1115-1183)*, (Paris, 1945).

outlined had been clarified and condensed. For Peter the monks were vessels of the God whom they served and glorified:⁴⁴⁶ This vision would send his soul into rapture and his words into spiritual ecstasy. 'If you could see them stood here simply before the Lord of the whole world!'⁴⁴⁷

This view was based on the Christian vision which we have up to now described. We see again that our exegesis was at the heart of the twelfth century reformation.

The locus of this union was in the warm affection roused in the mind by Christian monasticism, and by the vision of those whose body now bore the agonies of the Redeemer. In the mountain Peter saw men whose skin was dried and parted by austerities: for him they were as statues made of flesh but still alive [*simulcra sunt carnea et animata*].⁴⁴⁸ This was linked in the first place to the idea of the Bible as a moral *speculum*. For the abbot the monks in that place were a mirror and showed his indiscretions.⁴⁴⁹ To look on them was to see how short he had fallen

⁴⁴⁶ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 42. Ad frat. Petrus et fratri Cell.*, LPC, 160: 'Reviviscat igitur spiritus vester, karissimi, contemplatione et expectatione tantorum bonorum quia omnia ista filiorum Dei sunt. Vos autem filii Dei estis si habitat in vobis spiritus Christi. Qui enim habet spiritum Christi, hic ex Deo et Deo in eo est.' Etc.

⁴⁴⁷ Peter of Celle, *Ad Hard. ab. de Rip.*, LPC, 96: 'videres eos plane astare DOMINATORI UNIVERSE TERRE...' Zechariah 4.14.

⁴⁴⁸ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 28, Ad Hard. ab. de Rip.*, LPC, 98.

⁴⁴⁹ James 1.23. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, 80. Also, Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 94.2, ad. abb. cui. mon. Ebor.*, (SBO 7), 244: 'En speculum. In hoc non vultum nativitatis, sed factum reversionis suae considerent; hic se discutiant, hic se diiudicent, cogitationibus suis accusantibus sive defendentibus, et quidem apud spiritualem qui omnia diiudicat, et ipse a nemine iudicatur.'

from Gospel perfection.⁴⁵⁰ But the monks were not only a biblical model or a source of pious reflection. Like Bernard the abbot related their church and actions to a Christian hermeneutic. The monastic life was a routine in which that exegesis was utterly comprehended. For Peter like Bernard the love which the passion of Christ now promoted in the heart was the truth which the unwise master might reduce to an abstraction.⁴⁵¹ Peter offered this view of God and his signs in a sermon on the Pentecost. The abbot related how the Apostles came to preach of Christ and His ministry, and were made to know God and to love Him in the earthly life of the Nazarene. From the pure metal of Jesus Christ the Lord had made a new and spiritual instrument: hearts were melted now that all they had heard from the Father was made known.⁴⁵² By His hand the bell was struck in these men and rung the sound of heaven.⁴⁵³ This applied to sacred speech but also to the monk in whom the Word was manifested. In outward signs they too drew the soul

⁴⁵⁰ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 28, Ad Hard. ab. de Rip.*, LPC, 100, 102: 'Queris quid inter hec faciam? Certe append in statera eorum tam iusta officium et opus meum, et inequalia reperio...'

⁴⁵¹ Peter of Celle, *De disc. cla.*, 8.

⁴⁵² Peter of Celle, sermo 54, *de Pen.*, (PL 202, 798A-798B): 'Ex purissimo metallo, adhuc cum eis in carne, positus rotunda perfectione fundator [vel furor] ille coelestium signorum corda illorum liquefecerat, et in aptissima signa jam praeparaverat, quia omnia quae audivit a Patre suo nota eis fecerat, et omnia ecclesiastica sacramenta eis tradiderat.'

⁴⁵³ Peter of Celle, *sermo 54, de Pen.*, (PL 202, 798B-798C): 'Jacebant tamen illa signa sive tympana absque batullo, quod vocem eorum in omnem terram diffudit postea, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum: *Donec complerentur dies Pentecostes; et factus est repente de coelo sonus, tanquam advenientis spiritus vehementis, et replevit domum totam ubi erant sedentes apostoli, et repleti sunt omnes Spiritu sancto, et coeperunt loqui variis linguis, prout Spiritus sanctus dabat eloqui illis.* Misit ergo apostolis Verbum quod ascenderat ad Patrem batallum praedicationis in igneis linguis, quo fidei cymbalum tangerent, et ad aures mentium sonum sublimis Dei per doctrinam et exhortationem intonarent. Accepto autem hujusmodi plectro, loquebantur variis linguis apostoli magnalia Dei.' Acts 2.1.

to the love of God their actions announced. The Spirit had burned their souls in fire and made them pathways to salvation.⁴⁵⁴ Under the outward sign of the cross little remained of the old man thus dissolved, and in this way they too taught hearts to love and to join in spiritual association. For Peter and Bernard biblical exegesis captured the essence of this experience. The light which now burst upon and cleared away the mass of carnal ambition was seen as the reality that Christ had shown in the cross and the New Testament. Not only the mind but the very soul was led by this action into His presence. Thus the Bible related a spiritual power which had filled the Christian universe, and must not be reduced to a formal practice or an aspect of an inward exercise. Peter relayed this opinion in words which are redolent of a gloss and commentary. He affirmed that he had come to the mountain for the mystery here contained. The words in which he did so serve as the end of our review and its summation:

'What more? This mode of life (*institutio vite*) is more than a little above the people of our times: none can hold to it save one who, dead to the world, is alive in God. I have set out that which is small and (in a way) remote from good and evil, namely the abasement of the flesh (*mortificatio*) which is seen on the outside. But you must believe that beneath the cloaks of goat's hair, beneath the ram's skins dyed red, the Ark of sanctification is concealed, in

⁴⁵⁴ Also, Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad cl. de con.*, 17.30, SBO 4, 106-107. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Qui hab.*, SBO 4, 6.2, 405.

which (is found) the manna of sweetness which God hides away for those that fear Him, of which it is said: "I shall give to you hidden manna." There, too, the Holy of Holies finds (*novi*) the altar of sacrifices, there (He finds) the altar of incense, (there He finds) even the Holy of Holies. I do not come near the Holy of Holies, but see worldly sanctuaries. However, I do not doubt the truth of the mysteries (*secreta veritas*), clear signs of which are shown in the outer works of the saints.⁴⁵⁵

Peter wrote in another letter of the flesh which Christ had opened to an unseen and spiritual power in the harsh Rule of monasticism:

'For what is the body save empty earth? What is the soul save a fathomless abyss? What is God if not incomprehensible light? Therefore, so that barren and sterile flesh be made fruitful, may it be afflicted with fasts and vigils. So that the dark and dingy soul be made light, may it be stripped of its old vices and credulous ignorance. Let the flesh become a paradise of

⁴⁵⁵ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 28, Ad Hard. ab. de Rip.*, LPC, 100: 'Quid multa? Paulo amplius supra homines nostril temporis institutio vite, nec habet in ea vivere nisi qui mundo mortuus vivit Deo. Que parva et indifferentia sunt quodammodo bonis et malis enumeravi, mortificationem videlicet extrinsecus apparentem, sed crede sub sagis cilicinis, sub PELIBUS ARIETUM RUBRICATIS, archam sanctificationis contegi, ubi manna dulcedinis quam abscondit Deus timentibus se, de qua dicitur: DABO TIBI MANNA ABSCONditUM. Ibi etiam altare holocaustorum, ibi altare incense, sed etiam sancta sanctorum novit sanctus sanctorum. Ad sancta enim sanctorum non accedo sed sancta secularia video. Non diffido autem veritatem secretorum quorum evidentia signa representant opera manifesta sanctorum.' Exodus 36.19. Revelation 2.17.

pleasures through abstinence, let the soul become the most serene heaven through prayer and contemplation. Let reason be appointed the guard and the labourer of paradise, and its Creator the defender and the inhabitant of the soul. Let careful discipline be applied to the body like an immature boy, lest it be puffed up to its own ruin. Let it be cultivated lest it be grown over (*occupare*) with a wicked bloom of nettles like a neglected field. Let it be broken up with the hoe and the ploughshare and filled with a good seed. For the body is of this nature, that the more it is pressed down the more fully it is increased. The earth of this flesh will be useless, like a closed womb, unless it is turned over by the plough of discipline. But when, having been struck or torn open, it receives the seed of the Lord of hosts, it will begin to bring forth according to its kind. Wounded then as if with a two-edged sword, that is, love and fear, it flows into eternal life, pours forth the copious fruits of justice, the abundant waters of inward remorse, even the blood and the water for the redemption of its wrongs and the cleansing of its sins.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁶ Peter of Celle, *52, Ad Mont. Dei*, LPC, 237: 'Quid enim corpus nisi terra inanis? Quid anima nisi abyssus impenetrabilis? Quod Deus nisi lux incomprehensibilis? Igitur ut caro sterilis et infecunda impregnetur, ieiuniis et vigiliis affligatur; ut anima tetra et tenebrosa clarificetur, pristinis vitiis et phantastica ignorantia exvatur. Caro abstinendo fiat paradus deliciarum, anima orando et contemplando efficiatur serenissimum celum. Custos et operator paradisi deputetur ratio, protector et inhabitator anime ipsius creator. Adhibeatur corpori diligens disciplina ne tanquam puer immaturus in perniciem sui immaniter efferatur, cultura impendatur ne velut ager neglectus mala prole urticarum inutiliter occupetur, vomere et sarculo conscindatur et bono semine impleatur. Nam huius nature est hoc corpus ut quo magis opprimitur eo amplius multiplicetur. Terra huius carnis, nisi aratro discipline convulse fuerit, quasi clausa vulva inutilis erit. At ubi fortiter concussa vel concissa semen Domini exercituum exceperit, germinare secundum genus suum incipiet. Denique secundo vulnerata tanquam gladio ancipiti, amore videlicet et timore, uberes fructus

To illustrate this point of view we have replaced a modern with a medieval hermeneutic. That exegesis is supplied by the image of Christ that we have enumerated. This saw Christ as the man who had cleared away the clouds of ignorance, and His death as the action round which the power of the world had receded. Indeed, the passion was the image with which this opinion was expressed: the action of the cross had broken open the sinful flesh and had shown the world its salvation. From this wound the mystery of God poured out onto the human congregation. For the reformers this image seized on the essence of earthly circumstances. It captured the spiritual power which lay behind their historical achievement. They too had rolled back the forces of the world in a passionate undertaking. The clouds which had closed round the reality of Christ had been dispersed, '[and] in the cross of the Lord the veil was rent apart and [truth] was revealed.'⁴⁵⁷ This chapter has related this vision to the world with which we are concerned. That image has in turn provided a new approach to the work of historical retrenchment which has been seen until now as the motive for the medieval reformation. From this point of view the harmful human custom whose steady accumulation was criticized by the clergy was seen not as a digression but an integument. It was seen as the carnal veil under which divine truth had been concealed. This shroud had closed round the truth of God in a false and sinful arrangement. Those who wished to restore in the Church a severe and simple observance came to believe

iustitie, largissimas aquas interne compunctionis, immo sanguinem et aquam in redemptionem prevaricationum suarum et emundationem organilium delictorum, in vitam eternam saliendo profluit.'

⁴⁵⁷ n. 95, p. 39.

that they had torn this heavy mantle in an act of illumination. That work was in turn related to the Christ who was the source of revelation, and whose deed on the cross signed the way from an old to a new covenant. The desire to imitate His passion in this period may be seen as an instrument used to make a path in the carnal order which had buried a Gospel testament. The pious souls who looked to Christ and the Gospel and wished to reproduce that ancient model would be related to this vision by the medieval imagination. This was the image with which that Christian action was entirely comprehended. This represents a new approach to this time of reform and its motivation.

Peter of Celle viewed the monastic church as the cross that opened onto the otherworld.⁴⁵⁸ His words on this subject were not cloudy notions but concrete assurances. The abbot hoped to prove that the abbey was indeed a doorway into heaven. He depicted the monastic church as a place of flesh alive with mysteries. For him the Rule was the work that had shown the secret of Christ in the darkness.⁴⁵⁹ Peter viewed the abbey church and its inmates as a portal into God's

⁴⁵⁸ Peter of Celle, *De disc. cl.*, (PL 202, 1108D-1110B): '*Est autem claustrum in confinio angelicae puritatis, et mundanae colluvionis...Sed quid haec ad claustralem disciplinam? Plane tota forma claustralis disciplinae emanavit de cruce.*' (My emphasis).

⁴⁵⁹ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 52, Ad dom. et patri. Monte Dei*, LPC, 236: 'Quid enim corpus nisi terra inanis? Quid anima nisi abyssus impenetrabilis? Quid Deus nisi lux incomprehensibilis? Igitur ut caro sterilis et infecunda impregnetur, ieiuniis et vigiliis affligatur; ut anima tetra et tenebrosa clarificetur, pristinis utiis et phantastica ignorantia exuatur.'

presence, the passion round which the dark clouds of the world ebbed away and receded. The abbot was persuaded to form this opinion by the biblical culture in which he was immersed, and which we have described. He shared with his monastic peers the view that the cross was the instrument with which the shadow of carnal ignorance was swept aside, and the light of God's coming was revealed. He believed that the Christian Rule that was followed in the monasteries shared in the spiritual work that had introduced a fallen world to the mystery of salvation. For Peter this religious action was an inexhaustible source of spiritual renewal. This was the purpose of his progress into Mont-Dieu and its unyielding environment. Here the old man would find the Lord hanging on the Cross for his refreshment. Like the holy apostles he came into the Mountain to hear the voice of God.

But even as this form of religious life found its highest point its powers began to decline. The seeds of this process had been sown in the body politic of western Europe, and we have seen some of their fruits in the various sections of the present chapter. Peter is a witness to an imaginative shift of vast importance in the western Church. His words express a living mode of exegesis which yet stimulated acts of conversion, but whose influence on the progress of the Church was destined also to recede, as urban and commercial growth promoted a desire for new forms of Latin devotion. There would still be those who were moved to enter the high places of

heaven by the spectacle of those whose broken bodies declared the presence of the Holy Ghost, but this impulse would be satisfied by those orders better suited to an altered society. In our period, however, the vision of the monastic church continued to prompt remorse, and to draw the penitent from the world and into that divine and ancient profession. Whether in the glories of the Cluniac round or in fierce and Carthusian austerity, the sight of the monastery yet fired and stirred the imagination of western Europe. This chapter in all its parts has sought to re-build in our minds that forgotten tradition.

Chapter Two:

'The Son of Man must be given into the hands of sinful men,

And crucified,

And on the third day rise again...'⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁶⁰ Luke 24.7: 'Quia oportet Filium hominis tradi in manus hominum peccatorum, et crucifigi, et die tertia resurgere.'

The first part of our thesis showed how God could be found in human action and achievement. We found that His truth and power were linked to the growth of the new monasticism. In the second part we will focus on the images used to express this Presence. We will focus on the written texts with which this power would be comprehended. Our theme in this relation will be darker than what we have hitherto described. Our subject will also be different to the monastic world that we have enumerated. The Christian images we shall meet in what follows were not monastic but ecclesiastical. The vision that these images created would be related to the whole Church where before it applied above all to the monastic world. The monastic vision we have met was an emblem of progress as well as optimism; the larger vision we shall meet was an emblem of retreat as well as pessimism. The monastic vision we have met was the product of power as well as influence; the larger vision we shall meet was the product of the poor as well as dispossessed. These are divisions that must be kept in mind across this chapter. But there are solid connections and clear similarities that overcome these differences. In each case the death of God was seen to reveal an unseen and spiritual *Veritas*, and in each case this truth was meant to move Christian souls to reform and renovation.

This Christian vision was poetic as well as biblical and was used by Latin writers to comprehend the divine truth that was seen to abide in a world filled with change and reformation. This function

is related to the vision of God that we have linked to monasticism and that had been used since the first Christian centuries to promote spiritual meditation.⁴⁶¹ This rhetoric was meant to capture the Word who was outside human perception, and to produce in the heart a desire to unite with God in the monastic obedience. Leclercq and others have shown how this poetic idiom was indeed a fundamental aspect of monastic culture and was the medium with which its learning was expressed.⁴⁶² The monastic world was filled with what Fr. Chenu called *La mentalité symbolique*.⁴⁶³ Historical events were seen as signs that pointed to divine and unseen mysteries; both nature and the Church shone with the power of Christ and His achievement. But this tradition has reduced that method to an aspect of culture and spirituality. The power of the Christian image to capture and to contain the spiritual presence that seen to move in the world has been linked to biblical culture and monasticism. It has been related to Christian art and to a Platonic science or consciousness.⁴⁶⁴ But this power has not been linked to the Church seen as a global organism.

⁴⁶¹ J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 5: '[The] experience of the sweetness of God will give rise to enthusiasm, it will blossom in the form of poetry and hymn.'

⁴⁶² J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 73 ff. I. P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 60-63. W. Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres*, (Princeton, 1972), e.g. 4-9. B. Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester*, (Princeton, 1972). Also, J. Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 109.

⁴⁶³ M.-D. Chenu, "La Mentalité Symbolique" and "La Théologie Symbolique" in M.-D. Chenu, *La Théologie au douzième siècle*, (Paris, 1957), 159-209. Also, M.-T. d'Alverny, "Le Cosmos Symbolique du XXle Siècle," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale Et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, volume 20, (1953), 31-81. W. Wetherbee (trans), *The Cosmographia of Bernardus Silvestris*, (New York; London, 1973).

⁴⁶⁴ M.-D. Chenu, "The Platonisms of the Twelfth Century," in *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, 49-98. R. W. Southern, *Platonism, Scholastic Method, and The School of Chartres*, The Stenton Lecture 1978, (Reading, 1979), 5-24. Cf. W. Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry*.

This method has not been related to the Church in the fullness of its historical existence. In what follows we will see how the Christian image was turned to this basic purpose.

This is not to argue that images were absent from the Church in its context and connection. Images were of course used to describe the Church, its nature and its substance. The Christian works that were turned to this theme at this time were imaginative and the notion of the Church itself was referred above all to an allusive symbolism.⁴⁶⁵ But the function of the image in this context is different to what we have proposed. Christian works of this kind were used to instruct the people and also to demonstrate the union of the Church with God in terms that were not juridical and institutional.⁴⁶⁶ This pastoral and doctrinal purpose was important and would continue to exercise the minds of Christian theorists down to the later middle ages and the Reformation.⁴⁶⁷ But this function still belongs to the domain of exegesis and formal instruction. Speculation of this type is linked above all to the treatise and the Christian schoolroom. Its appearance in homiletic literature is related to the biblical culture I have described. Moreover, the intention of

⁴⁶⁵ S. H. Hendrix, "In Quest of the *Vera Ecclesia*: The Crises of Late Medieval Ecclesiology," *Viator*, volume 7, (1976), 347-379.

⁴⁶⁶ S. H. Hendrix, "Ecclesia in Via: Ecclesiological Developments in the Medieval Psalms Exegesis and the *Dictata super Psalterium* (1513-1515) of Martin Luther," (Leiden, 1974), 1-19. K. Schatz, "The Gregorian Reform and the Beginning of a Universal Ecclesiology," R. E. Jenkins (trans.), *The Jurist*, (1997), 123-136.

⁴⁶⁷ S. H. Hendrix, "In Quest of the *Vera Ecclesia*," 348-352.

this genre is to capture a varied but eternal substance.⁴⁶⁸ Bernard for instance hoped to describe the Church in its many-sided perfection. Here was the Bride of the Lord and here was His body and there is His vineyard. Christian visions of this kind are beautiful but also descriptive and representational. There is no sense in this use of the written word of a power that is immediate, a Spirit that bursts upon and breaks the bonds of the world and Christian experience. Even the famous notion of foxes in the vineyard has been reduced in its spiritual power as a result of familiarity and overemployment. The exception to this rule is the image of the Church as the flesh of Christ.⁴⁶⁹ This vision was used in our period to impress upon the mind the dire consequences that would follow on from the failure to protect the Lord who filled His Church. This notion stands at the base of the review that follows, and the vision of its protagonists. In the previous section we alluded to this image and its power in the world of monasticism. This conviction would flow out into a wider vision of the Church in time of tribulation. The passion was a helpmeet in the Church but its role was not only hermeneutical. Bernard in his letters would write of the God who was seen to suffer and cry out in the Church when its flesh was opened by schism and its blood poured out in violence.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁸ E.g. H. de Lubac, *The Splendor of the Church*, 45-47, and 52: "'[The] Church of God" still knows, in principle, no limit of place or time.' Compare, H. Kung, *The Church*, R. and R. Ockenden (trans.), (London; Tunbridge Wells, 1981), 3-39.

⁴⁶⁹ J.-M. R. Tillard, *Flesh of the Church, Flesh of Christ*, M. Beaumont (trans.), (Liturgical Press: Collegeville, Minn., 2001), for a wonderful meditation on this theme.

⁴⁷⁰ E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 126.1, 3, Ad Ap. Aq.*, SBO 7, 309, 311: 'Hostilis siquidem gladius, qui universe Christi corpori mortem denuo nunc temporis intentare videntur...Quid nisi ante oculos vestros

*In hac necessitate*John of Salisbury and the Becket Conflict

The Christian episode that will be used to prove this point of view is the Becket controversy. This contest is one of the most famous events in the history of the medieval Church.⁴⁷¹ Its tremendous scale and epic conclusion has attracted the interest and the admiration of curious minds from the time of Becket's murder down to the present dissertation. Few events as distant as this continue to excite such passion and disagreement. The reason for this is not found only in the human drama of this famous enterprise. It is discovered also in the power of this conflict to reveal an entire world in miniature. The contest between a priest and his lord distils a major theme of medieval Christianity. It illuminates the points that were at issue in this period of Christian reformation, and shows what was at stake for those who shared in this wide and drastic

conantur, si patimini, proscribere Christum?' Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 239, Ad. Eug. Pap.*, SBO 8, 121-122: 'Neque enim terrenum aliquid deploramus aut temporale damnum, sed animae nostrae in minibus nostris, quas nimirum semel emptas PRETIO MAGNO, NON CORRUPTIBILIBUS ARGENTO ET AURO, SED SANGUINE AGNI IMMACULATI IESU CHRISTI, novo et impudenti emptori tradere non est tutum. Obsecramus itaque per ipsum quo redemptae sunt animae, immo sanguis ipse clamat ad vos de caelo...' 1 Corinthians 6.20.

⁴⁷¹ F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, (London, 1986). F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket and His Clerks*, (Canterbury, 1987). A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, (London, 2004). D. Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, (London, 1970). B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics*, (Oxford, 1973). R. W. Southern, *The Monks of Canterbury and the Murder of Archbishop Becket*, (Canterbury, 1985). W. L. Warren, *Henry II*, (London, 1977), 447-518.

upheaval.⁴⁷² But while the power of this vision seems limitless it is in fact fiercely constrained. The notion that the Becket conflict is a unique portal into the collision between Church and state that took place at this time means that it is seen only from this perspective. This collision has been seen as the essential interest of the Becket conflict in the history of the Church in the medieval west.⁴⁷³ This controversy shows us the Church in the aftermath of the Gregorian revolution.⁴⁷⁴ The purpose of what follows is in part to prove that a new approach is possible. The substance of the contest is not seen here as the political climate in Christendom. This historical form is seen instead as the sign of a truth at once unseen and supernatural. This was the essence of the conflict as it appeared to interested contemporaries. The contest was for these men a trial in which the miracle of Christ was reproduced. The Lord was seen to come down into the Church in its violent distress, and to free it from the slavery into which it had been plunged by Henry II and his *Constitutions*. This perception of the Church was expressed in the vision that we have described.

⁴⁷² A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 1-8. D. Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 10-21, 77-101. B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict*, 160-216.

⁴⁷³ E.g. R. E. Scully, "The Unmaking of a Saint: Thomas Becket and the English Reformation," *The Catholic Historical Review*, volume 86, number 4, (October, 2000), 579-602.

⁴⁷⁴ C. Duggan, "The Significance of the Becket Dispute in the History of the English Church," in *Canon Law in Medieval England the Becket Dispute and Decretal Collections*, (London, 1982), 365-375.

The subject with whom we will prove this vision is the English churchman John of Salisbury.⁴⁷⁵

John was a member of Becket's court and was exiled in 1163 as a result of his obedience.⁴⁷⁶ A

desire to protect his status in England gave way in time to a fierce conviction that king Henry II

hoped to rule the Church in that place and that he must be defeated.⁴⁷⁷ He pressed his master's

cause in a series of letters that were collected afterwards as a memorial to the conflict and as a

witness to the role played by John in that enterprise.⁴⁷⁸ This collection presents to us a sustained

vision of the contest as a demonstration of the power of Christ that was found above all in His

death and in His sacrifice. John would express this opinion in letters that are thick with dense

and sophisticated allusion to the Bible and the Fathers as well as to the work of more recent

⁴⁷⁵ On John, H. Liebeschütz, *Mediaeval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury*, (London, 1950). C. J. Nederman, *John of Salisbury*, (Tempe, 2005). B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools*, 87-109. R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, 2, 167-177. C. C. J. Webb, *John of Salisbury*, (London, 1932), is still useful. M. Wilks (ed.), *The World of John of Salisbury*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 3, (Oxford, 1994).

⁴⁷⁶ John came to France in the winter of that year. LJS 2, xx.

⁴⁷⁷ On John's 'conversion': J. Barrau, "La conversio de Jean de Salisbury: la Bible au service de Thomas Becket?" in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*. 50e année (no 199), (Juillet-Septembre, 2007), 229-244. J. McLoughlin, "The Language of Persecution: John of Salisbury and the Early Phase of the Becket Dispute," *SICH*, 21, 73-87. This opinion is confirmed in the structure of the correspondence: F. Barlow, "The Letters of John of Salisbury II: The Later Letters (1163-1180). By W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford Medieval Texts)," Review Article, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, volume 32, issue 1, (January, 1981), 89-91: 'There is also an unequal distribution of the correspondence over the years covered: the peak is reached quickly in 1166 and, after falling away gradually to 1169, then declines sharply. This may represent John's growing feeling that he was not going to return to England and his consequent loss of interest in the intrigues and negotiations,' 90.

⁴⁷⁸ LJS 2, xix-lxv. A. Duggan, "John of Salisbury and Thomas Becket," in *SICH* 3, 427-439.

scholars.⁴⁷⁹ His vision was based on the notion of the Church that we have related to monasticism. It flowed from the view that the Holy Ghost was known in a Christian communion. John believed that Christ was alive in the union of pious souls that was produced in those who loved God and who chose to obey His Law and His commandments.⁴⁸⁰ His image of a God who was now dead took this notion to its logical conclusion. Christ lived in the union of faithful souls and He died when this union was extinguished. The Gospel vision he created in his letters was used to grasp this supernatural truth and to show to his peers in the Church the drastic result of their decisions. Those who would not protect the God who lived in the Church and her adherents would be faced with the notion that He had died once more because of their indolence. This Christian vision carried extra force in this period as a result of the enormous devotion to the human God that spread over the Christian world and its inhabitants.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁹ P. Riché, "Jean de Salisbury et le monde scolaire du xiè siècle," and J. Martin, "John of Salisbury as classical scholar," in *SICH 3*, 39-63, 179-203. Also, A. Saltman, "John of Salisbury and the World of the Old Testament," *SICH 3*, 343-365.

⁴⁸⁰ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 175, Ad arc. Th.*, LJS 2, 152: 'consilio Achitophel, quem credibile est in perniciem fidelium ab inferis redisse, per manum Doeth Idumei, sitientis adhuc sanguinem sacerdotum et quaerentis et insatiabiliter persequentis animam Christi, qui in electorum fide et caritate vivit...'

⁴⁸¹ T. S. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*, (Philadelphia, 1996), esp. 1-25. R. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200*, (New York, 2002), 60 ff. M. Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition*, 64 ff. R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 209-245.

From the earliest phase of the Becket conflict the quarrel would be linked to God's immolation. Those who defended Thomas spoke of the injuries that had been done to Christ. Becket had in the autumn of 1163 sent a letter to pope Alexander III that had enumerated the drastic state of affairs in England and had appealed to Rome for assistance. In this missive and others that were sent around this time we meet the symbolism that was later used by John to move the pope to act and to shame Becket's opponents. The correspondence united the harm that was done to Thomas and his associates to the harm that was done to Christ in the souls of those who shared in His sacrifice:

'Evil grows stronger by the day, and our injuries have increased on all sides. Or, rather, injuries to Christ, and because they are Christ's they are more truly ours...'⁴⁸²

The pope and the Curia are carried off to the sea of Galilee as storm-tossed waves gathered on all sides and the careworn priests of England saw the onset of a disastrous shipwreck. They looked to the pope to save them from the swelling sea before they drowned.⁴⁸³

⁴⁸² CTB I, 30, 'de die in diem malician inualescit, multiplicantur iniurie, non nostre, sed Christi – immo quia Christi, eo magis nostre.'

⁴⁸³ CTB 1, 30 ff.

But the presence of God in this crisis was not indicated by storms and Christian shipwrecks. His immanence in the Church is shown in relation to an unusual and mysterious concept whose role in this relation has passed almost without comment until now. This concept is found in a letter John wrote to Becket in 1166 and that was concerned with the meeting of Thomas and the Empress Mathilda at Rouen that had been proposed. John advised Thomas to look well upon the issue and to recall his responsibilities to the church in England as its lord and as the man who stood in place of Christ. John advanced his view on the matter in relation to the concept with which we are concerned:

'Attend, then, to the present time, the position of the Roman Church, the need of the English kingdom (*necessitas regni Angliae*), the danger in which not only your (episcopal) seat but the churches and souls entrusted to you are placed. If then there is a chance to resist (this peril) or to aid (souls) you must not place such value on your soul that you do not, for its salvation and the liberation of the shipwrecked Church, come to meet those who persecute you, and test what Jesus in His kindness might accomplish in your humility, He who asserted after the glory of the ascension (as is found in an authentic letter) that He was prepared to die for the humble and to bear the humiliation of the cross. Particularly as those who persecute

you (and Christ in you) are said to have lost some of the king's favour and to be in a state that puts them in fear of their own lives.⁴⁸⁴

John described here an insistent need that would be overcome in Christ and His humiliation. He advised Thomas to heed this notion and to act in accord with this requirement. This humdrum comment does not seem at first to demand a detailed inspection. The association of Christ and need in the Church seems clear and unremarkable. But this Christian combination pointed to a truth that was eternal and supernatural. John referred in this letter to a bond that was used at this time to comprehend the power of Christ and to show how the Church had been freed in His sacrifice. This connection was granted new force and interest in this harsh and febrile period. The greatest minds in the Church would be turned to this problem and its resolution. Its presence in John's letter collection alerts us to the spiritual aspect of his thought. To understand how this is the case we must spend some time with the concept of necessity. Once we have done so we

⁴⁸⁴ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 179, Ad Tho. Bec.*, LJS 2, 190: 'Attendenda enim est instantia temporis, condicio ecclesiae Romanae, necessitas regni Angliae, periculum non modo sedis vestrae sed commissarum vobis et ecclesiarum et animarum; quibus si vel occurrere vel subvenire potueritis, vix tanti debetis facere animam vestram ut non pro salute ipsius animae et liberatione ecclesiae naufragantis accedatis ad colloquia persecutorum et experiamini quid per humilitatem vestram dignetur efficere pius Iesus, qui post ascensionis gloriam protestatus est, sicut in litteris invenitur autenticis, se adhuc paratum esse mori pro humilibus et crucis ignominiam sustinere; praesertim cum illi qui vos persecuti sunt et Christum in vobis dicantur aliquantulum a regis gratia excidisse et in ea conditione versari ut eos iam taedeat vitae suae.'

will be able to show how it filled the Becket controversy, and moved John to speak and to act from the outset of the dispute to its conclusion.

The medieval term that is our chosen theme was juridical as well as moral and philosophical.⁴⁸⁵

Necessitas was also related to the method and practice of Bible interpretation.⁴⁸⁶ For this reason it was well known to those with whom John of Salisbury corresponded. The Becket circle contained

⁴⁸⁵ For a comprehensive discussion of *necessitas* as a legal term: F. Roumy, "L'origine et la diffusion de l'adage canonique *Necessitas non habet legem* (VIIIe-XIIIe s.)," in *Medieval Church Law and the Origins of the Western Legal Tradition: A tribute to Kenneth Pennington*, W. P. Müller & M. E. Sommar (eds.) (Washington DC: 2006), pp. 301-319.

⁴⁸⁶ The growth of canon law and the practice of Bible exegesis were at this stage combined. The *droit canon* elucidated and put into practice the divine Law which was in its fullest sense the Bible itself. In relation to our theme: P. Buc, *L'ambiguïté du Livre: prince, pouvoir, et peuple dans les commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Âge*, (Paris, 2004), 260-269. The *Gloss* on Mark's Gospel which is Buc's subject, and also the *Decretum* (Illa de cons. D I, cap. 11), would make use of Bede's note: 'Quod non est licitum lege, necessitas facit licitum' (Roumy, *op. cit.*). Buc confirms the enigmatic quality of *necessitas* in relation to the Word of God. Necessity was invoked to justify a departure from the precepts of the law, as well as to confirm its observance: 'La nécessité ne connaît pas de loi, mais la loi est dotée d'une nécessité interne,' 261. In the twelfth century the contest between new and old monks was built in part around this difficult precept. Peter the Venerable defended Cluniac innovation by an appeal to charity as well as necessity. However, Bernard of Clairvaux used the same principle to support the view that strict adherence to the divine law (articulated in the Rule and in the Bible, and above all in the beatitudes) was an essential requirement of the monastic life. Necessity was in this case charity – the Law of God, the highest *necessitas*. For some this necessity implied due regard for human weakness. For others it prohibited compromise. See also, L.-A. Dannenberg, "Charity and Law: The Juristic Implementation of a Core Monastic Principle," in *Aspects of Charity: Concern for One's Neighbour in Medieval Vita Religiosa*, G. Melville (ed.), (Berlin, 2011), 11-28. K. Schreiner, "Puritas Regulae, Caritas und Necessitas. Leitbegriffe der Regelauslegung in der monastischen Theologie Bernhards von Clairvaux," in *Gemeinsam leben: Spiritualität, Lebens- und Verfassungsformen klösterlicher Gemeinschaften in Kirche und Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, (Berlin, 2013), 123-153. Also, L. Buisson, *Potestas und Caritas: die päpstliche Gewalt in Spätmittelalter*, (Köln, 1982). Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, 50.2.5.

several men who had been trained in ecclesiastical law and who had practiced it in their role as Church diplomats and administrators.⁴⁸⁷ John himself was familiar with Gratian's *Decretum* and its learned harmonies. He appealed to this text in his role as *aide-de-camp* to Theobald of Canterbury.⁴⁸⁸ Patient inquiry has shown how he cited Gratian often in his written discussions.⁴⁸⁹ This interest was given new and spiritual importance by the juridical arguments that swirled round Thomas Becket and his men during their conflict with Henry Plantagenet.⁴⁹⁰ The refined legal opinion that had once been a matter of executive competence was now at the centre of a life-or-death dispute with Henry's brutish government.⁴⁹¹ Becket and the exiles spent hours at books of law in an effort to find definitive support for their position as well as to sweep aside Henry's attacks and objections. The church of Pontigny which was their home for the first part of the controversy was alive with judicial talk and with the search for biblical proofs and precedents.⁴⁹² Becket learned exegesis from Herbert of Bosham and from Lombard of Piacenza (later the

⁴⁸⁷ F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket and His Clerks*.

⁴⁸⁸ A. Saltman, *Theobald of Canterbury*, (London, 1956).

⁴⁸⁹ LJS 1, x ff. Ullmann noted long ago that John (in his *Policraticus*) exercised a large influence on the Italian jurists. W. Ullmann, "The Influence of John of Salisbury on Medieval Italian Jurists," *The English Historical Review*, volume 59, number 235, (September, 1944), 384-392.

⁴⁹⁰ For the juridical atmosphere of the struggle, C. Duggan, "The Significance of the Becket Dispute in the History of the English Church," in *Canon Law in Medieval England: The Becket Dispute and Decretal Collections*, (London: 1982), 365-375. But note the different content of the present argument.

⁴⁹¹ A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 46 ff. Charles Duggan, *Canon Law in Medieval England: The Becket Dispute and Decretal Collections*, (London, 1982)

⁴⁹² F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 129: 'It would seem that the clerks, the *eruditi*, present at Pontigny formed a study group, and that the chief instructor in theology was Herbert [of Bosham], in the more specialized field of canon law Lombard of Piacenza.' R. W. Southern, 'The Place of England in the Twelfth Century Renaissance', in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, (Oxford: 1970), 175.

archbishop of Benevento) he learned Roman and ecclesial jurisprudence.⁴⁹³ This approach did not meet with universal approval from Becket's companions. John was moved to advise Thomas to come up from his books and to contemplate instead the Lord who alone would save him from the ferocious power of his adversaries. Early in the conflict he would offer this view as part of a letter that has subsequently acquired a modest fame as a portal into the hopes and fears of its protagonists:⁴⁹⁴

‘Both the canons and the laws are useful, but believe me they are not needed now: “The time does not demand such displays,” which promote a curiosity that distracts from spiritual

⁴⁹³ Herbert began his famous edition of Peter Lombard's *Great Gloss* at Pontigny. A noted Hebraist, his emphasis on the literal sense of the Bible, alongside his fierce and uncompromising piety, may well have contributed to the inflexible mood, the rigid learning, that John came to believe had grown up in that place. If so, his doubts were misplaced: E. de Visscher, “Putting Theory into Practice? Hugh of St. Victor's Influence on Herbert of Bosham's *Psalterium cum commento*,” in R. Berndt (ed.), *Bibel und Exegese in der Abtei Saint-Victor zu Paris: Form und Function eines Grundtextes im europäischen Rahmen*, (Münster, 2009), 491-502. For de Visscher, Herbert's ‘contribution’ to exegesis lies in his ability ‘to delineate and enrich the domain of the literal sense with the help of Jewish exegesis while at the same time keeping it open for further interpretation by a “master-builder of spiritual understanding” (“architecto spiritualis intelligentie” [f.1r]),’ 502. In other words, the literal sense of the Bible was the vital launch pad into higher and spiritual things (in accord with Hugh of St Victor's own model). Also E. de Visscher, “‘Closer to the Hebrew’: Herbert of Bosham's Interpretation of Literal Exegesis,” in I. van't Spijker (ed.), *The Multiple Meaning of Scripture: The Role of Exegesis in Early-Christian and Medieval Culture*, (Leiden, 2009), 249-272. For an overview of Herbert's role in the twelfth century revival of exegesis, D. L. Goodwin, “Herbert of Bosham and the Horizons of Twelfth Century Exegesis,” *Traditio*, volume 58, (2003), 133-173. Also, B. Smalley, “A Commentary on the *Hebraica* by Herbert of Bosham,” *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, volume 18, (1951), 29-65. B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics*, (Oxford, 1973), p. 80, 86.

⁴⁹⁴ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 144*, LJS 2, 30-37.

zeal (siquidem non tam devotionem excitant quam curiositatem). You recall, do you not, that in the straits of the people (of Israel), as it is written, “the priests and ministers wept between the porch and the altar, saying, spare, O Lord, spare thy people.” “I was exercised and I looked into my spirit,” the prophet said, “in the day of trouble I searched for God with my hands”...⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹⁵ In this context, *curiositas* refers to a desire for knowledge that leads to distraction from the main goal of Christian observance. The rest of John’s letters make clear that he means in this case the Law (and truth) of charity, which rested in the union of like-minds and was stretched out in the work of sympathy and compassion that overcame the power of the world (in part by drawing souls out of a carnal allegiance, in part by building the strength of the Church against those who sought to bring it down). This alone would defeat Henry and replace his harsh and divisive precepts with a true and Christian unity. Once more, the concrete aspect of a divine and unseen truth is essential to social and ecclesiastical action. John of Salisbury, *Ep. 144*, LJS 2: ‘Prosunt quidem leges et canones, sed michi credite quia nunc non erat his opus. “Non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit.” Siquidem non tam devotionem excitant quam curiositatem. Nonne recolitis quia in angustia populi, ut scriptum est, INTER VESTIBULUM ET ALTARE PLORABANT SACERDOTES ET MINISTRI, DICENTES, PARCE, DOMINE, PARCE POPULO TUO? EXERCITABAR, inquit propheta, ET SCOPEBAM SPIRITUM MEUM, IN DIE TRIBULATIONIS DEUM EXQUIRENS MANIBUS...’, 32. Virgil, *Aen.* 6.37. Joel 2.17. Psalm 76.7, 3. For the ‘shift’ in John’s approach which is associated with his meeting with Henry II at Angers and his belated acknowledgment that there was no path into the king’s grace which would preserve his Christian honour, see J. McLoughlin, “The Language of Persecution: John of Salisbury and the Early Phase of the Becket Dispute, 1163-1166,” in *SICH 21*, 73-87. This opinion is confirmed in the structure of the correspondence: F. Barlow, “The Letters of John of Salisbury II: The Later Letters (1163-1180). By W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford Medieval Texts),” Review Article, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, volume 32, issue 1, (January, 1981), 89-91: ‘There is also an unequal distribution of the correspondence over the years covered: the peak is reached quickly in 1166 and, after falling away gradually to 1169, then declines sharply. This may represent John’s growing feeling that he was not going to return to England and his consequent loss of interest in the intrigues and negotiations,’ 90.

The need that John related to the Becket conflict in his letters was not juridical or philosophical, though it was an image in which these ancient themes would be comprehended. He meant instead a human state that has until now received little concentrated interest from those who have studied this notion in relation to medieval Europe. Necessity was in this context the slavery that had closed round the soul as punishment for the original sin and that Christ had taken away in His death and resurrection. This definition was even now very old and had been described by St Augustine. The African doctor used the term in his writings to denote the morbid compulsion to *mala facta* that had ruled the soul until the blood of God had restored its freedom.⁴⁹⁶ Eternal grace would allow the soul to escape the chains of the *necessitas peccandi*. Perhaps the most famous image of this captivity was provided in the *Confessions*. The bishop wrote of the Lord for whom he sighed and from whom he was separated. This book was not as well known in the middle ages as other works from Augustine.⁴⁹⁷ But the image it outlined was found in famous works *de Gratia* and *contra Pelagium*.⁴⁹⁸ For this reason it is well to recite in full the words on

⁴⁹⁶ This was the *tristis necessitas peccandi*: Augustine of Hippo, *De nat. et. gra.*, 66.79: 'Redi ergo ad apostolicam sententiam: CARITAS DEI DIFFUSA EST IN CORDIBUS NOSTRIS PER SPIRITUM SANCTUM QUI DATUS EST NOBIS. A quo, nisi ab illo QUI ASCENDIT IN ALTUM, CAPTIVAVIT CAPTIVITATEM, DEDIT DONA HOMINIBUS? Quod autem ex vitiis naturae, non ex conditione naturae sit quaedam peccandi necessitas, audiat homo, atque ut eadem necessitas non sit discat Deo dicere: DE NECESSITATIBUS MEIS EDHUC MEI, quia et in huiusmodi oratione certamen est adversus temptatorem de ipsa contra nos necessitate pugnans, ac per hoc opitulante gratia per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum et mala necessitas removebitur et libertas plena tribuetur.' Romans 5.5. Ephesians 4.8. Psalm 24.27. Romans 7.25.

⁴⁹⁷ I owe this note to Martial Staub.

⁴⁹⁸ On this subject I have found especially useful: P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography. New Edition with an Epilogue*, (London, 2000), 151-175. P. Brown, "Pelagius and His Supporters: Aims and

this theme in the *Confessions*. Buried in this brilliant text is the vision of the Church with which we are concerned:

'I sighed after these things, but I was bound by chains (*ferrī*). Not the chains of another, but the chains of my own will. The Enemy had taken hold of my will and had made a chain for me and held me prisoner. Indeed, carnal lust is formed from a corrupted will, and while this carnal lust is obeyed, habit (*consuetudo*) is created, and as long as habit is not resisted, *necessitas* is formed. By these bonds joined one to another (hence my term 'chain') a harsh slavery held me captive. However, the new will, which had begun to be within me, so that I might serve you freely and enjoy you, God, in whom alone is certain delight, could not overcome the older (will) that had been reinforced (with old habit). Thus my two wills, one old, the other new, one carnal, the other spiritual, clashed with one another and in this quarrel my very soul was scattered to the wind...⁴⁹⁹

Environment," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, volume 19, number 1, (April, 1968), 93-114. J. C. Stark, "The Pauline Influence on Augustine's Notion of the Will," *Vigiliae Christianae*, volume 43, number 4, (December, 1989), 345-360. G. G. Stroumsa and P. Fredrikson, "The Two Souls and the Divided Will," in *Soul, Self, Body in Religious Experience*, A. Baumgarten, J. Assmann, and G. G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Studies in the History of Religions*, (Leiden, 1998), 198-217.

⁴⁹⁹ Augustine of Hippo, *Conf.*, 8.5.10: 'Cui rei ego suspirabam ligatus non ferro alieno, sed mea ferrea voluntate. Velle meum tenebat inimicus et inde mihi catenam fecerat et constrinxerat me. Quippe ex voluntate perversa facta est libido, et dum servitur libidini, facta est consuetudo, et dum consuetudini non resistitur, facta est necessitas. Quibus quasi ansulis sibimet innexis (unde catenam appellavi) tenebat me obstrictum dura servitus. Voluntas autem nova, quae mihi esse coeperat, ut te gratis colerem fruique te vellem, Deus, sola certa iucunditas, nondum erat idonea ad superandam priorem vetustate roboratam. Ita

This famous vision of the soul was used in relation to the Church during the Becket controversy.

In a letter to the bishop of Exeter that was written in mid-1166, John of Salisbury depicted the mass of sin that had closed round the Church at this time in these terms. He presented the heart of the Church as the image of God that was eternal and incorruptible, and related this to the habit (*mos* or *usus*) with which her enemies oppressed her. The Christian vision is invested here with an historical focus and a social concentration. The common terms *mos* and *usus* are found instead of the word *consuetudo*. Cicero is the Roman author to whom John refers in support of his larger assertion. But this absence would be supplied in other places in John's Becket correspondence. The context as well as the content make clear his debt to this ancient opinion:

'For he who offends his neighbor also offends God, and whoever dishonours the Church, the bride of Christ, dishonours the Bridegroom. For they are one body, one Spirit, too, and, what is more, in the union of grace (*collatio gratiae*) they are in a certain measure one God. By a marvellous exchange the Bride bestows on God the flesh of her original nature, so that she might receive from Him the fullness of the divine nature, and as a result of their fellowship to

duae voluntates meae, una vetus, alia nova, illa carnalis, illa spiritalis, conflagabant inter se atque discordando dissipabant animam meam.' Ephesians 4.22. Colossians 3.9-10. Romans 7.14. For a superb evocation of this passage: P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography. New Edition, with an Epilogue*, (London, 2000), 165-168.

flow over with the oil of gladness. I have said original nature, lest the age-old habit (*mos*) of abuse be looked on as our nature, according to which we are children of wrath. Not that we were established (*condere*) in this condition, but have sunk down into it. For as the Orator (Cicero) says, habit (*usus*) is a second nature, from which it is difficult to escape.⁵⁰⁰

Brown has shown how the bishop linked this vision of the will to the Church and Roman society.⁵⁰¹

The status of the will was a solid matter in a world now shaken free from pantheism, but still aware of the force of old beliefs and the need to abolish all traces of resistance.⁵⁰² That vibrant conflict would recede as the Church settled into political dominance. But this ancient contest was revived in a period filled with violent transformation. The social aspect of the new will and the old came once more into the foreground. The fearsome dispute that arose in this period between

⁵⁰⁰ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 174, Ad Bar. Ex.*, LJS 2, 144: 'Nam qui delinquit in proximum, in Deum quoque delinquit, et sponsum exhonorat Christum quicumque inhonorat ecclesiam sponsam eius; sunt enim corpus unum, immo et spiritus unus et, quod amplius est, collatione gratiae quodammodo sunt Deus unus, dum admirabili commercio illa quae carnis sunt ex natura primitiva Deo impertit ut ab illo plenitudinem diinae naturae recipiat, et oleo exultationis quadam ratione consortii habundet ab illo et effluat tota. Primitivam naturam dixerim, ne abusionis inueteratus mos natura reputetur, iuxta quem omnes sumus natura filii irae; non quod in ea conditi simus, sed quia in eam degenerauimus. Nam, ut ait Orator, usus altera natura est, a quo difficillimum est auelli.'

⁵⁰¹ P. Brown, "Pelagius and His Supporters," 106: 'From the time of Tertullian onwards, habit – *consuetudo* – had always been thought of as an external, social force, and the Christian as being exposed, not only to his own "bad habits," but to being suffocated and contaminated by the way of life of the pagan society around him.' Also, H. Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition*, (Oxford, 1966), 2-3.

⁵⁰² P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000*, Second Edition, (Oxford, 2003), 59-60, 88-91.

new and old Christendom would move souls to reflect once more on St Paul and his disciple, Augustine.⁵⁰³ The nature of this inquiry would depend on the learned and devotional environment.⁵⁰⁴ The notion of the will as a social power was given new force and importance in those works that linked human nature to the universe as microcosm and macrocosm.⁵⁰⁵ John of Salisbury made a vital contribution to this tradition with his *Policraticus*. This contained a famous view of the Church and society as a united Christian organism.⁵⁰⁶ Ullmann showed long ago how this text made a vital contribution to the development of canon law in the Italian schools as well as the notion of the Christian republic.⁵⁰⁷ Its importance to us lies in the link John drew between the soul and the priesthood as the power with which the body was moved to follow moral and spiritual commands.⁵⁰⁸ This association meant that John could see how the growth of harmful customs in the Church flowed from the mass of harmful habit with which the soul was imprisoned.⁵⁰⁹ The collision between the Christian soul and the power of the flesh that dominated the inner life spilled over into the clash between the Church and an unwise monarch. Like the

⁵⁰³ E. D. English (ed.), *Reading and Wisdom: The De Doctrina Christiana of Augustine in the Middle Ages*, (Notre Dame; London, 1995), for an overview of Augustine in the Church at this time.

⁵⁰⁴ For an overview, E. Gilson, *The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy*, 304 ff.

⁵⁰⁵ J. le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, 55-57.

⁵⁰⁶ E.g. John of Salisbury, *Poli.*, 5.2, (PL 199, 540A-541A). T. Struve, "The Importance of the Organism in the Political Theory of John of Salisbury," in *SICH 3*, 303-319.

⁵⁰⁷ W. Ullmann, "The Influence of John of Salisbury on Medieval Italian Jurists," *op. cit.*

⁵⁰⁸ John of Salisbury, *Poli.*, 5.2, 8.17 (PL 199, 540A-541A, 776C-785A).

⁵⁰⁹ For an alternative view in relation to Augustine: P. Fredrikson, "Beyond the Body/Soul Dichotomy: Augustine on Paul against the Manichees and the Pelagians," *Recherches augustiniennes*, volume 23, (1988), 87-114.

Christian soul that must work to build the freedom of God in an organism that had been ruled by flesh the priest must work to build the freedom of the Church. Like the flesh that hoped to rule over the soul the will of the tyrant king was consumed by desire for more and more power and this must be resisted by the Christian priesthood.⁵¹⁰ The concept of spiritual need that we have now met helps us to capture this imperative. John provides us with a clear instance of this view in the eighth book of the *Policraticus*. He explained how the desire for honors in the Church would throw all into confusion. The Church like the wicked soul would be seduced into the power of its adversaries:⁵¹¹

'But if one permits that those who are carnal contend for the primacy, yet it seems to me that this is never and on no account permitted to churchmen. However, from the example (of these men of the flesh) impiety crawls forward under the image of religion, and the priesthood is not merely contested, but fought over. In ancient times these men were hauled reluctantly (to this position), and, inclined to martyrdom, they fled from the chief seats (*primas cathedras*), to the prison and the cross. Now, priests speak openly against this and say that this proverb is of no account. "We do not wish," they say, "to be martyrs, yea, and will not give another the glory of our seat." Indeed, this is wretched and pitiable voice in the mouth of the priest,

⁵¹⁰ John of Salisbury, *Poli.*, 8.22, (PL 199, 807B-808D).

⁵¹¹ C. J. Nederman and C. Campbell, "Priests, Kings, and Tyrants: Spiritual and Temporal Power in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*," *Speculum*, volume 66, number 3, (July, 1991), 572-590.

who refers in this way to Christ so that he may confess his unwillingness to follow Him. Can it be doubted that he dies a true confessor, who, if this work is required, does not go to meet the persecutor? For Cyprian says: "If a bishop is afraid, the work is gone from him." But grant that he is afraid: for him not to stand fast *in necessitate* is forbidden. The deserter is both useless and notorious.⁵¹²

The priest like the soul must stand to the name of Christ when the pall of need approached. The freedom of the Church relied on those who confessed Christ and His immolation. This notion shared in perhaps the most crucial verdict on this human circumstance to be made at this time and that is found at the heart of John of Salisbury's letters. High in the Italian hills in the winter of 1097, Anselm, archbishop now of Canterbury, would complete his great work on the atonement of Jesus Christ, the *Cur Deus homo*.⁵¹³ He argued that Christ had to die in order to free the world and to save divine rectitude. The Lord in flesh had paid a debt that the human race could

⁵¹² John of Salisbury, *Poli.*, 8.23, (PL 199, 809A-809B): 'Sed esto ut bis liceat, qui carnales sunt, contendere de primatu, viris ecclesiasticis hoc usquequaque arbitror esse illicitum. Carnalium tamen exemplo, sub imagine religionis obrepit impietas, et jam non modo contenditur pro sacerdotio, sed pugnatur. Antiqui quondam trahebantur inviti, et proni ad martyrium, primas cathedras, carcere pejus et cruce, fugiebant. Contra jam palam loquuntur sacerdotes et proverbium nullum dicunt. «Nolumus, inquiunt, martyres esse, sed sedium nostrarum gloriam non damus alteri.» Misera quidem et miserabilis vox in ore sacerdotis, qui Christum sic agnoscit, ut se nolle eum sequi palam confiteatur. Dubitari poterit an verus moriatur confessor, qui persecutorem, si opus fuerit, non exspectat? Ait enim Cyprianus: "Episcopus si timet, actum est de eo." Sed liceat timere; non stare in necessitate, illicitum est. Fugitivus inutilis infamis est.'

⁵¹³ Anselm's itinerary in exile is found in R. W. Southern, *Anselm: A portrait in Landscape*, pp. 278-290.

not, and had performed this work in such a way that the honor of God and His law was in no way undermined.⁵¹⁴ The question on which this work was based was posed in relation to *necessitas*. In the person of Boso (his assistant) Anselm set out the petition he had answered:

'Namely, by what reason or necessity God, who is all-powerful, took upon Himself the humiliation and infirmity of human nature for our restoration.'⁵¹⁵

Anselm provided in this work the link between human need and the death of the Jesus Christ that St. Augustine had made but that was now united to a later vision of His crucifixion. The inward and mystical liberation that the African had related in his *Confessions* was joined now to a vision of the Lord whose flesh was broken by the crucifixion. The human blood of God was now placed at the heart of this Christian liberation.⁵¹⁶ The argument that was made in the *Cur Deus homo* was not generally supported. Anselm seemed to place too much weight on the reason

⁵¹⁴ J. Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology*, 140-145.

⁵¹⁵ Anselm of Canterbury, *Cur Deus homo*, 2, SAO, 48: 'qua necessitate scilicet et ratione deus, cum sit omnipotens, humilitatem et infirmitatem humanae naturae pro ejus restauratione assumpserit.' The question is placed in the mouth of Boso, Anselm's interlocutor.

⁵¹⁶ For the larger importance of this work to medieval devotion, R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 225-226. For Anselm and politics: R. W. Southern, "Sally Vaughn's Anselm: An Examination of the Foundations," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, volume 20, number 2, (Summer, 1988), 181-204. S. N. Vaughn, "Anselm: Saint and Statesman," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, volume 20, number 2, (Summer, 1988), 205-220.

of God and not His omnipotence. But the vision at the heart of the work was found across Europe in the *Meditation on human redemption* Anselm wrote in 1098 as a companion to the larger treatise. This famous prayer and its content would retain in the middle ages a wide popularity. It described in forceful words the deed with which God freed the world from *necessitas*:

'And so, little man, leave their cruelties to the justice of God, and think on what you owe your Savior. Consider what He was for you, and what He did for you, and think that because of what He did for you, He is the more worthy to be loved. Look into your need and His goodness, and see what thanks you should give to Him, and how much you should love Him. You were in darkness, on slippery ground, going down into the chaos of Hell that is beyond redemption. A huge and leaden weight hung around your neck and dragged you downwards, an unbearable burden pressed upon you, unseen enemies were striking at you with all their might. Thus were you born, without any help, and you did not know it, for you were conceived and born in that state. What was happening to you, and where were you rushing away? Remember this and tremble: think and be afraid.

O good, O lord Jesus Christ, thus was I placed, neither asking or suspecting, until as the Sun you gave me light, and showed me the state I was in. You threw away the leaden weight that dragged upon me, you threw off the burden that pressed upon me, you drove away those who attacked me, and opposed them for my sake. You called me by a new name, which you

gave me from your name, and I who was bent down you raised up in your sight, saying: "Be of good your, for I have redeemed you. I have given my life for you. You shall escape the evil that you were in, if you cling to me..."⁵¹⁷

The Becket conflict was well placed to repeat the Christian miracle that Anselm had described. Here the carnal mass of habit was once more seen to close round the supernatural truth of the Church and to bring Christ into the world in order to break its power. This notion allows us to see this famous struggle from a new and spiritual perspective. The concern that has been seen until now as the prime cause of the controversy was from this point of view the sign of a deeper truth shown to faith and the imagination. The collision of canon law and royal custom that has been seen as the essential feature of the contest was seen instead to reveal the spiritual power

⁵¹⁷ Anselm of Canterbury, *Med. red. hum.*, SAO, 89-90: 'Ergo homuncio, illorum crudelitatem dimitte dei iudicio, et tracta de iis quae debes salvatori tuo. Considera quid tibi erat et quid tibi factum sit, et pensa qui hoc tibi fecit, quo amore dignus sit. Intuere necessitate tuam et bonitatem eius, et vide quas reddas et quantum debeas amori eius. In tenebris, in lubrico, in descensu super irremeabile chaos inferni eras. Immensum et quasi plumbeum pondus pendens a collo tuo deorsum te trahebat; onus importabile desuper te premebat; hostes invisibiles te toto conatu impellebant. Sic eras sine omni auxilio, et nesciebas quia sic conceptus et natus eras. O quod tibi tunc erat, et quo te ista rapiebant! Expavesce memorando, contemisce cogitando. O bone, o domine Christe lesu, sic posito nec petenti nec opinanti ut sol mihi illuxisti, et mihi quomodo eram ostendisti. Abiecisti plumbum quod deorsum me trahebat; removisti onus quod desuper me premebat; impellentes me reppulisti ac illis te pro me opposuisti. Vocasti me nomine novo quod mihi de nomine tuo dedisti, et incurvatum ad aspectum tuum erexisti dicens: "Confide, ego te redemi; animam meam pro te dedi. Si adhaeres mihi: et mala in quibus eras evades...'

of Christ.⁵¹⁸ The function of Christian rhetoric that is the main subject of this chapter is therefore seen to provide a new view of the Becket conflict and the work of its protagonists.

The vision of Christ that John created was based on a notion of virtue as a mystical presence.⁵¹⁹

In the first chapter we saw how this was linked to the growth of the new monasticism. Now we see how the vision of faith and love as a divine truth was comprehended in a vision of the Lord who lived in this virtue and who died when it was absent.⁵²⁰ The Church was seen to suffer and to die when its union was dissolved or suppressed.⁵²¹ The Church was the human flesh of God and could be torn as well as crucified.⁵²² This impression of the Church as a vision of Christ was not remote or disembodied. This image was not a device used to convey an abstract or juridical

⁵¹⁸ A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 46 ff. C. Duggan, "The Significance of the Becket Dispute," 375: 'The meaning of the Becket Dispute for the Church lies in its witness to the strivings of the Church, in one phase of its evolution, for its freedom from secular constraint and for its own spiritual integrity, in its forthright assertion of the hallowed and therefore privileged place of the priestly element in Christian society and of the primacy of the papacy in the universal Church.' Cf. R. I. Moore, *The First European Revolution*, 13.

⁵¹⁹ On this theme: S. J. Grabowski, "St Augustine and the Doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ," *Theological Studies*, volume 7, (1946), 72-125. Compare: E. Sauras, "Thomistic Soteriology and the Mystical Body," *The Thomist*, volume 15, number 4, (October, 1952), 543-571.

⁵²⁰ On the theme of absence from God and the spiritual crisis this provoked: G. B. Ladner, "*Homo Viator*: Medieval Ideas on Alienation and Order," *Speculum*, volume 42, number 2, (April, 1967), 233-259.

⁵²¹ On the notion of a broken covenant as the source of a profound and spiritual crisis: R. P. Carroll, *From Chaos to Covenant: Uses of Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah*, (London, 1981)

⁵²² For the crucified God as a social image: J. Moltmann, *The Crucified God: The Cross of Christ as the Foundation and Criticism of Christian Theology*, R. A. Wilson and J. Bowden (trans), (London, 1974), 212 ff. Moltmann describes the medieval theology of the cross as a remote and imperious rejection of real suffering in favour of meditation on an ideal of Christ. This chapter in part refutes that claim.

perspective.⁵²³ Anxious Christians used this vision of the Church to confirm and to comprehend the hidden truth of a violent world and to promote a desire for reform and resistance. It produced the collision between the soul and God that we described in the introduction.⁵²⁴ For this reason that image will stand at the base of this chapter and its argument. It promises a new view of the Church and its people in the medieval imagination.

John linked the power of Christ in the Church to the action that we have related to monasticism. He believed God was shown in His passion and that in the passion He was established. This notion was at the base of his view of the exiles and their Christian resistance. It allowed him to claim that God reached out in these men into the Church's *necessitas*, and that the Church would find in their souls the path to union as well as redemption. John offered this view in a letter sent in 1166 to Walter de Insula, a friend and associate, who once kept the king's seal but whose faith drove him now to serve the archbishop.⁵²⁵ He praised the master for his choice and assured him he had stepped into righteousness: 'the world's glory will vanish like smoke, and in human affairs, nothing endures.'⁵²⁶ John advised Walter that the king was misled by evil counsel and

⁵²³ E.g. E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 194 ff.

⁵²⁴ Introduction, 23.

⁵²⁵ Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 161.

⁵²⁶ From a later letter to the same. John of Salisbury, *Ep. 189, Mag. Gua. de Ins.*, LJS 2, 254: 'cum pro certo noverim in humanis rebus nichil nisi momentaneum esse.'

that his salvation rested in a desire to reject those foxes and to return to God in peace and satisfaction.⁵²⁷ But he must now draw back his sword from the blood of those who were innocent: the exiles who had stood for God while so many had gone out of His obedience.⁵²⁸ Perhaps the king hated the new poor but he knew that Christ was their protector.⁵²⁹ John built an image of the exile as a place made safe in the power of the Redeemer. The exiles had taken the cross and had come to rest in a truth that was supernatural:

'God gazes still upon the prayers of the humble and He does not scorn their requests. Led on by this hope the poor exiles pray, and with the support of God [*auctore Dei*] for whom we suffer, shall continue to pray, that the most serene lord the king may bring forth fruits that are worthy of repentance, and shall evade the wrath that looms over him. Meanwhile, we bear the Lord's decision with a calm mind, sure that nothing can harm us if we are good, that is, made imitators of the divine law. For we do not suffer as criminals, and this is known

⁵²⁷ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 180, Mag. Gua. de Ins.*, LJS 2, 192-194: 'Quasi vulpus in deserto prophetae eius, qui secuntur spiritum suum et nichil vident. Hi sunt qui carissimum dominum suum, magnum principem subvertere conati sunt (etc). Eripiat eum Deus de manibus eorum...ut principatus eius et Deo placitus sit, et quietus et iocundus gerenti...Scio utique quia, si redierit ad cor, placabit Dominum suum spnsum ecclesiae satisfactione condigna...ut ei propicietur Deus.'

⁵²⁸ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 180, Mag. Gua. de Ins.*, LJS 2, 194: 'et a cruore innocentum potestatis suae gladium revocabit'.

⁵²⁹ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 180, Mag. Gua. de Ins.*, LJS 2, 194: 'Si exules et proscriptos Dei contempnit quia pauperes sunt, meminerit quia talium patronus est Christus.'

to all save those who take pains not to know the things that are God's, but we are blasted as Christians...⁵³⁰

The divine law that John described in his letter was the Christ who was known in tribulation. Becket and his friends had also been treated as criminals and had been condemned by those who failed to see the power of God under the surface of this sacrifice.⁵³¹ This vision was based on the idea of God we met in the first part of this dissertation.

The image that John created in his Becket letters was shared among his banished companions. The notion that God had come again to die in the Church and its violent distress, and that this divine truth was shown to the soul in its outward or historical condition, was known to those who had gone into France with John and the exiled archbishop. Essential in this relation is the English

⁵³⁰ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 180, Mag. Gua. de Ins.*, LJS 2, 194: 'Et adhuc Deus respicit in orationem humilium et non spernit preces eorum. Qua spe ducti proscripti pauperes orant et, Deo pro quo patiuntur auctore, orabunt iugiter ut serenissimus dominus rex condignos fructus poenitentiae faciat et iram declinet imminentem. Interim dispensationem Domini aequanimiter toleramus, certi quod nichil nobis nocere poterit si boni, id est, divinae legis fuerimus aemulatores; non enim ut criminosi patimur, quod publice notum est nisi his qui laborant ut non sapiant quae Dei sunt, sed affligimur ut Christiani.'

⁵³¹ Luke 23.32 ff. E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *De dil. Deo*, 4.11, SBO 3, 128: 'Itaque generatio quae non direxit cor suum, et non est creditus cum Deo spiritus eius, sed magis sperans in incerto divitiarum, verbum modo crucis audire gravatur, ac memoriam Passionis sibi iudicat onerosam.'

exegete and reformer Herbert of Bosham.⁵³² That Herbert should be met in this context seems at first to be highly improbable. Herbert of Bosham and John of Salisbury were in most things opposed and incompatible.⁵³³ Throughout the struggle the two men are told apart in tactics and temperament. John's cautious approach clashed with Herbert's vigorous nature, and the differences between them have been detected by modern scholars in their surviving correspondence.⁵³⁴ Where John became sad and withdrawn as a result of Henry's caprice, Herbert looked the king in the eye and reminded him of his lower background.⁵³⁵ Each hoped to win Becket's ear and each saw the other as a gifted competitor. John went on to success in the Church where Herbert died unhappy and unsatisfied.⁵³⁶ Nonetheless, each was united to the other in fierce devotion to the slain archbishop, and each would later record their role in his exile and passion both as a letter-writer and biographer. Indeed, their agreement in this context would exceed the practical and professional. It would stretch out into the words used to depict the conflict and its spiritual importance. Each man believed that the Church was filled with the Spirit

⁵³² For Herbert, F. Barlow, "Herbert of Bosham," in *ODNB*, (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/sheffield.idm.oclc.org/view/article/13014>, accessed 31 Aug 2017). F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket and His Clerks*, (Canterbury, 1987). B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict*, 59-87.

⁵³³ Smalley, *The Becket Conflict*, 86.

⁵³⁴ Smalley, *The Becket Conflict*, 86.

⁵³⁵ This tale is famous. Henry asked why he should be lectured by a priest's son. Herbert – magnificently dressed – retorted that he could not be such, as his father did not become a priest until after he had been born. None missed the inference. Henry was dumbfounded. A noble stood near Henry was heard to wish he had fathered a son such as this.

⁵³⁶ F. Barlow, "Herbert of Bosham," in *ODNB*, (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/sheffield.idm.oclc.org/view/article/13014>, accessed 31 Aug 2017).

of Christ Crucified.⁵³⁷ This mystical Fact was for each man the base of their defence of the Latin priesthood. But above all this each man was moved to act by the living power of the supernatural.

This instinct for the eternal was buried deep in the early lives of these Christian churchmen. Both Herbert and John had as gifted youths passed through difficult experiences that had filled them with sorrow and doubt but had at the same time strengthened their desire to protect the truth of Christ against its false and violent opponents. Each man came to believe that the world was filled with dark forces that manipulated the Church and its external rite in order to bring Christ to ruin and destruction. John recalled how the Devil came to him as a boy in a priest who was a wizard and a sorcerer.⁵³⁸ His vision was linked to the bleak and crowded town in which he had grown

⁵³⁷ Herbert of Bosham, *Liber mel.*, (PL 190, 1329D): 'Ita ut Christus integer, caput videlicet cum membris, totus mysticus sit, etsi nos ut vani filii hominum et insulsi ignoremus mysterium.' John of Salisbury, *Ep. 174*, LJS 2: 'Nam qui delinquit in proximum, in Deum quoque delinquit, et sponsum exhonorat Christum quicumque inhonorat ecclesiam sponsam eius; sunt enim corpus unum, immo et spiritus et, quod amplius est, collatione gratiae quodammodo sunt Deus unus, dum admirabili commercio illa quae carnis sunt ex natura primitiua Deo impertit ut ab illo plenitudinem divinae naturae recipiat, et oleo exultationis quadam ratione consortii habundet ab illo et effluat tota,' 144.

⁵³⁸ John of Salisbury, *Poli.*, 2.28., (PL 199, 474A-B): 'Gratias ago Deo, qui mihi etiam in teneriori aetate, adversus has maligni hostis insidias, beneplaciti sui scutum opposuit. Dum enim puer, ut Psalmos addiscerem, sacerdoti traditus essem, qui forte speculariam magicam exercebat, contigit ut me, et paulo grandiusculum puerum, praemissis quibusdam maleficiis, pro pedibus suis sedentes, ad speculariae sacrilegium applicaret, ut in unguibus sacro nescio oleo, aut chrismate delibutis, vel in exterso et levigato corpore pelvis, quod quaerebat, nostro manifestaretur indicio. Cum itaque praedictis nominibus, quae ipso horrore licet, puerulus essem, daemonum videbantur.'

to manhood: high on the hilltop at Old Sarum he saw the host of hell press round true religion.⁵³⁹

The idea that God called to the soul in the outer aspect of the world had transfixed Herbert since a crisis of faith had burst upon him in relation to the nature of the Eucharist.⁵⁴⁰ His future work in the Bible was based on the strong view that its literal or historical sense was the way in which the 'master builder' would raise a mystical construction.⁵⁴¹ The earlier crisis that had caused him to doubt the truth of God in the Eucharist moved him to show at every stage how the world was filled with His spiritual presence.⁵⁴² Like Hugh of St Victor he used the world to mount upwards into the supernatural. But this opinion could not remain for John and Herbert remote and theoretical. The notion that Christ was alive in the Church was not merely a doctrinal

⁵³⁹ C. N. L. Brooke, "John of Salisbury and his world," in *SICH 3, The World of John of Salisbury*, (Oxford, 1984), 1-20. The wretched state of the town in Old Sarum and the conflict this provoked between the Christian clergy and the local people was given as a prime reason for the move from there to the present site in New Salisbury. The Latin poet Henry d'Avranches described the hill and church on Old Sarum thus: 'Quid domini domus in castro? Nisi federis arca in templo Baalim; carcer uterque locus.' On this text, C. Frost, "The Symbolic Move to New Sarum," *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, number 98, (2005), 155-164. William of Malmesbury, *Ges. Pon. Ang.*, (PL 179, 1538B-1538C) on bishop Herman of Salisbury (d. 1078) and the bleak location of his see (which was unified from Ramsbury and Sherborne and moved to Old Sarum after the Conquest): 'Accepit ergo Hermannus Schireburnensem episcopatum integrum, cum tribus pagis Edwardo rege dante, vivacitateque sua datoris annos transcendens ad Willielmi tempora duravit. Sub quo cum ex canonum decreto edictum esset, ut sedes episcoporum, ex villis ad urbes migrarent tribunal suum transtulit a Schireburnia Salesberiam, quod est vice civitatis castellum locatum in edito, muro vallatum non exiguo, caeteris com meatibus utcunque valens, aquae penuria laborans, adeo ut miserabili commercio ibi aqua vaeneat. Illic inchoata novi operis ecclesia, morte senili tempus dedicationis praevenit.' Also, Peter of Blois, *Ep. 104* (PL 207, 326D): 'Captiva erat in monte illo Sarisberiensis Ecclesia...'

⁵⁴⁰ B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict*, 75-76.

⁵⁴¹ See above, n. 23. G. Zinn, "Hugh of St Victor and the Ark of Noah: A New Look," *Church History*, volume 40, number 3, (September, 1971), 261-271, for an example of the builder in practice.

⁵⁴² B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict*, 80.

consideration. Instead it was the spiritual truth with which their minds were filled and dominated when the vessel of this *Vita Sancta* was placed in peril by those who wished its extinction. This image of the Church was linked by each man to God's death and resurrection. For John the Church was the divine flesh whose division showed and demonstrated the truth of Christ that was known to human souls in the cross and crucifixion. The carnal power that closed over the spiritual truth of the Church and extinguished it from England was for him the human pain that Christ adopted and abolished. Here in the cosmic aspect of the Church the Lord came down into sinful imprisonment and in a miracle showed how this brutal death was the path into redemption. *In necessitate* Christ had reached out to faithful souls and urged them to share in His atonement. Herbert of Bosham also saw the Church in exile as the Christ who had been imprisoned.⁵⁴³ But he related this bitter state to the cross in which death had been overwhelmed. Like John he saw division in the Church as the source of a new and final testament. He returned to this theme in the curious *Liber melorum* he wrote in the aftermath of the Becket conflict and used to praise the dead man as if in many-sided 'melodies.' Herbert wrote that the schism of the world would soon be swallowed up in Judgement. Christ in head and body drew all division into a union that was true as well as triumphant.⁵⁴⁴ Thomas must have seemed near at hand as Herbert wrote

⁵⁴³ Herbert of Bosham, *Ep. 29*, (PL 190, 1463A): 'Quid juris est? nudi sunt et exui non possunt, praeterea Ecclesia carcerem exsiliorum non habet, potius totus hic mundus corporis Christi carcer est exsulantibus adhuc, exsiliis insulae Augusti sunt, non crucifixi.'

⁵⁴⁴ Herbert of Bosham, *Lib. Mel.*, (PL 190, 1398C-1398D): 'Sed hoc nunc secundum Scripturas sicut fideliter loquor et fidenter, quod in fine omnium jam consummato iudicio Christus integer caput cum corpore

this in his manuscript: the priest who had fallen in clouds of blood but had led the Church into salvation.

The curious bond of these two men proves the power of the image that we have described. The union on this point between these two rivals shows how this image transcended the social and political divide that could exist between talented and ambitious churchmen. It shows how this vision flowed out of the schools and into the *Ecclesia animata*. This image in that context helps us to prove the larger thesis of the present dissertation. It supplies a new example of how the Becket conflict was shaped by the imagination.

'Doeg and Achitophel'

plenus erit Deus et perfectus, juxta ipsum testem in coelo fidelem luna tunc in aeternum perfecta; nec enim erit qui diffiteatur caput cum corpore esse Deum, et etiam plenum tunc et perfectum Deum, nisi forte velit asserere tanquam somnians quod solum caput sit Deus, et non admittens quod caput cum corpore Christus videlicet integer sit verus et perfectus Deus; sed sicut non haesitandum nec morandum in his, non quidem quod capitis corpus sit Deus, sed caput cum corpore Christus videlicet integer plenus sit et non nisi verus et perfectus Deus tunc quasi per unitatem victoriosam absorpta cum schismate omni etiam diversitate et differentia, quae schismatis semper sequelae sunt, sic et numero juxta quod ipsum corporis hujus caput: *Nemo, inquit, ascendit in coelum, nisi qui descendit de coelo Filius hominis qui in coelo est.*' John 3.13.

John and the English Bishops

The notion that the Church as well as the soul was freed from carnal bonds in the cooperation of grace and the will that God had inspired was related by John to the English episcopate. For him the bishops who had chosen to ignore the truth that had been manifested in the death of the Church had refused the grace that Christ had communicated. This belief was linked to the debate that was now revived in the Christian schools of Europe on the work of grace and that we met in the first part of this dissertation.⁵⁴⁵ For Bernard of Clairvaux a Christian will was known in free consent to righteousness.⁵⁴⁶ He placed at the heart of this inward motion the power of spiritual judgement.⁵⁴⁷ The faithful soul must choose to follow the good will that Christ at once emancipated from the bonds of sin and gave the power to fulfil in His death and resurrection. Those who were moved to love God in this way would be restored into blessedness.⁵⁴⁸ Those who failed to heed this call would be sealed in flesh and imprisoned.⁵⁴⁹ This was indeed the cause of the need that God had lifted from the human race in the cross and in His atonement for the first sin. True freedom was found in the soul that joined with Christ in this glorious

⁵⁴⁵ Chapter One, 41 ff.

⁵⁴⁶ Chapter One, 49-50.

⁵⁴⁷ Chapter One, 51-53.

⁵⁴⁸ Chapter One, 53 ff.

⁵⁴⁹ Chapter One, 60-62.

communion. For John this model flowed over into the Church and its troubled circumstances. He thought the bishops had ignored the call of Christ who filled as well as abolished the sickness that had fallen on the Church as a result of Henry's carnal government. Like Bernard he saw this sin as all the greater in men raised to office and achievement.⁵⁵⁰ His letters were meant to impress on his former friends that morbid faithlessness. They had chosen to be silent in the face of the *Veritas Dei* that had overwhelmed the force of human law and had filled the Becket conflict with a truth that was supernatural. The truth was in this case the Christian love and union with which God would liberate the Church from the bonds of sin that closed round it in the shape of Henry's constitutions.⁵⁵¹ This shows once more how this image was used to order but also to apprehend the inner truth that John and the exiles found in the world and its historical tribulation. The Christian belief that the Old and carnal law had been fulfilled as well as extinguished in the death of God was applied here to the historical state of the English Church. Here too the blood of Christ had rushed from His flesh and put paid to carnal considerations. The need now was to love the truth that had burst from an old and human testament.

‘[Henry is] a man who attacks the Church's liberty, who puts the evils of his grandfather (*avitus perversus*) before the Gospel of Christ and the Father's decrees, and (to remain silent

⁵⁵⁰ Chapter One, 93 ff.

⁵⁵¹ E.g. John of Salisbury, *Ep. 288, Ad Bar. Ex.*, LJS 2, 641-643.

on the unjust proscription of you and your clerks) has forced into exile women and little children in their cradles, innocent people deprived of every comfort, not according to a harsh sentence as much as sheer madness. He has roused the fury of the schism that had almost fallen silent [*sopire*] and he has given it strength: he has revived the storm that had subsided. He has submerged the Apostle's ship with Christ inside it, and be assured he tries to sink it still. I am moved to ask: what do those who boast that this is innocence think is criminal? *Do these things stand in need of proof, that the whole world sees (agnoscere), that the Church feels ceaselessly in her sorrow and her torment, that our trials (experimentum) from day to day have made clearer than the light?*⁵⁵² (My emphasis).

The image of truth that John offered in his letter to Becket was mystical as well as Christological.

The *dolor* that the Church had felt at the hand of the king had laid open [*patere*] the truth of God's love at the same time as it had shown the lies of His adversaries. This was an image of the Church in the world that shared in the hermeneutical *imago* that we applied in the first part

⁵⁵² John of Salisbury, *Ep. 175, ad T. B.*, LJS 2, 158: '[Henricus est homo] qui ecclesiae libertatem impugnat, avitas perversitates evangelio Christi preferet et sanctionibus patrum et (ut de vobis taceam et clericis quos iniuste proscripsit) qui mulierculas et parvulos in cunis, innocentes omni solatio destitutos, non tam crudeli sententia quam insania compulit exulare; qui scismatis furorem iam fere sopitum excitavit et roboravit et, resuscitata procella quae iam plurimum detumuerat, navem apostolicam, quantum in ipso est, cum Christo submersit, immo et adhuc mergit. Quidnam, quaeso, ducunt in crimine, qui hic esse innocentiam gloriantur? Aut numquid haec probationibus indigent, quae mundus agnovit, quae in suis doloribus et tormentis indesinenter sentit ecclesia, quae cotidianis rerum experimentis luce clarius patent?' Mark 4.36 ff.

of our thesis to Bernard and Cistercian monasticism. *Patere* was indeed the verb that was used to describe this miracle by Augustine.⁵⁵³

John would not lament alone the decline of charity in the Church and the wounds in its communion. He was perhaps a wiser head than Thomas in his review of the political environment and the chance that might be offered from time to time for an honourable reconciliation. But in its absence he knew that this was a battle and a war without compromise. This contest was waged between those who defended Christ and those who persecuted Him, and John stood firm on the point that the latter must be fought and destroyed. The notion of divine love as the source of Christian life would find a new expression here as the Church law that the exiles hoped to defend from their powerful opponents. Christian order was not in this case a juridical ideal but was instead the supernatural power of God that was found above all in those who chose to follow His example. Like the monastic *ordo* that was seen to mediate the power of the crucified Christ, the Church and its laws were seen to pulse with the very life-blood of the Redeemer. For this reason John was keen to remind the clergy of their grave responsibilities. To preserve the Law

⁵⁵³ Chapter One, 39.

of God was to preserve the Life of God in His people.⁵⁵⁴ In a missive to Baldwin of Totnes John mourned the failure of the English priesthood:

'And so we suffer with our friends and we lament the wasting of the Church in the English realm. Indeed, we wonder where the zeal of so many learned and religious men has departed, since scarce one or two watchmen appear who announce from the Lord's mouth to the impious his impiety in accordance with the admonition of the Prophet. Therefore, the wicked go down to Hell before the face of the watchmen, so that their blood is rightly and with merit on the head of the watchmen, because they failed to sound the alarm.'⁵⁵⁵

John believed there was no action more worthy of praise than to battle the vile *consuetudines* that Henry hoped to pile on the Church in order to crush its spiritual freedom. Those who acted and not those who heard would be filled with Gospel righteousness.⁵⁵⁶ Perhaps they would be moved to do so by the power of Him who assumed in His flesh the need that had closed over

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. John of Salisbury, *Ep. 175, Ad Th. Bec.*, LJS 2, 153: 'animam Christi, qui in electorum fide et caritate vivit.'

⁵⁵⁵ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 187, Bal. Ex. arch.*, LJS 2, 230: 'Amicis ergo compatimur et ecclesiae desolationem in regno Anglorum ingemiscimus; et miramur quo abierit zelus tot religiosorum et litteratorum, cum vix unus et alter appareat speculator qui iuxta commonicionem propheticam audeat impio impietatem suam ex ore Domini nunciare. Impii ergo in facie speculatore descendunt in infernum viventes, ut a speculatoribus, quia silverunt, sanguis eorum iure et merito exquiratur.'

⁵⁵⁶ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 185, Ad Ger. Puc.*, LJS 2, 224. James 1.22.

the Church as a result of its earthly imprisonment. The dissolution of the Law had created this need in the Christian congregation, but it had also produced the death of Christ - and sown the seeds of its destruction. The miracle of God was therefore revived in the Church and its faithful members. John's letters were meant to show how Christians could share in this redemption. His success was based on the union of charity and the Spirit that he pronounced in his letters and on which he built a vision of the God who died in its absence. From this point of view to defend the Law was to share in Christ and the resurrection:

'For what cause, then, does one devoutly strive, if not the to preserve the Law of God? Indeed, this prohibits evil, and orders the pastors of the Church to punish every disobedience...And so for every point of the divine law one must fight, rise up against (worldly) powers and strive to overcome whatever assails charity, which is the fullness of the Law.'⁵⁵⁷

This assertion was linked at every point to the wider vision that John created in his correspondence of the Lord who was tortured and slain where the union of souls was dissolved.

⁵⁵⁷ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 187, Bal. Ex. arc.*, LJS 2, 234: 'Pro qua ergo causa religiose contenditur, si non pro lege servanda? Nempe haec iniquitatem prohibet, et pastoribus ecclesiae praescribit ut omnem ulciscantur inobedientiam...Pro omni ergo divinae legis articulo contendendum est et potestatibus ascendendum ex adverso et quicquid caritatem impugnat, quae legis est plenitudo, totis viribus subvertendum.' Romans 13.10.

John focused his ire on the cowardice and perfidy of those bishops who like another Achitophel (the sinister advisor of the biblical king David) had sent Christ once more to His death. This connected Becket to Christ as a biblical figure and as the source of priestly government. But John also described an assault that was moral and spiritual and therefore supernatural. The bishops had presided over the disappearance of faith and charity from England. These decisive virtues declared the presence of God to the world and in Christians who were united to Him and their extinction in turn declared His passion and death. Gilbert Foliot and his allies had acted in this way against Christ in Head and members.⁵⁵⁸ John used the image of God in the cross to grasp this reality and to communicate it to those in the Church who were well placed to defend it from His adversaries.

John believed that those who had failed to support Becket had failed to act on this imperative. He would express this belief in terms that were familiar to his learned interlocutors. The bishops to whom he wrote were well versed in the Bible and its interpretation. Knowles could write with sorrow that the English bishops who had abandoned Thomas were also the most able body of

⁵⁵⁸ 'ut qui membra sunt ecclesie in eam certamen cum Capite suo, quod est Christus', CTB 1, 416.

priests to have held that country's episcopate.⁵⁵⁹ Like Becket's *eruditi* these powerful men were part of an exceptional association.⁵⁶⁰ Its wisdom had been gained in the schools of Paris as well as in the monasteries. To review the published work of this group is to confirm this historical perspective. Robert of Melun was a Christian scholar of some renown and Baldwin archdeacon of Totnes would write a book on the Exodus of Israel and the Paschal sacrament. Perhaps he did so to confirm a simple debt to his glorious friend and predecessor.⁵⁶¹ Gilbert Foliot was on the other hand a Benedictine monk who had demonstrated a subtle mind and spiritual heart in his sermons and his biblical commentaries. Even when it had been frozen over with ambition this quality was remembered.⁵⁶² The image of Christ and the Bible that John had extended into the beleaguered Church was well known to men who were teachers as well as students of scripture.⁵⁶³

'On the bishop's appeal I shall not keep my opinion silent. Because they do not wish to be freed, I fear they shall be made slaves forever. This would indeed be just, because the year of forgiveness was close at hand – the year, that is, in which grace recalled the Church to

⁵⁵⁹ D. Knowles, *The Episcopal Colleagues of Thomas Becket, Being the Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term 1949*, (Cambridge, 1951).

⁵⁶⁰ R. W. Southern, "The Place of England in the Twelfth Century Renaissance," in *Medieval Humanism*, 175.

⁵⁶¹ Baldwin became the archbishop of Canterbury in the winter of 1184.

⁵⁶² For a discussion of Foliot's life and career in relation to Thomas: D. Knowles, *The Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket*, (Cambridge, 1951). B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics*, (Oxford, 1973), 167-186.

⁵⁶³ On this association, B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict*, esp. 18-39.

freedom – after six years in which they had been crushed by mud and brick. Yet some have taken wives and are bound to them by love, some have yoked a great number of oxen, others have piled up money, not knowing for whom it was gathered, and others have given themselves over to all sorts of carnal pleasures. And so, oppressed by the yoke of those vices that so pleased them, they have preferred, I say, to be held in ancient bondage, and that their ears should be pierced with the awl of eternal slavery. They professed obedience in this way to the slavish *mores* of evil customs, rather than wished to escape to the freedom of the Spirit.⁵⁶⁴

The Grieving Angels

John and Monasticism

⁵⁶⁴ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 176*, LJS 2: ‘De appellatione episcoporum quid sentiam non silebo: quia liberi esse nolunt, timeo ne perpetuetur eorum servitus; iure quidem, quia cum annus remissionis adesset, annus videlicet gratiae ecclesiam in libertatem evocantis, post sex annos quibus afflicti erant IN LUTO ET LATERE, maluerunt, eo quod quidam eorum uxores duxerant quarum tenentur affectione, alii iuga boum plurima sociarunt, alii THESAURIZANT PECUNIAM, NESCIENTES TAMEN CUI CONGREGATUR, alii aliis et variis voluptatibus se dederunt et, premente se iugo sibi placentium vitiorum, maluerunt, inquam, in antiqua servitute teneri et aures suas perforari subula perpetuae servitutis, qua se profitentur moribus obedire servilibus perversarum consuetudinum, quam in libertatem spiritus velle evadere,’ 170. Judith 5.10. Psalm 38.7.

This image also helps us to affirm the wider bond between John and Christian monasticism. For modern scholars the nature of this bond is of marginal interest and importance. Its treatment in modern research has until now been descriptive and impressionistic. That John was friends with monks and that he valued their advice and intercession is used to show that he was a mirror of an age that was diverse as well as cosmopolitan.⁵⁶⁵ In some cases the force of this link has been ignored and openly repudiated. John of Salisbury is seen in this case as the tribune of a rational and humanistic ethos that is remote from the poignant and affective piety found in Christian monasticism.⁵⁶⁶ But when we look at John's life we find that monks were its strong foundation. Fresh from his days as a student in the Paris schools he had found employment with

⁵⁶⁵ C. N. L. Brooke, "John of Salisbury and his world," in *SICH*, 3, 1-20.

⁵⁶⁶ This drastic verdict is in principle the work of one scholar. C. J. Nederman, "The Physiological Significance of the Organic Metaphor in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*," *History of Political Thought*, volume 2, (1987), 211-223: 'the clerics who enjoy the place of the soul in the polity are not, strictly speaking, "members of the commonwealth", just as the eternal soul itself does not exist coextensively with the physical organism in which it resides. Thus, despite John's reference to the soul as 'the prince of the body,' his organic metaphor expresses a primarily secular political theory which excludes religious offices from a place within the organism itself,' at 212. For a moderated stance, C. J. Nederman, "The Virtues of Necessity: Labor, Money, and Corruption in John of Salisbury's Thought," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, volume 33, (2002), 54-68: 'John of Salisbury's attitude to the changing economic realities of Europe lacks a rigidly supernatural tone: he is concerned for earthly well-being, not exclusively for eternal salvation.' Nederman persists in his view that John articulated a moral and 'naturalistic' idea of the Christian republic. See C. J. Nederman, *Lineages of European Thought: Explanations along the Medieval/Modern Divide from John of Salisbury to Hegel*, (Washington DC, 2009), 207 ff. This is a strange opinion that cannot be reached unless John is wholly removed from his social and religious environment. For John the soul not only directed but animated the body. The idea that one might be separated from the other, and that the body would in this case remain alive and active, would have struck him as heresy, and witchcraft. Also, E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, (New York, 1972), 69, for John as the 'greatest medieval champion' of humanism.

Peter of Celle and so had made a friend who would last a lifetime, and beyond.⁵⁶⁷ He went home to England with a letter from St Bernard that he gave to archbishop Theobald (who was a monk) in order to secure a place in his religious household.⁵⁶⁸ Exiled, he had chosen Peter and the silence not Thomas and his busy government.⁵⁶⁹ Perhaps it was for this reason that he was chosen to exhort as well as to intercede with the monks of the cathedral church in Canterbury who failed to help the archbishop. The letters in which he did so confirm once more the vision that we have described.

The images John chose to move the monks to action and desire were fierce and Christological. This allowed him to relate the monks' refusal to aid Becket to the resurrection that would grow out of the passion in those who were drawn to spiritual conversion. John looked to this paradox to prove that their failure was a spiritual opportunity. The monks were offered the chance to receive the grace of the life they had destroyed. The Christian union the monks had broken was also the source of their redemption. This was the hidden truth that flowed from their action and that John now described:

⁵⁶⁷ John and Peter are buried together in the abbey of St Josaphat, to the north of Chartres. They rest near the river, and its old willow trees.

⁵⁶⁸ The letter is printed as *Ep. 361*, SBO 8, 307-308.

⁵⁶⁹ F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 130-131.

'Let each one of you unfold and re-read the book of his conscience. In doubtful things, should there be any, seek an interpreter by calling on the Holy Ghost, who teaches knowledge [*scientia*] to humanity, and who reveals the truth that lies hidden [*abscondita veritas*], that He might teach you to know Him more faithfully as well as intimately, and (as I think) grasp plainly and in full what will result for him of charity kindled and made strong, of charity that is slack and tepid, of charity that is dissolved, expelled, and lost. Far be it for any one of you to carry out a sin that is beyond saving, whether in blasphemy and bullheadedness, desperation or impenitence. For while charity has been weakened as well as broken in the branches, there is hope He is alive in the roots, and, bathed and watered by the downpour of heavenly grace, may grow green again, and bring forth fruits of compassion and justice, if the heart sets the soul upon its ways, if it repents, and confesses its guilt, if by means of satisfaction it redeems what it has committed.'⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁷⁰ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 300, Con. Cant.*, LJS 2, 700-702: 'Evoluat unusquisque et releget propriae conscientiae librum; in ambiguis, si qua sunt, interpretem quaeret et invocet Spiritum Sanctum, qui docet hominem scientiam et absconditam revelat veritatem, ut eo docente sibi fidelius et familiarius innotescat, et (ut arbitror) plane et plene deprehendet quid ab accensa vel intensa, quid a tepida vel remissa, quid ab extincta vel fugata et perdita sibi provenerit caritate. Absit tamen ut per blasphemiam aut obstinationem aut desperationem aut impenitentiam peccatum irremissibile commiserit quis in vobis, quia, licet in ramis debilitata et fracta sit caritas, spes tamen est quod maneat in radice, et rigata et perfusa caelestis gratiae imbribus poterit revirescere et verae compassionis et iustitiae facere fructus, si cor posuerit anima super vias suas, si poenituerit, si culpam fateatur, si pro facultate satisfaciendo redimat quod commisit.'

Perhaps the wise man to which the letter refers was John himself and the truth, his judgement. But the note in all its parts helps to prove the vision with which we are concerned. John used the image of God as a broken tree to show the monks the supernatural effect of their deeds as well as to move them to reflect on this mournful experience. This Christian vision had been set out in the other works that John had produced. The Spirit who taught the world from a tree is found at the end of his *Policraticus*. Here too the purpose of that motion was to show the grace found in punishment.⁵⁷¹ Christ had shown how the wounded soul would bring fruit from His destruction. John's letter to the monks shows how this moral and spiritual idea was extended into the Church and used to show the truth of the Christian world in a time of tribulation.

Thus the potent vision that John created in his Becket letters was not limited to the episcopate but was also directed to the monks of Christ Church who had failed the archbishop. The notion that Christ died where charity was ended was applied to clerical disobedience but also to the failure to bring aid to the exiles where this help was anticipated. Perhaps John recalled here the gall with which the thirst of Christ was quenched, while he was nailed to the cross and waited to die and to be with His Father in heaven.⁵⁷² Becket too had thirsted after the love of God but

⁵⁷¹ John of Salisbury, *Poli.*, 8.25, (PL 199, 819C): 'Plane quid poenarum lateat in terrenis, vel quid in his possit mereri, solus agnoscit, qui de arbore scientiae ramum bonae operationis avellit'

⁵⁷² Matthew 27.34.

was denied this spiritual assistance. This charity flowed from the Spirit who united the Church as one body and ensured that the correct honor was done to the Head by those who shared in this communion. John returned to this theme in a letter sent in 1168 to William, sub-prior in Canterbury. He exhorted the monks there once more to look kindly on Thomas and his companions. Becket was the latest in a line of eminent priests that included Anselm and Lanfranc. To repudiate him was to shame the memory of those who had crossed into blessedness.⁵⁷³ John confirmed that the crisis took place in Christ and that those who renounced Becket would be denied the prize that came from a share in His 'public tribulation.'⁵⁷⁴ Placed in the context of our vision we see how John referred here to the *Redemptor* who was seen to suffer and to die in the souls of those who defended His Church. Like the provost who Bernard had urged to come to the God who was now sacrificed in his sight John urged the monks to come to the Lord who now suffered in His adherents. This vision was above the human mind but was shown to faith and the imagination. John maintained that in the face of Thomas Becket the monks saw the Crucified God who called to them in his action and who hoped to receive the love of His friends. To decline this gesture was to turn away from Him who had died to liberate the imprisoned. John

⁵⁷³ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 244, Con. Cant. ecc.*, LJS 2, 487.

⁵⁷⁴ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 247, Ad Gui.*, LJS 2, 499: 'Ergo quaeso, dilecte mi, dum tempus est, moram redime, et persuade fratribus, qui futuri sunt consolationum, ut communicant paternis angustiis, ne tandem poeniteat eos et pudeat solos se per inhumanitatem excepisse a tribulatione communi, quae est in Christo.'

intended to move the monks to regret their sins and to return to obedience. He described the sadness that must follow the demise of Christ in His community:

'To mourn is not enough. Indeed, we recall that the just do this out of godliness even in the death of their enemies. When the power of charity is snuffed out this declares the death of the Holy Spirit, whose burial is not to be met with cursory tears or with a momentary grief, but by a fervent desire for (His) life to be restored in penance and good works.'⁵⁷⁵

Conclusion

John had created an image of crisis in the Church that was based on vibrant biblical metaphors and that was linked to the vision of Christ that was at the centre of western devotion during the twelfth century. The notion on which this image turned was the terrible need that had imprisoned the Church as a result of sin and that Christ had raised in His blood and atonement. This chapter has shown how this image of the Church carried drastic implications for those who served the

⁵⁷⁵ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 300, Con. Cant.*, LJS 2, 700: 'Lugere siquidem parum est, quod etiam in hostium occasu iustos pie fecisse recolimus, cum caritatis uirtus extincta Spiritus Sancti protestetur occasum; cuius funus perfunctoriis lacrimis non est aut dolore momentaneo prosequendum, sed uita per poenitentiam et fructum bonorum operum instantius reparanda.'

Christian body and who were charged with its protection. The image of the Church that John built in his Becket letters shows a perception of clerical office and the *corpus* of which it was a part that was fiercely supernatural. John believed that the prime cause of the priest was to defend the supernatural power that flowed from Christ into the Church and was the lifeblood of its members. Failure in this context would break the union between the Church and the otherworld that Christ had shown as God and man and that was passed on to His priesthood.⁵⁷⁶ His vision shared in the action we have linked to the Rule and to monasticism. From this breach a truth poured out with which John filled his Becket correspondence. But where the monks had used this vision to show God's life and Presence, John had used the self-same vision to show the world God's death and Absence. His intention was to prove that the union of laws and morals that was extinguished in the Church as a result of violent conflict was the visible sign of an invisible degradation. This unseen truth was the Christ who died in the Church as a result of its wickedness. John used this drastic vision to prove to his friends and foes the grave seriousness of the time and the need for them to defend the Lord who was even now tormented. But this image was not a mere conceit, and was used in fact to express a powerful doctrine that pointed to the nature of the Church and the truth of Christian experience. The learned men who taught

⁵⁷⁶ E.g. John of Salisbury, *Ep. 144, Ad Bar. Ex.*, LJS 2, 144: 'Nam in delinquit in proximum, in Deum quoque delinquit, et sponsum exhonorat Christum quicumque inhonorat ecclesiam sponsam eius; sunt enim corpus unum, immo et spiritus unus et, quod amplius est, collatione gratiae quodammodo sunt Deus unus, dum admirabili commercio illa quae carnis sunt ex natura primitive Deo impertit ut ab illo plenitudinem divinae naturae recipiat, et oleo exsulationis quadam ratione consortia habundet ab illo et effluat tota.'

that Christ was alive in the Church in supernatural union were now made to face the true power of that old and well-known doctrine. John had little time for those who saw truth on a page and not *in sanctis experimentis*. This was the context as well as the cause of the images he created and distributed in his letter collection. *In hac necessitate*, this was the source of their appeal to the Christian imagination.

The time has come to show how this Christian vision has made a new and original contribution to modern studies on the Church in general and the Becket conflict in particular. Its interest in relation to Thomas Becket and his stand is perhaps the most straightforward. It provides a view of this famous contest that is not juridical or simply descriptive. It suggests that the conflict meant many things to its major players and protagonists and that their motive must not be reduced to a clash of political or spiritual ideologies. Of course it has long been known that the struggle bulked larger for the archbishop than it did for the king and that its later fame does not reflect its original importance.⁵⁷⁷ Modern scholars are used to seeing Becket as an object of the imagination.⁵⁷⁸ But more must be done to show the hopes and evoke the fears that promoted a

⁵⁷⁷ Warren, *Henry II*, 447-518.

⁵⁷⁸ A. Duggan, "The Cult of St. Thomas Becket in the Thirteenth Century", in *St. Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, M. Jancey (ed.), (Hereford, 1982), 21-44. A. A. Jordan, "Rhetoric and Reform: the St Thomas Becket window of Sens cathedral," in *The Four Modes of Seeing: approaches to medieval imagery in honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, (Ashgate: Burlington VT, 2009), 547-564, for a stimulating view of this conception in a local setting. Perhaps this view may be extended to the cathedral

desire in men like John to enter the battle with such force as well as conviction.⁵⁷⁹ In this section we have shown a new way to judge the progress of this controversy; much remains buried under the giant mass of Becket's witness and achievement.

In general we have shown how the Church was viewed not as a matrix of laws but as an organism that lived in God and that was seen to die where His love had perished from the world.

This opens a portal into the hopes and fears of Christians at this time that has been closed until now. Our argument also shows how the power of the image to capture and to comprehend an unseen truth in the world assumed in times of strife a new and decisive importance. The rhetoric that John included in his letters on the Becket conflict was not disembodied ornament used to bend the mind and move the passions but not to touch the truth. His polished words did not

at Chartres? P. Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England*, (New Haven, 2005), for a larger view of the relation between Christian ideas and the solid mass of Gothic in the wake of Becket's murder. But S. L. Reames, "Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket," *Speculum*, number 80, (2005), 118-170, shows in painstaking detail how the image of Becket was used in the later English Church (this time by Stephen Langton, Becket's successor in Canterbury and the superintendent of his jubilee celebrations in 1220), as a mode of moral instruction and Christian reconciliation.

⁵⁷⁹ T. Reuter, "*Velle sibi fieri in forma hac*: symbolic acts in the Becket dispute," in *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, 167-190, for another approach. Reuter compares the conflict to a theatre, the actors to a drama. Doubtless this tells us something of the social custom and convention which framed the struggle (pride, public reputation etc). But this seems almost to trivialise the notion of reality at the heart of the dispute. In the end, this, too, empties it of mystery.

share in the what Locke could later call a delusive phantasm.⁵⁸⁰ He instead used a fierce and biblical mode to seize on the unseen and supernatural truth that he held to move in the world and to be shown to faith and the imagination. The vision of Christ in death above all was used by John to create a forceful narrative of pastoral failure and revival and to impress on his peers the result of their actions. This was supported not only by his own previous work but by men like St Anselm. The original contribution of this chapter has therefore been to set the biblical rhetoric of this febrile period in a new light and to invest this rhetoric with a pastoral function. The literary image was used in this way to bind the world to the divine and numinous. This Christian vision was used in turn to promote and to sustain a spiritual encounter with a Lord who was seen to suffer in the outward face of a divided Church and priesthood. It serves as further proof of the thesis that lies at the heart of this dissertation. The imagination and its exercise are seen once more to shape the Christian world in a time of conflict and upheaval.

⁵⁸⁰ John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 10.6.34: '[Language] is often abused by figurative speech... Since wit and fancy find easier entertainment in the world than dry truth and real knowledge, figurative speeches and allusion in language will hardly be admitted as an imperfection or abuse of it. I confess, in discourses where we seek rather pleasure and delight than information and improvement, such ornaments as are borrowed from them can scarce pass for faults. But yet if we would speak of things as they are, we must allow that all the art of rhetoric, besides order and clearness; all the artificial and figurative application of words eloquence hath invented, are for nothing else but to insinuate wrong ideas, move the passions, and thereby mislead the judgment; and so indeed are perfect cheats.' J. Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, (Oxford, 1985).

Chapter Three:

'Taking the bread, he gave thanks, and broke, and gave it to them, saying:

"This is my body, which is given for you.

This do in remembrance of me."⁵⁸¹

⁵⁸¹ Luke 22.19: 'Et accepto pane gratias egit, et fregit, et dedit eis, dicens: Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur: hoc facite in meam commemorationem.'

Christian culture in the later middle ages was based above all on the Paschal sacrament.⁵⁸² The Mass came at this time to shape the hopes and fears of western Christendom.⁵⁸³ The Eucharist came to hold in this period a place of essential importance in the Church and in the social and spiritual mood of the Christian continent.⁵⁸⁴ Its influence is seen across the whole of Latin thought

⁵⁸² A. Astell, *Eating Beauty: The Eucharist and the Spiritual Arts of the Middle Ages*, (New York, 2006). C. W. Bynum, *Holy Feast, Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, (Berkeley; London, 1987). C. W. Bynum, "The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg," in *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 79-117. H. Chadwick, "Ego Berengarius," *Journal of Theological Studies*, volume 40, (October, 1989), 414-445. P. Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200-c. 1150*, (Cambridge, 1993). H. de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum: The Eucharist and the Church in the Middle Ages*, G. Simmonds and R. Price (trans.), (London, 2006). G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 1-12, 48-141, 238-268, 546-613. C. Elwood, *The Body Broken: The Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France*, (New York; Oxford, 1999), esp. 1-26. J. Goering, "The Invention of Transubstantiation," *Traditio*, volume 46, (1991), 147-170. N. M. Häring, "Berengar's Definitions of *Sacramentum* and their Influence on Mediaeval Sacramentology," *Mediaeval Studies*, volume 10, (1948), 109-147. G. Macy, *The Banquet's Wisdom: A Short History of the Theologies of the Lord's Supper*, (Paulist Press: New York, 1992). G. Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians, c. 1080-1220*, (Oxford, 1984). G. Macy, *Treasures from the Storeroom: Medieval Religion and the Eucharist*, (Collegeville, Minn., 1999). J. Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)*, 174-80, 184-204. M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge, 1991). M. Rubin, "Whose Eucharist? Eucharistic Identity as Historical Subject," *Modern Theology*, volume 15, number 2, (1999), 197-208. E. Saxon, *The Eucharist in Romanesque France: Iconography and Theology*, (Woodbridge, 2006). G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety: From Relics to the Eucharist*, (Leiden, 1995). G. H. Williams, "The Sacramental Presuppositions of Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*," *Church History*, volume 26, (1957), 245-274.

⁵⁸³ G. R. Evans, "Gilbert Crispin on the Eucharist: A Monastic Postscript to Lanfranc and Berengar," *Journal of Theological Studies*, New Series, volume 31, number 1, (1980), 28-43. J. Y. Malegam, *The Sleep of Behemoth*, 109 ff. R. I. Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 43, 48, 50. Also, C. Chazelle, "Figure, Character, and the Glorified Body in the Carolingian Eucharistic Controversy," *Traditio*, volume 47, (1992), 1-36.

⁵⁸⁴ S. Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture, and Society in Late Medieval Writing*, (London; New York, 1993). J. Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200-1700," *Past & Present*, number 100, (August, 1983), 29-61. P. Browe, "Die eucharistische Flurprozessionen und Wettersegnen", *Theologie und Glaube* 21 (1929), 742-755. N. Coulet, "Processions, espace urbain, communauté civique", *Cahier de Fanjeaux* 17 (1982), 381-397. M. James, "Ritual, Drama, and the Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town," *Past & Present*, number 98, (February, 1983), 3-29. E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in*

and Catholic government. Its position shared in a wider stream of Christian desire and pious sentiment. The Eucharist was at the heart of the Church and its claim to spiritual dominion.⁵⁸⁵

The priesthood alone had the power to mediate God to the Christian population. The Church alone could repeat the miracle in which salvation was accomplished. The devotion to the human Lord that swelled at this time into a momentous flood was based in part on the view that God was present in the Eucharist.⁵⁸⁶ The desire to be with Christ in flesh was met in the miracle of transubstantiation.

The purpose of what follows is to provide a new view of the Eucharist in the medieval Church. Its intention is to show how the words and the rite that were at this time associated with the Mass were used to describe the Church in a world of change and revolution. The Eucharist was

Mediaeval Political Theology, (Reprinted: Princeton, 1985), 193-207. E. Magnani, "Du don aux églises au don pour salut de l'âme en Occident (IVe-XIe siècle): Le paradigme eucharistique," in N. Bériou, B. Caseau, and D. Rigaux (eds.), *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Âge)*, Paris, 2009), 1021-1042. Also, W. T. Cavanaugh, "Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Social Imagination in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, volume 31, number 3, (Fall, 2001), 585-605.

⁵⁸⁵ H. de Lubac, *The Splendor of the Church*, 126-161. B. E. Whalen, "Re-thinking the Schism of 1054: Authority, Heresy, and the Latin Rite," *Traditio*, volume 62, (2007), 1-24, for a convincing reappraisal of the dispute between the Greek and the Latin Churches on the bread of the Host, and also the *filioque* clause. Whalen places this controversy in the context of the assertion of papal authority against Constantinople.

⁵⁸⁶ G. Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, 86-100.

in its fullness seen to be an image of that turbulent community.⁵⁸⁷ This perception was based on the vision that we have linked to monasticism and that saw Christian action as a vessel as well as sign of a spiritual presence. It was also linked to the notion of the Church that John of Salisbury connected to the Becket conflict and that allowed him to think that Christ died in its tribulation. The Eucharist was the place in which these Christian visions met and were combined. The conviction that the secret power of God was revealed in the fragmentation of His flesh was linked above all to the Mass and the sacrifice of communion. Bernard and John and Peter would each appeal to this liturgical perspective in order to move Christian souls to help their cause and to join with their objectives. This Christian action was like the Mass a chance to share in the crucified Lamb.

The definition of sacrifice on which this chapter is based had been outlined by Augustine.⁵⁸⁸ The African was seen in the middle ages as a pre-eminent voice on the sacraments.⁵⁸⁹ He described in the City of God the deeds that made a true and acceptable sacrifice to Him and those deeds

⁵⁸⁷ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400-c. 1580*, (New Haven, CT: 1992), 1, 91-130. D. Aers, "Altars of Power: Reflections on Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars*", *Literature and History* third ser. 3 (Autumn, 1994), pp. 90-105. *Literature and History* third ser. 4 (Spring, 1995), pp. 86-88 (Duffy), p. 89 (Aers). M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 1 ff.

⁵⁸⁸ On this text: J.-M. R. Tillard, *Flesh of the Church, Flesh of Christ*, 39-54.

⁵⁸⁹ E.g. N. Häring, "The Augustinian Axiom: Nulli Sacramento Injuria Facienda Est," *Mediaeval Studies*, volume 16, (January, 1954), 87-117.

that were instead a false and intolerable oblation. Human deeds were for him a vessel and a sign whose content was determined by the nature of the soul that moved the flesh to act and to perform its commands. He explained that deeds that were directed to God alone would be consecrated to Him and so were made a divine work as well as a source of spiritual communion. Actions that took place in this manner were joined to a power that was supernatural. The source of this power was the union of Christian love that emancipated the world from the chains of sin and filled the Church with a spiritual happiness:

'Hence a true sacrifice is found in every work that is done so that we might be joined to God in holy fellowship. Namely, that which is directed to that Final Good in whom we can be truly blessed. For that reason an act of mercy (*miser cordia*) by which we come to the aid of others is not itself a sacrifice, unless it is done for the sake of God. For even if it is done or offered by a person, sacrifice is still a divine matter. This is the phrase used to describe it in old Latin. Thus a person who is consecrated to the name of God, and vowed to God, is a sacrifice, inasmuch as they die to the world so that they may live for God. For this also is related to mercy, the mercy that a person shows for themselves.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁹⁰ Augustine of Hippo, *De civ. Dei*, 10.6, (PL, 283): 'Proinde verum sacrificium est omne opus, quo agitur, ut sancta societate inhaereamus Deo, relatum scilicet ad illum finem boni, quo veraciter beati esse possimus. Unde et ipsa misericordia, qua homini subvenitur, si non propter Deum fit, non est sacrificium. Etsi enim ab homine fit vel offertur, tamen sacrificium res divina est, ita ut hoc quoque vocabulo

The Roman Father applied to the soul as well as the body this definition of a true sacrifice. The Christian *corpus* was for him a vessel in which a divine power was contained. In the previous section we saw how Bernard viewed the soul that was evacuated as a Font that was filled with the power of God as well as with His Presence.⁵⁹¹ This conversion was the event that had divided truth from illusion and falsehood. The City of God proves that this Christian vision was also liturgical and sacramental. Rubin has shown how the Mass was the arbiter of truth in Latin Christendom. The blood of God would burn away the veil of sin and all would stand revealed.⁵⁹² Augustine confirms that this verdict also obtained in relation to a personal sacrifice:

'Our body also is a sacrifice when we correct it with restraint, if we do this as we should, for the sake of God, so that we do not offer our limbs as instruments of evil, but as instruments for the justice of God. The Apostle exhorts us to this when he says: "Thus do I entreat you, brothers, in the mercy of God, that you might offer your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, your agreeable service." Therefore, if the body, which the soul uses as

id Latini veteres appellaverint. Unde ipse homo Dei nomine consecratus et Deo votus, in quantum mundo moritur ut Deo vivat, sacrificium est. Nam et hoc ad misericordiam pertinet, quam quisque in se ipsum facit.'

⁵⁹¹ Chapter One, 121 ff.

⁵⁹² M. Rubin, "Whose Eucharist?", 204, 206.

an assistant, like a servant or a tool, is a sacrifice, when it is given to God for His good and righteous use, how much more is the soul itself a sacrifice, when it gives itself to God so that it might lose the form of worldly desire, having been kindled in the fire of His love, and might be reformed, as it were, to the immutable Form, by submission to Him, thus becoming acceptable to Him, on account of what it has received from His beauty. This too is what the Apostle says when he adds: "And do not be conformed to this world, but be reformed in the newness of your mind so that you might prove what is the good, and the acceptable, and the perfect will of God."⁵⁹³

The flesh is seen here as a vessel for the soul that served God and His commandments. The spiritual worth of this offering to God was found in a virtuous form of obedience. This attitude to the flesh and the soul was based on the Christian sacraments. Here as in the Pasch the Lord

⁵⁹³ Augustine of Hippo, *De civ. Dei*, 10.6, (PL, 283): 'Corpus etiam nostrum cum temperantia castigamus, si hoc, quem ad modum debemus, propter Deum facimus, ut non exhibeamus membra nostra arma iniquitatis peccato, sed arma iustitiae Deo, sacrificium est. Ad quod exhortans Apostolus ait: OBSECRO ITAQUE VOS, FRATRES, PER MISERATIONEM DEI, UT EXHIBEATIS CORPORA VESTRA HOSTIAM VIVAM, SANCTAM, DEO PLACENTEM, RATIONABILE OBSEQUIUM VESTRUM. Si ergo corpus, quo inferiore tamquam famulo vel tamquam instrumento utitur anima, cum eius bonus et rectus usus ad Deum refertur, sacrificium est: quanto magis anima ipsa cum se refert ad Deum, ut igne amoris eius accensa formam concupiscentiae saecularis amittat eique tamquam incommutabili formae subdita reformetur, hinc ei placens, quod ex eius pulchritudine acceperit, fit sacrificium! quod idem Apostolus consequenter adiungens: ET NOLITE, inquit, CONFORMARI HUIC SAECULO; SED REFORMAMINI IN NOVITATE MENTIS VESTRAE AD PROBANDUM VOS QUAE SIT VOLUNTAS DEI, QUOD BONUM ET BENE PLACITUM ET PERFECTUM.' Romans 12.1. Romans 12.2.

was seen to rest inside a carnal integument. Augustine believed that the whole world was made to share in this Eucharist.

'True sacrifices, then, are works of mercy, to ourselves or to our neighbours, that are directed to God. True works of mercy are not done save in that which frees us from misery and, in this way, makes us blessed. This cannot be done save in that Good, of which it is said: "But it is good for me to cling tightly to my God." This being so, it follows that the whole of the redeemed City, that is, the community and the fellowship of the saints, is offered to God as a universal sacrifice, through the Great Priest who offered Himself at the same time in His suffering for us under the form of a servant, so that we might be the Body of so great a Head. For it was this (form) that He offered, and in this He was offered, because He is the mediator in this way, in this He is the priest, in this He is the sacrifice. Therefore, when the Apostle urges us to present our bodies as a living sacrifice, acceptable to God, our agreeable service, and that we should not be conformed to this world, but should instead be reformed in the newness of our minds, to prove what is the good, and the acceptable, and the perfect will of God, which is the complete sacrifice of ourselves, he says:

"For I say this to all of you, through the grace of God that is given to me. Do not think more of yourself than you ought to think, but think soberly, as God has shared among every soul

a measure of faith. For just as we have many members in one body, but all members do not have the same office, so are we, being many, one Body in Christ, each a member of the other, having diverse gifts according to the grace that is given to us..."

This is the sacrifice of Christians: "Many as one Body in Christ." The Church also repeats this in the sacrament of the altar, well known to the faithful, where she demonstrates to herself that she herself is offered in (the sacrifice) that she offers (to God).⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹⁴ Augustine of Hippo, *De civ. Dei*, 10.6, (PL, 283): 'Cum igitur vera sacrificia opera sint misericordiae sive in nos ipsos sive in proximos, quae referuntur ad Deum; opera vero misericordiae non ob aliud fiant, nisi ut a miseria liberemur ac per hoc ut beati simus (quod non fit nisi bono illo, de quo dictum est: MIHI AUTEM ADHAERERE DEO BONUM EST): profecto efficitur, ut tota ipsa redempta civitas, hoc est congregatio societasque sanctorum, universale sacrificium offeratur Deo per sacerdotem magnum, qui etiam se ipsum obtulit in passione pro nobis, ut tanti capitis corpus essemus, secundum formam servi. Hanc enim obtulit, in hac oblatum est, quia secundum hanc mediator est, in hac sacerdos, in hac sacrificium est. Cum itaque nos hortatus esset Apostolus, ut exhibeamus corpora nostra hostiam vivam, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium nostrum, et non conformemur huic saeculo, sed reformemur in novitate mentis nostrae: ad probandum quae sit voluntas Dei, quod bonum et bene placitum et perfectum, quod totum sacrificium nos ipsi sumus: DICO ENIM, inquit, PER GRATIAM DEI, QUAE DATA EST MIHI, OMNIBUS, QUI SUNT IN VOBIS, NON PLUS SAPERE, QUAM OPORTET SAPERE, SED SAPERE AD TEMPERANTIAM; SICUT UNICUIQUE DEUS PARTITUS EST MENSURAM FIDEI. SICUT ENIM IN UNO CORPORE MULTA MEMBRA HABEMUS, OMNIA AUTEM MEMBRA NON EOSDEM ACTUS HABENT: ITA MULTI UNUM CORPUS SUMUS IN CHRISTO; SINGULI AUTEM ALTER ALTERIUS MEMBRA, HABENTES DONA DIVERSA SECUNDUM GRATIAM, QUAE DATA EST NOBIS. Hoc est sacrificium Christianorum: MULTI UNUM CORPUS IN CHRISTO. Quod etiam sacramento altaris fidelibus noto frequentat Ecclesia, ubi ei demonstratur, quod in ea re, quam offert, ipsa offeratur.' Psalm 73.28. Romans 12.3 f.

The Church was viewed as a sacrifice that was offered to God in obedience to Him. Its worship was seen as an oblation in which the miracle of Christ was reproduced.⁵⁹⁵ The force of this vision has from time to time been noted in modern scholarship.⁵⁹⁶ But it is linked to the Church at this time above all in terms of its negation.⁵⁹⁷ This ancient notion of the Church is seen to have perished from the Christian world in our period as a result of the new focus on the Real Presence in the Eucharist. The famous studies of de Lubac and others have shown how this development came in time to drain the Church of the spiritual power that Augustine had described.⁵⁹⁸ The Eucharist not the Church was seen now as the place of the Real Presence. The Church as a mystical *corpus* was soon to be little more than a judicial expression.⁵⁹⁹ But this sad state of affairs did not come to pass all at once and the Christian vision that has been our theme up to

⁵⁹⁵ E.g. E. Schillebeeckx, *Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God*, 63: 'In this sense, the Church is a prolongation primarily of the heavenly Christ, and therefore it prolongs the function of the earthly body of Jesus.'

⁵⁹⁶ H. Boersma, *Heavenly Participation*, 52-68. H. de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, 75-101. Also, P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, (Oxford, 2001), 251.

⁵⁹⁷ H. Boersma, *Heavenly Participation*, 52-84.

⁵⁹⁸ H. de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, 248-265.

⁵⁹⁹ E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 193-232: '[The] Pauline term originally designating the Christian Church now began to designate the consecrated host; contrariwise, the notion *corpus mysticum*, hitherto used to describe the host, was gradually transferred – after 1150 – to the Church as the organized body of Christian society united to the Sacrament of the Altar. In short, the expression "mystical body," which originally had a liturgical or sacramental meaning, took on a connotation of sociological content. It was finally in that relatively new sociological sense that Boniface VIII defined the Church as "one *mystical* body the head of which is Christ."...Concomitant with the new emphasis laid upon the real presence of Christ in the sacrament...was the development of the term *corpus mysticum* as a designation of the Church in its institutional and ecclesiological aspects,' at 196-197. Also, Y. Congar, *L'Église: De saint Augustin à l'époque moderne*, Histoire des dogmes, no. 3 (Paris, 1970), 153.

now shows that it did not obtain in our period. Christ was still believed to live and to die in the Church and its faithful adherents. We have shown that this dread vision was at the heart of the Becket contest. The opinions that were offered at this time in the schools on Christian communion did not erase from the mind the older view of the Church as a universal sacrifice. But the fearsome dispute that now took place on the Eucharist and its distribution did provide this old vision with new life and brought it to the centre of the argument. Devotion to the Eucharist at this time promoted a concern for correct participation in the Mass and a desire to ensure that sinners were blocked from this sacrament.⁶⁰⁰ The notion that Christ was in the Host and that the priest was His custodian would create a sense of unease in relation to the Mass and the mode of celebration. Christian priests were expected to prevent evil souls from receiving the Eucharist. This opinion would also obtain in relation to the Church viewed as a sacrifice. The Eucharist was an image in which the whole of the Church was conceived. For this reason the anxiety that was linked to the Mass also applied to the Church. The Church that was the body of Christ must also be preserved from sinful hands. But the Church was also convinced of the need for right and spiritual communion. The collision of these religious forces was played out in the Church as well as in the Eucharist.

⁶⁰⁰ G. Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, 140, n. 18.

Dignus itaque ad rem tam dignam digne accede

The Becket Conflict and the Eucharist

This opinion would be affirmed in a period of Christian conflict and political fragmentation. The discord that spread across Europe at this time provided representatives of the new *ordo* with a chance to present their cause as a redemptive sacrifice. This conviction was based on the vision of the Church that we have described. Indeed, it would be linked to the events with which we have been concerned. The spiritual power of the Lord was found in a harsh and primitive monasticism. His death was known in the Church that was divided as well as oppressed. The Eucharist was the zone in which these images met and were incorporated. The spiritual force of this vision was found above all in the Church as a sacrament.

The tradition on which this image was based is found in a sermon on the Eucharist produced by Peter of Celle and given to his monks as a source of wisdom and instruction. Peter asked who was the bread of angels that had fed Israel in the wasteland. This was of course the God-man in whom divine and human nature was combined.⁶⁰¹ Peter recited the view that Christ in the

⁶⁰¹ Peter of Celle, *s. 39, In Co. Dom.*, (PL 202, 761B-C): ' Quis sit panis angelorum, ubi sit, quomodo manducandus, quando, et ubi, et a quibus et quare, videndum: et dicendum est, quis sit panis angelorum

bread must be received in righteousness. He drew back from the evil soul but was found in the heart that was purified.⁶⁰² But the abbot knew that this bread was not limited to the Mass and its sacrament. He urged his monks to look round them to see the Lord who in His incarnation had filled the whole world and who was close to human souls until the Final Judgement.⁶⁰³ He was found on the altar as a divine secret clothed in a sacred integument: this secret was the Christ who was buried in bread and known in this sacrifice.

For Peter this notion would extend into those who shared in the Church and its tribulation. Here again the love of God was shown in the Host that was broken and fragmented. Here again the Church would be saved in those who had been incorporated into Christ in the power of love that

quem manducat homo...[Panis est] homo Deus, [confectus est] ex divina...natura et humana, in virgine de Spiritu sancto conceptus et natus, mediator Dei et hominum factus.'

⁶⁰² Peter of Celle, *s. 39, In Co. Dom.*, (PL 202, 761B-C): 'Labia dolosi refugit, sensum erroneum atque immundum aspernatur, sed non spiritum humilem et quietum, et tremementem sermones ejus. Corde itaque vero, corpore casto, manu sancta, lingua purgata, et tangere et comedere possumus illum panem.' Also, Peter of Celle, *In disc. cl.*, (PL 202, 1137A): ' Hanc vitam aliter accipere [*f. accipit*] qui in carne et secundum carnem vivit; aliter ille qui seminat in spiritu, ubi de spiritu metat vitam aeternam; aliter illi: QUORUM OS MALEDICTIONE ET AMARITUDINE PLENUM EST; aliter illi: QUI ESURIUNT ET SITIUNT JUSTITIAM, et quibus dicitur: VOS IN CARNE NON ESTIS, SED IN SPIRITU, SI TAMEN SPIRITUS DEI HABITAT IN VOBIS.' Psalm 13.3. Matthew 5.6. Romans 8.9.

⁶⁰³ Peter of Celle, *sermo 39, In Co. Dom.*, (PL 202, 762A): 'Ubi vero est? aut sursum aut deorsum, aut juxta vos; si sursum, ascendendum; si deorsum, descendendum; si juxta sed latens, investigandus; si juxta sed apparens, apprehendendus et comedendus. Est autem simul sursum, deorsum, et juxta latens et apparens... juxta, quia ECCE VOBISCUM SUM USQUE AD CONSUMMATIONEM SAECULI.' Matthew 28.20.

would restore an injured people to communion.⁶⁰⁴ The abbot used this missal vision as a means to express and to comprehend the hidden truth of an event that would press the limits of rational perception.⁶⁰⁵ He hoped this image would bring order to the cloudy mass of human experience. He described its power in terms that could also be applied to a sacrificial enterprise in the Church that took place in those who served God and offered redemption:

'What then is this [Host] save a most precious jewel whose price has redeemed the whole world, and which, having been polished in death, sparked and blinded the eyes of Hell, that it might be a light in the darkness that the darkness could not comprehend. Indeed, was [this darkness] not blinded by this brightness and darkened in this light? What is this save an antidote against every poison, that even brings the dead back to life...'⁶⁰⁶

Perhaps the firmest proof of this vision is found in the short book on monastic education that Peter wrote in 1179 and that we have met from time to time in this dissertation. This opinion is based on the context as well as the content of that treatise. The Becket conflict runs like a seam

⁶⁰⁴ A. G. Remensnyder, "Pollution, Purity, and Peace," 296.

⁶⁰⁵ G. Green, *Imagining God: Theology and the Religious Imagination*, 49 ff.

⁶⁰⁶ Peter of Celle, sermo 39, *In Co. Dom.*, (PL 202, 763A-B): ' Quid ergo hoc nisi gemma pretiosissima quae suo pretio totum redemit mundum, quae attrita morte scintillavit et excaecavit infernales oculos, ut in tenebris lux esset et tenebrae eam non comprehenderent; imo de claritate caecarentur, de lumine obscurarentur? Quid hoc nisi antidotum contra et supra omnia venena, quod etiam resuscitat mortuum?'

of coal at the heart of this work. Peter wrote the book to prior Richard of Merton, a monastic house in England. This Richard was the brother of John, bishop now of Chartres, once of Salisbury.⁶⁰⁷ He had spent much of the exile with John at St. Remi where Peter was superintendent. He returned to his home to watch his mother die, and then the archbishop, whom he had served as a man exiled as a result of his familial connections.⁶⁰⁸ Richard had taken a lesson from this and chose to enter the monastic house where Becket had been trained and from which he had drawn his beloved confessor.⁶⁰⁹ There he sought the Lord in whom death and sorrow would be extinguished.⁶¹⁰ Peter knew of that desire and looked to aid Richard in this contemplation.⁶¹¹ The abbot loved the brothers but there are signs in his anxious solicitude for Richard that the harsh spirit that froze over John as bishop had started to appear. His tract on the cloister would remind the prior that the cross of God surrounded him there, and that a great prize was stored up for the soul at the end of many labours.⁶¹² The monk must not recall the

⁶⁰⁷ F. Barlow, "John of Salisbury and His Brothers," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, volume 46, issue 1, (January, 1995), 95-109.

⁶⁰⁸ LJS 2, xxii.

⁶⁰⁹ F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 17-19. A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 10.

⁶¹⁰ For Christ at the point of death: G. Grabka, "Christian Viaticum: A Study of its Cultural Background," *Traditio*, volume 9, (1953), 1-43. A. C. Rush, "The Eucharist: The Sacrament of the Dying in Late Antiquity," *The Jurist*, volume 34, number 1, (1974), 10-35.

⁶¹¹ Peter and Richard exchanged letters in the years after the Becket trial concluded. These are recorded in Haseldine, LPC, nos. 163-168, no. 171 (with John). John discusses *De disciplina claustrali* directly in nos. 166-167. The latter accompanied the first quire of the work.

⁶¹² Peter of Celle, *De disc. cl.*, (PL 202, 1143C): 'Grandis labor manum ad haec fortia mittere, et cum Josue bellum adversus inimicos continuare; sed ad magna praemia non pervenitur.'

things of time, but should reach out into eternity.⁶¹³ This reminds us again that the toll of that conflict was human, as well as religious.

But Peter's book holds a more solid echo of our vision than this roll of mournful resonances. This is found in the section that he wrote on the Mass and sacred communion. Peter wrote here of the need that drove the Christian soul to receive the Eucharist.⁶¹⁴ This need was in part the fallen state that we have met as well as enumerated. The human race was doomed to die because it had broken God's covenant.⁶¹⁵ 'Shall he who broke the pact escape?' (Ezekiel wrote) 'He shall not escape.'⁶¹⁶ Peter linked this Christian need to the issue of correct and spiritual participation in the Mass that would free the soul from the captive state in which it was submerged. Peter argued that this human need moved the soul to seek after communion, and at the same time made clear that it must be pure to receive the sacrament. This dual notion stood at the base of the vision with which we are concerned. The double-sided image of the soul in the Mass that the abbot had described had been in his mind when need had burst on the Church during the

⁶¹³ Peter of Celle, *De disc. cl.*, (PL 202, 1144D): 'non contemplatur quae currunt temporaliter, sed quae permanent aeternaliter.'

⁶¹⁴ *Necessitas* was one of the three causes Peter identified in relation to the Eucharist and its reception. Peter of Celle, *De disc. cl.*, (PL 202, 1138A): 'In causa institutio, utilitas, et necessitas.'

⁶¹⁵ Peter of Celle, *De disc. cl.*, (PL 202, 1142C): 'Ea itaque necessitate qua homo moritur; quia vetitum gustavit, damnatur qui pactum voti sui praevaricatus fuerit.'

⁶¹⁶ Peter of Celle, *De disc. cl.*, (PL 202, 1142C): 'Unde propheta: QUI PACTUM SOLVIT, NUMQUID EFFUGIET?' Ezekiel 17.15.

Becket conflict. Here again the chains that closed over the Church as a result of carnal aggression had moved the soul to seek Christ in His death as well as to demand sacrifice. This reaction was based on the rite that was at the heart of the Latin priesthood.

'By necessity, then, we must go to communion, and worthily. The truth [*res*] that is visible in the sacrament is invisible in its power; the truth [*res*] reveals one thing and conceals another. Outside, it presents the visible sacrament; inside, it contains an unseen power, which it shows to the clean of heart. Should you approach this truth [*res*] with the whole [*self; totus*], you shall have the whole. Should you approach by half, then you shall have half, that is, the sacrament, but not the truth [*res*] of the sacrament. You would be like the branch on the vine that does not bear fruit, but which is cut down and thrown into the fire. And so, when you are worthy, come to such a worthy thing [*dignam digne*]. Then He shall not be absent who is never absent to those who are worthy, but is absent only to those who are unworthy. He who does not succumb to mortal sin approaches worthily, who makes humble satisfaction every day for pardonable sins.'⁶¹⁷

⁶¹⁷ Peter of Celle, *De disc. cl.*, 25, (PL 202, 1142D-1143A): 'Necessario igitur debemus communicare, et digne. Res vero sacramento visibili, virtute invisibili, res aliud ostendit, aliud reponit. Sacramentum visibile exterius objicit, virtutem invisibilem intrinsecus continet, mundis cordibus exhibet. Rem si totus accesseris, totam habebis; si dimidius, dimidiam, id est sacramentum, non rem sacramenti: ut sis palmes in vite, qui non fert fructum, sed qui excidetur et in ignem mittetur. Dignus itaque ad rem tam dignam digne accede; et non deerit qui digno nulli unquam deficit, et si cui defuit dignus non fuit. Digne autem accedit, qui nulli peccato mortali succumbit, de venialibus humiliter quotidie satisfacit.'

Peter would meditate on the need to preserve the Pasch from false or wicked communicants. He sometimes woke in the night filled with fear at the thought of this catastrophe. In a missive to his monks at La Celle he would record such an unusual dream:

'On a certain night I seemed to be present with you in the monastery with certain of the brothers, and, so far as one can speak in this way about a dream, the community by chance was in the choir and the high altar was prepared as if for the mass, and on the altar cloths, by I know not what accident, the body of the Lord was lying where it had fallen out of the pyx. When therefore it had been sought out and was found again, it was discovered to have been nibbled by mice and flies and polluted with fly droppings, and from the round shape of the host a piece had been taken away. On waking, I was powerfully disturbed by this dream, fearing that some of the celebrants might have been bringing to the inviolable mystery of the body of the Lord, which ought to be named, and much more to be taken, with awe [*tremor*], consciences that were less pure than is fitting.'⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁸ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 42, Ad Chr. fra.*, LPC, 162: 'Quadam nocte videbar adesse vobis in monasterio presens cum quibusdam fratribus et, quantum de sompno dici potest, conventus forte in choro, altarquae maius paratum quasi ad missam, et super pallas altaris, nescio quo casu, corpus Domini de pyxide elapsum iacebat. Cum ergo quesitum reperiretur, inventum est a muribus et muscis corrosum et infectum stercore muscarum, et de rotunditate hostie aliquid detractum. Hoc evigilans sompno valde permotus sum, timens ne minus quam decet honestas conscientias ad inviolabile et cum tremore nominandum, multo magis

Peter would return to this vision as abbot of St.-Remi and in relation to the Becket contest. Peter wrote to Thomas on the stand that he had taken and to praise his courage. Then he turned to those who had worked to defeat Becket and his companions. Peter compared these sinful men to flies that had massed round the sacrament. He promised to beat them away with a fan (or argument) formed from the scriptures. The fullness of this text is based on the vision of the Church that we have described. Becket and his men were joined to God in Christ and were seen as a Eucharist, a spotless oblation that was offered to the Lord in a body that had been crucified:

'Indeed I find that there is one thing that is not reserved to me unworthily, to exercise some function in your service, if I should be able to drive away the flies who hope to prick your holiness with jealous barking, or at least to continue to blacken your integrity with an evil interpretation. Plainly these dying flies which flourish in Egypt and surround Pharaoh who is the king of Egypt* (as if he were a man of flies) shall not, with God's assistance, spoil the sweetness of the ointment. For this will be saved against the day of Jesus's burial, and it will be preached from generation to generation that the archbishop of Canterbury, setting himself up as a wall for the House of Israel, follows in the footsteps of the ancient saints while he

sumendum, Dominici corporis misterium aliqui ministrantium deferent. Mures enim et muscas quam indecens sit hec sancta misteria contingere, lippis etiam et tonsoribus patet.'

follows naked the naked Christ hanging on the cross. How, then, shall I be able with Abraham to drive away the same flies who are working to pollute the inviolate sacrifice of the Lord, save with a fan made from the authentic scriptures, with which they might be struck, or at least put to flight?⁶¹⁹

The image of the Church that Peter offered in his letters shared in a larger spiritual movement. His fearsome words on this matter flowed into the wide stream of Eucharistic piety that grew up at this time across Europe and that Rubin has ably described.⁶²⁰ This Christian tradition linked both the fear and fact of false or sinful communion to vivid signs of God's death on the cross as well as the pain of His execution. Images of this kind multiplied as the doctrine of the Real Presence gained popularity. They speak to an earthy mode of piety that is quite alien to modern sensibilities. This spiritual *topos* was at the heart of the growth of the cult of the Eucharist.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁹ * That is, King Henry II and his servants. Peter of Celle, *Ep. 92, Ad Th. Bec.*, LPC, 388-390: 'Equidem hoc unum michi ad ministerium aliquod impendendum in obsequio vestro non indigne reservatum reperio, si muscas abigere possem vestram sanctitatem oblatratione invidiosa pungere volentes, vel saltem interpretatione perverse denigrare sinceritatem fidei vestre insistentes. Plane MUSCE ists MORIENTES que in Egypto habundant et Pharaonem regem Egypti tanquam virum muscarum circumdant, Deo opitulante non PERDENT SUAVITATEM UNGUENTI. Servabitur namque in diem sepulture Iesu, et praedicabitur in generatione et generationem quod archiepiscopus Cantuariensis murum se opponens pro domo Israel vestigia sanctorum antiquorum imitator dum Christum in cruce nudum pendentem nudus sequitur. Quomodo ergo cum Abraham potero abigere easdem muscas contaminare volentes illibatum Domini sacrificium, nisi facto ventilabro de authenticis scripturis quo vel feriuntur vel saltem effugentur?' Ecclesiasticus 10.1. Exodus 8.21-4.

⁶²⁰ M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 1 ff.

⁶²¹ C. W. Bynum, "The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages," 161, 164.

Men and women in this period and in the later middle ages would experience visions of Jesus not as a man but as a bowl of flesh chopped into fragments.⁶²² Christian priests who handled the Host in a state of sin would now report dramatic visions of the bread turning into His body and bursting open in a shower of blood. This brilliant event would serve as a source of moral and spiritual instruction, and was spread over Europe in books of miracle stories and the manuals of confessors. Bishop Hugh of Lincoln's *Life* told how a Christian priest who had celebrated the Mass in a state of mortal sin was horrified to see that the Host bled profusely.⁶²³ Moved by this sight he had drawn back from the Eucharist, and had resolved instead to amend his sins and to redeem his soul with the Lord he had offended. This conviction moved slowly to the heart of Latin worship and Christian spirituality. These miracle stories would flourish in support of the claim that the Eucharist merited a special devotion and that it was at the heart of the mystery of the Church.⁶²⁴

The connection between Church and rite was reinforced with the threat of clerical punishment. The missive that Peter sent Becket in 1169 shows us this Christian perspective. Thomas was warned that he must not abandon his claim to the extensive properties that Henry had stolen

⁶²² C. W. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 102. C. W. Bynum, "The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages," 160.

⁶²³ M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 107.

⁶²⁴ H. de Lubac, *The Splendor of the Church*, 126-161.

from his church as a result of his stand and his banishment.⁶²⁵ Peter viewed an attack on the Church and its material wealth as a monstrous assault on Christ who was the head as well as the body of those who were redeemed.⁶²⁶ This opinion was voiced in this context by the heroes of the new priesthood. The famous ascetic Peter Damian had related this view in his correspondence. In a missive to the town of Osimo in the Italian Marche Peter denounced those who had broken into the church and had burned its lands and properties.⁶²⁷ He described this attack as an injury done to Christ who was the Church's bridegroom.⁶²⁸ This invasion of the Church had caused God to be crucified once more (*iterum*).⁶²⁹ This was the spiritual truth that was shown to faithful souls in that violent incursion. In this action God's flesh was as it were fixed again to the cross and battered into pieces at the hands of men who had injured His body in the Christian Church. In little Osimo the Lord who bled for the whole world was seen to have perished.

⁶²⁵ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 92, Ad Tho. Bec.*, LPC, 390: 'Dicut enim: "Non debet archiepiscopus tam instanter sua repetere a rege Anglie ut dimittat reconciliationis pacem pro amissa pecunia." Fallantur specie veri vel adulatione falsi. Qui specie veri decipiuntur instruendi sunt, qui adulatione falsi repellendi.'

⁶²⁶ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 92, Ad Tho. Bec.*, LPC, 390-391.

⁶²⁷ Peter Damian, *Ep. 6, Ad Leo Pap. et cl. et pop. Os.*, (PL 144, 347A-348B).

⁶²⁸ Peter Damian, *Ep. 6, Ad Leo Pap. et cl. et pop. Os.*, (PL 144, 347C-347D): 'Deum ergo inhonorare convincitur, qui mortali episcopo [vivente *addid.*] terrena pressus formidine, ab Ecclesiae se laesione cohibuit; defuncto autem eo, ad injuriam Christi, qui immortalis Ecclesiae sponsus est, fel odii, et virus malitiae, quod eatenus occultabat, effudit.'

⁶²⁹ Peter Damian, *Ep. 6, Ad Leo Pap. et cl. et pop. Os.*, (PL 144, 348A): 'A quibus videlicet Christus iterum crucifigitur, et corpus ejus, quod est Ecclesia, crudeliter laceratur.'

Peter's Christic image shares in the notion of the Church that an earlier chapter described. It reminds us of the monastic vision that was the subject of our initial discussion. But Damian points us in this case to the Church as an image of the Eucharist. The villains who burned the church in Osimo laid violent hands on the inheritance of Christ and drew death and not life from the body He purchased with His blood. Damian had moved to inform the pope and to defend his Lord from this infraction. To punish these men was to warn them off the Host of God that they had wounded. Becket would respond in this way to the same attack but in altered circumstances. In the winter of 1169 he wrote of his desire to place an interdict on England.⁶³⁰ He decided to block those who had done this from the Church and her solemnities.⁶³¹ The burden that was placed on the priest to defend the Paschal sacrament from brash and brutal souls is seen at work here in relation to the undivided Church. Christ was in each case shown to the soul in flesh that was broken and blackened. In each case the soul was made to see the Lord in a Host that was fragmented. The eternity of His death flows into and out of the Church and her sacrifice. Here again the Eucharist makes the Church and the Church makes the Eucharist.⁶³² The God who died in the Church was also the victim that must be preserved from Henry and his agents and all those who wished to invade this stricken *corpus*.⁶³³ This vision was made solid in the

⁶³⁰ F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 184 ff.

⁶³¹ This promoted a violent reaction from the king. F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 191. A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 174-175.

⁶³² For this celebrated phrase: H. de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, 88.

⁶³³ Compare this image with chapter 2.

drastic action that Thomas Becket had proposed. Until the realm was made safe for Christ His voice would fall silent in England. This restores to us the power of the Becket conflict in the medieval imagination.

The Becket contest shows how the Church at this time was seen as a universal Eucharist. The protection of Christian order was seen to share in the Paschal sacrament. This opinion was based on the vision of the Church that was outlined by Augustine. Sacrifice was for him in a soul given to God and flesh that was His instrument. This action would bind the soul to God and would fill the flesh with a spiritual power that could be used to free the world from sin and to lead the Church to happiness. But this Christian power was not found in those who did not make themselves a victim that was worthy of this praise or who refused to share in that sacrifice. This notion of the Church would fade from the Christian world as a consequence of its view of the Mass and the rise of a more private and intimate devotion. But in our chosen period this old vision still held a wide appeal and importance. The Becket conflict has been seen to prove this Christian verdict and perspective. The churchmen who urged their peers to come to the aid of the archbishop and his exiles did so in terms that were linked to the Mass and the Eucharist. The violent contest in which these priests now shared was not a disembodied clash over Christian order but an oblation that was filled with the supernatural. Here was the Fatted Calf sent to die

and the Host on which insects swarmed. Here was the priest who was a victim and here was the bread made in heaven.⁶³⁴ These and other images burst from the letters that are directed to this famous episode. Written visions of this kind must not be seen as a literary artifice and a rhetorical device but as an effort to seize on and to reveal a truth that was eternal and unseen. The Becket conflict in its fullness was seen as a pledge of the crucified Redeemer, a vessel filled with the power of God and in which that power was transmitted. Christians who shared in this critical event in a spirit of love and righteousness would see how the power of God would free the exiles and defeat their persecutors. This triumph was not put down to time but was seen as the work of *Aeternitas*. Becket's death in the cathedral was indeed the final proof of this conception. The *libertas* of the Church in England was based in part on this act of communion.⁶³⁵

John and Peter wrote as part of a Church that was anxious in relation to the sacraments. The attention paid in this period to the human will and internal consciousness led some to reject those rites that a sinful priest had performed or consecrated.⁶³⁶ His corruption was said to have negated the spiritual power of the sacrament. The condition of the soul was linked more firmly to the

⁶³⁴ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 292, Ad Gui. Pr.*, LJS 2, 673.

⁶³⁵ See the Conclusion for this point of view.

⁶³⁶ J. M. Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and His Patrons*, (Philadelphia, 1997), xxii. J. Y. Malegam, *The Sleep of Behemoth*, 109-117. E. Saxon, *The Eucharist in Romanesque France*, 1, 113-117.

efficacy of the procedure. Moore and others have noted that this fear was at the centre of the ferocious desire at this time to free the Church from the hands of false and sinful proprietors, and to revive in the world the Church that was found in the New Testament.⁶³⁷ This accusation awoke ancient fears in the Church and sparked a vibrant discussion.⁶³⁸ The situation was made complex by the support given to this view by reformers who were high in the Church and who saw in it a way to advance their aspirations.⁶³⁹ But most understood the threat this posed to the Church and its *imperium*. Strictly to enforce this point of view would deprive the world of much of its priesthood. They agreed with Damian that grace did not depend on the virtue of its administrator.⁶⁴⁰ The Becket conflict took place in relation to this religious brawl and background. The Christian world was filled with those who denied the power of communion.

There were indeed moments when these visions would collide in action and imagination. In the first part of 1168 John set out for the abbey of St Gilles in the Languedoc.⁶⁴¹ This ancient church

⁶³⁷ R. I. Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 50: 'The claim that the efficacy of the sacraments, including ordination, was nullified by the sins of the clergy – Donatism, though by this time seldom called by that name – was about to become once again the most widespread and persistent threat to the authority of the Church and would remain so [until the fourteenth century].'

⁶³⁸ R. I. Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 71-104.

⁶³⁹ Pope Gregory VII gave tacit support to those who wished to depose on this pretext bishops tainted by simony. This freedom of action was closed down once the new order had settled in for good. R. I. Moore, "Family, Community, and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, volume 30, (1980), 49-69.

⁶⁴⁰ R. I. Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 84-85.

⁶⁴¹ LJS 2, xxxviii.

was a station on the road to Santiago de Compostela. John went to clean his soul and to gather news from Italy and the Empire.⁶⁴² In a letter to Baldwin of Totnes he wrote on his return he relayed this intelligence. But news was not all that John found as a guest in that celebrated place. Beneath a cold winter sun he would have felt the noisy piety of the medieval pilgrimage. He would have joined the eager crowd as it made its way to the abbey church. Close to the front portal he would have seen that it was re-built in fine Romanesque.⁶⁴³ Spread out across the lintel he would find an image of the Last Supper. This portrait was the first example of its kind in the long span of medieval architecture.⁶⁴⁴ Recent and alarming events in the region were the cause of this innovation. Around thirty years before then St Gilles had been stalked by fiery preachers who had advised the people that the clergy were false as well as their sacraments. First among these famous men were Peter of Bruys and Henry 'of Lausanne'.⁶⁴⁵ Their contentious works were a source of much anxiety to the Catholic authorities in that place and would lead in time to a reply that was fierce and uncompromising. They also touched at every point the subject with

⁶⁴² LJS 2, xix-xx, xxxviii.

⁶⁴³ The façade was built after 1142, and probably in the 1150s. C. F. O'Meara, "Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: The Relationship of the Foundation to the Façade," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, volume 39, number 1, (March, 1980), 57-60. Cf. G. Duby, *The Age of Cathedrals*, E. Le Vieux & B. Thompson (trans), (Chicago, 1981), pp. 93-136, esp. pp. 134-135. R. Hamann, "The Façade of St. Gilles: A Reconstruction," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, volume 64, number 370, (January, 1934), 18-21, 24-27, 29.

⁶⁴⁴ M. Colish, "Peter of Bruys, Henry of Lausanne, and the Façade at St. Gilles", *Traditio* 28 (1972), pp. 451-460, at pp. 451-452.

⁶⁴⁵ A. H. Bredero, "Henry of Lausanne: From Reformer to Heretic," in *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, 211-225. R. I. Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 111-126, 146-147.

which we are concerned. Bernard came down from his abbey in Burgundy to silence Henry's preaching.⁶⁴⁶ Peter of Bruys had burned crosses and had been put to death for this provocation.⁶⁴⁷ He had argued that the passion was a shameful event and rejected its instruments.⁶⁴⁸ Peter the Venerable refuted this point in his work 'against the Petrobrusians.' The doorway at St Gilles stood now as an act of monumental refutation.⁶⁴⁹ This image shared in a battle for truth that was at once dogmatic and historical. It stood in mute defiance against those who denied God had died *in necessitate*. Here John met the peril that was stored up for those who hated His sacrifice. Perhaps he recalled the Council of Rheims which he had attended two decades before and which

⁶⁴⁶ B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229*, (Woodbridge, 2001). R. I. Moore, "St. Bernard's Mission to the Languedoc," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, volume 47, number 115, (1974), 1-10.

⁶⁴⁷ Peter was burned at St. Gilles in 1131. E. Saxon, *The Eucharist in Romanesque France*, 233, 236-237.

⁶⁴⁸ D. Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion, 1000-1150*, G. R. Edwards (trans), (Ithaca; London, 2002). R. I. Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 124.

⁶⁴⁹ E. G. Carlson, "The Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: Its Influence on French Sculpture," by Whitney S. Stoddard," Review Article, *Speculum*, volume 51, number 4, (October, 1976), 796-798, at 797: 'In the mid-1140s, the sculptural ensemble was expanded in order to present a more dramatic statement against Peter of Bruys and his followers.' M. L. Colish, "Peter Bruys, Henry of Lausanne, and the façade of St-Gilles," *Traditio*, volume 28, (1972), 451-460. G. Duby, *The Age of Cathedrals*, E. Leveux & B. Thompson (trans), (Chicago, 1981), pp. 93-136, esp. pp. 134-135. E. Vergnolle, *L'art roman en France*, (Paris, 1994), 331-332, affirms this point of view and dates the west front to 1140-1160. E. Saxon, *The Eucharist in Romanesque France*, 232-242, argues that a date after 1150 suggests that the façade was not built to counter the Petrobrusians, but was instead meant to assert the centrality of the Eucharist to Christian piety more generally. However, as Moore has noted, the Petrobrusian legacy was very much alive in the late 1140s and into the 1150s, and there was a widespread belief in the south of France that heresy of this type was a danger that had to be met. This conviction did not evaporate, but was strengthened, in the years after Peter's death in 1131. That the façade was also meant to affirm in a positive way the role of the cross in human redemption, as well as the need to receive the Eucharist from priests within the Church is, however, certain.

had dealt with the souls who chose to follow Peter and his teachings.⁶⁵⁰ Certainly the fruits of that Council were made clear to him on the church's exterior. He found in stone the view that liberty was won through the grace of the Passion. He would return north sure in the opinion that His enemies had rejected this freedom. His letters from this point on are filled with references to the death or crucifixion of Christ in the souls of men who stood for the Church against its worldly opponents. But he affirmed that this oblation was also the ground of a new resurrection. Freedom as well as power would flow from this passion in those who participated in the contest in God's cause and as a shield for those who attacked His servants. This became a central theme of his letters as the conflict reached its dire crescendo. 'The God of Canterbury is suffering,' he wrote, but He would return the payment.⁶⁵¹ *Now* is the time, he wrote to William, monk of Christ Church, to share His necessities, so that in the future he could share in the re-birth of the world and its consolations.⁶⁵² His belief was related to the image had had found at St Gilles in the Languedoc. Perhaps it led him out from his home in Rheims, and south on the pilgrim road.

⁶⁵⁰ The Council was indeed the turning point of John's life. Here he met Theobald of Canterbury, or was at least recommended to his service. R. I. Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 155. For the Council, N. M. Häring, "Notes on the Council and the Consistory of Rheims (1148)," *Mediaeval Studies*, volume 28, (1966), 39-59.

⁶⁵¹ John of Salisbury, *Ep. 285, Io. Pic. ep.*, LJS 2, 626: 'Patiens quidem est Cantuariensium Deus, sed idem procul dubio fidelissimus retributor.'

⁶⁵² John of Salisbury, *Ep. 293, Ad. Gui.*, LJS 2, 672: 'Ex his quae uniuersitati scripta sunt colligere poteris te oporteat facere. Nec est quod nugatorias, ut hactenus, praetendas excusationes, quia tempus est ut ecclesia uestra patiatut aut compatiatur; si enim communicauerit necessitatibus patris, in consolationibus, quas indubitanter Deo propitio speramus, in breui reflorescet.'

'The Word and the Lamb'

Bernard and False Teachers

The Christian vision that is our theme was also related to the climate of ideas and education.⁶⁵³

Here too our chosen image allows us to put an old problem in a new perspective. The Eucharist was the source of much debate in the schools of Latin Christendom.⁶⁵⁴ Learned clerics looked to define its nature and the proper mode of communion. This debate shared in the wider desire to build a system of doctrine and pastoral care that is found at this time at the base of the Latin schools and their curriculum.⁶⁵⁵ But the crackling energy that went into that debate was also a cause of consternation to those who believed the secret at the heart of the faith must be preserved.⁶⁵⁶ For these cautious souls the Mass itself was a reproof to harsh and violent tongues.

Those who disputed the Word were like sinners who had invaded the Eucharist with no respect for the divine truth that was hidden under the Host and sacrament. The scholastic method was

⁶⁵³ For the Eucharist and the growth of new attitudes to nature and to the written word in this period (fostered above all in the schools – but not only there), B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, 241-326.

⁶⁵⁴ G. Macy, *Theologies*, 35-86.

⁶⁵⁵ R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, 1, 4-8.

⁶⁵⁶ J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, 191 ff. J. le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, 20-24. R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, 2, 116-132. I. P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 72-78.

linked in this way to a power that was supernatural. The Word that was its theme was not abstract but carried a Real Existence. Criticism of this method was from this point of view not a burst of conservatism but a desire to protect the living power of God from harsh and barbarous aggression. Masters were in general mindful of this fact and avoided dialectical profusion.⁶⁵⁷ But some were filled with pride and used logic to hack God into pieces.

Bernard assailed these masters in terms that joined their teaching to heretical communion. The monk offered this opinion in a letter to the Roman Curia on Peter Abelard.⁶⁵⁸ Bernard linked Peter's words to the false men with whom the Church now contended. He meant to show how the truth of God was in peril on all sides from that Beast.⁶⁵⁹ He urged the Curia to act to defend the Lord who was injured by Peter's *quaestiones*:

'No-one doubts that it belongs to you above all to remove scandals from the Kingdom of God, to chop back the surging weeds, to calm disputes. For Moses commanded this when he went

⁶⁵⁷ R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, 2, 108-112.

⁶⁵⁸ On Bernard and Abelard, A. H. Bredero, "Master Peter Abelard (1079-1141): The Misfortunes of a Single-Minded Teacher," in *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, 225-246. M. T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life*, (Blackwell: Oxford, 1999), 6-9, 310-319. C. J. Mews, "The Council of Sens (1141): Abelard, Bernard, and the Fear of Social Upheaval," *Speculum*, volume 77, number 2, (April, 2002), 342-382.

⁶⁵⁹ For falsehood and the Beast, Chapter One, 130 ff.

up to the mountain, saying: "Wait here 'til we come back to you. Aaron and Hur are with you. Refer to them all matters of dispute." I speak of that Moses "who came through water, and not through water alone, but through blood and water." (i.e. Christ) And so He is greater than Moses because He came through blood. And because Aaron and Hur signify the zeal and authority of the Roman Church over the people of God, we rightly bring to her attention, not questions, but wounds to the faith and injuries to Christ, abuse and disdain for the Fathers, the scandal of the present and the dangers that are to come...⁶⁶⁰

Bernard related questions asked of the Bible to injuries done to God and His sacrament. This associated his letter with the notion that Christ suffered in false communion. He bolstered this idea with a lurid vision of the flesh of God ruined and befouled in the mouths of those who had come to the holy books in a state of worldly arrogance. The matters of faith that Peter and his school had made a subject of controversy were like the outer shell of the Word that was taken

⁶⁶⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 188, Ad Ep. et Car. Cur.*, SBO 8, 10-11: 'Nulli dubium quin ad vos specialiter spectet tollere scandala de regno Dei, surgentes succidere spinas, sedare querelas. Sic enim praecepit Moyses cum montem subiit: HABETIS, inquit, AARON ET HUR VOBISCUM; SI QUID NATUM FUERIT QUAESTIONES, REFERETIS AD IPSOS. Illum loquor Moysen, QUI VENIT PER AQUAM, et NON IN AQUA SOLUM, SED IN AQUA ET SANGUINE. Et ideo plus quam Moyses, quia et in sanguine venit. Et quoniam pro Hur et Aaron stat zelus et auctoritas Romanae ecclesiae super populum Dei, ad ipsam merito referimus, non quaestiones, sed laesiones fidei et iniurias Christi, Patrum probra atque contemptus, praesentium scandala, pericula posterorum.' Exodus 24.14. 1 John 5.6.

in the mouth in the Eucharist. He reminded the Curia of what was done to the Host that 'evil lips' consumed:⁶⁶¹

'The faith of the simple is scorned, the secrets of God are disembowelled, questions on the highest things are being rashly aired, and even the Fathers are jeered at, because they judged it to be better for these matters to be allowed to rest than to be solved. In this way the Paschal Lamb, with a beastly mouth and manner (*os et mos*), is either boiled in water or torn cruelly to pieces, contrary to what God has established (i.e. in the Bible). That which remains is not burned away with fire, but trampled underfoot. And so it is that human cleverness (*ingenium*) has seized all things for itself, leaving nothing at all to faith. It attempts to reach above itself, seeking that which is stronger (than itself), bursting into divine things, and defiling rather than revealing what is sacred. It does not open but tears apart things that are closed and sealed away, and those things into which it cannot break it assumes to be of no account, and refuses to believe.'⁶⁶² [My emphasis]

⁶⁶¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 189.5, Ad Inn. pap.*, SBO 8, 15: 'Tu, inquam, amice sponsi, providebis, quomodo liberes sponsam A LABIIS INIQUIS ET A LINGUA DOLOSA.' Psalm 119.2.

⁶⁶² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 188, Ad Ep. et Card. Cur.*, SBO 8, 11: 'Irridetur simplicium fides, eviscerantur arcana Dei, quaestiones de altissimis rebus temerarie ventilantur, insultatur Patribus, quod eas magis sopiendas quam solvendas censuerint. Inde fit quod agnus paschalis, contra Dei statutum, aut aqua coquitur, aut crudus disceperitur, more et ore bestiali. Quod residuum est, non igne comburitur, sed conculcatur. Ita omnia usurpat sibi humanum ingenium, fidei nil reservans. Tentat altiora se, fortiora scrutatur, irruit in divina, sancta temerat magis quam referat, clausa et signata non aperit, sed diripit, et quidquid sibi non invenit pervium, id putat nihilum, credere dedignatur.'

Bernard reproached the Breton because he had come to the Word not to be incorporated with Christ in faith and love but to show his talent and to increase his celebrity.⁶⁶³ This was the hateful prize Peter took from his meeting with God *in sacramentis*.⁶⁶⁴ Bernard used this term to describe truths that were above human perception.⁶⁶⁵ Peter had taught this truth not to praise God but to serve his own objectives. Bernard depicted this offence in an image that was related to sinful communion. This was the wrong way to share in Him who had bathed Israel in His blood.⁶⁶⁶ Peter of Celle had in a missive created to mark the festival of Easter enumerated the fashion in which this Word should be received and that Abelard had rescinded:

'But what are these pledges so dear in price, so useful as a remedy, so few in number, so blessed in merit, so lasting in time, so loved for the benefits they confer? Brothers, these pledges, which must be named with a pure mouth and embraced with an appropriate fear, are the flesh and blood of the spotless Lamb, the bones of Jesus Christ, His nerves, marrow,

⁶⁶³ On the Lamb as God who is received in faith and love, Hugh of St. Victor, *De sac.*, 2.8.5, PL 176, 465A-465C. E. Saxon, *The Eucharist in Romanesque France*, 61.

⁶⁶⁴ E.g. Hugh of St. Victor, *De sac.*, 2.8.5, (PL 176, 465D).

⁶⁶⁵ H. de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, 37-54.

⁶⁶⁶ Hugh of St. Victor, *De sac.*, 2.8.5, (PL 176, 465A): 'Sicut circumcisio olim quantum ad effectum remissionis peccatorum baptismi vicem gerebat, mare Rubrum autem ejusdem similitudinem et figuram praeferebat, ita agnus paschalis cujus carnes a populo edebantur, et sanguine postes domorum signabantur, in figura sacramenti corporis Christi praecessit.'

cartilages, skin, and whatever members the Virgin of virgins brought forth from her holy womb in the body of Jesus. Should I add the nails, the lance, the crown of thorns, the spittle, mocking, and jeering, the white garment, the purple cloak, the gall, the vinegar, myrrh and aloes? For these things were made more precious and desirable in the Savior the more harsh and barbarous they were.⁶⁶⁷

The Christian vision that Bernard created in his letters were linked to a larger discussion. The schools at this time devoted much energy to the problem of the Eucharistic bread that went into the mouth of those who were unfit to receive the sacrament.⁶⁶⁸ This was a constant source of fear to those who believed in the Real Presence. Bernard was not the only one of our chosen figures to advance this perspective. Peter of Celle had in a letter told his monks of a dream in which the Eucharist had fallen from the pyx and onto the floor where mice had nibbled the remains. The notion of mice eating the Host that had fallen to the floor or was neglected was an

⁶⁶⁷ Peter of Celle, *Ep. 60, Ad Sim. pr. et tot. san. conv.*, LPC, 290: 'Sed que sunt pignora tam cara pro pretio, tam efficia pro remedio, tam rara pro numero, tam sancta pro merito, tam perpetua pro evo, tam amabilia pro beneficio? Pignora, fratres mei, ista ore pudico et timore debito nominanda et amplectenda sunt caro et sanguis agni incontaminati, Iesu Christi ossa, nervi, medulla, cartilagine, corium, et quecumque membra in corpore Iesu de sacris suis visceribus edidit Virgo virginum. Addamne clavos, lanceam, coronam spineam, sputa, irrisiones et illusionem, albam vestem, vestimentum purpureum, fel, acetum, mirram et aloes? Quanto enim hec in se duriora et viliora tanto in Salvatore nostro pretiosiora et appetibilia facta sunt.'

⁶⁶⁸ Macy, *Theologies*, 55-59, 90, 101, 113, 120.

image that was often used to illustrate this event and its consequences.⁶⁶⁹ It combined the love of a practical model that is linked to the scholastic method with a desire to solve an issue that was often raised by troubled priests.⁶⁷⁰ The learned men who made up the Curia would have known this image and participated in the debate on this matter that took place in the schools across Christendom. Bernard's letters on Peter and his circle should be read in this connection. References to the food of God and to sinful eating fill this famous correspondence. This image was linked in the first place to the spiritual power that nourished the Church in the union of souls and fled from those who rejected this obedience. Bernard counselled the pope to ensure that the flock of Christ was not pastured apart from Him and did not feed on a word that was not His but was iniquitous.⁶⁷¹ This notion was based on the image of the Mass with which we are concerned. Peter's action was the cause of much division in the Church and had dissolved the *caritas* that flowed from a simple faith and was the source of a Christian union.⁶⁷² This charity was the reality of God that masters across Europe had now established at the heart of the Mass that was also the pledge of Christ and His salvation.⁶⁷³ Here as in the parish church the love of God was the

⁶⁶⁹ E. Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist: The Origin of the Rite and the Development of its Interpretation*, M. J. O'Connell (trans.), (The Liturgical Press: Collegeville, Min, 1999), 220-222.

⁶⁷⁰ G. Macy, "Of Mice and Manna: 'Quid mus sumit' as a Pastoral Question," *Recherches théologie ancienne et médiévale*, volume 58, (1991), 157-166.

⁶⁷¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 330, Ad Inn. pap.*, SBO 8, 268: 'Iam enim ex abundantia iniquitatis refrigescit caritas multorum; iamiam Sponsa Christi, nisi manum adhibeas, egreditur et abit post vestigia gregum, et pascit greges iuxta tabernacula pastorum.' Song 1.7.

⁶⁷² Macy, *Theologies*, 73-74.

⁶⁷³ For the Eucharist as a pledge of God, H. de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, 199-204.

res of a Christian enterprise. His human flesh was eaten rightly by those who came to Him *in fide et caritatis*.⁶⁷⁴ Death was believed to follow those who shared in this work in a state of wickedness.⁶⁷⁵ Bernard warned the Roman Curia that this fearful event had been reproduced in those who chose to follow Peter and to share in the ideas he had publicized. Like sinners in the Mass they had come to the Word in a state of spiritual unreadiness. Peter approached the secret of God in a crowd of men who were unprepared to meet so great a power and who had placed their souls in mortal jeopardy. Bernard perhaps recalled the words on this image that were written by Augustine. The Father turned in one of his sermons to the Gospel story that had described a sickly woman who had come out of a crowd to touch the hem of Christ's garment.⁶⁷⁶ This crowd had massed round the Lord but had not touched His living Presence.⁶⁷⁷ The simple men who

⁶⁷⁴ G. Macy, *Theologies*, 82-86.

⁶⁷⁵ E.g. Robert Pullen, *Sen. The.*, 8.2, PL 186, 961D: 'Ad hoc sacrificium diversa grana conveniunt, quoniam diversis Ecclesiae personis praeparatur; multa grana unum panem conficiunt, et multae personae quibus refectio haec debetur, una Ecclesia sunt. Alii namque mors est, nisi qui verum Ecclesiae est membrum. Huic pani manducando jungimur, quoniam mysterio digne sumpto, Domino nostro conjungi debemus.' Robert Pullen was Bernard's favourite schoolmaster. Also, Raymond M. Martin (ed.), *Oeuvres de Robert de Melun, II, Questiones theologice de epistolis Pauli*, 214: 'Sed, si eum publica fama vel crimen accusat, nullo modo accedat, nec sacerdos ei det. Si enim tali det, seu gratia seu pecunia, Christum, quantum in se est, occidit.' Cited in Macy, *Theologies*, 207-208, n. 139.

⁶⁷⁶ Luke 8.40 ff.

⁶⁷⁷ Augustine of Hippo, *s. 111.1*, (PL 38, 642): 'Pauci ergo qui salvantur in comparatione multorum periturorum. Nam ipsi pauci magnam massam facturi sunt...Haec est massa sanctorum. Quanto clariore voce dictura est area ventilata, a turba impiorum et malorum falsorumque christianorum segregata, ad ignes aeternos separatis his qui premunt, non tangunt: mulier enim quaedam fimbriam tangebatur, turba Christum premebat: segregatis ergo omnibus damnandis, massa purgata stans ad dexteram, nullum sibi timens misceri malorum, nullum timens perdere bonorum, regnatura cum Christo, quanta fiducia dictura est, Ego cognovi quia magnus est Dominus?' S. Grabowski, "Sinners and the Mystical Body of Christ according to St. Augustine, II," *Theological Studies*, volume 6, (January, 1945), 62-84, at 59-60.

chose to follow Abelard had also failed to touch the Saviour. Like the Gospel crowd these souls had come to God *premere, sed non tangere*. Bernard voiced this opinion in a letter to Peter, bishop in the hill town of Palestrina. He described Abelard as man who was from head to foot a devious sacrament:

'Peter Abelard proves by his life and works and the books that come out from the darkness into the light that he is a persecutor of the Catholic faith and an enemy of the cross of Christ. He shows himself a monk on the outside and a heretic within, having nothing at all of the monk save the name and the habit...He has now been silent for many days: but when he was silent in Brittany he conceived sorrow and then in France he brought forth iniquity...Coarse and tender listeners barely finished at the breast of dialectics, and those who, we may say, can hardly stand the first principles of the faith, he has brought to the Holy of Holies, to the chamber of the King, and to Him who has made His hiding-place in the darkness...Thus, thus he roams through almost all the sacraments, reaching mightily from end to end and disposing guiltily of all things...May God provide for His Church, for which He died, that He might present it to Himself without spot or wrinkle, and might to this end impose a lasting silence on that man, whose mouth flows over with cursing, and with bitterness, and with deceit...'⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 331, Ad Ep. Pra.*, SBO 8, 269-270: 'Petrum Abaelardum, catholicae fidei persecutorem, inimicum crucis Christi, vita probat, et conversatio, et libri iam de tenebris in lucem procedentes. Monachum se exterius, haereticum interius ostendit, nihil habens de monacho, praeter nomen

The opinion that Bernard related in his sermon to the Curia was shared by his contemporaries.

Hugh of St Victor alluded to Peter in his monumental work *On the sacraments*. He concurred

with the man from Clairvaux that the main error of these ingenious new men was to prefer their

own will to God and so to miss the truth of the scriptures:

'Surely, these men would not fall into the noose of this error, if they received the sacraments of God in upright and humble faith, or handled the scriptures with an appropriate understanding. Now, however, because they prefer, in the mysteries of God (*sacramenta Dei*),* their own thoughts to faith in the holy scriptures, they think it hateful to uphold a sober reading. And so it is that the word of truth makes their minds more cloudy, until the venal

et habitum...Silverat iam per multos dies; sed quando siluit in Britannia, CONCEPIT DOLOREM, ET nunc in Francia PEPERIT INIQUITATEM...Rudes et novellos auditors ab uberibus dialecticae separatos, et eos, qui, ut ita dicam, prima fidei elementa vix sustinere possunt, ad mysterium sanctae Trinitatis, ad Sancta sanctorum, ad cubiculum Regis introducit, et ad eum qui POSUIT TENEBRAS LATIBULUM SUUM...Sic, sic, per omnia fere sacramenta discurrens, ATTINGIT A FINE USQUE AD FINEM FORTITER ET DISPONIT OMNIA damnabiliter...Provideat Deus Ecclesiae suae, pro qua mortuus est, UT EAM EXHIBERET SIBI NON HABENTEM MACULAM AUT RUGAM, quatenus perpetuum silentium imponatur homini, CUIUS MALEDICTIONE OS PLENUM EST, ET AMARITUDINE, ET DOLO.' Psalm 7.15. Esther 2.16. Psalm 17.12. Wisdom 8.1. Ephesians 5.27. Psalm 9.28.

intellect offers error in place of truth. However, this is not the fault of scripture, but the blindness of those who read and do not understand.⁶⁷⁹

Peter was presented as a man who came to God in sin and knew death instead of salvation. Those who followed him into the shadow were lost to the Christian community. The priesthood stood accused of the blood of God when this sacrifice occurred. Bernard thus filled his letters to the papal Curia with the dreams and phantasms that stalked the minds of those who were tasked with the defence of the Church. Roman politics were indeed a theme to which the abbot devoted much consideration.⁶⁸⁰ Rhetoric was the main tool with which his mastery of the Curia was established. This talent was noticed by his peers and was admired by his contemporaries. In his famous memoir of the papal court John of Salisbury later described how Bernard used a torrent of words to bend Rome to his will and his objectives.⁶⁸¹ The notes he sent to the Curia at this

⁶⁷⁹ * That is, when they study the Bible. Hugh of St. Victor, *De sac.*, 2.8.6, PL 176, 465D: 'Qui profecto hunc erroris laqueum non inciderent, si vel sacramenta Dei recta et humili fide suscipere, aut Scripturas convenienti intelligentia tractarent. Nunc autem quia in sacramentis Dei sensum suum fidei praeferant in Scripturis sacris, sanam interpretationis formam tenere contemnunt; et fit ut sermo veritatis amplius eos caligare faciat, dum non recte intellectus errorem pro veritate ministrat. Quod tamen Scripturae vitium non est, sed legentium et non intelligentium caecitas.' For Hugh's intellectual *milieu*: R. Berndt, "The Writings of Hugh of St. Victor: An Author and his Contexts," *Ugo di San Vittori: atti del XLVII Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 10-12 ottobre 2010*, (Spoleto: 2011), 1-20.

⁶⁸⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De cons.*, SBO 3, 379-493. E. Kennan, "The 'De Consideratione' of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the Papacy in the Mid-Twelfth Century: A Review of Scholarship," *Traditio*, volume 23, (1967), 73-115.

⁶⁸¹ John of Salisbury, *Hist. pon.*, 8-9, 15-27.

time of trial are a proof of its effectiveness. This point is made to show how the image Bernard used was not disembodied but was linked to a view of the Mass with which the Curia was closely concerned. It pertained to their role as guardians of Christ and priests of His sacrament. The abbot called on the Curia to fulfil the duty for which it had been ordained. 'May God free His Church in you and your sons from evil lips and a lying tongue.'⁶⁸² Do this for the place you hold, the honor you wield, the power you have received.'⁶⁸³

This Christian notion shared in a wider vision of the cosmos in the medieval imagination. In a sensitive work on the medieval mind Boersma argues that this conception of God's presence in the Mass was based on His presence in the created universe.⁶⁸⁴ His power in the church was seen from this point of view as the 'intensification' of a power that was held to exist in a world that was itself seen as a sacrament.⁶⁸⁵ This ontological position was at the base of a famous and ancient conviction that creation was filled with the secrets of God and was a source of infinite wonder.⁶⁸⁶ The natural world was viewed as a matrix of signs and figures that communicated

⁶⁸² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 193, Ad Mag. Ivo. Card.*, SBO 8, 45: 'Liberet Deus per vos, et per ceteros filios suos, Ecclesiam suam A LABIIS INIQUIS ET A LINGUA DOLOSA.' Psalm 119.2.

⁶⁸³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 188.2, Ad Ep. et Card. Cur.*, SBO 8, 11: 'agite pro loco quem tenetis, pro dignitate qua polletis, pro potestate quam accepistis.'

⁶⁸⁴ H. Boersma, *Heavenly Participation*, 26.

⁶⁸⁵ H. Boersma, *Heavenly Participation*, 26.

⁶⁸⁶ P. Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, 3 ff.

Christ and allowed the soul that loved Him to share in this eternal Reality. This notion has been seen from time to time across the fullness of this dissertation. The conviction that the Lord filled the world was at the base of the exegesis that was the theme of the first chapter and the vision at the heart of the second. This sacramental point of view allowed that exercise of the Christian imagination. In its absence this image of the Christian world would not have been possible. But the attitude to the Word that obtained in relation to the Church also obtained in relation to the Bible as the focus of Christian dispute and learned disagreement. For Bernard this pursuit took place in a Eucharistic and sacramental context.⁶⁸⁷ The criticisms he made of masters such as Abelard were not only a pronouncement of humility in the face of a truth that was far above a mere human intelligence. Nor indeed was it a revanchist defence of the monastic mode of scholarship against the new men who had started to erode its ancient power and authority. He wished instead to defend the Word of God that he saw as a living Presence from those in the Church who saw this Word as a source of abstract speculation. The Christian vision that he used in this relation was based on the Eucharist. Like sinners in the Mass Peter had come to God and been found unrighteous.

⁶⁸⁷ On this connection: G. Macy, "Some Examples of the Influence of Exegesis on the Theology of the Eucharist in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, volume 52, (1985), 64-77.

Bernard's letters show us how this sense of God and His power in the Eucharist was related to a wider fear that His truth was placed in peril at a time of religious innovation. It demonstrates the force of this famous image in a wider and political context. This provides us with a new way to see the rise of that tradition within the Church. It supplies a new view of the Mass as a symbol of Christian power and identity. The literature on this topic is dense and many-sided but shares some common features. Perhaps the first among these has been the tendency to view the superabundant piety that was linked to the Eucharist in relation to the sacramental rite alone. The dire vision of the God who died or was in pain as a result of false communion has been used to show how the Mass was now at the heart of Christian experience. Modern study has focused on the method with which this fact is best elucidated.⁶⁸⁸ This discussion has ranged over doctrine and social structures and semiotics.⁶⁸⁹ But the focal point of this debate has remained the actual rite of the Eucharist. The culture that flowed from the Mass has been seen above all as an extension of the dispute that took place at this time on the power and the nature of this sacrament. The devotional climate as well as the system of Christian order that was elaborated from the Mass is based in the end on the work at the core of this development. The Christian ideas that swelled round this act are fixed on holy communion⁶⁹⁰ This is nowhere more evident than in relation to the monks and schoolmen who would write in this period on the form of the

⁶⁸⁸ M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 1-11.

⁶⁸⁹ See above, note 2.

⁶⁹⁰ G. Macy, *Theologies*, 86 ff.

Mass and its proper definition. The episode we have reviewed shows how much wider was this disagreement, and how much more serious were the results of a false or unworthy contribution.

'The Wine of Sorrow and the Bread of Grief'

Bernard and the Crusade

In the crusade the image that has been our theme found its final goal and consummation. The vision of Christ that was formed in the damp and fertile environment of the Latin west would be fulfilled in the fierce and arid climate of Jerusalem. This comment and connection is now familiar to students of medieval religion. No initiative in the Christian middle ages has attracted an interest as comprehensive or as sustained as the crusade in modern culture and modern historical research.⁶⁹¹ The chance to chart a new path in this well-trodden field seems at first inauspicious.

This position has been reinforced in recent times as a result of a reappraisal of the crusade as an event at the heart of the medieval world and not at its margins. The business of the cross is

⁶⁹¹ G. Constable, "The Historiography of the Crusades," in A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of the Byzantine and Muslim World*, (Washington DC, 2001), 1-22. Reprinted and revised in G. Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century*, (Aldershot; Burlington, 2008), 3-45. N. Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, (Oxford, 2006). J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, (London, 2003). C. Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom: Holy War and the Crusades*, (Oxford, 2004). C. Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades*, (Manchester, 2011). C. Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, (Basingstoke, 1998).

not seen now as a strange and unusual departure from Christian faith and morals but as a fact in which that faith is demonstrated.⁶⁹² For this reason the link between this venture and the liturgical practice of the Church has seen a surge of new enquiry in more recent crusade historiography.⁶⁹³ Liturgy was used to promote and to glorify and to celebrate this undertaking. The relationship was biblical and reflects the hopes and fears of its contemporaries. Joshua the soldier relied for his success on Moses and his songs of intercession.⁶⁹⁴ This religious bond was related to the theme with which we are concerned. Here as in all other parts of the Christian rite the Eucharist is fundamental.⁶⁹⁵ The Eucharist like the crusade was a chance to share in the crucified Christ.⁶⁹⁶ Like the Eucharist the crusade was a work of union with God and of redemption.

⁶⁹² But e.g. J. Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071-c. 1291*, J. Birrell (trans.), (Cambridge, 1999), ix.

⁶⁹³ J. Riley-Smith noted this connection when he described the First Crusade as 'a monastery on the move.' J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, . See now, A. Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages*, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 2, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003). J. Folda, "Commemorating the Fall of Jerusalem: Remembering the First Crusade in Text, Liturgy, and Image," in N. Paul and S. Yeager (eds.), *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, (Baltimore, 2012), 125-145. M. C. Gaposchkin, "From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095-1300," *Speculum*, volume 88, number 1, (2013), 44-91. B. M. Kienzle, "Preaching the Cross: Liturgy and Crusade Propaganda," *Medieval Sermon Studies*, volume 53, (2009), 11-32. C. T. Maier, "Crisis, Liturgy, and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, volume 48, issue 4, (October, 1997), 628-657. Also, M. McCormick, "The Liturgy of War in the Early Middle Ages: Crisis, Litanies, and the Carolingian Monarchy," *Viator*, volume 15, (1983), 1-23.

⁶⁹⁴ Exodus 17.11.

⁶⁹⁵ C. T. Maier, "Mass, the Eucharist, and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade," in B. Bolton and J. C. Moore (eds.), *Pope Innocent III and His World*, (Aldershot, 1999), 351-360.

⁶⁹⁶ Maier, "Crisis, Liturgy, and the Crusade," 640. '[The] sacrament of unity and the bond of love (as St. Augustine calls the Eucharist) is also the sacrament of the union in suffering and the bond which unites all crucified members in the one work: to glorify God in Christ Jesus through the Cross throughout all the ages until the end of time': K. Rahner, "The Eucharist and Suffering," in *Theological Investigations*, 3, K.-

These enterprises thus belonged to the same domain of religious experience. But the extent of this Christian link has not been fully realised or elucidated. Modern research in this relation has remained focused until now on the sacrament of the altar and the mass of the Latin rite that was built around this central point. In his important work on this theme Maier has shown how the papacy encouraged the growth of liturgy in support of the crusade that was fixed on the Eucharist.⁶⁹⁷ The association between the passion and the crusade has long been established. Christians looked to take up the cross in the Mass and in this purgative campaign.⁶⁹⁸ The essential purpose of this chapter has been to broaden this traditional perspective. In this context the crusade has the potential to supply a decisive contribution. The final part of this review will unfold this assertion and its primary consequences.

The sacrifice with which we will prove this point of view is now called the Second Crusade.⁶⁹⁹

The crusade was launched in 1145 as a response to the fall of the Christian town of Edessa to

H. and B. Kruger (trans.), (London: Dartman, Longman, and Todd, 1967), 161-170, at 169-170. See now W. J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095-c. 1187*, (Woodbridge, 2008). Links between crusading and monastic spirituality at 1-4.

⁶⁹⁷ Maier, "Crisis, Liturgy, and the Crusade," 638-640.

⁶⁹⁸ God's cross was a sign used to confirm and to protect pilgrims to the Holy Land before the eleventh century. But 'as the characteristic mark' of crusading the cross 'originated with Urban II at the council of Clermont' in 1095. G. Constable, "The Cross of the Crusaders," in *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century*, 45-93, at 61, 63.

⁶⁹⁹ J. G. Rowe, "The Origins of the Second Crusade: Pope Eugenius III, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Louis VII of France," and G. Ferzoco, "The Origin of the Second Crusade," in M. Gerver (ed.), *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, (New York, 1992), 79-91, 91-101. G. Constable, "The Second Crusade as

the Turkish atabeg Imad ad-Din Zengi and his fearsome armies.⁷⁰⁰ The position of the Christian realm in the Holy Land had long been precarious, but the capture of a place that was linked to the Apostles ignited a passionate desire in Europe to come to her aid and to defend the Latin kingdoms in Palestine. News reached Europe in 1145 and in the winter of that year the Cistercian pope Eugene III issued from the little town of Vetralla the bull *Quantum praedecessores*.⁷⁰¹ But the ardour this note inspired would not be limited to Christian Palestine, and Christian arms were used to shed blood in Iberia and in north-eastern Europe. The universal sense of purpose that this novelty implied collapsed into recrimination when the Christian forces in the east met the Muslims and were annihilated. The supreme target of this outburst of Christian fury was Bernard of Clairvaux. Bernard had been the motive force behind the crusade from its first articulation.⁷⁰² The Cistercians under his power had directed the work of Christian recruitment.⁷⁰³ Eugene III was a devoted friend to the abbot and was seen as his apprentice. Bernard had put his name to this work and he was blamed for its destruction.

seen by contemporaries," *Traditio*, volume 9, (1953), 213-279. J. Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom*, (New Haven; London, 2007).

⁷⁰⁰ Edessa was besieged and captured in the previous year.

⁷⁰¹ *Quantum praedecessores* was issued on the 1st of December 1145.

⁷⁰² J. Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, xxvi, 90 ff. J. R. Sommerfeldt, "The Bernardine Reform and the Crusading Spirit," *The Catholic Historical Review*, volume 86, number 4, (2000), 567-578.

⁷⁰³ For its posterity: A. E. Lester, "A Shared Imitation: Cistercian Convents and Crusader Families in Thirteenth-Century Champagne," *Journal of Medieval History*, volume 35, number 4, (2009), 353-370.

Bernard lamented his own role in the crusade in the mournful words of his *Consideration*.⁷⁰⁴ But the letters he devoted to this action show how he took precautions to ensure that the offering that was made to God in Jerusalem would prove an acceptable one. His sadness at the failure of the crusade was based in part on this disappointment. The content of these letters shows how he viewed the crusade as a sacrifice, an exercise that must be saved from sinful souls in the same way as the Eucharist. This conclusion is reinforced by the letters he sent to abbot Peter the Venerable and others on the notion of a further crusade to make good the previous losses. Bernard shows us this view in a letter sent to Suger of St Denis while the expedition was in train on a marriage that was planned for the son of the Count of Anjou. This missive was meant for King Louis, whose daughter was promised to the youth. The abbot had heard rumours that the match was sinful on grounds of consanguinity. He therefore wrote to Suger (who was regent) to annul the mooted alliance.⁷⁰⁵ The terms in which he did so make clear that the fortune of the Latin crusaders was at the front of his mind and that he linked the match to its spiritual prospects. Bernard warned Suger that the fate of King Louis and his armies in Palestine was united to the deeds of those who had been left behind to safeguard his domain. He reminded the abbot of the words he had written to the king before his departure. He advised Suger that no offense should

⁷⁰⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De con.*, 2.1-4, SBO 3, 410-414.

⁷⁰⁵ For Suger's view of the crusade, E. A. R. Brown and M. W. Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: Praeteritorum Enim Recordatio Futurorum est Exhibitio," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, volume 49, (1986), 1-40, at 21 ff.

be done to God in this delicate situation. Failure to preserve a Christian virtue in France might cause the crusade to collapse. Bernard addressed this vision to the two most powerful men in the French kingdom:

'I wrote in this way to our lord the king: You have taken up a great work and a grave enterprise, which no-one could carry out save with the support of the divine power. Your business is above human power; but "what is impossible for a man is simple for God." If you know this, you should take care not to push aside on any pretext this necessary help, lest by this suggestion you should offend God and so deprive yourself of His grace. You must take care, I say, and now above all (*nunc maxime*), lest you should provoke God in any way to anger, so that he should turn His face away and draw back the hand of His help...'⁷⁰⁶

Bernard used words in this relation that are linked to the notion of false and sinful communion. He described the crusade as an event that was outside the power of its participants save in the grace of God and in a spirit of moral worth and social righteousness. These were the terms that

⁷⁰⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 401, Ad Sug.*, SBO 8, 330: 'Sic scripsi dominum Regem: Opus grande et onus inestimabile suscepistis, quod a nemine possit nisi divina virtute portari. Supra vires hominis est negotium vestrum; sed Deo facile est quod hominibus est impossibile. Si haec scitis, cavendum vobis summopere est ne qua occasione tam necessarium repallatis auxilium, ne qua suggestione Deum offendatis et gratiam eius vobis reddatis infensam. Cavendum, inquam, nunc maxime, ne quando provocatus a vobis irascatur Deus et avertat faciem suam ac manum retrahat adiutorii.'

were used to impress on Christian communicants the great power but also the great peril of the sacrifice they had approached. We are reminded of Peter's book on the monastic church and his demand that sinners must withdraw from the Host. Bernard also told the king that an offense to God would squash his enterprise. The Second Crusade shared in this way in the larger debate on the sacraments that took place in Europe at this time and that touched each one of its protagonists. The reward that was given to those who lived and died on this Christian expedition was not in the gift of the pope alone but was reserved to God and His judgement. This represents a new vision of the crusade as a Eucharist and a sacrament. Like Christians in the Mass the crusaders came to Jerusalem in fear and trembling.

But Bernard was aware that his letter would be read by Suger as well as the French monarch. His advice was pointed and made clear that the abbot too must purify the expedition. The cause to which the French church was now joined did not concern the French king alone but was carried across the whole world in those who went to Jerusalem.⁷⁰⁷ He appealed to Suger to check his master's impulses in words reminiscent of those that were used at this time to remind

⁷⁰⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep 401, Ad Sug.*, SBO 8, 330: 'Siquidem periculum hoc non ad solum Regem spectat, sed ad universam Ecclesiam Dei, quia ex hoc iam vestra et totius mundi una est causa.'

a priest of his grave responsibility, as the keeper of the Mass and the shield of Him who was present in the Eucharist:

'For this reason I warn you to have nothing to do with this matter (i.e. the marriage), but to fear God and to turn from evil. You promised that you would not do this in the absence of my advice, and to keep this from you would be a wicked thing. Our advice therefore is that you should not do it. If you do this, you should know that you do so against my advice, and against the advice of those who respect your name, and also against God. Do not think then that your sacrifice would be acceptable to God, for it would not be complete. In your solicitude for a foreign land, you would not spare your own kingdom, having disposed of it against God, against right and justice, and against what is correct and honourable.'⁷⁰⁸

Bernard and his friends would soon find out that their sacrifice had not been acceptable, and that the Host of God they had sent to the Holy Land had been repudiated. The disastrous failure of

⁷⁰⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 401, Ad Sug.*, SBO 8, 331: 'Propter quod omnimodo monemus ne faciatis hanc rem, sed timeatis Deum et declinetis a malo. Promisistis vos nulla ratione sine consilio nostro id facturum, et, si dissumulavero, ipse peccavi. Hoc ergo consilium nostrum ut nullo modo id faciatis. Si feceritis, sciatis vos et contra consilium nostrum, et contra consilium multorum diligentium nomen vestrum, etiam et contra Deum fecisse, et nolite putare quod acceptum sit Deo sacrificium vestrum, cum sit ex parte, ut pro alieno sollicitus, regno proprio non parcatis, disponendo illud contra Deum, contra ius et fas, et contra utile atque honestum.'

the crusade forced the abbot to reappraise his position. This was perhaps the only time in his life that he came to question the Bridegroom.⁷⁰⁹ His confession on this matter is filled with confusion as well as desolation.⁷¹⁰ But his adamant will soon returned and within a year he had corresponded with the pope and with other lords in the Church on the chance of a new enterprise. This proposal was never launched and a council at Chartres ended in indifference. Bernard's prestige had declined and the desire to fight had now evaporated. But there are traces in the letters Bernard wrote that confirm the Eucharistic vision of the crusade that we have seen in this chapter, and that was reinforced in its aftermath. In a moving letter that was written to pope Eugene in 1150 Bernard lamented the failure of the crusade and related this failure to a sad and incomplete communion. 'For we have drunk the wine of sorrow and we have eaten the bread of grief.'⁷¹¹ The reference to Psalm 59 bears the unmistakable mark of the missal sacrament, viewed in this case not as a source of new life but as a source of spiritual death. Bernard amended with his brother and reminded him that a Christian soul must persevere.⁷¹² Christ had

⁷⁰⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De cons.*, 2.1, SBO 3, 411: 'Nonne dicunt in gentibus: UBI EST DEUS EORUM?' Psalm 113.10.

⁷¹⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De cons.*, 2.1, SBO 3, 410: 'Non ita est; sed incidimus, ut ipse nosti, tempus grave, quod et ipsi paene vivendi usui videbatur indicere cessationem, nedum studiis, cum Dominis scilicet, provocatus peccatis nostris, ante tempus quodammodo visus sit iudicasse orbem terrae, in aequitate quidem, sed misericordiae suae oblitus.' This is a remarkable passage. The anguish surges off the page. The Lord who has forgotten himself.

⁷¹¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 256.2, Ad Eug. Pap.*, SBO 8, 164: 'Revera panem doloris comedimus et potati sumus vino compunctionis.'

⁷¹² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 256.2 Ad Eug. Pap.*, SBO 8, 164: Et certe sic operari, sic iudicare superna divinitas solet: scienti loquor. Quando magna bona mortalibus provenerunt, quae non magna praevenierint

been crucified once more in the place where He had ministered, where He had talked and strolled with His people and had dispensed His wisdom.⁷¹³ When he came to think of it, this was not a cause for sorrow but for celebration. Bernard informed his audience that the death of God in the city of Jerusalem should move the soul to take His cross and to follow Him to the end of the world.⁷¹⁴ We meet here at the close of our review a miracle that was vast and inexhaustible, the man who had died so that the world that was dead could live again. This thesis has shown how this vision came to fill the Church in this harsh and violent period. It has proved that the blood of God is in the end the heart of Christian experience.

mala? Nam, ut cetera taceam, nonne illud unicum et singular beneficium nostrae salutis praecessit mors Salvatoris?'

⁷¹³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 256.1, 2, Ad Eug. Pap.*, SBO 8, 163-164: 'INTRAVERUNT AQUAE USQUE AD ANIMAM Christi, tacta est pupilli oculi eius. Exsenderus est nunc uterque gladius in passione Domini, Christo denuo patiente, ubi et altera passus est...Vox clamantis: Venio Ierosolymam iterum crucifigum.' Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 361.1, Ad Arc. Or. Fra. et Bav.*, SBO 8, 312: 'COMMOTA EST siquidem ET CONTREMUIT TERRA, quia coepit Deus caeli perdere terram suam. Suam, inquam, in qua visus est, et annis plus quam triginta homo cum hominibus conversatus est. Suam utique, quam illustravit miraculis, quam dedicavit sanguine proprio, in qua primi resurrectionis flores apparuerunt.' Psalm 17.8.

⁷¹⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 256.3, Ad Eug. Pap.*, SBO 8, 164: 'Tu ergo, amice Sponsi, amicum te in necessitate probato. Si triplici illo amore, de quo tuus interrogatus est praedecessor, tu quoque toto corde, tota anima, tota virtute Christum diligis, ut oportet, nihil reservabis, nihil dissimulabis in tanto periculo sponsae eius...'

Conclusion:

'That was the true light, that lights up every man that comes into the world.'⁷¹⁵

⁷¹⁵ John 1.9: 'Erat lux vera, quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum.'

The church was filled with gloom when the knights came to find the priest and his adherents. It was now late in the day and in the year and Canterbury had fallen into shadow.⁷¹⁶ The mailed men met their quarry near the high altar and demanded his capitulation. Becket turned to face them and abused those who had defied their sworn allegiance.⁷¹⁷ For some he stood now as a wall for Israel's house against its sinful antagonists, while for others this was the final act in a play that Thomas had written long before.⁷¹⁸ Fierce blades flashed and the priest fell down in a cloud of blood and broken fragments. Becket raised his soul to God and died under the blows of his ferocious tormentors. Perhaps they hoped to please the king and to end the resistance of his opponents. A conflict that had lasted for six bitter years now ended with murder in the cathedral. But their triumph in the wintry church was short-lived and would soon be overturned.⁷¹⁹ Even as Thomas's body lay on the cold floor of the nave the serving monks mopped his blood from the stone and made vials and other relics to give to Christian pilgrims.⁷²⁰ This man who had died in the murk was now the great martyr of medieval Christendom, and his shrine would

⁷¹⁶ Thomas died on the 29th of December, 1170. The knights arrived in Canterbury at around 3 o'clock. The Sun sets in the south of England before 4 o'clock in winter. F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 240. D. Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 149: 'The night was stormy, with thunder...'

⁷¹⁷ D. Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 147.

⁷¹⁸ E.g. A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 253-270.

⁷¹⁹ For England and the Church after the murder, F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 251-275. C. R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton: English Church Government, 1170-1213*, . C. Duggan, "The Significance of the Becket Dispute in the History of the English Church," in C. Duggan, *Canon Law in Medieval England: The Becket Dispute and Decretal Collections*, (London, 1982), 365-375.

⁷²⁰ D. Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 148-149.

stand for the Catholic order that he had fought to preserve.⁷²¹ From the shadow his blood was seen to bring forth a new and brilliant illumination. Becket had fulfilled in different ways the Christian vision of our main protagonists. He had carried out the role that Peter of Celle had asked of him in their correspondence, and he had acted to defend the Church that Bernard of Clairvaux had promoted. However, for John of Salisbury his lord's death was mournful as well as ambivalent. Thomas had joined with Christ in His cross and so had shared in His redemption, as John advised both him and others to do in the long years of exile and harassment. Here was the highest proof of the vision he had built in the letters he had composed. Here it seemed was the mark of its truth and the sign of its awesome vindication. But when the crisis came John had not stood with his master against his executioners. He had refused the call even as the monks he had abused aided the archbishop.⁷²² He fled instead into the church and hid away in the safety of its deeper places. When Thomas fell and the swords rained down John of Salisbury was buried in the darkness.⁷²³

⁷²¹ R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 130. For Becket's image and his posterity: A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 224-252. D. Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 150-155. R. E. Scully, "The Unmaking of a Saint: Thomas Becket and the English Reformation," *The Catholic Historical Review*, volume 86, number 4, (October, 2000), 579-602. J. B. Slocum, "Martir quod Stillat Primatis ab Ore Sigilliat: Sealed with the Blood of Becket," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, volume 165, (2012), 61-88.

⁷²² D. Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 147. The monk Edward Grim tried to shield Becket from the knights and almost lost his arm in this action. For the rehabilitation of Becket's relationship with his monks as a result of the murder and the careful appropriation of his memory: R. W. Southern, *The Monks of Canterbury and the Murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket*, (Canterbury, 1985), 8-19, esp. 13-18.

⁷²³ D. Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 147.

Becket's death and rebirth gave a solid form to the vision that is at the heart of this dissertation. It stands out once more as a protean symbol of medieval piety and its development. Thomas affirmed in death more than he had in life the image that we have described. His tremendous act in the church at Canterbury provides us with a logical conclusion. Is therefore time to take account of our thesis and to suggest some new departures.

The intention of this thesis was to confirm a new vision of the Church in the medieval imagination. Its purpose was to show how this power was used at this time to comprehend the hidden truth of an altered world and to present this truth in a powerful literature. This literature was used in turn to move souls to support the Christian reform movement that surged in this period and that was fixed above all on the papacy and monasticism. These traditions were old but found a new force in a time of dramatic upheaval. The dissertation was meant to chart a new approach to images and the imagination. It proposed to show in a new way how this power came to shape the Christian world. In relation to the present state of research it hoped to supply a new and original contribution.

It is possible at the close of this review to say that its main purpose has been accomplished. The separate chapters with which the thesis has been built have demonstrated in different ways how the image came to shape the Church and Christian society. Each section has proved the central thesis with which this dissertation has been concerned. The argument has advanced as well as altered the direction of modern scholarship. Imagination is seen here not as an aspect of medieval culture and social organization but as a power used to show how God was in the world and to reveal His presence. Modern notions of this faculty that have until now been kept apart are here combined in order to prove this point of view and to show this power in its historical operation. Imagination has been seen as a cultural device and as a means to comprehend the chaos of events and to invest this chaos with a Christian order and purpose. This dissertation has shown how it was also used to promote a mystical encounter between the Christian soul and the God who was held to lie behind earthly events. Bernard and John and Peter used this fact to advance the cause of Christian renewal. This power was thus at the heart of the Church in a time of change and reformation. *Imaginatio* and its images have been seen as a motive force in relation to this enterprise. The argument made here marks a twofold advance in research on the imagination. Its method has shown us a new view of this Christian power and its elaboration has shown us a new view of the Church and the deeds of its most prominent members. This vision pertains above all to the Eucharist, the Becket conflict and monasticism, and in each of these areas our thesis can also claim to have made a new contribution. Its assertion has required

us to see these famous themes from a new perspective. The dissertation is in part a study of Christian action in relation to Christian culture. Placed in this context it can be said that the goals of the thesis have been achieved.

But the vision that this thesis has restored was carried into areas that we have not considered.

The method that has been followed here is not meant to be complete or comprehensive. Instead, it is meant to open new lines of inquiry as well as new departures. Perhaps the highest proof of the success of our thesis will be to show how its conclusions can be applied to other areas of life and to prove its wide historical importance. Its purpose in the end is to spark and to sustain a larger debate and discussion. This depends on a defence of its efficacy but also an account of its weaknesses. It compels us to show where the thesis is strong but also where it could be improved. The remainder of this section will discuss how we have satisfied this requirement. It outlines some of the zones that this thesis could be used to advance and illuminate. It confirms that our vision had a future in the Church and that its influence endured. This process must be short but will contain at the same time some detailed exposition. This detail is used to show how the force of our vision was deep as well as extensive.

Perhaps the main weakness in the argument I have made is the absence of Christian women. The dissertation is filled with male voices but there is little from the female religious who did so much to build and to grow the Christ-centred piety that has been our concern. This omission is a result in part of editorial choice and in part of spatial considerations. The inclusion of women in the thesis seemed to me to demand a careful analysis that would increase its scale to a degree in excess of what is feasible for a dissertation. The argument would be diluted and no justice would be done to the subject in question. Nonetheless, there are issues raised above which both point to and draw on the enormous power of women in the Church at this time as figures at the heart of Christian devotion. The forceful image that is our theme seems to affirm the great political importance of women whose visions of Christ could be used to support this notion of the Church. The general opinion that spiritual life was above all the product of bodily fragmentation and the effusion of blood and milk that was linked to female flesh and reproduction might also be used to promote the idea that religious truth arose from violent upheaval.⁷²⁴ Each image of Christ in His death and rebirth formed part of a shared conception of the sacred that stood at the base of the Church and its claim to spiritual dominion.⁷²⁵ This was how He offered His life to the world and this was how He was experienced. It remained to be shown how the

⁷²⁴ C. W. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 79-117. C. W. Bynum, "The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages," in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body, volume 1*, 160-219, esp. 160-171.

⁷²⁵ E.g. C. W. Bynum, *Holy Feast, Holy Fast*, 51.

soul could share in the fruits of this redemption. The Church at this time would assert its power over the proper mode of communion, and its verdict was known across Europe in the rites associated with the Eucharist. The conviction that the clergy alone could urge as well as judge worthy participation in the broken flesh of God was thus at the heart of its pre-eminent work and sacrament. This assertion was in its fullness a political ideal that rested on but also marginalised the women who came to be seen as a vessel as well as a symbol of this tradition.

The churchmen who are at the centre of this thesis help to illustrate this point and perspective. Bernard for instance did not much like the female seers who spread across Christendom. He appreciated their gift but feared the damage that this prodigious instrument might cause if it were to erupt in the Church without the correct humility and supervision. The abbot would write in these cautious terms to the German abbess Hildegard.⁷²⁶ But he also wrote to praise those noble ladies who wished to share in the monastic revival that he had depicted in his writings as an outburst from the wounds of Christ. He commended a certain Beatrice for the concern she had shown for the church of Fontenay, and the monks who had gone out into a desert (or forest) to build that splendid monastery.⁷²⁷ Beatrice would remain devoted to Bernard for the rest of her life and would gather her family into the circle of *caritas* that grew round the abbot with gifts and

⁷²⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. Ad Hild. abb.*, SBO 8, 366, 323-324.

⁷²⁷ On *Beatrix, de Villa sub Firmitate*, SBO 7, n. 1, 298.

donations.⁷²⁸ This love was in the first place the fruit of the Spirit that moved the heart to sympathy, for the religious men who had gone into the waste and filled it with spiritual profusion.⁷²⁹

A place that had been black with gloom was now bright with Christian enterprise.⁷³⁰ This image of the Church in the desert was based on a fierce and Christological piety that saw the cross as a path to God in the love that flowed from this sacrifice.⁷³¹ Gospel truth was in this case the love that was fired in the heart and then communicated across the world as a result of the *opus* that had freed the Light from carnal shadow. The monks who made a path in the forest bore the cross in which this action was performed.⁷³² Here again is the living exegesis which is the theme of the first part of this dissertation. Bernard would use this vision to grow the power of the monastic life across Christendom. We have seen how it was linked to the social and the political

⁷²⁸ J. Waquet, *Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Clairvaux*, Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France, 32, (Paris, 2004): 'Ricardus et Paganus fratres de Villa dederunt Deo et Sancte Marie de Claravalle quicquid habebant ab Airablo usque in Albam et abinde versus Claram Vallem a silva usque in Albam et quicquid habebamus vel ab heredibus vel ab hominibus eorum. Hoc donum laudavit Beatrix mater eorum et Luca et Belosa sorores eorum et Rainerius filius Luce et Adelina uxor Ricardi et Rainaldus filius ejus et Beatrix filia ejus cognomento Silvestris...' L. Grill, "Epistola de Charitate," *Cîteaux*, volume 15 (1964), 48-49.

⁷²⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 118, ad Bea. nob. et rel. mat.*, SBO 7, 298: 'de terra deserta et de loco horris et vastae solitudinis introducti sunt in abundantiam rerum.'

⁷³⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 118, ad Bea. nob. et rel. mat.*, SBO 7, 298: 'in terram denique fertilem et locum amoenae habitationis.'

⁷³¹ E.g. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 92, Ad Hen. Reg. Angl.*, SBO 7, 241 (on the proposed foundation of Riveaux abbey in the Yorkshire waste): 'In terra vestra tenetur praeda Domini mei atque vestri, et illa praeda pro qua maluit mori quam carere illa.'

⁷³² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 106, ad Mag. Hen. Mur.*, SBO 7, 266: 'Quem videlicet si apprehendere cupis, citius [Christum] sequendo quam legendo consequi potes...O si semel paululum quid de adipe frumenti, unde satiatur Ierusalem, degustares!' Psalm 80.17.

work of monasticism. But this little note shows how the words with which the abbot urged Christians to bind their souls to God in the love and aid they gave His monks were presented in the same terms that Bynum and others have linked to a climate of female devotion. Nature was the womb of God and the source of new life but the growth of monasticism in the land was in this case the result not just of new creation but of bodily transgression. Christ's death came as a bloom of flowers to a world that was once abandoned, but the road to His grace was found in work and toil and the pain of endless discipline.⁷³³ The breaking open of flesh and the world as the source of new and supernatural truth which is at the base of our vision is seen here in a new and powerful context. The Christian world like the Bible and the flesh was linked to this ancient hermeneutic. But this also found a new force in the views of sex and body that now predominated. The nature of the bond between these zones seems to invite further investigation.

This prominent literature leads us to an area of research that is more cloudy and neglected. The tradition in question is that which concerns the Church in the natural landscape. This area has indeed seen a surge of new life in recent times and the environment is now the subject of a wide and vital interest that reflects its modern importance.⁷³⁴ But this progress has been uneven

⁷³³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De dil. Deo*, 3.7, 8, SBO 3, 124-127.

⁷³⁴ E.g. M. Oelschlaeger, *The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology*, (Yale University Press: New Haven; London, 1991). J. Radkau, *The Age of Ecology: A Global History*, P. Camiller (trans.), (Cambridge, 2014). S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, (London, 1995). For the classic text, C. J.

and it remains open to new ideas and perspectives. The decisive point in this context is supplied by the years of the medieval reformation. Historians from Bloch to now have noted that the landscape would be transformed in our period as a result of the drastic forces that this revolution had unleashed.⁷³⁵ This outburst of Christian energy would stretch deep into the European countryside. Forests were cleared and marshes were drained and waste was turned to cultivation. Much has been done to show how the Church and above all the western monasteries inspired this process and were at the base of this social and economic development.⁷³⁶ The Cistercian order in particular has been linked to the growth of agricultural wealth and cultivated land as a result of its system of granges and its abundant sheepwalk. The Cistercians also shared in the wider advance of the Christian people against the barren land that had closed in on the settled parts of Europe in less fortunate centuries. This Christian motion into harsh and empty land was an event of intense imaginative power to those who took part as well as those who noted the effects of this achievement. Like the unknown world which Jacques le Goff has described as an 'oneiric horizon,' the waste places are seen as a realm in which ancient hopes and fears were

Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, (Berkeley; Cambridge, 1967).

⁷³⁵ M. Bloch, *Feudal Society 1: The Growth of Ties of Dependence*, L. A. Manyon (trans.), (Routledge and Keegan: London, 1962). R. I. Moore, *The First European Revolution*, 38-41.

⁷³⁶ For the economy of the Church in this period, L. K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, esp. 84-96 in this context.

delineated.⁷³⁷ Nature and the Church are linked in this way as a zone of Christian enterprise. The wilderness was a source of social and spiritual progress for those Christians who chose to leave the urban world and to make their home in the *vastae solitudinis*.⁷³⁸ In more recent times it has been noted that this fierce image has quite concealed the fact that the monks who used it were not far distant from urban settlement, and that it is better seen as a sign of how the Bible and its words shaped their experience.⁷³⁹ The monastic house was not removed from social and economic communication: it rested at the heart of a social web and relied on labour and manufacture. But this material conceit did not reduce the force of its spiritual impression.⁷⁴⁰ The

⁷³⁷ J. le Goff, "The Medieval West and the Indian Ocean: An Oneiric Horizon," in *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, A. Goldhammer (trans.), 189-200.

⁷³⁸ This famous image is taken from Deuteronomy 32.10, where God was found in the wilderness. L. White Jr., "The Historical Roots of our Ecologic Crisis," *Science*, New Series, Vol. 155, No. 3767, (March 1967), 1203-1207. E. Whitney, "Paradise Restored: The Mechanical Arts from Antiquity through the Thirteenth Century," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, volume 80, number 1, (1990), 1-169. G. H. Williams, "The Wilderness and Paradise in the History of the Church," *Church History*, volume 28, number 1, (March, 1959), 3-24.

⁷³⁹ D. Baker, "Crossroads and Crises in the Religious Life of the Later Eleventh Century," *SICH* 16 (1979), 137-148. J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain*, 72.

⁷⁴⁰ P. Ainsworth and T. Scott (eds.), *Regions and Landscapes: Reality and Imagination in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, (Peter Lang: Oxford, 2000). E. F. Arnold, *Negotiating the Landscape: Environment and Monastic Identity in the Medieval Ardennes*, (Philadelphia, 2013). V. Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear: Perceptions of Nature and the City in the Middle Ages*, S. Mitchell (trans), (Cambridge, 1994). R. Hoffman, *An Environmental History of Medieval Europe*, (Cambridge, 2014). A. Jotischky, "Monastic Reform and the Geography of Christendom: Experience, Observation, and Influence," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 22, (December, 2012), 58-74. J. Leerssen, "Wildness, Wilderness, and Ireland: Medieval and Early Modern Patterns in the Demarcation of Civility," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, volume 56, number 1, (January, 1995), 25-39. J. Schaefer, "Grateful Cooperation: Cistercian Inspiration for Ecological Ethics," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, volume 37, number 2, (2002), 187-203. Also, P. Ainsworth and T. Scott (eds.), *Regions and Landscapes: Reality and Imagination in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, (Oxford, 2000). J. Howe and M. Wolfe (eds.), *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe*, (Gainesville, 2002). M. Gardiner and S. Rippon (eds.),

contrast between the sown and unsown was far wider in medieval Europe than it is for a society which has grown used to control over the natural environment. A short way out from the town could feel infinitely remote from settled civilization.⁷⁴¹ Here the human writ expired and the soul would turn to Christ for its protection.⁷⁴² For good or evil those who lived in that place were filled with the supernatural.⁷⁴³ Their invasion of urban affairs was treated with fear as well as amazement.⁷⁴⁴ Here was the soul who had gone into the Demon's lair and had prospered.⁷⁴⁵

The distance of the monastic house from society was also thought to determine the depth and shape of the power it exerted on the urban culture and community. The author of the *Liber de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in aecclesia* would ascribe the position of the monastic orders to distinct and spiritual properties, which worked now on the towns and cities and spurred their people to conversion.⁷⁴⁶ Thus the retreat into deserted land was still an act of mystery and

Medieval Landscapes, (Macclesfield, 2007). S. Turner and B. Sylvester (eds.), *Life in Medieval Landscapes: People and Places in the Middle Ages*, (Bollington, 2011). Useful notes in H. Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages, c. 1050-1200*, T. Reuter (trans.), (Cambridge, 1986), 2-3, 6-8. Also, S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, (London, 1995). Also, S. Ritchey, "Spiritual Arborescence: Trees in the Medieval Christian Imagination," *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality*, volume 8, number 1, (Spring, 2008), 64-82.

⁷⁴¹ V. Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear*, 7, 14, 19, 21 etc. Even today people are known to become lost and to perish not a mile distant from modern infrastructure. J. Leerssen, "Wildness, Wilderness, and Ireland: Medieval and Early Modern Patterns in the Demarcation of Civility," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, volume 56, number 1, (January, 1995), 25-39.

⁷⁴² V. Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear*, 19.

⁷⁴³ J. le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, 49.

⁷⁴⁴ J. le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, 56-58.

⁷⁴⁵ J. le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*,

⁷⁴⁶ G. Constable and B. Smith (eds.), *Liber de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in aecclesia*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1972).

importance, and much remains to be done to explain its effects on the medieval imagination. Perhaps our chosen vision could make in this relation a new and original contribution? The monastic house that was planted in the forest invaded the material landscape in the same way as the cross had invaded the flesh of Christ in the New Testament. Each action was seen to pour forth a Word which had until then been concealed. The Christian method that we have outlined might also be applied to the landscape.⁷⁴⁷ This approach might prove fruitful and would share in the direction of recent scholarship.

What was the future of the Christian vision we have seen and that this thesis has described? It is possible to offer some notes on this matter and to suggest some new directions. The principle role of this vision in the Church of the later middle ages was to propagate the ideal of Christian order that it had been used to protect as well as to demonstrate. This function was the result above all of the texts with which this image was preserved. It crossed in this way from a discrete ideal into the common stock of medieval Christianity. The diverse strands with which it had been woven were gathered up in the documents that stood as a proof of the deeds that had been done to build this religious authority. Bernard's sermons and Peter's tracts and John's letters all shared in this ultimate purpose. Here in its many forms was the view that God had come to die

⁷⁴⁷ For a gesture in this direction: A. J. Hingst, *The Written World: Past and Place in the Work of Orderic Vitalis*, (Notre Dame, 2009).

in the fearsome warfare of prior years and that He had risen from the dead in those who had been victorious. This process would indeed take place within a few decades of its original appearance, and we have seen how John and Peter drew on the works of Bernard of Clairvaux. The streams down which this image flowed met above all in the Becket controversy. Thomas Becket was of course the great mark of this triumph and the hagiographical literature that was linked to his death helped to carry this vision across Christendom.

The Christian terms that we have seen would also be found in areas we have not considered. What seems a small aside might lead in this way to a wider spiritual inheritance. What for us is a point of detail that must be teased from the historical sediment, was for those who read these works an idea that was alive in the fruits of their experience. When Robert Grosseteste stood before the papal court at Lyons in 1250 and criticized its abuses he did so in terms that hark back to the vision with which we are concerned. He reminded his audience that it fell to them to preserve the Ark and the Tabernacle, the Church that must be built in accord with what was shown to Moses in the Mountain.⁷⁴⁸ The highest need now pressed upon them to ensure that what had been constructed on the earth must be like the model that was shown to them in the

⁷⁴⁸ S. Gieben (ed.), "Robert Grosseteste at the Papal Curia, Lyons 1250: Edition of the Documents," *Collectanea Franciscana*, 41, (Rome, 1971), 360: 'Moysi praeceptum est, ut videat et omnia in aedificatione videlicet tabernaculi faciat secundum exemplar quod sibi ostensum est in monte. Hoc praesidentibus huic sacrae sedi maxime dictum esse notissimum est.' Exodus 25.40.

mystery of heaven.⁷⁴⁹ Robert used in this relation words that had been turned to that cause a century before. He warned the lords of the Church that they shared the burden of the *summa necessitas* that urged all those who served the Lord to join with Him in blessed communion. But like the man who had died on the cross this need was seen to be removed, in the floods of light that came from God into the world and swept it up into salvation.⁷⁵⁰ Christ alone gave the Church the power to put an end to dissent and to corruption. This assertion rested on literary riches far beyond what was known to our protagonists. Robert drank down a full draught of the Greek and Arabic texts that had penetrated the Latin west and that had filled its schools with a wealth of new and brilliant learning.⁷⁵¹ For him it was not blood alone but light that fixed the soul to God in a celestial embrace.⁷⁵² But his famous words at Lyons show how the vision that had helped to build the religious ideal to which he was an heir was still used to defend that ideal for years afterwards. The major parts of this vision are still found in works with which the life of Christian

⁷⁴⁹ S. Gieben (ed.), "Robert Grosseteste," 360: 'Quos permaxime condecet et perurget districtissimi mandati Dei summa necessitas diligentissime considerare et circumspicere, ut omnia in aedificatione Ecclesiae militantis faciant secundum exemplar Ecclesiae triumphantis.'

⁷⁵⁰ S. Gieben (ed.), "Robert Grosseteste," 360-361: 'In qua omnis architectus et hierarcha secundum ordinem, scientiam et operationem sacram ad deiforme, ut possibile, assimilatur et secundum divinas illuminationes ad Dei imitativum reducit et ei unitur et secundum divina perficitur et deificatur et amore communicandi cum inferioribus quae desuper accepit omni conatu intendit et operatur purgationem, illuminationem et consummationem inferiorum, et pro aptitudine receptibilitatis cuiusque eorum assimilatur et unit Deo et tradit secundum cuiusque dignitatem de sibi divinitus collata deificatione sacram deificationem et in iuvamentum receptionis horum omnium tradit quod decentissime eum iuvat ad sibi possibilem assimilationem cum Deo et unionem et deificationem...'

⁷⁵¹ E.g. J. McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, (Oxford, 2000), 85-86, 113 ff.

⁷⁵² J. McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, 87-95.

Europe was shaped and with which its Church and people were ruled and perceived. Grosseteste has been seen from time to time as a strange figure but his opinions on this matter make clear that he stood at the heart of an old and orthodox tradition.⁷⁵³ Like a biblical text his words were as new signs with which the same truth was expressed. As a student of the Bible who was known for his incisive and intelligent commentaries, he would perhaps have smiled at this familiar image as well as the original thought.⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵³ E.g. L. E. Boyle, "Robert Grosseteste and Transubstantiation," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, volume 30, number 2, (October, 1979), 512-515. R. W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*, (Oxford, 1986), xvii.

⁷⁵⁴ J. R. Ginther, "*Laudat Sensum et Significationem*: Robert Grosseteste on the Four Senses of Scripture," in *With Reverence for the Word*, 237-256. B. Smalley, "The Biblical Scholar," in D. A. Callus (ed.), *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop. Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of His Death*, (Oxford, 1955), 70-97.

Bibliography:

Primary Sources:

D. O'Donovan (trans.), *On Grace and Free Choice (De gratia et libero arbitrio)*, by Bernard of Clairvaux, (Cistercian Publications Inc: Kalamazoo, 1977).

J. France, (ed. and trans.), *Rodulfus Glaber: The Five Books of the Histories*, (The Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1989).

J. Haseldine (ed.), *The Letters of Peter of Celle*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 2001).

J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, H. M. Rochais, *Sancti Bernardi Opera, ad fidem codicum recensuerunt*, 1-8, (Editiones Cistercienses: Romae, 1957-1977).

C. C. Mierow (trans.), *Otto of Freising: The Two Cities*, (Octagon Books Inc: New York, 1966).

J. P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia cursus completus, series latina*, (Paris, 1844-1864).

F. S. Schmitt (ed.), *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera*, 1-4. (Thomas Nelson: Edinburgh, 1946-1961).

R. Walton (trans.), *On Loving God, with an Analytical Commentary by Emero Stiegman*, (Cistercian Publications Inc: Kalamazoo, 1995).

W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke (eds.), *The Letters of John of Salisbury. Volume II: The Later Letters (1163-1180)*, (The Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1979).

B. Ward (trans.), *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm, with the Proslogion*, (Penguin Books: London, 1973).

Secondary Sources:

Books:

P. Ainsworth and T. Scott (eds.), *Regions and Landscapes: Reality and Imagination in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, (Peter Lang: Oxford, 2000).

E. Archibald, *Incest and the Medieval Imagination*, (Oxford University Press: Oxford; New York, 2001).

E. F. Arnold, *Negotiating the Landscape: Environment and Monastic Identity in the Medieval Ardennes*, (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 2013).

A. Astell, *Eating Beauty: The Eucharist and the Spiritual Arts of the Middle Ages*, (Cornell University Press: New York, 2006).

D. Baker (ed.), *The Church in Town and Countryside*, Studies in Church History, Volume 16, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1979).

J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, Two Volumes, (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1970).

F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, (Weidenfeld and Nicholson: London, 1986).

- F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket and His Clerks*, (Friends of Canterbury Cathedral: Canterbury, 1987).
- R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 2000).
- R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change*, (Penguin: London, 1994)
- R. Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages: The Wiles Lectures given at the Queen's University of Belfast, 2006*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2008).
- S. Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture, and Society in Late Medieval Writings*, (Routledge: London, 1993).
- R. L. Benson, G. Constable, and C. D. Lanham (eds), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, (University of Toronto Press: Toronto; Buffalo; London, 1982).
- N. Bériou, B. Caseau, and D. Rigaux (eds.), *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Âge)*, (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2009).
- R. Berndt (ed.), *Bibel und Exegese in der Abtei Saint-Victor zu Paris: Form und Function eines Grundtextes im europäischen Rahmen*, (Münster, 2009).
- T. S. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*, (University of Philadelphia Press: Philadelphia, 1996).

P. Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England*, (Yale University Press: New Haven, 2005).

T. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government*, (Princeton University Press: Princeton; Oxford, 2009).

U.-R. Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*, (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1988).

H. Boersma, *Heavenly Participation: The Weaving of a Sacramental Tapestry*, (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.: Grand Rapids, 2011).

B. Bolton, *The Medieval Reformation*, (Edward Arnold: London, 1983).

S. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125*, (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 2006).

S. Boynton and D. Reilly (eds.), *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Medieval Christianity*, (Columbia University Press: Chichester; New York, 2011).

A. H. Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux: Between Cult and History*, (T & T Clark: Edinburgh, 1996).

A. H. Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages: the relations between religion, church, and society*, (W. B. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, Mich., 1994).

C. N. L. Brooke, *The Age of the Cloister: The Story of Monastic Life in the Middle Ages*, (Sutton Publishing Limited: Stroud, 2003).

C. N. L. Brooke, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance*, (Thames and Hudson: London, 1969).

P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography. New Edition with an Epilogue*, (University of California Press: Berkeley; Los Angeles; London, 2000).

P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity*, Second Edition, (Oxford, 2003).

P. Buc, *L'ambiguïté du Livre: prince, pouvoir, et peuple dans les commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Âge*, *Theologie historique*, 95, (Beauchesne: Paris, 1994).

P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, (Princeton University Press: Princeton; Oxford, 2001).

L. Buisson, *Potestas und Caritas: die päpstliche Gewalt in Spätmittelalter*, (Böhlau: Köln, 1982).

R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, (SCM Press Ltd: London, 1983).

T. E. Burman and T. J. Heffernan (eds), *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, *Studies in the History of Christian Traditions*: 123, (Brill: Leiden; Boston, 2005).

J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1994).

C. W. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*, (Zone Books: New York, 1991).

C. W. Bynum, *Holy Feast, Holy Fast: the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, (University of California Press: Berkeley; London, 1987).

C. W. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, (University of California Press: Berkeley; Los Angeles; London, 1984).

D. A. Callus (ed.), *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop. Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of His Death*, (The Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1955).

R. P. Carroll, *From Chaos to Covenant: Uses of Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah*, (SCM Press Ltd: London, 1981).

M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, .

G. E. Caspary, *Politics and Exegesis: Origen and the Two Swords*, (University of California Press: Berkeley; Los Angeles; London, 1979).

M. Cassidy-Welch, *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination, c. 1150-1400*, (Houndmills; Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke; New York, 2011).

H. Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition*, (Oxford, 1966).

A. Chapman, J. Coffey, B. S. Gregory, *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (University of Notre Dame Press: Notre Dame, 2009).

C. R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton: English Church Government, 1170-1213*, (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1956).

M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on the New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, J. Taylor, L. K. Little (trans.), (University of Toronto Press: Toronto; Buffalo; London, 1997).

M. T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life*, (Blackwell: Oxford, 1997).

M. T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers, 1066-1272*, Second Edition, (Blackwell: Oxford, 1998).

M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307*, Second Edition, (Blackwell: Cambridge, Mass; Oxford, 1993).

Y. Congar, *L'Église: De saint Augustin à l'époque moderne*, Histoire des dogmes, no. 3 (Cerf: Paris, 1970),

G. Constable, *Culture and Spirituality in Medieval Europe*. (Variorum: Aldershot, c1996).

G. Constable (ed.), *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, (Manchester; New York, 2001).

G. Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1995).

G. Constable, *The Twelfth Century Reformation*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1996).

R. Copeland and P. T. Struck (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2010).

P. Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c.200-c.1150*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1993).

K. G. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2005).

G. Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval, XIIe-XIVe siècle*, (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1999).

G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, (The University Press: Glasgow, 1945).

M. de Gandillac and E. Jeaneau (eds.), *Entretiens sur la renaissance du XIIe siècle*, (Mouton: Paris, 1968).

H. de Lubac, *Catholicism, Christ, and the Common Destiny of Man*, L. C. Sheppard (trans.), (Ignatius Press: San Francisco, 1988).

H. de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum: The Eucharist and the Church in the Middle Ages*, G. Simmonds, R. Price and C. Stephens (trans), (SCM Press: London, 2006).

H. de Lubac, *History and Spirit: The Understanding of Scripture according to Origen*, A. E. Nash (trans.), (Ignatius Press: San Francisco, 2007).

H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, (Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1998-).

H. de Lubac, *The Mystery of the Supernatural*, R. Sheed (trans.), (The Crossroad Publishing Company: New York, 2013).

H. de Lubac, *The Splendor of the Church*, M. Mason (trans.), (Ignatius Press; San Francisco, 1999).

J.-L. Deuffic (ed.), *Le Livre et L'Écrit: Texte, liturgie et mémoire dans l'Église du Moyen Âge*, Pecia, volume 14, (Brepols: Turnhout, 2012).

A. Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture from the Early Church to the Middle Ages*, (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2008)

P. Dronke (ed.), *A History of Twelfth Century Philosophy*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1988).

A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, (Arnold: London, 2004).

G. Duby, *The Age of the Cathedrals: Art and Society, 980-1420*, E. Le Vieux and B. Thompson (trans.), (The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1981).

G. Duby, *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages*, J. Dunnett (trans.), (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1994).

G. Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, A. Goldhammer (trans.), (University of Chicago Press: Chicago; London, 1980).

E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400-c. 1580*, (New Haven; London, 1992).

R. K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (eds.), *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 1992).

E. D. English (ed.), *Reading and Wisdom: The De Doctrina Christiana of Augustine in the Middle Ages*, (University of Notre Dame Press: Notre Dame; London, 1995).

C. Elwood, *The Body Broken: The Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France*, (Oxford University Press: Oxford; New York, 1999).

G. R. Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, (Oxford University Press: New York; Oxford, 2000).

G. R. Evans, *Old Arts and New Theology: The Beginnings of Theology as an Academic Discipline*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1980).

G. R. Evans, *The Mind of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press: New York, 1983).

M. E. Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth Century Paris*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music, (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1993).

M. E. Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*, (Yale University Press: New Haven, 2010).

P. Freedman, *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination*, (Yale University Press: London, 2008).

M. Frenkel and Y. Lev, *Charity and Giving in Monotheistic Religions*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients 22, (De Gruyter: Berlin, 2009).

H. Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages, c. 1050-1200*, T. Reuter (trans.), (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1986).

R. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200*, (Columbia University Press: New York, 2002).

A. Funkenstein, *Theology and the Scientific Imagination: From the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century*, (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1986).

B. P. Gaybba, *Aspects of the Mediaeval History of Theology*, (University of South Africa: Pretoria, 1988).

E. Gilson, *The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy*, (Sheed & Ward: New York, 1940).

E. Gilson, *The Christian Philosophy of St Augustine*, L. E. M. Lynch (trans.), (Victor Gollanz Ltd: London, 1961).

E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St Bernard*, A. H. C. Downes (trans.), (Sheed and Ward: New York, 1940).

C. J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, (University of California Press; Cambridge University Press: Berkeley; Cambridge, 1967).

L. Grant, *Abbot Suger of St. Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth Century France*, (Longman: London; New York, 1998).

G. Green, *Imagining God: Theology and the Religious Imagination*, (W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co: Grand Rapids; Cambridge, 1998).

P. Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault*, A. L. Davidson (ed.), M. Chase (trans.), (Oxford: 1995).

S. Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900-1200* (Routledge: Harlow, 2013).

F. T. Harkins, *Reading and the Work of Restoration: History and Scripture in the Theology of Hugh of St. Victor*, (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies: Toronto, 2009).

F. T. Harkins and F. van Liere (eds.), *Interpretation of Scripture: Theory. A Selection of Works of Hugh, Andrew, Richard, and Godfrey of St Victor, and of Robert of Melun*, Victorine Texts in Translation: Exegesis, Theology, and Spirituality from the Abbey of St Victor 3, (New City Press: New York, 2013).

P. Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1998).

R. L. Hart, *Unfinished Man and the Imagination: Toward an Ontology and a Rhetoric of Revelation*, (Herder and Herder: New York, 1968).

T. Head and R. Landes (eds.), *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, (Cornell University Press: Ithaca; London, 1992).

D. Headley, *Living Forms of the Imagination*, (T & T Clark: London; New York, 2008).

M. Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, A. Hofstadter (trans.), (Harper Collins: New York, 1971).

A. J. Hingst, *The Written World: Past and Place in the Work of Orderic Vitalis*, (University of Notre Dame Press: Notre Dame, Indiana, 2009).

J. M. Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and His Patrons*, (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1997).

J. Howe and M. Wolfe (eds.), *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe*, (University Press of Florida: Gainesville, 2002).

D. Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam (1000-1150)*, G. R. Edwards (trans), (Cornell University Press: Ithaca; London, 2002).

E. Jager, *The Tempter's Voice: Language and the Fall in Medieval Literature*, (Cornell University Press: Ithaca; London, 1993).

E. Jeaneau, *Re-thinking the School of Chartres*, C. P. Desmarais (trans.), (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 2009).

P. G. Justice, *Wayward Monks and the Religious Revolution of the Eleventh Century*, (Brill: Leiden; New York; Köln, 1997).

E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1957, reprinted in 1997).

M. Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition in the Middle Ages*, (University of Chicago Press: Chicago; London, 2011).

R. Kearney, *The Wake of Imagination: Toward a Postmodern Culture*, (Routledge: London, 1994).

B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard*, (York Medieval Press: York, 2001).

D. Knowles, *Christian Monasticism*, (Weidenfeld and Nicholson: London, 1969).

D. Knowles, *The Episcopal Colleagues of Thomas Becket, Being the Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term 1949*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1951).

D. Knowles, *The Historian and Character and Other Essays: Collected and Presented to Him by His Friends, Pupils and Colleagues on the Occasion of His Retirement as Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge*, Christopher Brooke and Giles Constable (eds.), (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1963).

D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943-1216*, Reprinted, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1950).

D. Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, (Adam and Charles Black: London, 1970).

H. Kung, *The Church*, R. and R. Ockenden (trans.), (Search Press: London; Tunbridge Wells, 1981).

D. LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, (The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore; London, 2001).

G. B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers*, (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass, 1959).

E. S. Lane, E. C. Pastan, and E. M. Shortell (eds.), *The Four Modes of Seeing: approaches to medieval imagery in honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, (Ashgate: Burlington VT, 2009).

C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, Third Edition, (Longman: Pearson Education Ltd: Harlow, 2001).

J. Leclercq, *La Spiritualité de Pierre de Celle, 1115-1183*, (Etudes de théologie et d'histoire de la spiritualité, VII), (J. Vrin: Paris, 1946).

J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, C. Misrahi (trans.), Third Edition, (Fordham University Press: New York, 1982).

J. Leclercq and F. Vandenbrouke, *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages*, translated from the French by the Benedictines of Holme Eden Abbey, Carlisle, (Burns & Oates: London, 1968).

J. le Goff, *Medieval Civilization, 400-1500*, J. Barrow (trans.), (Basil Blackwell: Oxford, 1988).

J. le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, A. Goldhammer (trans.), (University of Chicago Press: Chicago; London, 1988)

J. le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, A. Goldhammer (trans.), (University of Chicago Press: Chicago; London, 1980).

L. J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality*, (Kent State University Press: Kent Ohio, 1977).

K. Leyser, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, T. Reuter (ed.), (The Hambledon Press: London; Rio Grande, 1994).

L. K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, (Elek: London, 1978).

D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (eds), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, volume 4, part 1 (c. 1024-c. 1198)*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2004).

G. Macy, *The Banquet's Wisdom: A Short History of the Theologies of the Lord's Supper*, (Paulist Press: New York, 1992).

G. Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians, c. 1080-1220*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1984).

G. Macy, *Treasures from the Storeroom: Medieval Religion and the Eucharist*, (The Liturgical Press: Collegeville, Minn., 1999).

J. Y. Malegam, *The Sleep of Behemoth: Disputing Peace and Violence in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200*, (Cornell University Press: Ithaca; London, 2013).

E. A. Mather and L. Smith (eds.), *From Knowledge to Beatitude: St. Victor, Twelfth Century Scholars, and Beyond. Essays in Honor of Grover Zinn Jr.*, (University of Notre Dame Press: Notre Dame, 2013).

J. D. McAuliffe, B. D. Walfish, and J. W. Goering, *With Reverence for the Word: Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2003).

J. McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, Great Medieval Thinkers Series, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2000).

B. McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism, volume 2. The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, (Crossroad: New York, 1994).

B. P. McGuire (ed.), *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux*, (Brill: Leiden, 2011).

B. P. McGuire, *The Difficult Saint: Bernard of Clairvaux and His Tradition*, Cistercian Studies Series 126, (Cistercian Publications: Kalamazoo, 1991).

G. Melville (ed.), *Aspects of Charity: Concern for One's Neighbour in Medieval Vita Religiosa*, (Lit Verlag: Berlin, 2011).

T. Merton, *No Man is an Island*, (Burns & Oates: London, 1955).

J. Moltmann, *The Crucified God: The Cross of Christ as the Foundation and Criticism of Christian Theology*, R. A. Wilson and J. Bowden (trans), (SCM Press Ltd: London, 1974).

J. C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/1-1216): To Root up and to Plant*, (Notre Dame: Indiana: 2009).

R. I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, 900-1200*, (Basil Blackwood: Oxford, 2000).

R. I. Moore, *The War on Heresy: Faith and Power in Medieval Europe*, (Profile Books: London, 2014).

C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1989).

W. P. Müller and M. E. Sommar (eds.), *Medieval Church Law and the Origins of the Western Legal Tradition: A tribute to Kenneth Pennington*, (The Catholic University of America Press: Washington DC, 2006).

C. J. Nederman, *John of Salisbury*, (Tempe: 2006).

C. J. Nederman, *Lineages of European Thought: Explorations along the Medieval/Modern Divide from John of Salisbury to Hegel*, (The Catholic University of America Press: Washington D.C., 2009).

M. G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098-1180*, (Stanford University Press: Stanford, 1996).

T. F. X Noble and J. H. van Engen, *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century*, (University of Notre Dame Press: Notre Dame, 2012).

A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros: A Study of the Christian Idea of Love*, (London, 1941).

M. Oelschlaeger, *The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology*, (Yale University Press: New Haven; London, 1991).

R. A. Orsi (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Religious Studies*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2012).

R. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy, An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational*, Second Edition, J. W. Harvey (trans.), (1950, reprinted in London, 1971).

E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, (Harper & Row: New York, 1972).

J. Pelikan, *Jesus Through the Centuries: His Place in the History of Culture*, (Yale, 1985).

J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine, volume 3: The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)*, (The University of Chicago Press: Chicago; London, 1978).

J. Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom*, (Yale University Press: New Haven; London, 2007).

D. Poirel (ed.), *L'École de Saint-Victor de Paris. Influence et rayonnement du moyen âge à l'époque moderne. Colloque international du C.N.R. S. pour le neuvième centenaire de la fondation (1108–2008) tenu au Collège des Bernardins à Paris les 24-27 septembre 2008*, Bibliotheca Victorina 22, (Brepols: Turnhout, 2010).

M. B. Pranger, *Bernard of Clairvaux and the Shape of Monastic Thought*, (Brill: Leiden; New York, 1994).

W. J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095-c. 1187*, (The Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 2008).

K. Rahner, *Theological Investigations*, D. Morland (ed.), (Darton, Longman and Todd: London, 1979).

T. Reuter, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, J. L. Nelson (ed.), (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2009).

J. Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071-c. 1291*, J. Birrell (trans.), (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1999).

P. Riché and G. Lobrichon (eds.), *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1984).

D. Robertson, *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading*, (Cistercian Publications: Collegeville, Minn., 2011).

I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century*, (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1978).

I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1990).

M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1991).

C. Rudolph, *Artistic Change at St. Denis: Abbot Suger's Program and the Early-Twelfth Century Controversy over Art*, (Princeton Essays on the Arts. Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1990).

A. Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury*, (Athlone Press: London, 1956).

E. Saxon, *The Eucharist in Romanesque France: Iconography and Theology*, (Woodbridge, 2006).

S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, (Harpercollins: London, 1995).

J. C. Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*, (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1999).

K. Schreiner, *Gemeinsam leiben: Spiritualität, Lebens- und Verfassungsformen klösterlicher Gemeinschaften in Kirche und Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, *Vita Regularis: Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter*, M. Birkenstein and G. Melville (eds), (Lit Verlag: Berlin, 2013).

W. J. Sheils (ed.), *Persecution and Toleration*, *Studies in Church History*, volume 21, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1984).

G. H. Shriver (ed.), *Contemporary Reflections on the Medieval Christian Tradition: Essays in Honor of Ray C. Petry*, (Duke University Press: Durham NC, 1974).

P. Skinner (ed.), *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, (Turnhout, 2009).

B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Third Edition, (Blackwell: Oxford, 1983).

B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics*, (Basil Blackwell and Mott Ltd: Oxford, 1973).

G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety: From Relics to the Eucharist*, (Brill Ltd: Leiden, 1995).

J. M. Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1985).

R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in Landscape*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1990).

R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and other studies*, (Blackwell: Oxford, 1970).

R. W. Southern, *Platonism, Scholastic Method and the School of Chartres*, The Stenton Lecture, 1978, (University of Reading, 1979).

R. W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1986).

R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe. Vol. 1, Foundations*, (Blackwell: Oxford, 1995).

R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe. Vol. 2, the Heroic Age*, (Blackwell: Oxford, 2000).

R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, (Pimlico: London, 1953).

R. W. Southern, *The Monks of Canterbury and the Murder of Archbishop Becket*, (The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral: Canterbury, 1985)

R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, (Penguin: London, 1970).

E. Stiegman (trans), *Bernard of Clairvaux: On Loving God, with an analytical commentary*, (Cistercian Publications, Inc: Kalamazoo, 1995).

B. Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester*, (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1972).

B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, (Princeton University Press: Princeton; Guildford, 1983).

R. N. Swanson, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance*, (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1999).

G. Tellenbach, *Church, State, and Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, R. F. Bennett (trans), (Blackwell: Oxford, 1940).

G. Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, T. Reuter (trans), (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1993).

B. Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300*, (University of Toronto Press, in association with the Medieval Academy of America: Toronto, 1988).

J. V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, (Columbia University Press: New York, 2002).

D. Turner, *The Darkness of God*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1995).

S. Turner and B. Sylvester (eds.), *Life in Medieval Landscapes: People and Places in the Middle Ages*, (Windgather: Bollington, 2011).

J. van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, Publications of the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies 18, (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1983).

I. van't Spijker (ed.), *The Multiple Meaning of Scripture: The Role of Exegesis in Early-Christian and Medieval Culture*, (Leiden, 2009).

K. Walsh and D. Wood (eds), *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 4, (Basil Blackwell: Oxford, 1985).

W. L. Warren, *Henry II*, (Eyre Methuen: London, 1973).

C. S. Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2007).

I. P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c. 1100-1330*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2012).

W. Wetherbee (trans), *The Cosmographia of Bernardus Silvestris*, (Columbia University Press: New York; London, 1973).

B. E. Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass; London, 2009).

M. Wilks (ed.), *Prophecy and Eschatology*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 10, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1994).

M. Wilks (ed.), *The World of John of Salisbury*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 3, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1984).

R. Williams, *The Edge of Words: God and the Habits of Language*, (Bloomsbury: London, 2014).

R. Williams (ed.), *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1988).

F. M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1997).

Articles:

D. Appleby, "'Beautiful on the Cross, Beautiful in His Torments,'" The Place of the Body in the Thought of Paschasius Radbertus," *Traditio*, volume 60, (2005), 1-46.

M. Barasch, "Despair in the Medieval Imagination," *Social Research*, volume 66, number 2 (Hope and Despair), (Summer, 1999), 565-576.

F. Barlow, "John of Salisbury and His Brothers," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, volume 46, issue 1, (January, 1995), 95-109.

F. Barlow, "The Letters of John of Salisbury II: The Later Letters (1163-1180). By W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford Medieval Texts)," Review Article, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, volume 32, issue 1, (January, 1981), 89-91.

J. Barr, "Creative Imagination and Didactic Intent in Medieval Visions of the Other World: A Response to Fritz Kemmler," *Connotations*, volume 20, number 1, (2010-2011), 1-11.

J. Barrau, "La conversio de Jean de Salisbury: la Bible au service de Thomas Becket?", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 50, number 199, (Juillet-septembre 2007), 229-244.

D. Barthélemy and S. D. White, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," *Past and Present*, number 152, (August, 1996), 196-223.

H. Berger Jr., "Ecology of the Medieval Imagination: An Introductory Overview," *The Centennial Review*, volume 12, number 3, (Summer, 1968), 279-313.

R. Berndt, "The Writings of Hugh of St. Victor: An Author and his Contexts," *Ugo di San Vittori: atti del XLVII Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 10-12 ottobre 2010*, (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2011), 1-20.

P. Biller, "Words and the Medieval Notion of Religion," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, volume 36, issue 3, (July, 1985), 351-369.

J. Bossy, "Some Elementary Forms of Durkheim," *Past and Present*, number 95, (1982), 3-18.

J. Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200-1700," *Past & Present*, number 100, (August, 1983), 29-61.

L. E. Boyle, "Robert Grosseteste and Transubstantiation," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, volume 30, number 2, (October, 1979), 512-515.

T. Breyfogle, "Memory and Imagination in Augustine's Confessions," *New Blackfriars*, volume 75, number 881, (April, 1994), 210-223.

P. Browe, "Die eucharistische Flurprozessionen und Wettersegen", *Theologie und Glaube* 21 (1929), 742-755.

P. Brown, "A Dark Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy," *The English Historical Review*, volume 88, number 346, (January, 1973), 1-34.

P. Brown, "Pelagius and His Supporters: Aims and Environment," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, volume 19, number 1, (April, 1968).

P. Brown, "Society and the Supernatural: A Medieval Change," *Daedalus*, volume 104, number 2, (Spring, 1975), 133-151.

P. Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, volume 61, (1971), 80-101.

N. F. Cantor, "The Crisis of Western Monasticism, 1050-1130," *The American Historical Review*, volume 66, number 1, (October, 1960), 47-67.

W. T. Cavanaugh, "Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Social Imagination in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, volume 31, number 3, (Fall, 2001), 585-605.

H. Chadwick, "Ego Berengarius," *Journal of Theological Studies*, volume 40, (October, 1989), 414-445.

C. Chazelle, "Figure, Character, and the Glorified Body in the Carolingian Eucharistic Controversy," *Traditio*, volume 47, (1992), 1-36.

M.-D. Chenu, "Nature ou Histoire? Une controverse exégétique sur la création au XIIe siècle," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale Et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, volume 20, (1953), 25-20.

W. Cizewski, "Reading the World as Scripture: Hugh of St. Victor's *De tribus diebus*," *Florilegium*, volume 9, (1987), 65-88.

M. L. Colish, "Psalterium Scholasticorum: Peter Lombard and the Emergence of Scholastic Psalms Exegesis," *Speculum*, volume 67, number 3, (July, 1992), 531-548.

G. Constable, "The Disputed Election at Langres in 1138," *Traditio*, volume 13, (1957), 119-152.

G. Constable, "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries," *Traditio*, volume 9, (1953), 213-279.

N. Coulet, "Processions, espace urbain, communauté civique", *Cahier de Fanjeaux* 17 (1982), 381-397.

M.-T. d'Alverny, "Le Cosmos Symbolique du XIIe Siècle," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale Et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, volume 20, (1953), 31-81.

B. P. Davies, "Beating the Bounds between Church and State: Official Documents in the Literary Imagination," *Essays in Medieval Studies: Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association*, volume 13, (1996), 31-38.

G. R. Evans, "Gilbert Crispin on the Eucharist: A Monastic Postscript to Lanfranc and Berengar," *Journal of Theological Studies*, New Series, volume 31, number 1, (1980), 28-43.

J. France, "War and Christendom in the Thought of Rodulfus Glaber," *Studia Monastica* 30 (1989), 105-119.

G. Frank, "'Taste and See': The Eucharist and the Eyes of Faith in the Fourth Century," *Church History*, volume 70, number 4, (December, 2001), 619-643.

P. Fredrikson, "Beyond the Body/Soul Dichotomy: Augustine on Paul against the Manichees and the Pelagians," *Recherches augustiniennes*, volume 23, (1988), 87-114.

C. Frost, "The Symbolic Move to New Sarum," *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, number 98, (2005), 155-164.

R. Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion, Marian Exegesis, and the Historical Sense of the Song of Songs," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, volume 27, (1996), 85-116.

J. Goering, "The Invention of Transubstantiation," *Traditio*, volume 46, (1991), 147-170.

W. E. Goodrich, "The Cistercian Founders and the Rule: Some Reconsiderations," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, volume 35, Issue 3, (July 1984), 358-375.

D. L. Goodwin, "Herbert of Bosham and the Horizons of Twelfth Century Exegesis," *Traditio*, volume 58, (2003), 133-173.

G. Grabka, "Christian Viaticum: A Study of its Cultural Background," *Traditio*, volume 9, (1953), 1-43.

S. J. Grabowski, "St Augustine and the Doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ," *Theological Studies*, volume 7, (1946), 72-125.

S. J. Grabowski, "The Role of Charity in the Mystical Body of Christ according to Saint Augustine," *Revue des études augustiniennes*, volume 3, number 1, (1957), 29-63.

E. Grant, "Scientific Imagination in the Middle Ages," *Perspectives on Science*, volume 12, number 4, (Winter, 2004), 394-423.

E. Grant, "How Theology, Imagination, and the Spirit of Inquiry shaped Natural Philosophy in the Late Middle Ages," *History of Science*, volume 49, number 1, (2011), 89-108.

L. S. Handelman, "*Ecclesia Primitiva*: Alvarus Pelagius and Marsilius of Padua," *Medioevo: rivista di storia della filosofia medievale*, volume 6, (1980), 431-448.

N. M. Häring, "Berengar's Definitions of *Sacramentum* and their influence on Medieval Sacramentology," *Mediaeval Studies*, volume 10, (1948), 109-147.

N. M. Häring, "Notes on the Council and the Consistory of Rheims (1148)," *Mediaeval Studies*, volume 28, (1966), 39-59.

P. Harrison, "The Bible and the Emergence of Modern Science," *Science and Christian Belief* 18 (2006), 115-132.

J. Haseldine, "The Creation of a Literary Memorial: The Letter Collection of Peter of Celle," *Sacris Erudiri, Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen*, volume 37, (1997), 333-379.

J. Haseldine, "Understanding the Language of *amicitia*: The Friendship Circle of Peter of Celle (c. 1115-1183)," *Journal of Medieval History*, volume 20, (1994), 237-260.

S. H. Hendrix, "In Quest of the *Vera Ecclesia*: the Crises of Late Medieval Ecclesiology," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, volume 7 (1976), 347-379.

J. M. Howe, "The Awesome Hermit: The Symbolic Significance of the Hermit as a Possible Research Perspective," *Numen*, volume 30, fasc. 1, (July, 1983), 106-119.

J. M. Howe, "The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church," *The American Historical Review*, volume 93, number 2, (April, 1988), 317-339.

A. Hughes, "Imagining the Divine: Ghazali on Imagination, Dreams, and Dreaming," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, volume 70, number 1, (March, 2002), 33-53.

L. F. Hundersmarck, "The Use of Imagination, Emotion, and the Will in a Medieval Classic: The *Meditaciones Vite Christi*," *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture*, volume 6, number 2, (Spring, 2003), 46-62.

M. James, "Ritual, Drama, and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town," *Past & Present*, number 98, (February, 1983), 3-29.

A. Jotischky, "Monastic Reform and the Geography of Christendom: Experience, Observation, and Influence," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 22, (December, 2012), 58-74.

F. Kemmler, "Painful Restoration: Transformations of Life and Death in Medieval Visions of the Other World," *Connotations*, volume 17, number 2/3, (2007-2008), 129-143.

E. Kennan, "The 'De Consideratione' of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the Papacy in the Mid-Twelfth Century: A Review of Scholarship," *Traditio*, volume 23, (1967), 73-115.

R. Koselleck and M. Richter, "Crisis," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, volume 67, number 2, (April, 2006), 357-400.

J. W. Koterski, "The Epistemology of Bernard of Clairvaux: Humility and Freedom for Truth," *Proceedings of the PMR Conference* 8, (1983), 47-52.

G. B. Ladner, "Gregory the Great and Gregory VII: A Comparison of their Concepts of Renewal," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, volume 4, (1973), 1-27.

G. B. Ladner, "*Homo Viator*: Medieval Ideas on Alienation and Order," *Speculum*, volume 42, number 2, (April, 1967), 233-259.

N. Largier, "The Plasticity of the Soul: Mystical Darkness, Touch, and Aesthetic Experience," *MLN*, volume 125, number 3, (April, 2010), 536-551.

J. Leerssen, "Wildness, Wilderness, and Ireland: Medieval and Early Modern Patterns in the Demarcation of Civility," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, volume 56, number 1, (January, 1995), 25-39.

A. E. Lester, "A Shared Imitation: Cistercian Convents and Crusader Families in Thirteenth-Century Champagne," *Journal of Medieval History*, volume 35, number 4, (2009), 353-370.

G. Macy, "Some Examples of the Influence of Exegesis on the Theology of the Eucharist in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, volume 52, (1985), 64-77.

C. T. Maier, "Crisis, Liturgy, and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, volume 48, number 4, (October, 1997), 628-657.

I. G. Marcus, "Jews and Christians Imagining the Other in Medieval Europe," *Prooftexts*, volume 15, number 3, (September, 1995), 209-226.

H. Mayr-Harting, "Two Abbots in Politics: Wala of Corbie and Bernard of Clairvaux," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, volume 40, (1990), 217-237.

B. McGinn, "Evil-Sounding, Rash, and Suspect of Heresy: Tensions between Mysticism and Magisterium in the History of the Church," *The Catholic Historical Review*, volume 90, number 2, (April, 2004), 193-212.

B. McGinn, "Mystical Consciousness: A Modest Proposal," *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality*, volume 8, number 1, (Spring, 2008), 44-63.

B. McGinn, "Ocean and Desert as Symbols of Mystical Absorption in the Christian Tradition," *The Journal of Religion*, volume 74, number 2, (April, 1994), 155-181.

B. McGinn, "Violence and Spirituality: The Enigma of the First Crusade," *The Journal of Religion*, volume 69, number 3, (July, 1989), 375-379.

B. McGinn, "Withdrawal and Return: Reflections on Monastic Retreat from the World," *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality*, volume 6, number 2, (Fall, 2006), 149-172.

C. J. Mews, "From *Scivias* to the *Liber Divinorum Operum*: Hildegard's Apocalyptic Imagination and the Call to Reform," *The Journal of Religious History*, volume 24, number 1, (February, 2000), 44-56.

C. J. Mews, "Livre de la nature et débat trinitaire au XIIe siècle: Le "De tribus diebus" de Hugues de Saint-Victor, by Dominique Poirel," Review Article, *Speculum*, volume 79, number 1, (January, 2004), 255-257.

C. J. Mews, "The Council of Sens (1141): Abelard, Bernard, and the Fear of Social Upheaval," *Speculum*, volume 77, number 2, (April, 2002), 342-382.

P. Miller, "G. R. Evans. The Mind of St. Bernard of Clairvaux," Book Review, *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, volume 23, number 2, (April, 1985), 254-255.

R. I. Moore, "Duby's Eleventh Century," *History*, volume 79, (1984), 36-49.

R. I. Moore, "Family, Community, and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, volume 30, (1980), 49-69.

K. F. Morrison, "Hermeneutics and Enigma: Bernard of Clairvaux's *De consideratione*," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, volume 19, (1988), 129-151.

C. J. Nederman and C. Campbell, "Priests, Kings, and Tyrants: Spiritual and Temporal Power in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*," *Speculum*, volume 66, number 3, (July, 1991), 572-590.

C. J. Nederman, "The Physiological Significance of the Organic Metaphor in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*," *History of Political Thought*, volume 2, (1987), 211-223.

C. J. Nederman, "The Virtues of Necessity: Labor, Money, and Corruption in John of Salisbury's Thought," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, volume 33, (2002), 54-68.

C. Ocker, "Medieval Exegesis and the Origin of Hermeneutics," *Scottish Journal of Theology*, volume 52, issue 3, (August, 1999), 328-345.

G. W. Olsen, "Recovering the Homeland: Acts 4.32 and the *Ecclesia Primitiva* in St. Bernard's Sermons on the Song of Songs," *Word and Spirit*, volume 12, (1990), 92-117.

G. W. Olsen, "Reform after the pattern of the Primitive Church in the thought of Salvian of Marseilles," *The Catholic Historical Review*, volume 68, number 1, (1982), 1-12.

G. W. Olsen, "The Idea of the 'Ecclesia Primitiva' in the Writings of the Twelfth Century Canonists," *Traditio*, volume 25, (January, 1969), 61-86.

G. W. Olsen, "The Image of the First Community of Christians at Jerusalem in the Time of Lanfranc and Anselm," *Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XIe-XIIe siècles: études anselmiennes (IVe session)*, (Éditions du CNRS: Paris, 1984), 341-353.

L. B. Pascoe, "Jean Gerson, the 'Ecclesia Primitiva' and Reform," *Traditio*, volume 30, (1974), 379-409.

S. L. Reames, "Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket," *Speculum*, volume 80, number 1, (January, 2005), 118-170.

S. Ritchey, "Spiritual Arborescence: Trees in the Medieval Christian Imagination," *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality*, volume 8, number 1, (Spring, 2008), 64-82.

M. Rubin, "Whose Eucharist? Eucharistic Identity as Historical Subject," *Modern Theology*, volume 15, number 2, (1999), 197-208.

A. C. Rush, "The Eucharist: The Sacrament of the Dying in Late Antiquity," *The Jurist*, volume 34, number 1, (1974), 10-35.

E. Sauras, "Thomistic Soteriology and the Mystical Body," *The Thomist*, volume 15, number 4, (October, 1952), 543-571.

J. Schaefer, "Grateful Cooperation: Cistercian Inspiration for Ecological Ethics," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, volume 37, number 2, (2002), 187-203.

K. Schatz, "The Gregorian Reform and the Beginning of a Universal Ecclesiology," R. E. Jenkins (trans.), *The Jurist*, (1997), 123-136.

A. Schinkel, "Imagination as a Category of History: An Essay concerning Koselleck's concepts of *Erfahrungsraum* and *Erwartungshorizont*," *History and Theory*, volume 44, number 1, (February, 2005), 42-54.

R. E. Scully, "The Unmaking of a Saint: Thomas Becket and the English Reformation," *The Catholic Historical Review*, volume 86, number 4, (October, 2000), 579-602.

I. F. Silber, "Dissent through Holiness. The Case of the Radical Renouncer in Theravada Buddhist Countries," *Numen*, volume 28, fasc. 2, (December, 1981), 164-193.

B. Smalley, "A Commentary on the *Hebraica* by Herbert of Bosham," *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, volume 18, (1951), 29-65.

B. Smalley, "Stephen Langton and the Four Senses of Scripture," *Speculum*, volume 6, number 1, (January, 1931), 60-76.

J. R. Sommerfeldt, "The Bernardine Reform and the Crusading Spirit," *The Catholic Historical Review*, volume 86, number 4, (2000), 567-578.

S. O. Sønnesyn, *Words Incarnate: History, Ethics, and the Epistemology of Exempla*, (unpublished).

J. Soskice, "Aquinas and Augustine on Creation and God as 'Eternal Being'," *New Blackfriars*, volume 95, issue 1056, (March, 2014), 190-207.

R. W. Southern, "Sally Vaughn's Anselm: An Examination of the Foundations," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, volume 20, number 2, (Summer, 1988), 181-204.

J. C. Stark, "The Pauline Influence on Augustine's Notion of the Will," *Vigiliae Christianae*, volume 43, number 4, (December, 1989), 345-360.

N. H. Steneck, "Albert the Great on the Classification and Localization of the Internal Senses," *Isis*, volume 65, number 2, (June, 1974), 193-211.

B. Stock, "Toward Interpretive Pluralism: Literary History and the History of Reading," *New Literary History*, volume 39, number 3, (Summer, 2008), 389-413.

G. G. Stroumsa and P. Fredrikson, "The Two Souls and the Divided Will," in *Soul, Self, Body in Religious Experience*, A. Baumgarten, J. Assmann, and G. G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Studies in the History of Religions*, (Brill: Leiden, 1998), 198-217.

T. Reuter and C. Wickham, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," *Past and Present*, number 155, (May, 1997), 177-208.

J. H. van Engen, "Professing Religion: From Liturgy to Law," *Viator*, volume 29, (1998), 323-344.

J. H. van Engen, "The 'Crisis of Cenobitism' Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050-1150," *Speculum*, volume 61, number 2, (1996), 269-304.

S. N. Vaughn, "Anselm: Saint and Statesman," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, volume 20, number 2, (Summer, 1988), 205-220.

B. E. Whalen, "Re-thinking the Schism of 1054: Authority, Heresy, and the Latin Rite," *Traditio*, volume 62, (2007), 1-24.

H. V. White, "The Gregorian Ideal and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, volume 21, number 3, (1960), 321-348.

L. White Jr., "The Historical Roots of our Ecologic Crisis," *Science*, New Series, Vol. 155, No. 3767, (March 1967), 1203-1207.

E. Whitney, "Paradise Restored: The Mechanical Arts from Antiquity through the Thirteenth Century," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, volume 80, number 1, (1990), 1-169.

G. H. Williams, "The Wilderness and Paradise in the History of the Church," *Church History*, volume 28, number 1, (March, 1959), 3-24.

J. R. Williams, "The Cathedral School of Reims in the Time of Master Alberic," *Traditio*, volume 20, (1964), 93-114.

G. Zinn, "Hugh of St Victor and the Ark of Noah: A New Look," *Church History*, volume 40, number 3, (September, 1971), 261-271.