

THE WORK AND THOUGHT OF HUGH OF AMIENS
(C. 1085-1164)

Ryan P. Freeburn

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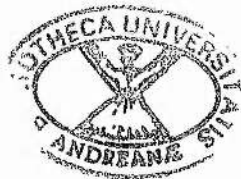
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The Work and Thought of
Hugh of Amiens (c. 1085-1164)

Ryan P. Freeburn

for the degree of Ph.D. in Mediaeval History

Submitted: 15 June 2005



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Abstract

Throughout the course a long life in which he served as a cleric, a Cluniac monk, and an archbishop, Hugh of Amiens (c. 1085-1164) wrote a number of works including poems, biblical exegesis, anti-heretical polemics, and one of the early collections of systematic theology. This dissertation aims to provide an intellectual biography of Hugh which grants a better understanding not only of his motivations and ideals, but also some of those of the wider clerical and monastic world of the twelfth century. It examines each of Hugh's theological and literary compositions with their manuscript distribution, chronology, and contemporary setting, giving an in-depth exegesis of the texts including their concerns, sources of material, and their meaning within the context of their day. So too does it compare him with contemporaries who were writing similar works, from the compilers of sentences to biblical versifiers.

Many themes surface in this work. One of these is the influence that both the scholastic and the monastic worlds had on Hugh. His writings show that he, along with many of his contemporaries, was secure in drawing inspiration from the contemplative spirit of the cloister as well as the methodical and disputatious endeavours of the schools. Another key theme is the extensive influence of St. Augustine, not just upon Hugh's thought, but also upon the thought of most of Hugh's contemporaries. The role of Hugh's works in the origin of systematic theology also emerges, as does their relation to events in the larger religious, social, and political scene, such as the rise of popular heresies and new religious movements, the condemnation of Gilbert de la Porrée (c. 1076-1154), and the schism under Pope Alexander III (c. 1100-81). It concludes that Hugh was not only an intriguing individual, but also a representative of many of the important and widespread trends of his day.

Declarations

I, Ryan P. Freeburn, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 99,500 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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I was admitted as a research student in September, 2002 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in September, 2003; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2002 and 2005.

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Abbreviations

- AASS *Acta sanctorum*. Ed. J. Bollandus et. al. Antwerp and Brussels, 1633- .
- Acta Remis* *Acta primi capituli provincialis ordinis S. Benedicti Remis A.D. 1131 habiti*; Matthew of Albano, *Epistola*; William of Saint-Thierry, *Reponsio Abbatum*. Ed. Stanislaus Ceglar. In Saint-Thierry, une abbaye du VI^e au XX^e siècle. Actes du Colloque international d'Histoire monastique. Reims - Saint-Thierry, 11 au 14 octobre 1976. Réunis par Michel Bur, 311-50. Saint-Thierry: Association des amis de l'Abbaye de Saint-Thierry, 1979.
- AHDLMA *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen age*.
- Anecdotorum* *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*. Eds. Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand. Paris: F. Delaulne, 1717.
- Apologia* Bernard of Clairvaux. *Apologia ad Guillelmum Abbatem*. In *S. Bernardi Opera. Vol III: Tractatus et Opuscula*. Eds. Jean Leclercq, O.S.B., and H.M. Rochais, O.S.B., 80-108. Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1963.
- Augustine, *DeGen.* St. Augustine. *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim*. Trans. with an introduction and notes by P. Agaësse and A. Solignac. *Bibliothèque Augustinienne: Œuvres de Saint Augustin* 48-49, 7^{ème} serie. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1972.
- Augustine, *DeTrin.* St. Augustine. *The Trinity (De Trinitate)*. Trans. with an introduction and notes by Edmund Hill, O.P. Ed. John E. Rotelle, O.S.A. *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century*. Part I, Vol. 5. Brooklyn: New City Press, 1991.
- Bibliographie Universelle* *Bibliographie Universelle. Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps le plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours: avec les renseignements bibliographiques et l'indication des sources a consulter*. Ed. M. le Dr. Hoefer. Paris: M.M. Firmin Didot Frères, 1852-66.

- CCCM *Corpus Christianorum: continuo medievalis*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1966- .
- CCSL *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953- .
- CSEL *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Vienna: 1866- .
- Ermites* *Ermites de France et d'Italie (XI^e-XV^e Siècle). Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome à la Certosa di Pontignano (5-7 mai 2000) avec le patronage de l'Université de Sienne*. Ed. André Vauchez. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2003.
- Glossa* *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria. Facsimile Reprint of the Editio Princeps Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/81*. With an introduction by Karlfried Froehlich and Margaret T. Gibson. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992. PL 113-114, 752.
- Honorius, *Eluc.* Honorius Augustodunensis. *Elucidarium sive Dialogus de Summa totius Christianae Theologiae*. PL 172, 1109-76.
- Huemer *Zur Geschichte der Mittellateinischen Dichtung. Hugonis Ambianensis sive Ribomontensis Opuscula*. Herausgegeben von Dr. Johann Huemer. Vienna: Alfred Hölder, K.K. Hof- und Universitäts-Buchhändler, 1880.
- Hugh, *Dial.* Hugh of Amiens. *Dialogorum seu Quaestionum theologicarum*. PL 192, 1141-1248.
- Hugh, *Disposuit* Hugh of Amiens. *Disposuit, ut voluit*. In Huemer, 31-33.
- Hugh, *Fide* Hugh of Amiens. *Super fide catholica et oratione dominica*. PL 192, 1323-46.
- Hugh, *Grav.* Hugh of Amiens. *Epistola Gravioni Andegavensi*. In Huemer, 37-40. PL 166, 833-36.

- Hugh, *Haer.* Hugh of Amiens. *Contra haereticos sui temporis*. PL 192, 1255-98.
- Hugh, *InHex.* Hugh of Amiens. *In Hexaemeron*. In Francis Lecomte, 'Un commentaire scripturaire du XIIe siècle, le *Tractatus in hexaemeron* de Hugues d'Amiens.' *AHDLMA* 25 (1958), 235-94. PL 192, 1247-56 (Sections 1-10 only).
- Hugh, *InLaud.* Hugh of Amiens. *In laudem Sanctae Mariae*. In Huemer, 34-5.
- Hugh, *InPent.* Hugh of Amiens. *In Pentateuchem*. In Huemer, 1-31.
- Hugh, *Mem.* Hugh of Amiens. *De memoria*. PL 192, 1299-1324.
- Hugh, *QuiRes* Hugh of Amiens. *Qui res subiectas*. In Huemer, 34-5.
- Hugh, *VitaAdjutoris* Hugh of Amiens. *Vita Sancti Adjutoris Monachi Tironensis*. PL 192, 1345-52; *Anecdotorum*, Vol. V, 1012-17.
- Lombard, *Sent.* Peter Lombard. *Sententiarum libri quatuor*. PL 192, 519-964.
- Lottin, *Laon* Lottin, Dom Odon. *Problèmes d'histoire littéraire. L'école d'Anselm de Laon et de Guillaume de Champeaux*. In *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*. Vol. V. Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1959.
- Mansi *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio... editio novissima*. Ed. Joannes Dominicus Mansi. 31 vols. Antonium Zatta: Florence and Venice, 1759-98.
- MEFRMA Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen âge.
- MGH SS *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*. Ed. Societas Aperiendis Fontibus Rerum Germanicarum Medii Aevi. Hanover: 1826- .
- Petrus Venerabilis* *Petrus Venerabilis 1156-1956. Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Century of his Death*. Eds. Giles Constable and James Kritzeck, 72-80. *Studia Anselmiana* 40. Rome: Herder, 1956.

- PL *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. Paris, 1841-1864.
- PUE III *Papsturkunden in England*. Vol. III. Ed. Walther Holtzmann. *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, Dritte Folge 33. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952.
- RB *Revue Bénédictine*.
- Reprehensio* *Reprehensio libelli abbatis Clare Vallis quem ipse edidit generalliter contra monacos*. In André Wilmart, 'Un riposte de l'ancien monachisme au manifeste de saint Bernard,' RB 46 (1934), 309-344.
- RHF *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*. Eds. Martin Bouquet and Léopold Delisle. Paris: Victor Palmé, 1869-1904. Reprint, Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, Ltd., 1967.
- RRAN II *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154. Vol. II: Regesta Henrici Primi, 1100-1135*. Eds. Charles Johnson and H.A. Cronne. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.
- RTAM *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*.
- SentAns.* *Sententie Anselmi*. In *Anselms von Laon Systematische Sentenzen*. Ed. Franz Plazidus Bliemetzrieder, 47-153. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*. Band 17, Heft 2-3. Münster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1919.
- SentDivPag.* *Sententie divine pagine*. In *Anselms von Laon Systematische Sentenzen*. Ed. Franz Plazidus Bliemetzrieder, 1-46. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*. Band 17, Heft 2-3. Münster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1919.
- Stella, 'Nuovi testi' Stella, Francesco. 'Nuovi testi di poesia biblica fra XI e XII secolo: un secondo "Liber Regum" dello pseudo-Ildeberto. Testo del prologo e dei vv. 1-214.' In *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century*. Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies, Cambridge, September 9-12, 1998. Eds.

Michael W. Herren, C.J. McDonough, and Ross G. Arthur, vol. 2, 410-35. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.

- Torigny Robert of Torigny. *Chronica*. In *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*. Ed. Richard Howlett. Vol. 4. *Rolls Series* 82.4. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1889.
- WEH Wakefield, Walter L. and Austin P. Evans. *Heresies of the High Middle Ages. Selected Sources Translated and Annotated*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969. Reprint, 1991.
- Weisweiler, *Das Schriftum* Weisweiler, Heinrich, S.J. *Das Schriftum der Schule Anselms von Laon und Wilhelms von Champeaux in Deutschen Bibliotheken*. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen. Band 36, Heft 1/2. Gen. ed. Martin Grabmann. Münster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1936.

Preface

Hugh of Amiens may not be among the first names that come to mind when one considers the twelfth century. He can hardly be counted amongst the great theological innovators or political figures of his day. And yet he was nonetheless an important figure of his time, and in many ways more representative of the broader trends of clerical and monastic thought than his more innovative contemporaries. He was born around 1085, at the end of the fiery pontificate of Gregory VII and only nineteen years after the Norman Conquest changed the political face of western Europe. At his death in 1164, nearly a decade after Peter Lombard published his *Sentences* and a few years before the Becket controversy, the Church was yet again divided with Frederick Barbarossa supporting an antipope against Alexander III. His life thus spanned a long stretch of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, during which he served in various capacities as secular cleric, monk, prior, abbot, archbishop, papal legate, confessor to King Henry I of England, and sometime supporter of King Stephen.

However, the following pages will not focus on Hugh as administrator, diplomat, or legate, though occasionally these aspects of his life will surface. What has been regrettably overlooked is his contribution to and participation in the intellectual currents of his day. For while generally traditional in his approach and his views, he certainly did have an impact, most notably in the development of systematic theology. But above all, beyond any specific contributions found therein, his writings

serve as a valuable mirror reflecting the diverse concerns of his time. Important theological debates, differing views on the relations between monks and clerics, suspicions regarding heresy, the growing concern for pastoral care and sacramental practices, and the turmoil of successive schisms in the Church all surface in Hugh's writings. His thoughts on these matters bring to light yet another facet of the religious, especially the clerical and monastic, attitudes of the twelfth century. Moreover, as both a Cluniac and an archbishop, he had plenty of experience of both the secular and cloistered worlds from which to draw.

I have not been able to address everything that appears in Hugh's writings, and in selecting what aspects to examine most closely I have allowed myself to be guided by the relative importance that Hugh himself gave to his subject matter, as determined by both the extent of his treatment and his fervour for the area under discussion. Thus some topics that were significant in his day, such as the *assumptus homo* debate have been relegated to footnotes, while others receive just a brief mention. But in any case, I hope that this sketch of the thought of Hugh of Amiens casts a little more light on his period and brings more attention to him as an noteworthy, not to mention fascinating, individual.

Chapter I

Hugh of Amiens: Cleric, Monk, and Bishop

Although Hugh of Amiens' interests as expressed through his writings were largely theological, he could not help but be influenced by the events through which he lived. His roles as monk and later as bishop had a great influence upon the subject matter and the approaches found in these writings. His time in the schools and his participation in the struggles caused by schisms in the Church also affected his thought. Therefore, before turning to the material of the works, we will first embark on a brief survey of his life. Not only does the chronology of his life serve to clarify that of his works and the development of his thought, but it also provides a fuller picture of the man and his motivations than his writings can ever provide on their own.

Hugh's early years remain obscure, and little more can be ascertained than that he belonged to a family of the minor nobility in the Amienois and was born around 1085.¹ He never referred to himself as coming from Amiens, for his early self-description was as '*Hugo Ribomontensis*,'² and later he called himself by the office he held, whether abbot of Reading or archbishop of Rouen. But others often called him '*Ambianensis*', including

¹ This date is based on Hugh's appointment as prior of Saint-Martial in 1114, assuming he was around thirty years old at the time. However, given that Pontius, who was barely twenty years old when he became abbot of Cluny, appointed him to this post, this may be a very conservative estimate. It is plausible that Hugh was born as late as 1095, since his studies at Laon together with Matthew of Albano only needed to have taken place before 1110, when Matthew became a monk. See *infra*, pp. 4-5; chapter 5, pp. 119-20, 122-3.

² See *infra*, chapter 2, pp. 14-15; chapter 3, pp. 28-31.

Orderic Vitalis (1075-c. 1142)³ and Hugh's friend and fellow Cluniac, Peter the Venerable (c. 1092-1156).⁴ Because of this attribution, and a following assumption that Hugh must have been related to the counts of Amiens, he has long been associated with the house of Boves, and even referred to as 'Hugh de Boves'.⁵ At the end of the eleventh century, Enguerran de Boves laid claim to the county of Amiens after the death of Raoul IV and the dissolution of his vast patrimony.⁶ Even after the county was given by Louis VI to the Vermandois family after the rising of the commune and the vicious attempt of Enguerran's son, Thomas of Marle, to suppress it, the family maintained its pretensions to the title.⁷ Hugh may have been from a minor line of this family, perhaps from a younger sibling or cousin of Enguerran himself. Indeed, Enguerran had a number of siblings known only by name, including Anseau de Caix, who became archdeacon of

³ 'Hugo Ambianensis, monachus Cluniacensis, abbas Radingensis,' Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and translated by Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), XII, 48.

⁴ 'domnus Hugo Ambianensis, prius monachus Cluniacensis, postea archiepiscopus Rothomagensis.' *Le Cartulaire de Marcigny-sur-Loire (1045-1144). Essai de Reconstitution d'un Manuscrit Disparu*, ed. Jean Richard (Dijon: Société des *Analecta Burgundica*, 1957), charter 171b, pp. 101-2. The chronicle of Saint-Martial complicates things slightly by referring to Hugh as 'Hugo Damiani' which probably stands for 'd'Amiens', although this is somewhat odd given that other patronymics in the text are given in their latinized forms: *Ex Chronico Gaufridi Coenobitae*, in RHF XII, 431. Williamson recently complicated matters by identifying him with the prior of Lewes named Hugh of St. Margarita to whom Osbert of Clare wrote: Osbert of Clare, *The Letters of Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster*, ed. E. W. Williamson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929, reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), ep 1, p. 40. Actually, this was a different Hugh who became prior sometime after 1130 and ruled until his death in 1144: *Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, 940-1216*, eds. David Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke, and Vera C.M. London, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 119.

⁵ P. Hébert, 'Un Archevêque de Rouen au XII^e Siècle: Hugues III d'Amiens, 1130-1164,' *Revue des Questions Historiques* 64, N.S. 20 (1898), 325.

⁶ P. Feuchère, 'Une tentative manquée de concentration territoriale entre Somme et Seine: La principauté d'Amiens-Valois au XI^e siècle. Étude de géographie historique,' *Le Moyen Age* 60:1-2 (1954), 11-13.

⁷ Jacques Chaurand, *Thomas de Marle, Sire de Coucy* (Vervins: La Tribune de la Thiérache, 1963), 81-3; Dominique Barthélemy, *Les Deux Âges de la Seigneurie Banale. Pouvoir et Société dans la Terre des Sires de Coucy (milieu XI^e – milieu XIII^e siècle)*, with a preface by Pierre Toubert, *Université de Paris IV, Série Histoire Ancienne et Médiévale* 12 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1984), 79-82.

Amiens and had at least one son.⁸ Hugh's counter-seal of a bull, which is found on the seals of some of his later charters may also indicate a relation to the family de Boves.⁹

The only indications of his relations are a reference to his mother, Hecelina, in the cartulary of Marcigny,¹⁰ and Hugh's remark that Matthew of Albano was a relative.¹¹ Neither of these revelations is very helpful. William FitzStephen, however, referred to Giles du Perche as Hugh's 'nephew'.¹² A tendentious connexion can be made between the counts of Amiens and the counts of Perche through Enguerran's first wife, Ade, who was a granddaughter of Gislebert, count of Roucy,¹³ from whom was also descended Beatrice, the wife of Geoffrey III du Perche.¹⁴ But again, there could be other unknown connexions through the less famous and unrecorded members of these families.

What then was Hugh's connexion to Ribemont? There are two possible locations. The first is Ribemont between Laon and Saint-Quentin, and the second Ribemont-sur-Ancre, about ten miles northeast of Amiens and Boves. The first was by far the better known, being the important seat of Anseau of Ribemont and his successors. Hugh might have been related to this family, but as their affairs and family connexions focused on the

⁸ Barthélemy, 23n.

⁹ Hébert, 325.

¹⁰ *Le Cartulaire de Marcigny-sur-Loire*, charters 171 and 171b, pp. 101-2.

¹¹ Hugh, *Dial.*, 1142A-B.

¹² Giles, to whom Hugh wrote *Super fide*, was called '*nepotem et archidiaconum suum*' by William FitzStephen in *Vita Sancti Thomae, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Martyris*, in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, vol. III., ed. James C. Robertson, *Rolls Series*, 67, 3 (London, Longman & Co., 1877), s. 17 (p. 27).

¹³ Barthélemy, 56-7, 62-3.

¹⁴ Frederick R. Pryce, 'Anglo-Norman Barons and their European Relations. The Descendants of Hilduin de Montdidier, Count of Roucy,' *The Genealogists' Magazine* 19:2 (Jun. 1977), 56-7.

city of Valenciennes and the regions of Hainaut and Flanders,¹⁵ this would appear to preclude a relation to the city of Amiens. Ribemont-sur-Ancre provides a better connexion to Amiens, and does not even require affiliation with the counts, as its proximity alone would probably have sufficed as justification for Hugh's appellation.¹⁶ Ultimately, the identity of Hugh's birthplace must remain uncertain, for although more evidence points towards this second Ribemont, none of it is conclusive.

In any case, Hugh eventually made his way to the Laonnois, for he spent some time at the school there under master Anselm, whose theological teachings greatly influenced many of the positions Hugh would later take.¹⁷ In the preface to the *Dialogues*, Hugh recalled his education there together with his cousin Matthew:

For both one kinsfolk and the fraternity of the same profession in Christ joined us. France begat us, the soil of Laon nourished and taught us, and Cluny dressed us in the clothing of Christ.¹⁸

Hugh did not mention it in this brief account, but he also spent time as a cleric in the diocese of Thérouanne, where he was among the many friends and followers of John of Warneton, bishop of Thérouanne from 1099 to 1130.¹⁹ He became a canon of the

¹⁵ Charles Dereine, 'Emmissa de Valenciennes dite "la comtesse" (1080-1145) (Contribution à l'étude des Ribemont-Bouchain),' *Académie Royale de Belgique Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* 147:1-4 (1981), 222-4.

¹⁶ However, Enguerran did have a presence only five miles from Ribemont as castellan of Corbie. Heather J. Tanner, *Families, Friends and Allies. Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England, c. 879-1160*, The Northern World, vol. 6 (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2004), p. 110, n. 171.

¹⁷ See especially *infra*, chapters 2 and 4.

¹⁸ 'Nos enim et una generis consanguinitas et ejusdem professionis in Christo junxit societas quos Francia genuit, quos Laudunense solum educavit et docuit, quos veste Christi Cluniacus induit.' PL 192, 1142A-B.

¹⁹ *De B. Ioanne Morinorum episcopo*, AASS, January II, 27 Jan., p. 798, par. 18.

cathedral chapter,²⁰ and although he may have already moved on from his studies at Laon by this date, it could be that John encouraged him to study at that learned centre.

This period of immersion in the secular clergy and the bustling world of the schools lasted until 1112, when Hugh entered the abbey of Cluny. Around this same time, in a striking parallel to Peter the Venerable's life, his mother, Hecelina, became a nun at Marcigny-sur-Loire. Her presence there encouraged him to give his four churches (Pressy, Pernes-en Artois, Sachin, and Floringhem) to the nunnery.²¹ In addition, John of Théroouanne gave the church of Frévent, which Hugh held from him, to the priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs.²² At Cluny he joined both his cousin Matthew who had already made the same decision two years earlier, and Peter the Venerable, with whom the new monks would develop a close friendship.²³

²⁰ *Recueil des chartes et documents de Saint-Martin des Champs*, ed. J. Depoin, *Archives de la France monastique*, vol. XIII (Paris: Jouve, 1912-1913), c. 141 (I.222-3).

²¹ A charter of Marcigny abbey records Hugh's grant of these churches to Marcigny on behalf of his mother, presumably upon her entrance. Peter the Venerable later issued a charter in 1144 to solve a dispute between Marcigny and Abbeville over these churches, wherein he recalled that Hugh gave them to the abbey when he received the habit of the monastic life of Cluny (*cum habitum monasticae conversationis Chuniaci*). *Le Cartulaire de Marcigny-sur-Loire*, charters 171 and 171b, pp. 101-2. The language of the charters indicates that Hugh himself gave the churches, but this raises the question of just how these churches were Hugh's to give. The first, actually a short summary of what was probably a much longer original charter, simply records: 'ecclesiam de Pennas et ecclesiam de Floringeen...dedit Hugo de Amiens....' Peter the Venerable's charter of concord confirms that 'domnus Hugo Ambianensis...donavit...parrochialem ecclesiam de Pennis, cum aliis suis adjacentibus ecclesiis et decimis....' This could be a simple error, with the summariser of the original charter mistaking Hugh for the donor or intending to convey that Hugh was merely the influence behind the donation. But Hugh may have actually possessed the churches. If they were not family property, which was unlikely given the distance to Amiens and Ribemont as well as increasing disapproval towards lay possession of churches, he may still have acquired them. At least according to the synod of Poitiers in 1078, not only abbots, but monks and canons were able to buy the rights of churches from laymen. See Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, translated by Timothy Reuter, *Cambridge Medieval Textbooks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, reprint, 2000), 292-3.

²² *Recueil des chartes et documents de Saint-Martin des Champs*, c. 141 (I.222-3).

²³ Dom Ursmer Berlière, 'Le Cardinal Matthieu d'Albano (c. 1085-1135),' *RB* 18 (1901), 115-17; Jean-Pierre Torrell, O.P. and Denise Bouthillier, *Pierre le Vénérable et sa Vision du Monde. Sa Vie – Son Oeuvre – L'Homme et Le Démon, Études et Documents Fascicule 42* (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum

Hugh's merits were quickly recognised. By 1114, he had become prior of Saint-Martial, Limoges, which had been under the authority of Cluny since 1062.²⁴ Then in 1120 he was appointed as prior of St. Pancras, Lewes, a position which both the founder, William of Warenne, and the abbot of Cluny agreed should be filled with the best monk of the order after the Abbot of Cluny and the abbot of La Charité.²⁵ His upward path continued, and on 15 April 1123, Henry I made him abbot of Reading Abbey.²⁶ The abbey, being the favourite foundation of Henry and his eventual burial place, received many gifts and privileges from the king.²⁷ Not least of these was the hand of St. James, taken by Matilda before she departed from the imperial court.²⁸

His time as abbot did not last long, and already in 1128 he was being summoned to a more active life. On 30 April 1128, Honorius II sent a letter praising Hugh because he 'lived religiously and devoutly served the Lord,' and commanding him to travel to Rome to provide his counsel.²⁹ What brought Hugh to the pope's attention is uncertain. It

Lovaniense, 1986), 14-19; See *infra*, chapter 5, for a closer description of the circumstances surrounding Hugh's entrance into Cluny and the influence of Cluniac ideals upon his life and thought.

²⁴ *Ex Chronico Gaufridi Coenobitae*, 431; Hébert, 328.

²⁵ Dom David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England. A History of its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 151.

²⁶ *Flores Historiarum*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, *Rolls Series* 95, 3 vols. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890), 49; *Reading Abbey Cartularies. British Library Manuscripts: Egerton 3031, Harley 1708 and Cotton Vespasian E xxv*, ed. B. R. Kemp, 2 vols., Camden Fourth Series, vols. 31 and 33 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), I, pp. 15, 26; Reading was actually founded in 1121 with Peter, a monk from Cluny, as its first superior: Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 281-2.

²⁷ RRAN II, 1426.

²⁸ Emma Mason, 'Pro Statu et Incolumnitate Regni Mei: Royal Monastic Patronage 1066-1154,' in *Religion and National Identity*, ed. Stuart Mews, 99-117, *Studies in Church History* 18 (Basil Blackwell: Oxford, 1982), 110.

²⁹ 'vos religiose uiuere et domino deuote seruire audiuius.' PUE III, no. 15.

may have been his skill and clarity in writing theology, for he had finished the first edition of the *Dialogues* by 1126, the year in which Matthew of Albano, its recipient, became papal legate.³⁰ It might also have been his administrative skills, for he was already writing charters in the style of the papal chancery while prior of Lewes.³¹ In any case, Honorius' request began a struggle in which the king threatened to withdraw his gifts to Reading and not appoint a successor if Hugh were to leave.³² The monks of Reading also requested of the pope that he not deprive them of their abbot.³³ Hugh in turn pleaded with both the pope and Chancellor Haimeric that King Henry prevented him from leaving. Furthermore, he needed to remain because he had to prepare for the arrival of Matthew of Albano, who was then serving as papal legate.³⁴ On 15 October, Honorius wrote again, giving Hugh leave to wait for Matthew,³⁵ but in the end Hugh met Matthew in Rouen on the way to Rome,³⁶ where he arrived by 10 May 1129.³⁷ He did not remain long, and by 16 June he was returning to England as the official collector of Peter's Pence, as Honorius explained in a letter to Henry I. Therein he stated that he had retained

³⁰ See *infra*, chapter 4.

³¹ T.G. Waldman, 'Hugh of Amiens, Archbishop of Rouen (1130-64), the Norman Abbots, and the Papacy: The Foundation of a "Textual Community",' *Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990), 141-3.

³² PUE III, no. 16; RRAN II, 1549. The letter is dated wrongly by the editors of RRAN as 1127, when it should be dated to 1128, after the summons from Honorius.

³³ PUE III, no. 17.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, nos. 18-19.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 20.

³⁶ Berlière, 'Le Cardinal,' 129.

³⁷ On this date Honorius wrote a letter commending the abbey to the care of its priors while Hugh remained with him 'per aliquod tempus'. PUE III, 21.

Hugh under his own law and dominion as a 'special cleric'.³⁸ Hugh performed the necessary enquiries and informed Honorius that England owed 600 marks,³⁹ but by 3 March 1130 the sum was still uncollected, for on this date the recently elected Innocent II wrote to Hugh asking for support against Anacletus and ordering the collection of the overdue Peter's Pence.⁴⁰

The failure to accomplish this collection was most likely the result of Hugh's election as archbishop of Rouen in late 1129 or early 1130. During this period, the cathedral chapter had seen or heard of Honorius' letter appointing Hugh as collector of Peter's Pence, for they quoted from it when they sent their announcement of the election to the pope, presumably before news of his death on 14 February 1130 reached them.⁴¹ Innocent II in turn confirmed the election on 29 March,⁴² and Hugh was consecrated on 14 September in Saint-Ouen, Rouen.⁴³ Matthew of Albano may have had some influence in the decision which brought his relative and fellow Cluniac to the chief see of Normandy, for he had been present in Rouen at the death of the previous bishop, Geoffrey.⁴⁴

³⁸ 'Ipsum itaque sub proprio iure atque dominio nostro tamquam specialem beati Petri et sanctae ecclesiae clericum retinemus.' *Ibid.*, no. 22.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 23.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 25.

⁴¹ Honorius II, *Epistolae et Privilegia*, PL 166, 1319D-20B.

⁴² *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, vol. V, ed. Johannes Ramackers, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, Dritte Folge 35 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), no. 44, pp. 111-12.

⁴³ Torigny, 117.

⁴⁴ Berlière, 'Le Cardinal,' 19.

As archbishop of Rouen, Hugh's area of oversight included the entire duchy of Normandy. This was no small responsibility that had been bestowed upon him, and at the very beginning of his episcopate, Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to him of the dangers he would face in his new diocese. The Cistercian abbot warned him that the only way to deal with the troubles that he would find there would be through patience and a spirit of peacemaking:

If the wickedness of the day grows, let it not prevail; if it disturbs, let it not confuse. 'The waves of the sea are marvellous', but 'more marvellous still is God on high.' ...I say therefore, it was sufficient for you to guard your innocence at Cluny, just as it was written, 'with the innocent man you will be innocent.' However, you must have patience at Rouen, in the same manner as the Apostle taught, saying 'It does not behove the slave of God to litigate, but to be more patient towards all.' And you must not only have patience, which refuses to be conquered by evil, but even a spirit of peacemaking, which may conquer evil in good—the one so that you may bear evil men, the other so that you may restore to health those whom you sustain. In your patience you are master of your soul; but may you also be a peacemaker, so that you may even be master of what has been entrusted to you.⁴⁵

This was good advice for the new archbishop, reminding him that he would not find the peace of the cloister at Rouen, and that he would have to stand up against the evils and discord that he would encounter in overseeing the business of his diocese.

Hugh threw himself into affairs which he had already begun with his earlier appointment as a 'special cleric.' He travelled to the council of Reims on 18 October

⁴⁵ 'Si diei malitia invalescit, non praevaleat; si turbat, non perturbet. *Mirabiles elationes maris, sed mirabilior in altis Dominus....* Dico ergo: sufficiebat tibi apud Cluniacenses custodire innocentiam, sicut scriptum est: *cum viro innocente innocens eris.* Porro apud Rotomagenses opus est patientia, quemadmodum docet Apostolus: *Servum Dei, inquit, non oportet litigare, sed magis patientem esse ad omnes; nec solum patientem, qui nolit vinci a malo, sed et pacificum, qui vincat in bono malum: alterum, ut malos portes; alterum, ut et quos sustines, sanes. In patientia tua possides animam tuam; sed sis etiam pacificus, ut et commissas tibi possideas.*' St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vols. 7-8, eds. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1974, 1977), ep. 25 (VIII.78-9); Ps. 17:26; II Tim. 2:24.

1130, announcing Henry I's support of Innocent II.⁴⁶ He gave his own full support to the embattled pope, a fact that was recognised later by Innocent himself.⁴⁷ In May 1131, Innocent visited Rouen and two months later he wrote to Hugh on the abuses in the Church in Normandy. These included the laity usurping episcopal rights, stealing offerings, and even being immediately advanced to the archidiaconate. Furthermore, he complained of men who were either illegitimate or unlearned being advanced to clerical orders.⁴⁸ These may have been the same dangers that Bernard warned Hugh about. In any case, Hugh would dedicate himself to the elimination of abuses within the clergy, a subject which he addressed especially in *Contra haereticos*.⁴⁹

Hugh's various acts as archbishop are too numerous to examine here, and in any case they have been admirably addressed elsewhere.⁵⁰ Various episodes will be mentioned in the following chapters when they shed light upon the chronology and meaning of his writings. However, one of his activities during this period deserves mention because it demonstrates the high regard in which he was held by others in the hierarchy of the Church. In 1134, he once again was called upon by the pope. This time, Innocent II summoned him to Pisa where the curia then resided. He assigned Hugh as

⁴⁶ *Ex Chronico Mauriniacensi*, RHF XII, 82.

⁴⁷ 'Quanto autem studio et infatigabili sollicitudine hac tempestate causam matris tuae sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae intrepidus assumpseris, et ambitionem inuasoris Petri Leonis detestans, ac Judaicae perfidiae furorem conterens frequentibus et ratione munitis exhortationibus clericorum, principum et caeterorum corda in fide Catholica et obedientia nostra firmaveris, non immemores.' Innocent II, *Epistolae et Privilegia*, PL 179, 103A.

⁴⁸ Innocent II, *Epistolae*, 99-101.

⁴⁹ See *infra*, chapter 8.

⁵⁰ For a full examination of Hugh's career as archbishop and an edition of his *acta*, see T.G. Waldman, *Hugh 'of Amiens', Archbishop of Rouen* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University, 1971).

legate to southern France in order to deal with several problems that had arisen.⁵¹ Hugh made a circuit of the region, in which he held synods at Tarascon, Montpellier, Romans, and Valence.⁵² He successfully mediated a dispute between La Chaise-Dieu and Saint-Tibéry and oversaw the submission of Guigo of Vienne, who had been excommunicated for burning the church of Romans.⁵³ However, he failed in his main task of gaining the submission of Count Alfonsus of Toulouse, who was also excommunicated.⁵⁴ In his case, it was for attacking the abbey of Saint-Gilles.⁵⁵ Upon his return to Pisa, Hugh witnessed a formal confirmation of this excommunication at the council held there in March 1135.⁵⁶ The legation may have had mixed success, but the very fact that Hugh was entrusted with such a mission and carried away from his pressing responsibilities shows the high regard in which he was held. Pope Innocent II valued him just as Honorius II had for his skill in dealing with administrative affairs and negotiations. A picture of Hugh as a theologian detached from the world and its doings is by no means a comprehensive portrait of the man, for Hugh as writer is only one facet of his complex and versatile character.

Hugh's faithful service to Henry I has already been mentioned, and although Henry was upset with Hugh for his absence on this legature, the two reconciled as Hugh rushed back to comfort the king upon his deathbed. He heard Henry's confession and

⁵¹ Luchesius Spätling, 'Die Legation des Erzbischofs Hugo von Rouen,' *Antonianum* 43 (1968), 204-5.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 207, 215-16.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 207-09; Hugh of Amiens, *Epistolae*, PL 192, 1132B-33B, 34D-36C.

⁵⁴ Hugh of Amiens, *Epistolae*, 1134B-C.

⁵⁵ Spätling, 206, 210; Hugh of Amiens, *Epistolae*, 1134A-B.

⁵⁶ Spätling, 211. See *infra*, chapter 8, p. 214-15, for the role of this council in the controversy over Henry the Monk.

absolved him, supervising the transportation of the body from Lyons-la-Forêt to Rouen.⁵⁷ He was also for a time a strong supporter of Stephen, and was present at Stephen's Easter court in 1136 along with the other Norman bishops, where he witnessed the Charter of Liberties.⁵⁸ William of Malmesbury declared him to be 'the king's foremost champion' because he supported the Stephen in his seizure of castles held by the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln.⁵⁹ Arriving at the legatine council summoned by Henry of Blois in 1138, he opposed his fellow Cluniac by declaring that the possession of castles by bishops was contrary to canon law.⁶⁰ When Stephen was captured on 9 February 1141, rather than submit to Matilda, Hugh led a group of Norman nobles in an attempt to persuade Stephen's brother, Theobald of Blois, to take the crown.⁶¹ Their attempt failed, and Stephen soon escaped and regained Hugh's support. Shortly thereafter, he wrote to the citizens of London in praise of their support for the king.⁶² But soon afterwards, on 20 January 1144, Geoffrey of Anjou took Rouen and Hugh was no longer able to actively involve himself in English affairs.⁶³ From that point onwards, he appears to have remained detached from the political machinations of the day, and little evidence exists

⁵⁷ William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, ed. Edmund King, translated by K.R. Potter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 12-14.

⁵⁸ *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, Vol. I: A.D. 871-1204, eds. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C.N.L. Brooke, Part II: 1066-1204 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), no. 137, pp. 762-6.

⁵⁹ William of Malmesbury, 28.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 22-30.

⁶¹ Orderic Vitalis, XIII, 44.

⁶² *Reading Abbey Cartularies. British Library Manuscripts: Egerton 3031, Harley 1708 and Cotton Vespasian E xxv*, ed. B. R. Kemp, *Camden Fourth Series*, vols. 31, 33 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), I.463 (pp. 355-6).

⁶³ Torigny, 145-8.

that Hugh had as close a relationship with Henry II as he did with his predecessors. On the contrary, on at least one occasion he nearly faced the full brunt of the king's notorious temper.⁶⁴

When Hugh died on 11 November 1164,⁶⁵ he left behind him not only a legacy of charters, confirmations, councils, and political activities, but also a number of theological and literary works. Hugh, like many of the thinkers of his day, was not a full contemplative spending his days in isolation and scholarly pursuits. He was as much a man of the world as a man of the cloister. The monastic life was not his first calling, for before entering Cluny he had been active in the schools and the cathedral chapter of Thérouanne. And his entrance did not relegate him to a world composed only of the daily hours and the *scriptorium*. He quickly rose to administrative positions within the Cluniac order, and even before his election as archbishop he served in a quasi-legatine position. He was a confidant of one king and a strong supporter of another. Yet throughout all these events, he was inspired to craft a great variety of writings, ranging from systematic theology to biblical exegesis, from hagiography to versification. His works reflect the diversity of his experiences; they carry the contemplative tone of a monk, the language of the schools, and the practical interests of a moral theologian. It is to these writings that we now turn, beginning with his first work, a humble letter he wrote to a fellow scholar during his early days, when he could only have imagined the heights to which he would one day rise.

⁶⁴ See *infra*, chapter 10, p. 284.

⁶⁵ See *infra*, Epilogue, for the dating of Hugh's death and the commemorations of his life.

Chapter II

Hugh of Amiens' *Epistola Gravioni*: The Origin of the Soul and the Beginning of a Career

The works of Hugh of Amiens begin with a letter he wrote, probably while he was still a cleric either at Laon or Thérouanne, on the origin of the soul. As with many of his later works, Hugh wrote this letter in response to a specific request from a friend, in this case Gravion of Angers. This letter of his, though in humble form, witnesses to his early days and his already eager interest in complicated theological matters. He displayed the same warm demeanour and enthusiasm that continued to shine later on in his more advanced works. As an expression of this early stage in his life, the *Epistola Gravioni* provides a useful example of how both his style and his thought changed over the years. It also shows how Hugh remained the same: always grappling with difficult issues for his friends.

Manuscripts and Dating

The work has no title other than the simple address *Hugo Ribomontensis Gravioni Andegavensi*. The style is the same as Hugh's later works, the interests are the same, and in a number of places the words are the very same as those found in the *Dialogues*.¹ In fact, much of Hugh's later discussion on the origin of the soul in the *Dialogues* appears to

¹ Compare Hugh, *Grav.*, ll. 25ff (833C-34B), to Hugh, *Dial.* V.12, 1206B-1208A; V.13, 1208A-B.

have been drawn directly from this earlier work.² At least two contemporaries recognised this connexion, for one manuscript reads *Ambianensis* instead of *Ribomontensis*,³ while in another the words 'sive *Ambianensis*' are written above '*Ribomontensis*'.⁴

Not only Hugh's use of *Ribomontensis*, but other evidence as well also supports an early dating for the letter. Gravion, its recipient, is almost certainly the Gravion who appears in 1117 as a cleric at Angers cathedral,⁵ but the letter most certainly dates from long before this point. Its audience extended far beyond Gravion himself, for the letter was more widely dispersed than any other work that Hugh wrote, finding its way to England, Germany, and France, possibly in the hands of various students from the school in Laon as they made their way back home after their studies.⁶ Among the extant

² See *infra*, chapter 4, for a discussion of the treatment of this subject in the *Dialogues*.

³ Oxford, Balliol, ms. 125, f. 130v.

⁴ Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, ms. Memb. II 136, f. 64r. See *infra*, chapter 3, for a fuller discussion of this manuscript.

⁵ John R. Williams, 'The Cathedral School of Reims in the Time of Master Alberic, 1118-1136,' *Traditio* 20 (1964), 109-110.

⁶ The manuscripts are:

- 1) Paris, BN ms. lat. 10448, f. 178v (thirteenth century). This manuscript was part of the library of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, but originated in either southern Germany or Austria. It includes an extensive collection of Laon sentences which precede and follow the *Epistola*, as well as an eclectic assortment of texts including a short treatise in German on the variations of the tides, a bestiary replete with colourful drawings, and a lapidary.
- 2) Paris, BN ms. n.a. lat. 862, f. 84v (thirteenth century). This manuscript was almost certainly a copy of Paris, BN lat. 10448, for it contains the same sentences, in the same order, but with occasional lacunae, as well as several of the preceding texts, again in the same order and also with some missing lines. On f. 1v is a list of German names which run off the page, which is possibly part of an earlier charter.
- 3) St. Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 21, ff. 202r-203v (twelfth century, *ex Clairmarais*). This is the manuscript which was used by Martène and Migne. The *Epistola* comes at the end of Ambrosius Autpertus' *Expositio in Apocalypsim*.
- 4) Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, ms. Memb. II. 136, f. 64r-66r (twelfth century, *ex Sankt Peterskloster, Erfurt*). This manuscript also contains the poems of Hugh. See *infra*, chapter 3.
- 5) Munich, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm. 2598 (Ald. 68), ff. 35v-36v (thirteenth or fourteenth century, *ex Alderspach, Bavaria*). Here the letter is in the middle of a number of sentence collections.
- 6) Munich, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm. 22307, f. 85r (twelfth century, *ex Windberg Abbey, O.Praem.*) This manuscript only contains the address and introduction about the lengths to which love goes to help a friend. A short sentence about the forgiveness of sins follows.

manuscripts is one from the Cistercian monastery of Clairmarais near Saint-Omer, not far from Théroutanne where Hugh spent his early days. Clairmarais was yet to be founded in those days, but its copy may very well have been transcribed from an earlier version from somewhere in the region. Furthermore, many of the manuscripts group the letter together with other short theological sentences, some of which are prominent works identified with the school of Laon.

Laon would have been the perfect setting for Hugh to encounter Gravion. It could be that just as Gravion visited Reims in 1127, possibly to hear Master Alberic lecture,⁷ he travelled to Laon during the first decade of the century, when the school was attracting students from all over western Europe. The style also suggests the influence of Laon, for the letter is more formal and scholastic than any of Hugh's other works, jumping from one proposition to the next in an itemised list. It certainly lacks the more fluid, meditative style he developed in his later works. All these above factors point to composition during

7) Munich, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm. 23440, ff. 88v-89r (twelfth century). An unattributed fragment from the middle of the letter appears here in a collection of Laon sentences. It can be found printed in Lottin, *Laon*, s. 308-9. The manuscript begins with Pseudo-Jerome and Pseudo-Augustine on the Assumption, followed by a sermon of St. Bernard.

8) Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, ms. HB III 34, ff. 22v-23r (twelfth century). The version in this manuscript begins mistakenly 'HUGO Ribomentensis GREG[ORIO] Endegavensi.' It is surrounded by various sentences, some of which are from the school of Laon.

9) Oxford, Balliol ms. 175, ff. 130v-132r (twelfth century, ex St. Edmund's, Bury). This version of the letter is addressed 'Hugo Ambianensis Gravioni Andegavensi.' It follows Bede's *Super libros Salomonis*, Bede's *Super Tobiam*, and Jerome's *Super Marcum*.

10) Oxford, Bodleian ms. Lyell 50, ff. 13v-14v (early twelfth century, ex Admont Abbey, Austria). This manuscript includes a collection of Laon sentences, which contain a fragment of the *Epistola* beginning with 'Queris etiam si de nichilo cottidie nove fiunt anime' and continuing to the end. The sentences are followed by Gilbert Crispin's *Disputatio*, to which a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century copy of Honorius Augustodunensis' *Elucidarium* has been attached.

Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Reginae Monacensis, Tome I, Pars II and Tome II, Pars IV (Munich, 1851, 1896, Reprint, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1969), mss. 2598, 22307, 23440; Helmut Boese, *Der Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Zweite Reihe, Die Handschriften der ehemaligen königlichen Hofbibliothek*, Zweiter Band, 1, *Codices Biblici, Codices dogmatici et polemici, Codices hermeneutici* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), 89-92; R.A.B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 179-80.

⁷ Williams, 110.

the first decade of the twelfth century, if not at Laon itself, then at least under the influence of training received there.

The Work

The text begins with a warming expression of friendship:

He who truly loves whole-heartedly expends his entire self with his whole affection to him whom he loves. He spurns difficulty for his friend, he casts aside negligence, and he does not pretend to be ignorant.⁸

It then launches into a series of questions, which address in turn whether the soul is from matter, whether it sins by necessity, how souls can be made daily from nothing, at what stage in the development of the body is it united with a soul, and whether the soul could be transferred by inheritance along with the flesh. Much of the material ultimately derives from the various disputes of the Church Fathers, for whom the origin of the soul was one of most baffling theological puzzles. Indeed, Hugh quoted Augustine *verbatim* on two occasions in this short treatise.

The source of the soul is also one of those mysteries which has puzzled men throughout all the ages, one for which physical evidence and biblical authority are almost nonexistent. It was a matter which St. Augustine himself never resolved,⁹ and as a seemingly unsolvable dilemma, it remained irresistible to those who have desired to test their abilities on such a challenge. This certainly was the case at the school in Laon,

⁸ '[Q]ui vere diligit, toto affectu se totum ei quem diligit totus impendit, difficultatem pro amico spernit, negligentiam abjicit, imperitiam non praetendit,' Hugh, *Grav.*, ll. 5-7, (833A).

⁹ St. Augustine, *Les Révisions [Retractiones]*, ed. with an introduction, translation, and notes by Gustave Brady, *Bibliothèque Augustinienne: Œuvres de Saint Augustin* 12, 1^{re} série (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1950), II.45, II.56.

where in the course of reviving old disputes from the time of the Fathers, bottles of ink were exhausted in the production of dozens of sentences on the origin of the soul.

Hugh may have been one of many writing on the same topic, but his letter gives a good example of the issues concerning the soul that most vexed his contemporaries and also of the scholastic style of disputations over various opinions which he would gradually temper later on with more contemplative passages. He also brought a few original insights and comparisons to bear on his discussion, and thus he should not be viewed as being entirely derivative, or a mere conduit for his sources. Hugh began his letter with the question of whether the soul is made from nothing or pre-existing material. He responded that if the soul came from corporeal matter it would be body and not spirit, which he described as a rational intellectual essence. If, on the other hand it were from incorporeal matter, it could not be rational matter, for the matter would have had no use for reason without a soul. Nor could it be irrational, for the rational cannot come from the irrational. It could not be without sin, for it would have been deformed not formed. Nor could it have been from a living being, who would either be receiving punishment or merit by receiving a body. Hence, the soul could not have come from pre-existing material, Hugh concluded, and he ended with a list of those in error: those who say that the mutable soul is part of the divine substance, those who say the soul is a body not spirit, and those who say that souls receive bodies as punishment for past evils.¹⁰

¹⁰ Hugh, *Grav.*, ll. 8-29 (833A-C). Hugh of Saint-Victor refused to speculate on the matter, stating only that the soul was created from nothing, after the beginning when the body itself was formed. He also refused to opine whether it was created in the body or outside and then placed in the body: Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, I.vi.3. Later, Peter Lombard listed the two side by side without committing himself to either: Lombard, *Sent.*, II.xvii.2. However, the author of the *Sententie divine pagine* did speculate, claiming that God made the soul in pre-existing material from nothing and not from pre-existing material: *SentDivPag.*, p. 19.

Hugh struggled here with a topic which had caused all the Church Fathers difficulty, and which still had not been resolved in his day. Their ideas ranged from the Traducianism of Tertullian who, following the Stoic definition of a bodily soul, declared that the soul descended materially from Adam, to the views of Origen, who declared that a soul was imprisoned in a body for some previous fault it had committed.¹¹ One is tempted to assume that such conceptions of metempsychosis would have faded long before Hugh's time, and indeed Hugh may have just been echoing and preserving Augustine's more ancient disputes from a time when there was still vibrant and widespread belief in this classical doctrine. But such ideas had persevered in modified form, in large part due to the influence of Neoplatonism, especially that of Macrobius and Boethius, with their descriptions of the descent of souls. So long as Neoplatonism was adopted as a worldview, those aspects within it which were incompatible with Christianity needed to be addressed. And the imagery continued to be used, albeit in poetic form, throughout the twelfth century in the writings of authors such as Bernard Sylvester and Alain de Lille.¹² Later in the twelfth century, belief in metempsychosis would resurface with renewed vigour in the Cathar heresy, but at this point the subject was largely academic.

Having declared from what the soul came, it was time to ask, 'whence does the soul come?' Hugh responded that authority remained silent on the matter:

'By different men, different opinions are held. But we do not read manifestly defined in Holy Scripture whether from the first soul, given to the first man, others are inherited, whether each soul is created new, or

¹¹ J.M. da Cruz Pontes, 'La probl me de l'origine de l' me de la patristique   la solution thomiste,' RTAM 31 (1964), 175-8.

¹² Lodi Nauta, 'The Preexistence of the Soul in Medieval Thought,' RTAM 63 (1996), 112-21.

whether, existing from the beginning, they fall into the body, sent by the Lord or through a spontaneous act of will.¹³

Answering that souls come from inheritance alleviates the problem of wondering when and whence a soul comes into a body as well as the problem of transmission of sin. For if a soul is newly created, the difficulty arises of determining how and why original sin is transmitted to it. And why should the soul incur the punishment that is owed by another soul, that of Adam? Hugh suggested that when united to the flesh suffering under concupiscence and containing the tinder of sin (*fomite peccati*),¹⁴ the soul finds that it has the capacity for sinning, and so consents to it, vivifies it, and loves it. It therefore consents to original sin and contracts it, sinning willingly and not by necessity, and therefore it is condemned.¹⁵ As the *Sententie divine pagine* similarly declared, the soul 'finds the body suitable for and capable of sinning, it delights in this aptitude, and this delight is called original sin.'¹⁶

But Hugh could not quite commit himself to this interpretation, for if the soul sins by its own choice and not by necessity, then redemption is not necessary. The Church, however, attested that Christ's sacrifice and the grace of Baptism are necessary, which seemed to imply that fault is necessary. Hugh brought Augustine to his aid in solving this dilemma: 'I am certain that the soul is fallen into blame by its own will, not by any fault

¹³ 'A diversis diversa sentiuntur; sed manifesto sanctae Scripturae diffinitum non legimus, utrum ex anima prima, primo homini data, caeterae traducantur, an novae singulis increentur, an ab initio jam existentes, vel a Domino missae, vel spontanea voluntate corporibus illabantur,' Hugh, *Grav.*, ll. 30-34 (833D-834A).

¹⁴ The concept of the *fomes peccati* is an old Augustinian doctrine, found among other places in St. Augustine, *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, PL 44, 449. It occurs frequently in the Laon sentences, including one by Anselm and another by William of Champeaux entitled *de fomite peccati*: Lottin, *Laon*, s. 45, 257.

¹⁵ Hugh, *Grav.*, ll. 35-49 (834A-B).

¹⁶ '[I]nvenit illud corpus aptum et idoneum ad peccandum, et delectatur in illa aptitudine, et illa delectatio appellatur peccatum originale.' *SentAns.*, p. 33.

of God nor any necessity of God or itself.¹⁷ Several Laon sentences recognise that this assertion sprang from the realisation that merely asserting that God had made an eternal decree always to do so did not release him from the accusation of being unjust.¹⁸ Anselm, who, like Hugh, had asked the question of whether the soul joins the flesh by necessity or will and quoted Augustine in support, solved the problem by stating that if the soul joins by its free will, then it must be foolish unless it knows it can avoid sin by the grace of God. But at the crucial moment, even though every soul knows this is possible, no soul resists and the sacraments are still necessary.¹⁹ Hugh followed this solution, concluding that every soul united to the flesh consents to sin by contracting concupiscence. And so there is a sort of necessity, for 'if every soul sins, with regard to action, fault is necessary and therefore our redemption is also necessary....with regard to action, we necessarily sin.'²⁰

Another issue arises: how are souls made daily from nothing if God created all things together? Hugh answered that all things were made together and then each is made either in its own act or matter. Even though each soul is made new from nothing, each soul shares a common nature with all others. 'For the first soul was made in the image

¹⁷ 'Certus sum animam nulla Dei culpa, nulla Dei necessitate, vel sua, sed propria voluntate, in culpam esse collapsam.' Hugh, *Grav.*, ll. 56-8 (834B-C). From St. Augustine, *De origine animae hominis* (*Epistola 166*), in *S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Epistolae*, PL 33, 722.

¹⁸ Cf. Lottin, *Laon*, s. 43, ll. 71ff; s. 46, ll. 61-2; *SentAns.*, p. 77. Hugh of Saint-Victor insisted that this matter must be 'examined with faith rather than with reason,' *De Sacramentis*, I.vii.37. Even more insistently, the author of the *Sententie divine pagine* stated that anyone who asked why God did so should receive only the following response: 'Sic ei placuit,' p. 34.

¹⁹ Lottin, *Laon*, s. 43, ll. 87-88: 'Sed decet quis cur igitur instituta sint sacramenta si anima peccato resistere potest? Ad quod dicatur quia non resistit.'

²⁰ 'Si omnis peccat, quantum ad actum, necessaria est culpa: quare necessaria et redemptio nostra.... quantum ad actum, necessario peccamus,' Hugh, *Grav.*, ll. 62-71 (834C-A). The author of the *Sententie Anselmi* agreed that neither will nor necessity accurately describes the situation, and that the answer lies in the hidden judgements of God, p. 78.

and likeness of God, and this nature is itself in every soul.²¹ Odo of Tournai, writing a few decades earlier, took an unusually strong realist viewpoint regarding this topic, asserting that souls shared the same nature not only because of this image and likeness, but because they were all part of the same universal species in the same way that bodies were all part of the same universal species. The specific person of a soul may be new, but it shares with every other soul the same, pre-existing species, which was corrupted by original sin.²² This view was unusual and quite technical, and it does not appear to have greatly influenced either Anselm of Laon or his disciples. The views of both Hugh and Odo regarding a common nature or species of the soul could encourage a Traducianist viewpoint, and further on Hugh would discuss the possibility of defending such a position.

Hugh next turned to the matter of the time at which the soul unites with the body. Does it occur when the seed of the father is emitted, at the moment of conception, or at some later point when the body is formed? Hugh referred to the Septuagint version of Exodus, stating 'He who strikes a pregnant woman, and causes her to miscarry: if [the child] is formed, he must render soul for soul, but if it is not formed, he must render payment.'²³ The Vulgate version is less severe, requiring the life of the offender only in the instance of the woman's death. Augustine referred to both verses in his *Quaestiones in Heptateuchem*, commenting that the Vulgate version implied that the miscarried child

²¹ 'Prima enim anima ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei facta est; haec vero natura in singulis animabus ipsa est,' Hugh, *Grav.*, ll. 77-78 (835B).

²² 'In anima Adam ergo et in anima Evae, quae personaliter peccaverunt, infecta est peccato tota natura humanae animae.' Odo of Tournai, *De peccato originali*, PL 160, 1081D-82A.

²³ 'Qui percusserit mulierem praegnantem, et illa abortierit: si formatus fuerit, reddat animam pro anima; si formatus non fuerit, mulctetur pecunia,' Hugh, *Grav.*, ll. 82-4 (835B); Ex. 21:22-3. Also quoted by *SentAns.*, p. 76; Lottin, *Laon*, s. 310; Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, I.vii.30.

was not yet perfectly human. He concluded that in any case, a living soul could not yet be in that which was not yet formed and lacking sense.²⁴ Hugh introduced a unique analogy of the body as a home for the soul, acknowledging that this verse implied that a home first had to be prepared for the soul before it could enter and dwell therein, just as Adam first had his body created from the dust and then his spirit breathed in. But he also offered an alternative view: perhaps the soul is present even before the body is formed, for how can a body take form and be knitted together, or even be advanced towards form, if it is inanimate?²⁵ To this question, Hugh of Saint-Victor would later urge his readers to consider herbs and plants which increase and grow into a form without a soul, or at least without a rational soul.²⁶

Finally, Hugh returned to the question of Traducianism: whether the soul is drawn from the flesh. This would leave two alternatives. The first is that the soul comes from the father, and must accompany the corporeal seed, for an incorporeal soul cannot be turned into bodily seed, nor drawn directly from it. Neither can the soul extend itself, grow, or be divided into parts as can a body, and so the father's soul would have to be transferred whole into the son in a way that does not cause any loss in the father. If so, this sort of bilocated soul would all be one and not many.²⁷

Augustine came to the rescue once again, here in a selection from his *Epistola* 190, where he appears to have taken a Traducianist track, describing the transference of a

²⁴ St. Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, quaest. 80 (PL 34, 626-7).

²⁵ 'Sed forsitan secundum spontaneum motum formato jam corpore, incipit anima vigere, quae quieta motu ibi et antea potuit inesse. Quomodo enim concrecere et coagulari, et ad formam usque provehi potuit, si prius inanimatum fuerit?' Hugh, *Grav.*, ll. 88-92 (835B-C).

²⁶ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, I.vii.30.

²⁷ Hugh, *Grav.*, ll. 95-101 (835C).

soul from parent to child as that of a flame kindling another without detriment to itself. It could thus be that a incorporeal seed flows separately with the corporeal seed from the father into the mother. The second alternative is that the soul lies dormant in the mother's body and does not come from the father at all. An argument in favour of this and against the first option is that when conception does not take place, the seed of the soul would have gone out in vain, and must either rush back or die. Since it is immortal it cannot die, unless perhaps it only becomes immortal once it is formed with the body.²⁸

This was one of many topics discussed at the school of Laon, and a sentence probably written by Anselm of Laon expresses similar sentiments in saying that if everyone shared one soul, then one and the same soul would be in suffering and in glory at the same time.²⁹ He investigated and discarded as absurd the possibilities that the soul was transferred before, along with, or following the physical seed, and firmly concluded that we must say that God creates new souls every day without the ministry of man.³⁰ In contrast to the largely negative answer given by the school of Laon, Odo of Tournai observed that 'there are many who maintain that the soul comes into being from inheritance just as the body....Their reasons...should not be wholly spurned.'³¹ And although he referred to the creationist stance as the 'orthodox' doctrine, he still gave the Traducianist view a thorough examination, agreeing that it would solve the problem of

²⁸ Ibid., ll. 101-113 (835D-36A); St. Augustine, *Epistolae*, PL 33, ep. 190, 862.

²⁹ Lottin, *Laon*, s. 161, ll. 4-8. The author of *SentAns.* expressed a similar opinion, p. 76.

³⁰ Ibid., ll. 9-52. See also Lottin, *Laon*, s. 310, which concludes that the body must first be formed before the soul is infused. *De peccato originali et remediis eius* from the *Sententiae Atrebatenses* (*ibid.*, s. 531, vi) contrasts the creationist and Traducian views side by side without committing to either.

³¹ 'Sunt tamen multi qui volunt animam ex traduce fieri sicut corpus....Quorum rationes...non sunt omnino spernendae....' Odo of Tournai, 1077C.

original sin, for then no part of human nature would have escaped Adam's sin.³² But in the end he declared that a soul cannot be procreated from another.³³ Hugh was at this point not yet ready to rest so confidently upon one conclusion. He instead regarded it as a mystery. Even if we do not know the origin of the soul, at least as long as we understand our redemption, we remain secure. 'We do not believe in Christ so that we may be born, but so that we may be reborn, whatever may have been the manner in which we were born.'³⁴

Above all, Hugh concluded, no matter the origin of the soul, we must emphasise that Christ's soul was free from sin. If souls are drawn from the flesh, his flesh was conceived by faith, not lust, and so was free from sin.³⁵ If souls are inherited from the soul of a parent, Christ drew a soul to himself without sin, because he has the power to absolve sin. But of course, as God he could also have created a new soul in the flesh which he assumed from a woman without man, just as he created a new soul in the flesh of Adam which was made without a father.³⁶ He did not even hint here at any explanation involving the Immaculate Conception, of which he has long been considered a proponent owing to the writings of Osbert of Clare,³⁷ and along with the Laon masters he appears to have favoured an emphasis on the role of concupiscence in the transference of original

³² 'Et quando peccavit Adam, nihil ab eo exierat humanae naturae, sed adhuc totum erat in eo quidquid erat homo.' *Ibid.*, 1099C.

³³ *Ibid.*, 1102B.

³⁴ 'Neque in Christum credimus, ut nascamur, sed ut renascamur, quomodocunque nati fuerimus.' Hugh, *Grav.*, ll. 115-16 (836B).

³⁵ Cf. Lottin, *Laon*, s. 356.

³⁶ Hugh, *Grav.*, ll. 121-33 (836B-C).

³⁷ *Infra*, chapter 4, pp. 103-04.

sin and the power of an act of pure faith to counteract its baneful influence. In any case, as Hugh urged in conclusion to his letter, Gravion need not unduly concern himself if he could not discover satisfactory answers to these difficult problems, for these things were doubted even by wise men.³⁸ Hugh certainly intended this *proviso* as a caution against presumptuous pride and despair, and not as a discouragement against an attempt to find answers, for Hugh himself was at this point embarking upon a life dedicated to searching out these very answers. With this early work, he provided an interesting window into what being human meant to him and his contemporaries.

³⁸ Hugh, *Grav.*, ll. 134-5 (836C).

Chapter III

The Poems of Hugh of Amiens

In addition to Hugh of Amiens' various prose treatises and letters, there also exist a number of poems. These include the lengthy (just over one-thousand verses) *In Pentateuchem*, a summary in leonine elegiac verse of the events narrated in the Pentateuch. The first of the short poems, *Qui res subiectas*, possibly not Hugh's work at all, is a poem on the omnipotence of God and the burden of sin. The second, *In laudem Sanctae Mariae*, praises the virtues of the Blessed Virgin. The last, *Disposuit, ut voluit*, describes in trochaic septenary rhythm the life and victory of Christ. Although Hugh resorted to poetic devices in his other works, including a habitual reliance on leonine rhyme, only in these works, probably written early in his career, did he actually compose pure poetry. Nevertheless, they do bear witness to Hugh's broad interests (broad at least in the realm of theology), as well as to a creative, poetic spirit which never entirely departed from him in his later works.

Although not numerous, the poems did find their ways to diverse locations. There are three manuscripts for *In Pentateuchem*, two for *In laudem*, and only one for the other two poems. The most important of these, in which all the poems appear and are clearly identified with Hugh, is from Sankt Peterskloster, Erfurt.¹ Clairvaux Abbey possessed a

¹ This is Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, ms. Memb. II 136 (twelfth to fourteenth century, ex Sankt Peterskloster, Erfurt). In a twelfth-century hand, the poems follow a copy of Hugh's letter to Gravion. *Qui res subiectas* comes first on ff. 66v-67v, after which comes the heading *Versus Hugonis Ambianensis in Laudem S. Marie* followed by *In laudem* on f. 68r-v. From ff. 68v-89v is *In Pentateuchem*, introduced as

second manuscript of *In Pentateuchem*,² while a third rested at Saint-Evrout Abbey and then Saint-Ouen, Rouen.³ Finally, a second copy of *In laudem* lies in a manuscript at Worcester Cathedral.⁴

Unlike most of Hugh's other works, his poems offer no clear dating. Only hints gleaned from their contents and manuscripts indicate possibilities. Their placement alongside his *Epistola Gravioni* at Erfurt would seem to indicate an early date of composition, probably during his time at Laon or in the diocese of Thérouanne between 1099 and 1112. The *Epistola* is his only work to have found widespread distribution throughout Germany, possibly through the hands of students travelling to and from Laon, or perhaps through the diocese of Thérouanne, with its close proximity to the Empire. Hugh's words at the beginning of *In Pentateuchem* further indicate a possible composition during these youthful days, when he states: 'This work is aimed at boys and

Opusculum hugonis in pentateuco. This in turn is followed by *Disposuit, ut voluit*, entitled 'Item eiusdem hugonis ambianensis,' on ff. 89v-91v. The manuscript also contains sermons by Ivo of Chartres, Hildebert of Lavardin's *De Sacramentis*, Martin of Braga's *Formula Vitae Honestis*, a spurious letter from Pontius Pilate to Claudius, and a treatise on the seven liberal arts. See Renate Schipke, *Die Maugérard-Handschriften der Forschungsbibliothek Gotha*, Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsbibliothek Gotha 15 (Gotha, 1972), 92-6.

² Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 469, ff. 135v-141r (twelfth century, *ex Clairvaux*). *In Pentateuchem* immediately follows some poems by Hildebert of Lavardin and precedes Richard of Saint-Victor, *De Tabernaculo*.

³ Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 455, ff. 103v-109v (twelfth century, *ex Saint-Evrout, deinde Saint-Ouen, Rouen*). *In Pentateuchem* follows St. Augustine's *De Genesim* and precedes a few short works by Hugh of Saint-Victor. Perhaps the work was included with these following works because the lack of any internal attribution other than 'Hugh' and a marginal title by a later hand naming it '*Hugonis carmen de puerorum doctrina*'. The catalogue attributes the work to Hugh of Saint-Victor, a mistake which Waldman discovered and corrected in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen's copy of the catalogue in the 1970s.

⁴ This is in Worcester, Cathedral Library, ms. F. 92, ff. 286v, at the very end of a long homiliary and immediately following a Pseudo-Augustinian sermon on the Virgin. The poem is entitled: 'Versus Hugonis Rotomagensis Archiepiscopi.' R.M. Thomson and Michael Gullick, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.J. Brewer, 2001), ms. F. 92.

dreads the stern. And it wants the hands of young men, but fears the mouths of old men.’⁵ Then again, these words could just be a rhetorical device, even speaking as an old man. And given the instructional value of such a work, the possibility should not be discounted that he was only directing the work for the instruction of the young, rather than actually writing as one.

Another possibility as to the origin of these poems presents itself through a letter sent to Hugh during his days in Rouen, in which Peter the Venerable recalled their time together at Cluny. Peter requested that Hugh try to retrieve from Arvernus, a beneficed cleric in his diocese, a song he had written about the Virgin Mary and another which began *Christus Dei splendor*.⁶ It could be that Hugh similarly wrote his poems at Cluny alongside Peter, especially since the soon-to-be abbot of Cluny wrote not only these two, but also another twenty short verses and a 210 line *Rithmus in laude Saluatoris*.⁷ Peter’s evident fondness for composing verse may have encouraged Hugh to write poetry on the same topics. But again, these were both common themes for poetry, and most clerics probably tried their hands at such topics, at least in their youth. Indeed, rare is the ecclesiastical writer from this period who does not have at least one poem to his name.

Hugh dedicated *In Pentateuchem* and *In laudem* to a William, and in yet another letter addressed to Hugh, Peter the Venerable mentions someone by this name. Writing

⁵ ‘Hoc opus ad pueros spectat metuitque seueros, / Vultque manus iuuenum, sed timet ora senum.’ Hugh, *InPent.* 2, ll. 5-6.

⁶ Peter the Venerable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. with an introduction and notes by Giles Constable (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), I, ep. 178, p. 420.

⁷ Udo Wawrzyniak, *Philologische Untersuchungen zum »Rithmus in Laude Saluatoris« des Petrus Venerabilis*, Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters 22, gen. ed. Alf Önnorfors (Frankfurt, Bern, and New York: Verlag Peter Lang, 1985), 37-49; Peter the Venerable, *Rithmus in laude Saluatoris*, in Wawrzyniak, 52-63.

sometime between 1130 and 1138, Peter sent notice of the death of this William, whom he called Hugh's 'beloved brother and son'. Peter had administered Last Rites to William at 'the lodgings of the poor Martin',⁸ which may be the Priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs. The close connexions between Saint-Martin and Cluny make this attribution likely, as does Hugh's own relationship to Matthew, its prior for many years.⁹ It could be that this William was a friend from Th rouanne who preceded Hugh into the monastic life just as Matthew had done. Or perhaps he was a subordinate from Saint-Martial, Lewes, Reading, or Rouen, as Constable suggests.¹⁰ However, given the paltry information in the letter, it does not provide a definitive answer.

There is no internal evidence of naming apart from Hugh's Christian name in these poems. He clearly called himself *Ribomontensis* in the *Epistola* which precedes them, but only external rubrics around the poems declare him as *Ambianensis*. Composition during his time at Cluny could explain this, a time when he was perhaps gaining a reputation associated with the better-known Amiens, a title for which we only have evidence after his arrival at Saint-Martial.¹¹ On the other hand, an early composition at Th rouanne or Laon more easily explains the appearance of all the works at Erfurt, as many of the sentences associated with Laon, including Hugh's letter to Gravion, made

⁸ 'ad pauperis Martini diversorium,' *Ibid.*, I, ep. 4, p. 8.

⁹ See *supra*, chapter 1; *infra*, chapters 4 and 5.

¹⁰ Peter the Venerable, *Letters*, I, ep. 4, p. 8; II, p. 100. Giles Constable also suggests the possibility that this William was the same as the prominent Cluniac mentioned in *De Miraculis*, but as he only died sometime shortly before 1145, the two are not likely to be identical.

¹¹ See *supra*, chapter 1.

their way into the far corners of Bavaria and even Austria.¹² One of the many students travelling there may have carried Hugh's poems back with him. In this case, Hugh could have retained copies with him, explaining the spread of *In Pentateuchem* through France and *In laudem* in England, as well as the attribution to 'Hugo Rotomagensis' in the Worcester manuscript.

Versification and Meter

Hugh wrote *In Pentateuchem* in leonine elegiac couplets. These couplets, an alternation of hexameter and pentameter, were the favourite of Ovid and the love poets, but were also often used in the medieval period to treat epic material, and occur quite often in biblical versification. Leonine hexameters were especially popular in late antiquity and again in the north of France from the ninth century until the emergence of a classical reaction in the twelfth in favour of unrhymed hexameter and elegiac verse.¹³ Other examples of authors who wrote in leonine elegiac can be found in the eleventh-century Fulcoius of Beauvais¹⁴ and the early-twelfth century Donizone of Canossa.¹⁵

¹² However, not all the sentences found in these far-flung regions were necessarily products of the school at Laon. In recent times, Valerie I. Flint, "The School of Laon": A Reconsideration,' RTAM 43 (1976), 89-110, reacted against the trend to create a monolithic 'School of Laon' by questioning its influence and emphasising the presence of similar activity among the monasteries of southern Germany. On the other hand, Marcia Colish in 'Another Look at the School of Laon,' AHDLMMA 53 (1986), 7-22; 'The Sentence Collection and the Education of Professional Theologians in the Twelfth Century,' in *The Intellectual Climate of the Early University*, ed. Nancy Van Deusen, *Studies in Medieval Culture* 39 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), 3-5; and 'Systematic Theology and Theological Renewal in the Twelfth Century,' *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 18 (1988), 135-56, upholds the notion of a School of Laon while acknowledging that it was not the only source for systematic theology.

¹³ Karl Strecker, *Introduction to Medieval Latin*, translated with an introduction by Robert B. Palmer (Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957), 74; Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 5 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958), 40-41.

¹⁴ Fulcoii Belvacensis (Fulcoius of Beauvais), *Utriusque de Nuptiis Christi et Ecclesiae Libri Septem*, ed. Sister Mary Isaac Jogues Rousseau, *The Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval*

From this time onward, the most common elegiac compositions were unrhymed, such as in those found among the works of Laurence of Durham,¹⁶ Alexander of Ashby,¹⁷ and most notably Peter Riga.¹⁸

Despite the lack of classical purity, Hugh's work did provide a certain style, and unlike many medieval poets who substituted accentual verse for quantitative verse in their hexameters,¹⁹ he did have a good sense of the quantity of his syllables. A few lines from his section on the sacrifice of Isaac give a good sampling of his style:

Ābrāhām tēptātūr, || Dōmīnō tēptāntē prōbātūr
 Īn cūltōrē Dēī || uīcīt āmōr fidēī
 Īllī māndātūr: || Qūem dīlīgīs, hīc mōrīātūr
 Tēqūe sātūm glādīō || sācrīfīcēs prōprīō
 Īussūs cōncēdīt, || sēd ēt īndūbītāntēr ōbēdīt;
 Ēnsīs ēt īgnīs ādēst, || hāec tūlīt īpsē pūēr.²⁰

As can be seen, Hugh generally used leonine rhyme between the central caesura and the end of each verse. The occasional exception appears, as in the last verse above, where *adest* can only be made to rhyme with *puer* through vowel rhyme, but there are only a handful of such instances in the 1010 verses of the work.

and *Renaissance Latin Language and Literature*, vol. 22 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1960).

¹⁵ Donizo of Canossa, *Ennaratio Genesis*, in Giampaolo Ropa, *L'«Ennaratio Genesis» di Donizone di Canossa*, Biblioteca di «Quadrivium», Serie filologica 6, 64-83 (Bologna: Istituto di Filologia Latina e Medioevale, 1977).

¹⁶ Lawrence of Durham, *Excerpta Quaedam ex Hypognostico*, Publications of the Surtees Society 70 (1878; Durham: Andrews and Co., 1880), 62-71.

¹⁷ Alexander of Ashby. *Brevissima Comprehesio Historiarum, Versio Brevis*. In *Alexandri Essebiensis Opera Poetica*, ed. Greti Dinkova-Bruun, CCCM 188A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 3-58.

¹⁸ Peter Riga, *Aurora Petri Rigae Biblia Versificata*, ed. Paul E. Beichner, *Publications in Mediaeval Studies* XIX, gen. eds. Philip S. Moore and Joseph N. Garvin (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1965).

¹⁹ Cf. Norberg, 101-6.

²⁰ Hugh, *InPent.*, 6-7, ll. 181-186.

'Gesta refert ueterum': Twelfth-century biblical versification

Owing to recent efforts by scholars like Francesco Stella,²¹ the world of biblical versification has been growing ever clearer. Most striking of all has been the evidence for a vast upsurge in such activity in the long twelfth century. There had been some Patristic and Carolingian versifiers, most notable among them Florus of Lyons,²² but most of these writers focused on the Gospels or the Pauline Epistles, and only a few are of the scale and scope of the twelfth-century works. In contrast, these later works were much more apt to either focus either on Old Testament events or epic, even mythical treatments, of the entire course of biblical and salvation history.

Works of biblical versification came in many forms, but none of them was a word-for-word rendition of the actual Scriptures. Instead, they included summaries in brief poems and epigrams, such as those of Hildebert of Lavardin.²³ They also included allegorical and moral interpretations of various works, such as Williram of Ebersberg's *Cantica Canticorum*.²⁴ And some poets even composed complete mythical reworkings of the entire scope of salvation history, only loosely based on the Bible, such as Fulcoius of Beauvais' *De Nuptiis Christi et Ecclesiae*, which narrated Christ's epic battle against the

²¹ Cf. Stella, 'Nuovi testi'; idem, 'Il Ritmo De Ioseph Patriarcha di Segardo Audomarensis: Edizione dal Vat. Lat. 3325 (Blandiniensis),' *Filologia Mediolatina* 5 (1998), 279-92; and idem, 'Un inedito sommario biblico in versi: il "De conditione mundi"', *Studi Medievali*, series 3, 32:1 (1991), 445-69.

²² Stella, 'Nuovi testi,' 410.

²³ Hildebert of Lavardin, *Biblical Epigrams*, in A. B. Scott, Dierdre F. Baker, and A.G. Rigg, 'The *Biblical Epigrams* of Hildebert of Le Mans: a Critical Edition,' *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985), 272-316.

²⁴ Williram of Ebersberg, *The "Expositio in Cantica Canticorum" of Williram, Abbot of Ebersberg, 1048-1085. A Critical Edition*, ed. Erminnie Hollis Bartelmez (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1967).

devil and his marriage to the Church.²⁵ *In Pentateuchem* was a different kind of undertaking: it formed a largely literal following of the events of the Pentateuch with only the occasional interpretive excursus.

Other works had treated the matters of the Pentateuch, among the earliest of them the *Alethius* by Claudius Marius Victorius, 789 lines of hexameter on the Genesis account from Creation to the fall of Sodom, composed in the early fifth century and heavily influenced by both Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Virgil's *Aeneid*.²⁶ Avitus, bishop of Vienne from 490 to 523, composed an extensive, epic account spanning 2611 lines of hexameter in his *Poematum de Mosaicae Historiae Gestis*. However, it treats only five specific episodes from the Pentateuch: Creation, original sin, the expulsion from Eden, the Flood, and the crossing of the Red Sea.²⁷ Each of these accounts is a narrative with rhetorical asides and detailed, poetic descriptions of the events. Many other similar works were written, now in fragments and with unknown authors, such as those works attributed to Juvencus and Hilary of Arles.²⁸

After a long gap encompassing the succeeding centuries, similar works began to appear in the eleventh century. These include two poems attributed alternatively to Hildebert of Lavardin and Odo of Tournai: *De operibus sex dierum* and *De ordine*

²⁵ Fulcoius of Beauvais, *passim*.

²⁶ Claudius Marius Victorius, *Alethia*, ed. Joseph Martin, in CCSL 128 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1960), 123-93.

²⁷ Avitus of Vienne, *Poematum de Mosaicae Historiae Gestis*, PL 59, 323-82.

²⁸ Pseudo-Juvencus, *Liber in Genesim*, PL 19, 345-80; Pseudo-Hilary of Arles, *Metrum in Genesim*, PL 50, 1287-92.

mundi.²⁹ The first of these is a short Hexaemeral account in elegiac verse with an allegorical interpretation, while the second traces salvation history from the Creation account through to the martyrdom of Peter in approximately 560 lines of iambic hexameter. During the first few decades of the twelfth century, Donizone of Canossa wrote a 378-verse elegiac poem on the events of Genesis. He focused extensively on the first three chapters, giving the allegorical meaning of various events alongside a narrative account. Only two-hundred lines into the work did he begin with the account of Cain and Abel, briefly continuing on through a handful of events before stopping with Hagar and Ishmael. As with Pseudo-Hiltebert, allegorical interpretations abound: Abel's death stands for Christ's sacrifice and Hagar represents the Synagogue, the Jewish people expelled from their land.³⁰ Similarly, moral interpretations also arise, as in Lot representing the struggle to attain the contemplative life.³¹ North of the Alps, Henry of Augsburg made a similar attempt in the late eleventh century in *Planctus Evae*, which built upon several hundred lines of narrative on the Hexaemeron with a long moral and an even longer allegorical interpretation.³²

Later in the twelfth century and during the following, long after Hugh's work, more authors gave their own poetic treatments of various aspects of the Pentateuch, but usually in the context of a broader approach with much more emphasis on the allegorical

²⁹ Stella, 'Nuovi testi,' 412; André Wilmart, 'Le Florilège de Saint-Gatien. Contribution à l'étude des poèmes d'Hiltebert et de Marbode,' RB 48 (1936), 169; Pseudo-Hiltebert of Lavardin, *De operibus sex dierum*, PL 171, 1213-17; Idem, *De ordine mundi*, PL 171, 1223-34.

³⁰ Donizo of Canossa, ll. 205-18, 367-78.

³¹ Ibid., ll. 359-66.

³² Henry of Augsburg, *Planctus Evae*, ed. Marvin L. Colker, in 'Heinrici Augustensis Planctus Evae,' *Traditio* 12 (1956), 161-230.

and moral applications of the events. Two of these, both in elegiac verse, stand out. The shorter of the two is Alexander of Ashby's early thirteenth-century *Brevissima Comprehensio Historiarum*, which includes only about 200 lines on the Pentateuch, all of them renderings of the letter of these verses.³³ On the other hand, the most popular and influential by far would be the *Aurora* of Peter Riga, in which through several editions between 1170 and 1200 he versified the entire Bible. Therein he devoted approximately 4550 lines of elegiac verse to the books of the Pentateuch, and as in Hugh's work, much of this involved the literal narration of events, though he also included long sections of allegorical and moral interpretation.³⁴

Of course, other biblical versifications with similar form and purpose to *In Pentateuchem* but on different books were written in France during the late eleventh and early twelfth century. Apart from the above-mentioned works on the first books of the Bible, an unknown author from the Loire region sometime in the late eleventh or early twelfth century composed a poem on the book of Kings in approximately 1300 lines of elegiac distichs.³⁵ A little later, one of Hugh's fellow Cluniacs, Bernard, also influenced by Hildebert, composed *In Libros Regum* in 1018 lines of unrhymed elegiac distich.³⁶ Yet another component of the Pseudo-Hildebertine corpus is a 481-verse poem in leonine

³³ Alexander of Ashby, 17-29.

³⁴ Peter Riga, 21-218.

³⁵ Pseudo-Hildebert of Lavardin, *Carmen in Libros Regem*, PL 171, 1239-63; Stella, 'Nuovi testi,' 420-25.

³⁶ Bernardi Cluniacensis, *In Libros Regum*, ed. Katarina Halvarson, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, *Studia Latina Stockholmiensis* 11 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1963), 66-96; André Wilmart, 'Grands Poèmes Inédits de Bernard le Clunisien,' RB 45 (1933), 249-54.

hexameter on the book of Maccabees,³⁷ a subject also taken up in the same meter by Marbod of Rennes in his short 157-verse *Carmina septem fratrum Machabaeorum*.³⁸

Many more works still lie unedited in their manuscripts, and others still undiscovered, and we hope that their continued recovery will further illuminate this field of studies.³⁹ Among those that we have, *In Pentateuchem* stands out for its specific focus on the narrative of the Pentateuch. It is much more a versification of the Bible, like those found in contemporary works on Maccabees and Kings, than an interpretation, as are most of the other poetic works on the Pentateuch. This focus on the letter of the narrative is crucial for understanding the thought of Hugh, and indeed current trends in exegesis and learning.

Although deeply interested in the various doctrinal issues of the Scriptures, Hugh also had a fascination with the letter of the Scriptures, and he later returned to the first three chapters of Genesis for an in-depth literal interpretation in his *In Hexaemeron*. For now he brushed over these pages more quickly in about fifty lines of verse, almost as if a test run for the later work. He ever-so-briefly expressed his intention in his self-effacing prologue:

It concerns the deeds of old, it recalls the beginning of things,
It obscures, it mangles, while it discloses nothing well.⁴⁰

³⁷ Pseudo-Hildebert of Lavardin, *De Machabaeis*, PL 171, 1293-1302.

³⁸ Marbod of Rennes, *Carmina septem fratrem Machabaeorum*, PL 171, 1603-08; for confirmation of the attribution see Wilmart, 'Le Florilège,' 237-9.

³⁹ See those mentioned in Stella, 'Nuovi testi,' *passim*.

⁴⁰ The initials of these two verses along with the preceding two form an acrostic of Hugh's name: Hoc opus ad pueros spectat metuitque severos, / Vultque manus iuuenum, sed timet ora senum. / Gesta refert veterum, recolit primordia rerum, / Obscurat lacerat, dum bene nil reserat.' Hugh, *InPent.*, ll. 7-8. As an interesting comparison, Peter Riga named his versification the *Aurora* because it cut through the shadows and obscurities of the Old Testament: Peter Riga, 7-8, ll. 21-26.

Specifically concerned with the deeds, the work only briefly rises beyond them for an occasional excursus.

One of the reasons for such a focus on the events of the Pentateuch would be that he was following the basic order of exegesis, perhaps best exemplified in the work of Gregory the Great,⁴¹ and most clearly outlined in the writings of Hugh of Saint-Victor. While differing over the respective roles of allegory and tropology, few authors would have disagreed with the assertion that an understanding of the letter or the history of a text had to form a strong foundation before other interpretations could be added. As Hugh of Saint-Victor stated in his programmatic *Didascalicon*:

First you learn history and diligently commit to memory the truth of the deeds that have been performed, reviewing from beginning to end what has been done, when it has been done, where it has been done, and by whom it has been done.⁴²

And thus Hugh, embarking upon his only major poetic work, perhaps aiming at the instruction and benefit of William and others, concentrated on the names and events of the Pentateuch, largely ignoring further issues.

Yet another use for Hugh's work would have been to aid in the memorisation of all this information, which thoroughly digested would provide the material for further development. Hugh of Saint-Victor had given advice on this subject as well:

We ought, therefore, in all that we learn, to gather brief and dependable abstracts to be stored in the little chest of the memory, so that later on, when the need arises, we can derive everything else from them.⁴³

⁴¹ Henri de Lubac, S.J., *Exégèse Médiévale. Les Quatre Sens de l'Écriture* (Aubier: Éditions Montaigne, 1959-64), esp. I.1, 139-87.

⁴² Hugh of Saint-Victor, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, translated with an introduction by Jerome Taylor, *Records of Western Civilization Series* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961, reprint, 1991), VI.3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, III.11.

As witnessed in his *Chronicle*, and as described by Mary Carruthers in her authoritative study of memory and mnemonics in the Middle Ages, Hugh of Saint-Victor had in mind a grid or chart with all the names and dates lined up for easy memorisation.⁴⁴ While Carruthers focuses on such 'architectural mnemonics', she does briefly mention the uses of hexameters used to remember various collections of facts, chief among them Alexander of Villedieu's *Doctrinale* on Latin grammar.⁴⁵ And if hexameter could serve the memorisation of grammar, surely it could do the same for the details of the Scriptures. In the preface to his *Historia*, Alexander of Ashby announced just such a purpose for his poem:

I send this metric compendium to you so that the histories of the Old and New Testament, after you learn them, should inhere more firmly in your memory, and so that what will have lapsed from your memory will more easily return to the same....⁴⁶

A poem such as Hugh's, although perhaps not so well as a carefully planned grid, would indeed help the reader memorise the important parts of the Scriptures much more easily than simply reading through. His work trimmed everything he viewed as unnecessary, and really did treat only the deeds, and only those seen as important from his perspective. And so, whether intentionally or not, *In Pentateuchem* has the feel of an aid for the memory. This adds to the persuasiveness of a place for this work in the context of the schools of Hugh's day.

⁴⁴ Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 80-85.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁴⁶ 'Ut autem historie Veteris et Noui Testamenti, postquam eas didiceris, memorie tue firmitus inhereant et que a memoria tua elapse fuerint, eidem facilius occurrant, hoc metricum tibi mitto compendium...' Alexander of Ashby, *prologus*, ll. 178-81.

This is not to say that such a piece of writing could not also have been intended (Hugh's protestations of inadequacy aside) as a work of art. It is painstakingly and skilfully crafted, and not at all a sloppy or purely practical piece of writing. Surely too, *In Pentateuchem* and other works like it were composed for devotional and contemplative reasons as well. It certainly would have served the monk meditating in his cloister as well as the young student striving desperately to grasp the vast amount of data contained in the Scriptures. With all these possible purposes in mind, let us now turn to some of the actual topics of *In Pentateuchem* and the manner in which they are handled.

'Recolit primordia rerum' – The Text of *In Pentateuchem*

The Gotha manuscript divides the work into five books, while the Rouen manuscript merges books two and three together to make a total of four, possibly as a result of scribal error, since this combination creates an unbalanced arrangement. The Troyes manuscript, on the other hand, only contains marginal paragraph markers. Each of the books in Gotha ms. Memb. II 36 comprises roughly 200 to 240 verses except for the final which is only about 130 verses in length. The first and longest book covers Genesis 1-26, from Creation to the story of Jacob and Esau. Book two continues from chapter 27 to 38 with Esau and Jacob through the sale of Joseph into slavery. Book three in turn continues to the end of Genesis, describing Joseph's exile in Egypt. With book four, the poem skims through the major events of Exodus and Leviticus, and in book five it concludes with Numbers and Deuteronomy and the return to the Holy Land.

Hugh began, as he would nearly all his works, with a paean to the Trinity. Measure, number, and weight; omnipotence, wisdom, and love: all these subjects would

appear again, most notably in his *Dialogues*.⁴⁷ Here they serve to set the stage briefly for Creation when 'All that you spoke from nothing was made.'⁴⁸ The days of Creation are laid out in order, each with a very brief description of its events, as in the following description of the third and fourth days:

Tertia monstrauit terram, pelagusque locavit,
 Vernabantque nouo gramina ligna solo.
 Quarta pinxisti caelum, cui clara dedisti
 Lumina, grata nimis, maxima cum minimis.⁴⁹

Thus the account runs, through the planting of Eden before Hugh's first digression, this one on the topic of angels. They are unmentioned in the Genesis account, except indirectly through the serpent, but this stage appeared to be the best in which to introduce them. Similarly, in the *Dialogues*, the discussion of the state of the angels and the fall of the devil preceded the fall of man.⁵⁰ In *Hexaemeron* ignored the subject of angels, choosing to focus only on the devil insofar as it clarified the account of the temptation and its results.⁵¹ Here they come before the creation of man, where one would expect, but again mainly to set the stage and explain the fall of the devil:

That angel perished, when he sought to live without you,
 When like his Lord he strove to be.
 Whence sent back, he remained a shadowy abyss,
 Captive in his perpetual chains.
 But he was confirmed and remained wise and blessed,
 who willed to be subject, while the evil one fell.⁵²

⁴⁷ Cf. Hugh, *Dial.*, Book VII; *infra*, chapter 4.

⁴⁸ 'Omnia dixisti de nicholo fieri.' Hugh, *InPent.*, l. 18.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, ll. 27-30.

⁵⁰ Hugh, *Dial.*, IV.4-8.

⁵¹ Hugh, *InHex.*, III.58-60, III.68-9.

⁵² 'Angelus ille perit, sine te dum uiuere quaerit./ Dum similis Domino nititur esse suo./ Unde retro missus tenebrosa remansit abyssus, / Captus perpetuis cladibus ipse suis. / At confirmatus sapiens manet atque beatus, / Qui subdi uoluit, dum malus ille ruit.' Hugh, *InPent.*, ll. 51-6. Line 53 refers to the shadowy

From here he described the creation of man and woman, the temptation, the covering of their 'members of shame' with leaves, and their expulsion from Eden under the sword of the Cherubim. The sorrowful picture he then painted in a short excursus is one that shaped his worldview, and echoed throughout the rest of his works: an image of man totally adrift and helpless, deceived by the devil and now under the curse of death:

He lived with the beasts, tricked from his own honour,
Thence sorrow followed, thence guilty he died.
Thus when the first man fell from paradise,
he and his kind plunged into sinking.⁵³

As if to underline this dire situation, the murder of Abel by Cain immediately followed.

Hugh continued with his summary of events and names, leaving out genealogies and other matter that would distract from the narrative. Especially interesting is the absence of any allegorical references to Christ and the Church; Hugh had an eye only for the letter, and any interjections of his own were only intended to clarify these events.⁵⁴

The tower of Babel is one instance where Hugh emphasised the significance of the narrative apart from any further interpretation:

You who reign over all, you who ordain with firm moderation,
Omnipotent Lord, you dissolved this villainy.
Speech given long ago, once the same for one and all,

abyss of Gen. 1:1. See Hugh, *InHex.*, I.17 where he interprets the abyss as the absence of all light and matter. The devil, in falling from his former state, has in a way become this abyss. See also the *Glossa ordinaria* for Rev. 20:1: 'Abyssus tenebrosa corda impiorum, vel ipse diabolus, quos dominus servire permittit et refrenat.' *Biblia Latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra*, part 4 (Venice: Paganinum de paganinis, 1495), f. 1391r (PL 113, 744B-C).

⁵³ 'Viuit cum pecore, proprio frustratus honore, / Inde dolor sequitur, inde reus moritur. / Sic sic primus homo cum decidit a paradiso, / Mersit in occiduum seque genusque suum.' *Ibid.*, ll. 73-76.

⁵⁴ A reader of the Gotha ms. apparently thought this literal focus was not sufficient. Numerous marginal notes point out the moral and allegorical significance of the events, such as the four cardinal virtues of 'prudencia', 'fortitudo', 'iustitia', and 'temperantia' to be found in the account of Jacob wrestling with God and making peace with Esau (*Ibid.*, ll. 381, 382-6, 388, 389-92; f. 68v). The notes also give the reader assistance by summarising the material or noting such functions as the 'intentio', 'materia', and 'modus' next to Hugh's introduction (*Ibid.*, ll. 5, 7, and 8; f. 76v).

was unbound in tongues many and varied.
Discord rendered unfinished what was not well begun,
And the many tongues brought forth a deep division.⁵⁵

Peter Riga would interject many allegorical applications into his work, although not in his account of the tower of Babel, which he briefly treated as a lesson against pride.⁵⁶

However, in some long passages he described how Abel and Noah symbolised Christ and Cain and Cham the Hebrew people, the flood Baptism, and the ark the Church.⁵⁷ In contrast, Alexander of Ashby, perhaps in keeping with his goal for a brief mnemonic aid, only brushed over the Babel incident with two lines about the confusion of tongues.⁵⁸

In Pentateuchem continues at a similar pace through the story of Abraham. Only a few short episodes are skipped, such as the separation of Lot and Abraham in Genesis 13. The most striking and well-known stories, especially those often treated in medieval exegesis, predictably receive the most thorough treatment. Particularly long is the account of Isaac's sacrifice, covering twenty-five lines, and probably included in such depth because of the parallels to Christ's passion, although Hugh made no explicit connexion between the two.⁵⁹ Similarly, Hugh grants some seventy-five lines to the story of Esau and Jacob.⁶⁰ One of the parts of the Scriptures wrestled over by many theologians, and taken up momentarily by Hugh under the subject of free will in Book III

⁵⁵ 'Tu qui cuncta regis stabili moderamine legis, / Omnipotens Dominus, diluis hoc facinus. / Sermo datus pridem prius unus et omnibus idem, / Soluitur eloquiis pluribus et variis. / Reddidit infectum discordia non bene coeptum, / Et uarium labium fert graue discidium.' *Ibid.*, ll. 114-18.

⁵⁶ Peter Riga, *Gen.*, ll. 689-704.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, ll. 421-54; 543-660, 661-682.

⁵⁸ Alexander of Ashby, ll. 57-8.

⁵⁹ Hugh, *InPent.*, ll. 181-206.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, ll. 211-36, 248-98.

of his *Dialogues*,⁶¹ were the verses 'Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated.'⁶² Here, however, Hugh is not so interested in the theological implications of the story as in the unusual description of a struggle within Rebecca's womb, which he describes in words worthy of an epic:

O wondrous thing without peer through the age
 The cause of this matter is given wholly to faith.
 In the dark womb they fight a hard struggle,
 They undergo a contest; they are unable to discern themselves.
 On what do they disagree, on what pretext is battle joined,
 Who wielded arms, who instructed in war?
 Whose violence preceded, who conducted himself evilly,
 What will happen to the conquered, how will the guilty flee?
 Who will reveal this thing to me, for what reward did the victor hope?
 What the reason for the struggle was, I seek but I do not find.⁶³

From here onwards, Hugh had little more to interject, preferring to let the story tell itself. Among those events he focuses on are Joseph's dreams and sale into slavery,⁶⁴ the subsequent encounters of Joseph and his brothers,⁶⁵ the plagues in Egypt and the flight through the Red Sea,⁶⁶ the Ten Commandments and the golden calf,⁶⁷ the murmuring of the Israelites in the desert and the rebellion of Core,⁶⁸ and the story of

⁶¹ Hugh, *Dial.*, III.13, 1174B-75C.

⁶² Rom. 9:13.

⁶³ 'O rem mirandam per saecula nec aequiparandam, / Huius causa rei tota datur fidei. / Ventre sub obscuro pugnant certamine duro, / Certamen subeunt, cernere se nequeunt. / Quo disconueniunt, quo iduice praelia fiunt, / Arma quis exhibuit, bella quis edocuit? / Cuius praecessit uiolentia, quis male gessit, / Quid victo fiet, quo reus effugiet? / Quis michi rem reserat, quae victor praemia sperat? / Quae pugnae ratio, quaero nec inuenio.' *Ibid.*, ll. 215-24.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, ll. 417-48.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, ll. 479-590.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 691-746.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, ll. 775-812.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, ll. 853-920.

Balaam's ass.⁶⁹ With the books of Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, Hugh filtered the material ruthlessly, choosing only those aspects that advanced the narrative and ignoring the multitudinous laws, prescriptions, and genealogies that are assembled in these books. Peter Riga alone among the versifiers found the inspiration to compose verses about these mundane matters, and even he dwelt mostly upon the events.⁷⁰

At length, Hugh concluded his work with the death of Moses, composing an epitaph and a prayer to his readers:

Moses ended his life, God had him buried,
 To man it is not revealed where Moses lies,
 This magnificent man, a powerful friend of the Lord,
 Since he cannot be equalled, he remains without peer.
 You who read, full of mercy, bestow this gift upon Hugh:
 Guilty Hugh beseeches you: say, 'Lord have mercy!'⁷¹

The work thus went forth, presumably to William as well as other readers, among them the Cistercians of Clairvaux, and the monks of Lyre and Erfurt. Ultimately less popular than either the poems of Hildebert of Lavardin or Peter Riga, it still found a readership who thought that such a rendering of the Pentateuch was useful and entertaining. In many ways these verses stand far removed from the speculation of Hugh's later works, and yet they form a foundation for these, and especially within the early sections we find subjects to which Hugh would frequently return.

⁶⁹ Ibid., ll. 949-78.

⁷⁰ Peter Riga, pp. 145-218.

⁷¹ 'Vitam finiuit Moyses, Deus hunc sepeliuit, / Non homini patuit, quo Moyses iacuit. / Hic uir magnificus Dominique potenter amicus, / Cum nequit aequari, permanet absque pari. / Qui legis, id doni praesta miseratus Hugoni: / Supplicat Hugo reus, dic: miserere Deus!' Hugh, *InPent.*, ll. 1005-10.

The Minor Poems

Qui res subiectas

The first of the poems in Gotha ms. Memb. II 136 is a sixty-one line leonine hexameter which begins thus:

Qui res subiectas residens super aethera spectas,
Et non aeternas aeterno iuro gubernas.⁷²

The poem, although it contains no attribution either within or without, follows the *Epistola Gravioni* and precedes the other poems.⁷³ Given this position and its subject of the omnipotence of God and the burden of sin, there is reason to uphold an attribution to Hugh. However, a brief glance at the material plants some doubts.

The poem begins with the creation of everything by God: the mountains and rivers, the beasts, the winds.⁷⁴ So far, the subject matter and language are not far from those of Hugh. Impious man fell because he was ungrateful for all this, the account continues, and he remains caught up in acquiring wealth, committing fraud, lying in word and deed, eating and drinking, and generally being oblivious to his Creator.⁷⁵ After this condemnation of mankind, the poem transforms into a plea for salvation from the wiles of the world and especially the devil, who prowls about as a lion.⁷⁶ Towards the end it gives the striking image of the narrowly-averted despair of the narrator:

Now extending the trap, now he seeks me as a raging lion,
Now he hastens faster, because he hopes to confound me.

⁷² Hugh, *QuiRes*, ll. 1-2.

⁷³ Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, ms. Memb. II 136, f. 66v.

⁷⁴ Hugh, *QuiRes*, ll. 1-13.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, ll. 14-23.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 24-51.

But hasten ye, lest he should rejoice in plunder,
 Alas! I was formed when I was born in time,
 The miscarriage knows not the dangers which the living bears.
 Indeed I would have preferred that to seeing the valley of death,
 then would I be without light and would not know how to bear sorrow:
 Now I breathe, a new recruit to a new battle.⁷⁷

The poem takes a very dark turn, and yet manages to diffuse it with a glimmer of hope at the end. It may be that it shows another side to Hugh's thought. It may also be that it is the work of another poet inserted in the midst of these other poems. There is just enough similarity to his other works, and enough of a contrast, to leave its authorship uncertain.

In laudem Sanctae Mariae

This Marian poem, which precedes *In Pentateuchem* in the Gotha manuscript and appears separately in that of Worcester, also runs in an elegiac distich. It opens:

Nobis virgo pia, miseris miserere Maria,
 Nos a criminibus solue piis precibus.⁷⁸

Apart from increasing popularity of the feast of the Immaculate Conception, which will be discussed under the topic of Hugh's *Dialogues*, devotion to the Virgin became in general more widespread throughout the twelfth century. As Nigel Morgan has described, the Benedictines played an important role in spreading these devotions in England, with the introduction of Saturday offices and daily masses to the Virgin. In fact, under St. Wulfstan, Worcester itself was already celebrating the Saturday office at the end of the

⁷⁷ 'Nunc laqueos tendens, nunc me petit ut leo frendens, / Iam magis accelerat, quia me confundere sperat. / Sed tu festina, ne gaudeat ille rapina, / Heu conformatus cum sum sub tempore natus, / Nescit abortinus quae fert discrimina uiuus. / Istud enim malleum quam mortis uisere uallem, / Tunc sine luce forem neque scirem ferre dolorem: / Nunc ego suspiro nouus ad noua praelia tiro.' Ibid., ll. 56-61. Cf. I Pet. 5:8.

⁷⁸ Hugh, *InLaud.*, ll. 1-2.

eleventh century.⁷⁹ In the twelfth century, the Cistercians were also prolifically composing sequences and poems devoted to Mary under various themes such as motherhood, virginity, redemption, and Mary as star of the sea and a mirror of heaven.⁸⁰ As noted above, Peter the Venerable had also written a poem on Mary. All this formed the backdrop for this short poem by Hugh.

The themes of the work are basic. Mary as mother of Christ reigns above all men and to her God has subjected all things.⁸¹ She conceived as a virgin and remained a virgin while also having the honour of motherhood.⁸² She is the second Eve who leads us back to heaven.⁸³ Through her, the star of the sea and the gate of heaven, whatever we seek from God we will receive.⁸⁴ The poem ends with a dedication to William and again, a request for prayer.⁸⁵ Although brief, it bears witness to Hugh's participation in this new devotional emphasis that would continue to gain in importance and popularity throughout the rest of the Middle Ages.

⁷⁹ Nigel Morgan, 'Texts and Images of Marian Devotion in English Twelfth-Century Monasticism, and Their Influence on the Secular Church,' in *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain, Proceedings of the 1994 Harlaxton Symposium*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies VI, ed. Benjamin Thompson (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1999), 118-24.

⁸⁰ Brian Noell, 'Marian Lyric in the Cistercian Monastery during the High Middle Ages,' *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 30 (1999), esp. 37-39, 44-51, 56.

⁸¹ Hugh, *InLaud*, ll. 3-8.

⁸² *Ibid.*, ll. 9-12.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, ll. 17-18.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, ll. 21-24.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, ll. 25-30.

Disposuit, ut voluit

Following *In Pentateuchem* in the Gotha manuscript is the statement '*Item eiusdem Hugonis Ambianensis*', introducing the following verses:

Disposuit, ut uoluit, Deus unus omnia,
Creat fouet regit mouet sub omnipotentia.⁸⁶

This poem is in trochaic septenary, each line consisting of two parts, one of eight and the other of seven trochaic syllables. The rhyme scheme is both inter- and intra-linear, with the fourth and eighth syllables of each line rhyming and the last syllables of every two lines rhyming together, thus forming an aab, ccb, dde, ffe pattern.

The theme of this poem is the scope of salvation history, and in fact it follows nicely upon the themes of *In Pentateuchem*, almost as if it were intended as the epilogue that it forms in the text. Here Hugh skimmed over the course of the Old Testament with a few verses about the expulsion from paradise and the hope of mankind for salvation.

Then:

From the sky, Gabriel was sent to earth to Mary
With man for mother, God for father, Emmanuel was born.
In a wondrous birth without a man the word became flesh,
Shepherd believed, King approached, a newborn star appeared.⁸⁷

Once again Hugh had versified the Bible, only this time the Gospels. Here too he followed the letter, concisely charting the life of Christ in all its major events. But at this point he did not hesitate to give more commentary on the significance of some of these events, in part probably because the letter of the Gospel is the very allegory sought

⁸⁶ Hugh, *Disposuit*, ll. 1-2.

⁸⁷ 'Est a polo missus solo ad Mariam Gabriel, / Homo matre, Deus patre natus est Emmanuel. / Partu miro, sine uiro uerbum caro factum est, / Pastor credit, rex accedit, nouum sidus uisum est.' Ibid., ll. 13-16.

through exegesis in the Old Testament. There would thus be less need to separate the two, since Hugh was describing the nascent stages of the Church itself.

The account continues with Christ receiving gifts. He is circumcised, and called Jesus.⁸⁸ Hugh then recounted Anna's prophecy in the temple, the murder of the Innocents, the flight into Egypt, and the return to Galilee.⁸⁹ When Christ is baptised, Hugh cannot help but insert a little theological reflection:

Here appeared, shown to the saintly, the trinity of deity,
But he is one in faith, simple triune, still remaining deity.
Lo! in earth a new offspring, initiated through Baptism,
God the Father, Holy Spirit, is received by the baptised⁹⁰

Christ goes on to be tempted, and preaches to the people with many miracles.⁹¹ He is transfigured on the mountain, enters Jerusalem, and expels the moneychangers.⁹²

Hugh then spied another chance to speak on one of the sacraments in the account the Last Supper:

He accuses the guilty, he washes his people's feet, he carries out the paschal feast,
The body of Christ, validly given, is eaten in its very truth.
Upon the altar, in like form, the Church obtains this very thing,
To those confessing, to those eating, given is the grace of life.⁹³

⁸⁸ Ibid., ll. 17-20.

⁸⁹ Ibid., ll. 21-32.

⁹⁰ 'Hinc apparet, sanctis claret deitatis trinitas, / Sed est una fide pura trina manens deitas, / En in terra proles nova per baptismum incipit, / Deum patrem, sanctum flamen baptizatus accipit.' Ibid., ll. 37-40.

⁹¹ Ibid., ll. 41-51.

⁹² Ibid., ll. 53-56.

⁹³ 'Reos grauat, suis lauat pedes, pascha geritur, / Christum ratum corpus datum re uera comeditur, / In altari forma pari sumit hoc ecclesia, / Confitenti, comedenti datur uitae gratia.' Ibid., ll. 57-60.

Christ is then crucified, dies, and rises again, bringing new life to all.⁹⁴ From his seat at the right hand of the Father, he watches faith, hope, and charity spread throughout the whole world.⁹⁵

The poem shares much in common with Peter the Venerable's *Rithmus*, which follows the same pattern of threefold leonine rhyme, but with three dactylic rather than trochaic sections: 'A patre mittitur, in terris nascitur deus de virgine.'⁹⁶ The theme is also the same: the life of Christ and his victory over the devil, beginning with the tree of knowledge. The two end similarly with descriptions of the beatific vision.⁹⁷ The focus throughout is somewhat different in each, with Hugh examining the entire span of Christ's life with a brief mention of key events and Peter looking more closely at some of the specific aspects of his ministry and their meaning. One is tempted to see in these poems a mutual influence between the two men, perhaps involving an exchange of poems attempting to illuminate the subject in different ways or even a friendly competition to compose the best poem on salvation. Nevertheless, these poems are woven from the central thread of Christianity, the life and death of Christ, as are innumerable other works, and their authors could very well have composed them in total ignorance of one another.

This final poem reflects some of Hugh's future interests. His interest in the sacraments expanded throughout his later works, especially in the *Dialogues* and *Contra*

⁹⁴ Ibid., ll. 61-68.

⁹⁵ Ibid., ll. 69-82.

⁹⁶ Peter the Venerable, *Rithmus*, 53, 1.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 63, 210: 'Quando sine fine summus ab homine deus uidebitur.' Hugh, *Disposuit*, l. 82: 'Quando fiet summus pater omnia in omnibus.'

haereticos, where he would eventually treat all seven.⁹⁸ Also evident here is his concern for the institution of the Church, a preoccupation that would grow, especially as he rose through positions of responsibility to become archbishop and faced various complications with heresy and schism. Sadly, he found either little time or interest in poetry in his later days. Or perhaps rather he saw more value in making his prose as poetic as he could.

The *Cursus* and Prosody in Hugh's Other Writings

Poetry influenced Hugh's later works, and at this point the *cursus* deserves a mention. Thoroughly researched by Tore Janson, the *cursus* was the practice of ending sentences and clauses in certain rhythms. These rhythms were threefold: *cursus velox*, as in 'iúgiter sentiámus', *cursus tardus*, as in 'ménte cognóvimus', and *cursus planus*, as in 'córde currámus'. They are now often indicated by a system of representing a paroxytone word (accent on the penult) as 'p' and proparoxytone word (accent on the antepenult) as 'pp' with a number giving the syllables found in the last word. Thus *cursus velox* can be noted as 'pp 4p', *cursus tardus* as 'p 4pp', and *cursus planus* as 'p 3p'.⁹⁹ Janson traced the development of the *cursus* from its beginnings in the school of Reims and its spread and development through various forms, especially that of the papal chancery, which preferred *velox* and *tardus*.¹⁰⁰ In fact, nearly all the popes from Gregory VIII to Alexander III showed a predilection for ending their sentences in these cadences, to the point that they, and many of the leading figures associated with the curia during this

⁹⁸ Hugh, *Dial.*, Book V; Hugh, *Haer.*, *passim*.

⁹⁹ Tore Janson, *Prose Rhythm in Medieval Latin from the 9th to the 13th Century*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 20 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1975), 7-14.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 35-76.

period, were ending 80% or more of their clauses with them.¹⁰¹ Certainly, Janson realised that percentages alone could not necessarily predict whether the authors purposefully chose these combinations or merely happened to use them out of preference for the individual words involved. Thus he encouraged the use of chi-square analysis to predict the probability of such combinations occurring in relation to the frequency of both terms.¹⁰²

Since Hugh was involved in the curia for at least a short time before becoming archbishop, and because of his interest in poetry, one might expect to see some evidence of the *cursus* in his works, perhaps beginning with his writings as archbishop. But despite this, only one of his works shows a significant enough chi-square ratio to suggest that he actively chose the cadences: the first six books of the *Dialogues*, written between 1123 and 1126.¹⁰³ Even here, the percentages for the three forms of *cursus* and related cadences remain at just over 46% of the total endings. The only rhythm that he definitely appears to have favoured is *velox* (pp 4p), with a frequency of sixteen instances when only seven are to be expected. The only other work that comes close is *In Hexaemeron*, which just nudges above the critical level, but in which the desired forms are only 48% of the total. Other works fail the probability test entirely, and therein the various forms of

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 109-115.

¹⁰² Ibid., 15-22.

¹⁰³ My method has been to choose one hundred cadences from each of Hugh's works, except for the short works that do not have this many. From the *Dialogues*, I used seventy-five each from books one and three and analysed book seven separately, as it was written at least a year or two later. With books one and three, the chi-square is 21.62, distinctly higher than the critical 7.8147 for the combinations analysed, but still far lower than most of characteristic twelfth-century cases listed by Janson, which can range into the hundreds.

the *cursus*, which range from 59% (the epistles) to 40% (*De memoria*) of the totals, are not preferred to other combinations.

Now, it may be that at times Hugh was mildly influenced by the *cursus*, and perhaps he did use it to a small extent while at Reading and again in the 1140s at Rouen. It could also be that he always had a slight natural predilection for the *velox* in particular, as there are generally at least one or two more instances of this cadence than would normally be expected in each of his works. Nevertheless, Hugh was still consciously constructing his endings, just not according to metre. Rather, he was concerned with rhyme, specifically the leonine rhyme that he used to such a great extent in his poetry. Throughout all his works, he continually returns to this poetic device, sometimes for extended sections. One good example of this use of rhyme, which crops up on nearly every page of Hugh's writing, is in a short selection from Book VII of the *Dialogues*, where he uses the regular endings of verbs to ornament his phrases:

'Notitia quidem Dei, omnia numerat, nec numero capitur; sempiterna
virtus ejus omnia mensurat, et nullo termino finitur; benevolentia
amborum universa ponderat, et nulla lance trahitur.'¹⁰⁴

In Hexaemeron also provides many instances of Hugh bursting into leonine verse.

Sometimes his constructions were quite brief and easily missed, as in the following:

'Miser homo in exilio, levatus est per Christum in caelo; humilis iste post Christum ascendit, elatus ille post sathanam cadit.'¹⁰⁵ Other times he became almost excessive with his poetic license:

Habet enim homo qui factus est ex imagine Dei rationem, ex similitudine
Dei karitatem. Caritas vero in seipsa presentat trinitatem; hanc ratio sentit,

¹⁰⁴ Hugh, *Dial.*, VII.2, 1234B, emphases mine.

¹⁰⁵ Hugh, *InHex.*, III.74 (p. 293)

et pacata requirit; hanc karitas invenit, et videndo beata quiescit; hanc in presenti fides sequitur, spes in caelum usque comitatur, karitas perhenniter amplexatur.¹⁰⁶

Thus, while Hugh did not follow the *cursus*, this does not mean that he was unconscious of his use of language and the flow of his sentences. He was an extremely careful craftsman, well trained by his efforts in poetry to continue writing works that were not just striking in their ideas, but also in their language.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., II.33 (p. 256), emphases mine.

Chapter IV

The *Dialogues* of Hugh of Amiens and the Early Stages of Systematic Theology

Sometime between 1123 and 1126, Hugh of Amiens sent an extensive theological work to his friend and relative Matthew, prior of Saint-Martin-des-Champs. He hesitated in doing so, despite Matthew's fervent requests, for he was reluctant to leave behind the silence of the monastic life with what seemed to be a return to matters he had dealt with in the disputatious schools of his youth. 'While I am compelled by your love to produce,' he wrote, 'I sense detractors against [this work], whom I decided should be calmed by my silence. Nevertheless I am driven by your charity to speak and to write.'¹ The *Dialogues*, Hugh's longest and most comprehensive work, spans seven books that methodically consider subjects from the Trinity to Last Things, and everything in between. It forms a unique example of the early stages of systematic theology, and with its completion it became one of the first of the many *summae* that came to characterise the theological endeavours of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Hugh brought from his background a unique blend of scholastic and monastic influences, which he brought into play in the *Dialogues*, and in so doing he spanned the gap between the monastic cloister and the cathedral school.

¹ 'Dum itaque tuae dilectioni parere compellor, detractores e contra sentio, quos silentio quidem meo judicavi sedandos, sed tua charitate fari et scribere cogor,' Hugh, *Dial.*, Proem, 1142A.

Background

Under the eminent master Anselm (c. 1040-1117), the cathedral school at Laon had become one of the most distinguished schools of theology, focused like many others on the practice of Biblical exegesis. As at the monastic schools, students would gather in the mornings to hear the master illuminate the Scriptures with the help of the Church Fathers. In the afternoons, they would gather once more to settle any difficulties that arose from the morning lecture in a much more detailed and analytical manner. It is from the first of these sessions that the glosses on the Bible arose, culminating in the *Glossa Ordinaria*. Of the books that would combine to form this final authoritative commentary, Anselm very probably composed those on the Psalms, the Pauline Epistles, and possibly the Gospel of John.² From the second session developed the *sententia*, a master's opinions (almost exclusively gathered from the Church Fathers) on various theological issues. At this early stage in Laon, the sentences were collected by the industrious students rather than by the master himself, and it is thanks to the *reportatio* of these students, especially the anonymous compilers of the *Sententie divine pagine* and the *Sententie Anselmi*, that we owe both an approximation of the teachings at Laon and some of the first methodical sentence collections.³

However, masters soon began to compile their own sentences for use as textbooks in their schools as well as for wider distribution. Such industry was by no means limited to Laon. Honorius Augustodunensis (c. 1080-1157), student of St. Anselm and

² Sir Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, Vol. II: *The Heroic Age* (Oxford: Blackwells, 2001), 26-7, 32-5, 45-7; Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell & Mott, 1952, reprint, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1978), 56-77.

³ Southern, *Scholastic Humanism* II, 36-55; R. Silvain, 'La tradition des Sentences d'Anselme de Laon,' *AHDLM* 22-23 (1947-48), 1-21.

Benedictine monk of eclectic tastes, composed his own sentence collection in the *Elucidarium*. And even Rupert of Deutz (c. 1075-1129), the implacable enemy of the school of Laon, who sought out first master Anselm and then William of Champeaux (c. 1070-1121) after a dispute over predestination, had himself already compiled his own attempt at systematic theology in his *De Trinitate*.⁴ However, the school of Laon was by far the most influential of the schools during this period, attracting students such as William of Champeaux, Peter Abelard (1079-1142), and Gilbert de la Porrée,⁵ although these last two would ultimately go far beyond the methods of Laon, and consequently submerge themselves in a world of troubles. For the thought at Laon was largely Augustinian and its methodical nature was oriented more towards preserving tradition and synthesising the Church Fathers than advancing philosophical speculation. Because of this traditional orientation, the materials emerging from the school raised little official controversy.⁶ But while not theologically controversial, the divide between the decidedly pastoral interests of sentences like those of Laon and the more contemplative interests of a Benedictine monk like Rupert of Deutz remained significant.⁷

⁴ Rupert of Deutz, *De Sancta Trinitate et Operibus eius*, ed. Hrabanus Haacke, O.S.B., CCCM 21-4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971-2); John H. Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, Publications of the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies 18 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 79-94, 181-219; Marie-Dominique Chenu, O.P., 'The Masters of the Theological "Science",' in Marie-Dominique Chenu, O.P., *Nature Man and Society in the Twelfth Century. Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, ed. and translated by Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little, with a preface by Etienne Gilson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968, reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 270-2; Southern, *Scholastic Humanism II*, 14-21.

⁵ Peter Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, in *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, translated with an introduction by Betty Radice (London and New York: Penguin, 1974), 62-4; Southern, *Scholastic Humanism II*, 94.

⁶ Silvain, 15-16; Southern, *Scholastic Humanism II*, 27-8.

⁷ Marcia L. Colish, 'Another Look,' 7-22, studies in depth the practical interests of the Laon sentences, including topics such as the time of baptism, administration of the Eucharist under one kind to infants, and the role of jongleurs and merchants in society. See also Colish, 'Systematic Theology,' 140-1.

During the last years of the eleventh century or during the first decade of the twelfth, Hugh of Amiens travelled to this centre of activity, possibly with the intention, like so many others of his day, of becoming a schoolmaster himself. He was not totally among strangers, for Matthew accompanied him on his studies. He too would have the foundation of a scholastic education, and both would change their minds to become Cluniacs and defenders of the monastic life. After nearly twenty years of living under the Benedictine Rule, Hugh would once again return to the secular world. But not surprisingly, the influence of this long period of following the monastic routine emerges in his *Dialogues*, which were largely composed while he was still cloistered. In their language and style, as well as their subject matter, they show a unique combination of contemplation and respect for the value of monasticism alongside both the dialectic and systematisation of the schools and an interest in pastoral matters.

Manuscripts and Dating

The *Dialogues* exist in seven twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts, of which two contain only Book VII. At least three other once-extant copies are attested to in medieval library catalogues.⁸ These numbers show that while the *Dialogues* had

⁸ These manuscripts are:

1) Paris, BN ms. lat. 529, ff. 12-29 (twelfth century). This manuscript, from the collection of Jacques-Auguste de Thou, contains only Book VII of the *Dialogues*. It is preceded by Book I of Guibert of Nogent's *Moralia in Genesim* and followed by a sermon of St. Bernard and the pseudo-Anselmian *Homilia IX* on Mary and Martha, possibly written by Ralph d'Escures. Interspersed between all the texts are a number of anonymous homilies.

2) Paris, BN ms. lat. 1787A, ff. 135-165 (twelfth century). This manuscript was used by Martène as the template for the first version of the *Dialogues*. It includes Books I through VI in their original order and the letter to Matthew of Albano. It follows John Chrysostom's *Homiliae* and Eustathius' *In Hexaemeron* and is in turn followed by a fragment from chapters 21-3 of Cardinal Humbert's *Adversus Graecorum calumnias*, the same pseudo-Anselmian homily as ms. lat. 529, and a fragment of sermon by St. Fulgentius.

3) Paris, BN ms. lat. 2710, ff. 45-57v (twelfth century, probably from Normandy). This manuscript, like ms. lat. 529, part of the collection of Jacques-Auguste de Thou, contains Hugh's *Dialogues* through Question 6 of Book VI. They are preceded by fragments of a pseudo-Augustine *Dialogus*, Book I of Julian

neither the extensive distribution nor the long-lasting appeal that accompanied later theological works by such authorities as Hugh of Saint-Victor or Peter Lombard, they still gained a respectable readership. The various manuscripts also provide evidence that Hugh composed his work in two different editions. Indeed, Hugh himself indicated that Matthew had spread this first edition far and wide, and that it received overall approval

of Toledo's *Antikeimenon*, and *De recipiendis*, an abbreviated Gelasian decree. Following Hugh are the opening chapters of St. Augustine's *De sermo Domini in monte* and an *Expositio divinatorum officinorum* from Rouen.

4) Paris, BN ms. lat. 3437, ff. 1-48v (twelfth or thirteenth century). This manuscript, with a fifteenth-century *ex libris* of John Alory, a confessor of Orléans, contains Books I through VI followed by the letter to Matthew of Albano on excommunicated priests. They are followed by an apocryphal letter of Gregory the Great on clerics and Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, II.viii.9,13; II.i.3.

5) Paris, BN ms. lat. 13426, ff. 1r-57v (twelfth century). This manuscript contains the entirety of Books I through VII and may have been the source from Dom Grebovaldi of Saint-Pierre, Rouen, which was used by Martène for his edition of the second version. The text is joined to a copy of *In Hexaemeron* from Saint-Martin des Champs, possibly the work of the Maurists in the seventeenth century.

6) Vatican, ms. Regin. lat. 288, II, ff. 10, 12-64 (twelfth or thirteenth century). This manuscript is actually a compilation of several manuscripts joined together, the second of which, from northern France and possibly Normandy, was probably partly copied from Paris, BN ms lat. 1787A. It begins with the same selections from the *Dialogues* with the same *incipit* and *excipit* notation. It is followed by the same works, to which are then joined Hildebert of Lavardin's *Vita beatae Mariae Aegyptiacae* and various *planctus* by Peter Abelard. F. 10 is a fragmented version of Matthew's letter which appears fully on ff. 52r-53v.

7) Chicago, Newberry Library, ms. 12.2 (Ry 24), ff. 103-113 (mid-twelfth century, *ex* St. Mary's, Reading). This manuscript, from Hugh's own abbey, contains only Book VII of the *Dialogues*. It follows St. Augustine's *De Quantitate Animae* and *Sermo 115* and Isidore of Seville's *De fide Catholica contra Iudaeos*.

See Bibliothèque Nationale, *Catalogue General des Manuscrits Latins*, vols. I-VII (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1937-1988); Rainer Berndt, 'Notes sur la Tradition Manuscrite et l'Édition du *Tractatus in Hexaemeron* de Hugues de Rouen,' *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 17 (1987), 355-7; *Codices Regineses Latini*, ed. André Wilmart (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1945), ms. 288; Paul Saenger, *A Catalogue of the Pre-1500 Western Manuscript Books at the Newberry Library* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 24; Richard Sharpe, *Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 1 (Belgium: Brepols, 1997), 182-3.

In addition, at least three English manuscripts, now lost, are known to have existed:

1) Abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Modwena, Burton on Trent. The catalogue of c. 1175 records a *Hugonis, abbatis Radingensis, de quibusdam questionibus*. See *English Benedictine Libraries, the Shorter Catalogues*, ed. R. Sharpe, et. al., *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues* 4 (London: British Library, 1996), B11, 70 (p. 42).

2) Priory of St. Peter, Leominster (cell of Reading). The catalogue of c. 1192 records a *Liber Hugonis abbatis Rading*. See *English Benedictine Libraries*, B75, 44 (p. 459).

3) Abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary de Pratis, Leicester, O. Aug. A late fifteenth-century catalogue records at least one copy of *Magister Hugo de Redynges super questionibus theologicis*. See *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, eds. T. Webber and A.G. Watson, *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues* 6 (London: British Library, 1998), A20, 341 (p. 186), 571 (p. 224), 951 (p. 286), 1581 (p. 371); A21, 4 (p. 400). See also James Montague Rhodes, *Catalogue of the Library of Leicester Abbey*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (*Transactions of the Leicester Archaeological Society* 19 and 21, 1937-41; reprint Leicester: Leicestershire Archaeological Society, 1954), no. 210.

except for his comments on excommunicated priests.⁹ In the *Patrologia*, one manuscript of each edition was used to create a composite version.¹⁰

The decisive factor in dating the two editions exists in the wording of the prefatory epistle to Matthew. In the first version of this letter, Hugh speaks of his presence at Reading and that of Matthew at Saint-Martin-des-Champs in Paris:

For both one kinsfolk and the fraternity of the same profession in Christ joined us, whom the soil of Laon nourished and taught. But the fatherland holds you, and obedience made me an exile in England. Paris rejoices to have you as prior of Saint-Martin, but Reading retains me as an unworthy abbot, Brother Matthew.¹¹

Hugh had become abbot of Reading in 1123, and Matthew was appointed cardinal-bishop of Albano by October 1126.¹² Hugh thus completed the first edition between 1123 and 1126, although he may well have begun the work long before, perhaps while at Lewes, Saint-Martial, or even Cluny. Then, at some point after 1127, while Hugh was still abbot and Matthew had just been appointed bishop, Hugh wrote him a long letter answering questions he and others, possibly members of the Roman curia, had regarding Hugh's

⁹ Hugh, *Dial.*, Letter to Matthew, 1227B-C.

¹⁰ The two Martène manuscripts were Paris, BN ms. lat. 1787A (ms. Colbertus) and probably Paris, BN ms. lat. 13426 (a manuscript of Dom Grebovaldi of Saint-Pierre, Rouen): PL 192, 1137-40.

¹¹ 'Nos enim et una generis consanguinitas et ejusdem professionis in Christo junxit societas quos Laudunense solum educavit et docuit. Sed te patria tenuit, me obedientia exsulem in Anglia fecit. Te Parisius apud Sanctum Martinum laetatur habere priorem, me Radingia indignum servat abbatem, Matthaee frater.' PL 192, 1141B, 1142A-B. The first edition of the *Dialogues*, with these words and the original arrangement of material, is found in Paris, BN ms. 1787A, Paris, BN ms. 2710, and Vatican ms. Regin. lat. 288. See *supra*, n. 8.

¹² Ursmer Berlière, 'Le Cardinal,' 123; P. Damien Van den Eynde, O.F.M., 'Nouvelles précisions chronologiques sur quelques oeuvres théologiques du XII^e siècle,' *Franciscan Studies* 13 (1953), 75.

statements on excommunicated priests. He addressed the letter: 'To his most beloved lord Matthew: from Brother Hugh, abbot of Reading Monastery.'¹³

In the preface to his second edition of the *Dialogues*, Hugh changed little besides this conclusion, which he expanded and updated to acknowledge their new positions as archbishop of Rouen and cardinal-bishop of Albano:

For both one kinsfolk and the fraternity of the same profession in Christ joined us. France begat us, the soil of Laon nourished and taught us, and Cluny dressed us in the clothing of Christ. But afterwards, the apostolic see chose you to hold the bishopric of Albano; it commanded me, sent into Normandy, to be a priest of Rouen, Matthew, most beloved father and lord.¹⁴

Thus Hugh completed this final work sometime after September 1130, when he was appointed archbishop, and before Christmas 1134, when Matthew died. He may, however, have completed the *Dialogues* by 1132 when Matthew returned to Italy from his legateship in northern France.¹⁵

The second edition is characterised by a number of additions and changes, including an expansion and rearrangement of books, the addition of a seventh book on analogies of the Trinity, and a variety of small changes in wording. Why Hugh did not integrate the letter on excommunication, or at least the information contained therein, into the final edition of his *Dialogues* remains unclear, especially given his extensive

¹³ 'Charissimo suo domino MATTHAEO frater HUGO abbas Radingensis monasterii indignus sanum sapere et recta docere.' PL 192, 1227B.

¹⁴ 'Nos enim et una generis consanguinitas et ejusdem professionis in Christo junxit societas quos Francia genuit, quos Laudunense solum educavit et docuit, quos veste Christi Cluniacus induit. Sed te postmodum sedes apostolica Albanum elegit habere pontificem; me missum in Normannia praecepit esse Rothomagensium sacerdotem, Matthaee charissime Pater et domine.' Ibid. The second edition of the *Dialogues*, with this version of the text and the revised arrangement of material, is found in its entirety in Paris, BN ms. 13426 and without Book VII in Paris, BN ms. 3437. See *supra*, n. 8.

¹⁵ Berlière, 'Le Cardinal,' 293-302; Van den Eynde, 77.

rearrangement of the original work. Nevertheless, it found its way into a number of the manuscripts as well as Gerhoch of Reichersberg's *Contra Duas Haereses*.¹⁶

The Purpose and Place of the *Dialogues* in the World of Systematic Theology

Hugh's prefatory letter gives some clues to the immediate stimulus for his writing and choosing the structure which he used. There he recalled Matthew's requests that he write, and chastised him for dragging him forth to solve these problems because he was too lazy to consult the multitude of books written by the Church Fathers. Moreover, Matthew wanted answers that were brief about the greatest issues and trivial about the most serious, and above all he wandered about haphazardly:

What are you doing? Why do you scatter so many things amidst those subjects which you had undertaken to begin? With the force of your will you frequently interrupt what has begun and wandering, you offend against the order of the questions. You ask about Creation, and you return to his creature quite often. About the rational creature, both that which fell and that which stood, about what good and evil might be, about free will and the disposition of God, about the grace of our Redeemer and about the sacraments, you unduly compel me to respond.¹⁷

It could be that the basis of these remarks was a single letter that Matthew sent to Hugh, in which he wandered randomly through these questions. But if so, the questions contained in the *Dialogues* cannot be drawn solely from this one source, for each builds upon the previous response, and most are filled with conversational interjections and remarks that would not have been present in such a request. The Matthew of the

¹⁶ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Contra Duas Haereses*, PL 194, 1172B-75A.

¹⁷ 'Sed quid agis? Cur his quae ordiri coeperas tam multa interseris? Tuae quidem impetu voluntatis incoepa saepius interrumpis et quaestionum ordinem vagabundus offendis. De creatione quaeris, et ad ejus creaturam quam saepe recurris. De creatura rationali, tam ea quae cecidit, quam ea quae stetit, de bono et malo quid sit, de libertate arbitrii et dispositione Dei, de gratia Redemptoris nostri, et de sacramentis, indebitum me respondere compellis.' Hugh, *Dial.*, Proem, 1141A-42A.

Dialogues is to some extent a literary creation, and it is easy to imagine that he is only a straw man set up by Hugh for the purpose of furthering his arguments, especially given the sometimes naïve questions and the occasional harsh responses they received from Hugh.¹⁸ But the very expressions of exasperation in the text are echoed in this letter to Matthew, strongly suggesting that the character in the text is based on him not only in name. Although Matthew was an eminent figure in the monastic world, he may well have ceded to Hugh in matters theological, feeling more at home in the daily administration of his priory and the defence of Cluniac ideals. Hugh and Matthew had been friends for many years, and most likely had at least some conversations resembling the *Dialogues* during their time at Laon and Cluny. Or perhaps they were the result of a long period of correspondence between the two which finally culminated in a request that Hugh write ‘many volumes.’¹⁹ For these reasons, I will refer to the questions as coming from Matthew’s own mouth and the responses as those of Hugh, rather than an anonymous questioner and respondent.

Thus Hugh set out to write his work under direct prodding from Matthew. But he also probably felt the need for a systematic text examining all the issues about which Matthew was inquiring. If Matthew was reluctant to search through the vast writings of the Fathers for answers to his questions, how many others were likewise searching for a systematic coverage of the same questions? When Hugh decided to write the *Dialogues*, the movement of systematic theology was still budding and the various sentence

¹⁸ At various points Hugh accuses Matthew of being sluggish: ‘Videtur mihi quia quae supra diximus segniter attendisti,’ Ibid., III.4, 1168A, or of not understanding the very monastic order to which he belongs: ‘In cognoscendis sanctae Ecclesiae institutis te rudem video, quem de monacho, quid sit, quaerentem audio.’ Ibid., VI.4, 1219C.

¹⁹ ‘A pluribus plura fieri debere dicis volumina.’ Ibid., Proem, 1142A.

collections from the milieu of Laon were only beginning to make their appearance. Apart from the obscure attempts of these students to collect and impose some order upon their masters' sentences, very few complete texts were in existence.

The only comprehensive compilations of systematic theology that Hugh or Matthew might have been able to access would have been Honorius Augustodunensis' *Elucidarium* and Rupert of Deutz's *De Trinitate*, both from outside the orbit of the school of Laon. The most influential sentence collections were yet to appear on the scene. Hugh of Saint-Victor did not compose his influential *De Sacramentis* until 1134, as the final book of the *Dialogues* passed on its way to Matthew of Albano (if it had not already been completed several years earlier).²⁰ The comprehensive and lasting effort of Peter Lombard lay decades in the future, not to mention the works of Robert of Melun, Robert Pullen, commentators upon Lombard, and the various attempts of the followers of Abelard and Gilbert de la Porrée to collect their masters' sentences. Hugh may have responded in particular to this lack of a polished expression of the thought of the school of Laon. Early in the twentieth century, Franz Bliemetzrieder compared the *Dialogues* to the anonymous *Sententie divine pagine* and *Sententie Anselmi*, concluding because of similarities in wording that Hugh relied closely upon these texts.²¹ These similarities could just as likely demonstrate a common dependence upon the words of Master Anselm, whose training still inspired Hugh so many years later.

²⁰ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, ix.

²¹ Franz Bliemetzrieder, 'L'oeuvre d'Anselme de Laon et la littérature théologique contemporaine. II. Hugues de Rouen,' RTAM 6 (1934), 261-83 and 17 (1935), 28-52. For these sentences, see *SentDivPag.* and *SentAns.*

The Ordering of the System

As with these other theologians, Hugh strove to apply order and method to the vast panoply of opinions of the Church Fathers and the masters of his day. The existence of the two editions is valuable in that it shows how attempts to order the material of theology varied not just from one individual to the next, but even with one individual. With his perfected second edition, Hugh began with the Trinity in Book I and moved through an allegorical interpretation of Creation in Book II. A discussion of free will and foreknowledge fills Book III, followed by the problems of the fall of the devil, the fall of man, and original sin in Book IV. Crowning all this is Book V, with a discussion of actual sin and the remedy for sin found in the Sacraments. Book VI follows with a melange of holy orders, monasticism, saints, angels, and Last Things. Finally, Book VII involves a return to the Trinity once more, enlarging upon Augustine's idea that images of the Trinity can be found within the human mind with a host of examples.

This edition exhibits some improvements over the first. For in his early *Dialogues*, Hugh treated free will and original sin together in Book III,²² while in Book IV he treated the fall of the devil and man alongside the sacraments.²³ In the later edition, he elaborated upon the matter of free will by acknowledging the various difficulties imposed by necessity, the loss of original freedom, and the omnipotent will of God. He then brought original sin into a more natural position by attaching it to his discussion on the fall of man, and he gave actual sin and the Sacraments their own separate book. Moreover, what became Book VI in the second edition was originally divided between

²² Hugh, *Dial.*, III.1-13, 1165D-75C; IV.9-16, 1186A-92D.

²³ *Ibid.*, IV.1-8, 1177D-86A; V, 1191D-1216A.

Book V on monks, angels, and the resurrection of the dead,²⁴ and Book VI on divine justice and eternal beatitude.²⁵ This earlier division was logical, but Hugh probably considered the individual sections to be too small in comparison to the other books to stand on their own. Above all, Hugh's most substantial change was to affix his elaborate treatise on images of the Trinity at the end, providing the only sentence collection that not only proceeded from, but also returned to the Trinity.

Hugh started with open horizons and few clues as to what method of organisation and format would be the most useful and successful. The two works already available in his day had taken radically different approaches to the task. Rupert of Deutz's *De Trinitate* maintained the strong links between theology and scriptural exegesis. He used the Scriptures as his framework and followed their order from Genesis to the Gospels before ending with seven books on the works of the Holy Spirit. Yet such a close following of the Scriptures involved the inclusion of the vast scope of Old Testament history that intervenes between the book of Genesis with its succinct coverage in the first few books of God, Creation, and Fall, and the New Testament with its treatment of the Incarnation, the Sacraments, and Last Things.

Honorius Augustodunensis's *Elucidarium* provided a second, more practical and pastoral approach. In structure, this work resembles the *Dialogues*, following the format of a dialogue and moving from God to Last Things. Honorius covered a great deal more ground than Hugh, discussing a wide range of subjects outside the normal scope of such a

²⁴ Ibid., VI.1-6, 1215B-23D.

²⁵ Ibid., VI.6-9, 1223D-28B.

work, such as the nature and origin of the Antichrist.²⁶ However, Honorius also provided a much more concise account of everything he covered, and despite the extensive range of his subjects, his *Elucidarium* is a good deal shorter than other sentence collections, even the *Dialogues*.

The purposes of these works varied greatly. Rupert of Deutz's scriptural framework naturally oriented his *De Trinitate* towards the monastic goal of contemplation. The order of the Scriptures led to a continual repetition and foreshadowing that, while an aid to the contemplative, would prove frustrating to a student in the schools seeking a precise definition or a priest looking for pastoral advice on practical issues. Honorius Augustodunensis, on the other hand, did not intend to create an aid for meditation. Rather, he aimed to give a practical guide to the simplest and swiftest answers that he could find for the tough questions priests could encounter in their daily work.²⁷

Of those who came after Hugh of Amiens, Hugh of Saint-Victor (1096-1141) resembles him the most closely. The master of Saint-Victor also strove to find balance between an almost scientific precision and the occasional contemplative excursus. He differed only by beginning his *De Sacramentis*, as suggested by the Scriptures, with Creation,²⁸ and by placing his discussion of the Incarnation before salvation history and the sacraments.²⁹ Finally, that great systematiser, Peter Lombard devoted the entirety of

²⁶ Honorius, *Eluc.*, III.10.

²⁷ Colish, 'The Sentence Collection,' 5; Valerie I. Flint, 'The Place and Purpose of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis,' *RB* 87 (1977), 97-118.

²⁸ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, I.1-2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I.8-II.15.

his first book to the Trinity and its attributes.³⁰ However, he then continued in Book II with the angels and the fall of the devil,³¹ only then describing the days of Creation.³² Overall, the structure and much of the material resembled those works that preceded him, but his example demonstrates that the struggle to find the best system continued long after Hugh of Amiens found one to suit him. Unlike Hugh, Peter Lombard aimed not so much to delve into the deeper meanings of things as to focus at the structural level on creating an orderly, coherent synthesis of all past sentence collections with the opinions of the Church Fathers.

The Style of the *Dialogues*

Among all the other works of systematic theology, that which resembles the *Dialogues* most closely in style is Hugh of Saint-Victor's *De Sacramentis*. Hugh of Saint-Victor had a similar meditative frame of mind and led the attempt at the abbey of Saint-Victor to reconcile the contemplative life with the active, a reconciliation that Hugh of Amiens himself strove to attain both in his life and his works.³³ The two authors also resemble each other in their penchant for allegory, although Hugh of Saint-Victor utilised far less allegory in the *De Sacramentis* than he would in his other more exegetical

³⁰ Lombard, *Sent.*, I.i-xxxviii.

³¹ *Ibid.*, II.i-xii.

³² *Ibid.*, II.xii-xv.

³³ See, for instance, Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Didascalicon*, V.7-9, on the importance of study and action, performance of virtues and contemplation.

works.³⁴ However, the *Dialogues* differ remarkably from this work and others in that it is highly conversational. Hugh's very format of questions and responses reinforces this characteristic. Honorius Augustodunensis had also chosen to use a similar arrangement, but his questions were generally very brief and impersonal, serving as little more than a heading for the response. Hugh infused his questions with the attributes of a distinct character, which if not actually that of Matthew, was very probably inspired by him. The questions express on various occasions frustration,³⁵ amazement,³⁶ and often pleasure at the responses.³⁷

Perhaps this dialogue format went back to a common source of inspiration: the questioning of a master by his students in the classroom. And of course the use of dialogues had a venerable tradition going back to the Church Fathers and beyond to the ancient philosophers. Nevertheless, the use of dialogues by Hugh and Honorius may also have had another recent source. St. Anselm (1033-1109), writing a few decades earlier, had been a devotee of the dialogue, creating lively and unique conversational partners sometimes modelled after his real-life friends, like Boso in *Cur Deus Homo*.³⁸ His

³⁴ Hugh of Saint-Victor's *De sacramentis* was intended to provide a sourcebook for the student who had mastered the historical interpretation of the Scriptures and was ready to move on to an allegorical reading. See Hugh of Saint-Victor, prologue; Chenu, 'The Masters', 308.

³⁵ Hugh, *Dial.*, III.6, 1169B.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, I.15, 1150C.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, I.4, 1144B.

³⁸ St. Anselm of Canterbury, *Why God Became Man (Cur Deus Homo)*, in *Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Works*, ed. with an introduction by Brian Davies and G.R. Evans (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), *passim*.

influence on Honorius is undoubted,³⁹ and his works may have inspired Hugh as well, even if their theology had little impact upon him.

Matthew's questions, rather than being a fully systematic inquiry, often followed a pattern of latching on to the very last words of the previous response and finding another subject closely or even vaguely related to the topic of discussion. Likewise, Hugh's responses often followed a similar approach. Such a method would have been natural for a monk accustomed to meditating upon a text from the Scriptures, for whom a piece of writing could easily send him off by way of association into seemingly unrelated allegories and allusions. The conclusion of Book III gives a good example of this process. Therein Hugh answered a question on how God wishes all men to be saved by a long discussion on charity ending in a mention of the double spirit received by Elijah, which he stated was a spirit of charity.⁴⁰ Matthew, ignoring the bulk of what was said, proceeded to seize upon these last words and inquire about this spirit, and so Hugh briefly answered him (it is double in that it is the love of God and neighbour) before swerving off into a discussion of the Holy Spirit and then Christ's Incarnation, wrapping up with a mention of the devil as a plunderer and Christ as the rescuer.⁴¹

Occasionally Hugh played an interesting rhetorical manoeuvre. The most memorable and touching of these instances is when he explains how those who are unbaptised may still repent and be saved at the ends of their lives. To those who thought

³⁹ Valerie I. Flint, 'The Career of Honorius Augustodunensis. Some Fresh Evidence,' *RB* 82 (1972), 75-80; Eadem, 'The Chronology of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis,' *RB* 82 (1972), *passim*.

⁴⁰ Hugh, *Dial.*, III.14, 1175C-77A.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, IV.15, 1177A-78D.

otherwise, he stands back and brings the good thief, dying on the cross next to Christ, onto the scene.

Cannot the same man respond to these for himself: 'Why do you raise me against the grace of the sacraments, I who received grace? The very author of grace freely hanging on the cross turned his attention to me hanging next to him, hanging on the cross, but hanging because of crime. He looked at me and conferred grace, because dying I confessed to him the sins which I had. And with others despairing while Christ was dying, only I, if I dare to say, sought life in the dying one....Tell me, I beseech, what if I were baptised before? Or because you do not know me to be baptised, are you convinced that I am not baptised?'⁴²

Despite his extensive reliance upon previous authorities, Hugh referred explicitly to only a few of them. His citations were limited to a mention of the synods of Nicaea and Carthage on excommunicated priests,⁴³ a reference to St. Jerome on the origin of souls,⁴⁴ a quotation from a treatise on the Eucharist which he attributes to St. Andrew,⁴⁵ and a decree of Pope Innocent I on the ordination of heretics.⁴⁶ Of course, this approach to sources was not at all unusual. Although Hugh of Saint-Victor included more explicit references in certain sections of *De Sacramentis*,⁴⁷ even he only rarely integrated references into his text. Methods would soon change, and Peter Lombard included a vast range of citations in his attempts to find concord between the Fathers and Doctors of the

⁴² 'Nonne eis idem pro se respondere poterit: Cur me contra sacramentorum gratiam suscitatis, qui gratiam suscepi? Ipse auctor gratiae gratuito pendens in cruce respexit me pendentem juxta se, pendentem in cruce, sed pendentem pro scelere. Respexit et gratiam contulit, quia moriens confessus sum ei peccata quae habui. Et caeteris Christo moriente desperantibus, solus ego, si dicere audeo, vitam in moriente quaesivi....Dicite, quaeso, quid si antea baptizatus fui? An quia baptizatum me nescitis, non baptizatum esse convincitis?' Ibid. V, 9, 1201D-02B.

⁴³ Ibid., V.10, 1204D.

⁴⁴ Ibid., V.12, 1207A.

⁴⁵ Ibid., V.14, 1210A-B.

⁴⁶ Ibid., Letter to Matthew, 1228C.

⁴⁷ See Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, II.xi.14-16, on consanguinity.

Church in his *Sentences*. However, Hugh of Amiens' approach calls to mind St. Anselm's words in the prologue to his *Monologion*. There, to Lanfranc's disgust, he made his only reference to his sources when he claimed that everything he wrote could be found in the Church Fathers and especially Augustine.⁴⁸ Most of Hugh's readers would have been familiar with many of the ideas expressed in the *Dialogues*, even if they had not seen them used in a similar context or arranged in such a systematic manner.

With this survey of the background, origins, purpose, and style of the *Dialogues* now complete, they call for a deeper study of some of the more important topics they contain. For Hugh had a wide-ranging and penetrating mind, and even if he was not generally original in his theological answers, his methods of describing the problems and his allegorical comparisons witness to his distinctive personality. Of the various subjects covered in the text, which are far too numerous for all to be treated in depth, a few of the more significant now follow from the realms of speculative and sacramental theology.

Speculative Theology in the *Dialogues*

The Trinity

Hugh of Amiens' work began and ended with the Trinity, and of all the topics he covered, this one received by far the most attention. He devoted the entirety of the first book to an elucidation of how exactly God could be three persons in one substance. He did not fear to use some philosophical expressions in an attempt to understand the Trinity, at least those expressions which had been approved of by venerable usage. For

⁴⁸ St. Anselm of Canterbury, *Monologion*, in *Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Works*, ed. with an introduction by Brian Davies and G.R. Evans (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 6.

instance, using Aristotelian categories of substance and accidents, he declared emphatically that God can be spoken of according to substance, but not according to accidents, because of these he has none.⁴⁹ Furthermore, because there are no accidents in God, and because he is wholly one, Hugh affirmed that the persons of the Trinity can only be spoken of as relationships.⁵⁰ But ultimately, Hugh tried not to distance himself from revelation and authority, and recognised that all attempts to understand the Trinity ultimately end in an impenetrable mystery, for God can only be truly understood through faith. We can use the terms 'person' or 'substance' to speak about God, but they are really only conventions by which we try to understand him in human terms. For above all, the Trinity is a mystery, and any such words are used only for the convenience of preaching doctrine or disputing with heretics.⁵¹ Because these matters are more true when they are thought about in the mind than when they are spoken, and truer still as they really exist than can ever be conceived or spoken, the words used to describe them cannot be dissected and scrutinized in an attempt to understand their true meaning.⁵² They are ultimately matters of faith, and about them Hugh advised: 'You should walk through faith, that you might arrive at understanding.'⁵³

The entirety of the *Dialogues* was greatly influenced by the thought of Augustine, especially by his *De Trinitate*. Indeed, Hugh, like St. Anselm in his *Monologion*, could have advised any readers who had difficulties with his work 'that they first make a

⁴⁹ Hugh, *Dial.*, I.2, 1143C-D.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1143D-44A.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I.5, 1145C-D.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ 'Ambula per fidem, ut pervenias ad cognitionem.' *Ibid.*, I.6, 1146B.

careful and thorough reading of the books *On the Trinity* of the aforementioned learned Augustine, and then judge my little treatise on the basis of them.⁵⁴ Augustine, spurred by the numerous heresies and conflicts of his day, decided to clarify and build upon what was a rather hazy and inchoate Trinitarian theology. His magisterial *De Trinitate* laid the foundation (and to a large extent the limitations) for all future speculation on the Trinity.⁵⁵ He set about therein to investigate and ultimately to discard the attempts by earlier theologians such as Tertullian to define the members of the Trinity by Old Testament manifestations and missions.⁵⁶ Instead, he placed the essential distinction of the persons in their relationships between one another, emphasising the unity of the Trinity in its substance and the involvement of all three persons in every action attributed to God.⁵⁷ It was Augustine who developed the analogy to the Trinity which could be found in the human mind, which was created in the image of God and therefore held a likeness to him. The mind, whenever it conceives knowledge of something, begets an image of that knowledge or a word. And so when it knows itself, it begets a word that is equal and identical to itself. Furthermore, it loves the image, and this love or will joins the two together.⁵⁸

The whole of Hugh's first book is mostly an echo of *De Trinitate*, from his emphasis that the persons of the Trinity are properly distinguished only by the

⁵⁴ St. Anselm of Canterbury, *Monologion*, Prologue, 6.

⁵⁵ See Augustine, *De Trin.*, Bk. 5, wherein St. Augustine lays out the methods and limits of using Aristotelian categories to describe God.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Books II-IV.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Books V-VII.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, IX, 9-17.

relationship of one to another,⁵⁹ to his insistence on the use of 'person' and 'substance' purely for convenience,⁶⁰ to his use of the rational soul's actions of remembering itself, recognising itself, and loving itself as an image of the Trinity.⁶¹ He also discussed a variety of speculative problems, some found within Augustine, while others were unique. They included questions such as how God begins to be called Father at different times by men yet does not himself change (the names describe relationships and the change is in the person, not God).⁶² Some of his arguments used the technical language of the schools, as when he described Christ's becoming man as *assumptus homo*,⁶³ or when in describing how God is everywhere without being divided he entered into an analysis of the differences between *qualitas* and *quantitas*, mentioning an immortal body as an example of something that is as great in terms of quality in its smaller parts as in its larger.⁶⁴ He

⁵⁹ Hugh, *Dial.*, I.2, 1143C-44A.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, I.5, 1145C-46A.

⁶¹ Hugh differed from St. Augustine in that he described the activities of the soul rather than the mind and mixed up the order by declaring that the soul cannot remember itself unless it first understands itself, thus making the memorative act symbolise the Son and the cognitive act the Father: Hugh, *Dial.*, I.9-10, 1146C-47C.

⁶² *Ibid.*, I.3, 1144A-B. He used St. Augustine's example of how the very same light can be hateful to the weak eye and delightful to the healthy eye: St. Augustine, *Confessionum Libri XIII*, eds. Martin Skutella and Lucas Verheijen, CCSL 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), VII.16.22.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, I.10-11, 1146C-47C. Hugh uses these terms again in *Haer.* I.3, 1259B; 1.8, 1263B. It was most likely an uncritical use of the patristic language referring to the assumption of human nature, not an already existing human. The *assumptus homo* was perhaps the most widespread description of Christ's humanity, but by Hugh's day other attempts to describe this union had arisen. These included the *habitus* theory favoured by Abelard and some members of the school of Laon, with humanity as a garment that Christ wore, and the subsistence theory favoured by Gilbert de la Porrée, with the Word as a composite individual with three substances. Each theory had its problems, and the debate developed into a widespread controversy in the second half of the century. Peter Lombard, among other issues, took the stand that Christ assumed humanity but not a human person, *Sent.*, III.ii.1. See Marcia Colish, *Peter Lombard*, (Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1994), 399-438, for a good summary of all the issues involved. Hugh probably at some point became aware of these disputes, for towards the end of his career he was instead referring to either *humanitas* (Hugh, *DeMem.* I.10, 1304D, I.11, 1305C), or *natura humanitas* (*Ibid.*, III.12, 1324A) rather than *homo*.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, I.11-13, 1148B-49C.

entered into the debate about the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son,⁶⁵ and at Matthew's prompting even explained how Christ is not the son of the Holy Spirit although he was born from him.⁶⁶ He also explained that the appearance of the Holy Spirit as a dove was merely a symbolic manifestation, as the rock in the desert was of Christ – the Holy Spirit did not actually become a dove or unite himself to one.⁶⁷ He even found the opportunity to delve into a little ecclesiology under the heading of the Trinity, interpreting the unforgivable sin against the Holy Spirit as the refusal to believe in the Church's power to absolve sins.⁶⁸

Despite the highly philosophical content, Hugh was still loosely following the order of the Scriptures. Before he launched into various philosophical matters, he first noted a mention of the Trinity in the first few verses of Genesis. There he noted the presence of the Trinity with the Spirit of God hovering over the waters and the Son who attested in the Gospel of John that he was the beginning.⁶⁹ 'The Father is he who makes, the Son is he through whom the Father makes, and the Holy Spirit is the reason for which it was pleasing for all things to be made.'⁷⁰ He further explained this division by

⁶⁵ Ibid., I.14, 1149C-50C.

⁶⁶ He prepared the material to be born from Mary's flesh, but did not actually beget the substance himself: Ibid., I.15, 1150C-51A.

⁶⁷ Ibid., I.16, 1151A-52D. See Augustine, *De Trinitate*, II.2.11.

⁶⁸ Ibid., I.17, 1152D-54B. This is a more detailed treatment than St. Augustine gave in *De Trin.*, V.3.13.

⁶⁹ Ibid., I.1. 1141C-42C; Gen. 1:1-2; Jn. 8:25.

⁷⁰ 'Pater enim est qui facit, Filius vero per quem facit, Spiritus sanctus causa est qua fieri omnia placuit.' Ibid.

declaring that the Son is the Word through which the Father creates and orders creation.⁷¹ The Holy Spirit's role was in hovering over all creation, seeing that it was good, and being pleased with it.⁷² In a way, everything that followed in Book I could be seen as an unfolding of the implications of these statements, as well as various other topics loosely related to them. Years later, Hugh returned to the subject of the Trinity in Creation when writing *In Hexaemeron*, but there he simply treated the implications of plurality in the language of Genesis 1:1.⁷³ Only in the *Dialogues* did he treat the respective roles of the persons in the creative act.

In Book VII of the *Dialogues*, Hugh returned to the Trinity, embarking upon a more unusual investigation based on Augustine's attempt to discover images of the Trinity in the mind. Augustine experimented with a few different Trinities, including the actions of loving,⁷⁴ seeing,⁷⁵ and recollecting.⁷⁶ Ultimately, he concluded that the only trinity that could actually be considered an image of God is that of the mind, created in the image and likeness of God. Hugh was bolder, asking why, if there is an image of the

⁷¹ Ibid., 1142C-43A. Most of the Laon sentences ignored the respective roles of the persons in Creation and only discussed the terminology. See Lottin, *Laon*, s. 236 (William of Champeaux) and no. 282. *SentDivPag.*, p. 7, briefly mentioned how all things were made from the Father, through the Son, and from the Holy Spirit.

⁷² Ibid., 1143A-B. This almost approaches Abelard's division of the Trinity into power, knowledge, and goodness. But Abelard also described the Holy Spirit as the divine charity in which creation was made rather than an end for whom it was made: Abelard, *Theologia Christiana*, in *Petri Abaelardi Opera Theologica*, ed. Eligius M. Buytaert, vol. 2, CCCM 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969) I.9-11; *Theologia Scholarium*, in *Petri Abaelardi Opera Theologica*, ed. Eligius M. Buytaert and Constant J. Mews, vol. 3, CCCM 13 (Turnhout: Brepols 1987), I. 59-68. Peter Lombard also discussed how the Father worked in or through the Son and in the Holy Spirit in the creative act: Lombard, *Sent.*, II.xiii.7-10.

⁷³ Hugh, *InHex.*, I.6 (p. 240). See *infra*, chapter 7.

⁷⁴ Augustine, *DeTrin.*, Book VIII.

⁷⁵ Ibid., XI, 2-4.

⁷⁶ Ibid., XI, 6-12.

Trinity in the mind, we cannot find signs of the Trinity throughout all of creation as well? In order to discover these resemblances, he first sought another example besides that of understanding, memory, and love, and he found it in the words of the Apostle Paul that referred to the knowledge of God that can be obtained through creation: 'His invisible things from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood through the things that were made, as are his eternal power and divinity.'⁷⁷ Here he had a trinity, and he interpreted invisible things (*invisibilia*) as designating the procession of the Father from nothing, eternal power as an expression of Son as the wisdom of God disposing all things, and divinity as a description of the Holy Spirit as the charity by which God rules all things.⁷⁸

Hugh then turned again to the Scriptures for more inspiration and found it in the words: 'You disposed all things in weight, and measure, and number.'⁷⁹ These actions also showed a Trinity in God, with God's knowledge counting all things while not being numbered, his power measuring all things without having any end, and the benevolent divinity of both weighing the universe while never being pulled himself.⁸⁰ Hugh had some prompting from Augustine, who himself briefly mentioned the application of these verses to the action of sight, with number in the innumerable objects to be understood, measure in the limits imposed upon these objects by the memory, and weight in the will for seeing and thinking, which seeks to achieve rest.⁸¹ Augustine admitted, 'I must

⁷⁷ Hugh, *Dial.*, VII.2, 1232A; Rom. 1:20.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 1232A-34A.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, VII.2, 1234A; Sap. 11:21.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 1234A-B; VII.4-5, 1238A-40A.

⁸¹ Augustine, *DeTrin.*, XI, 18.

confess I like to taste the pleasure of observing these things, measure, number, and weight, in all other matters as well.⁸²

Hugh surely thought the same, and unlike Augustine, he let these categories lead his imagination through a host of different subjects. Adam exhibited justice when he numbered the trees of paradise by recognising them and measured the animals by naming them, but he sinned when he was drawn by the weight of cupidity rather than charity as he ate the forbidden fruit.⁸³ All irrational spirits number by memory, measure by affection, and weigh by cupidity.⁸⁴ Physical bodies have number in the multitude of their parts, measure in their quantity of parts, and weight in the attraction of their individual particles to their own proper elements.⁸⁵ A progression of similar trinities continued, not always following this pattern of number, weight, and measure. They could be found in the senses, motion, the progression of time, the dispensations of salvation history, the senses of Scripture, the sacraments (number in variety, measure in consecration by priests, and weight in their eternal efficacy), and the ascent to God by means of the virtues put to use in the irrational world of animals and the rational world of the human soul.⁸⁶

Of the above trinities, one of the most interesting is that of the three senses of Scripture. Hugh divided them into the historical, the allegorical, and the moral senses, with the moral being the most perfect of the three. Even the unlearned can read and

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Hugh, *Dial.*, VII.3, 1236A-B.

⁸⁴ Ibid., VII.6, 1240A-C.

⁸⁵ Ibid., VII.7, 1240C-41A.

⁸⁶ Ibid., VII.8-15, 1241B-48B.

understand history, and only the truly learned can comprehend allegories. But all the faithful can discern morals, and it is through these morals that they develop an upright life. Although we can remember histories and understand allegories, if we do not have the manners (*mores*) that come from morality, they are useless to us.⁸⁷ This unusual foray into the divisions of exegetical interpretation is valuable because it shows that Hugh, like many of his contemporaries, gave more importance to the practical, moral side of exegesis.

Throughout his myriad enquiries into the Trinity, Hugh repeatedly returned to an insistence that God remained one in Trinity and triune in unity, that he was wholly one and not separate beings. This conception of his helps to explain Hugh's outrage at the Council of Paris in 1147 in response to the stance of Gilbert de la Porrée.⁸⁸ His hesitancy to push beyond the accepted boundaries of philosophical terminology placed Hugh in an opposing camp to that of more speculative individuals like Gilbert or Abelard. However, at the time of his *Dialogues*, he appears not yet to have known of the brewing storm over the ideas of either of these figures. He would soon have ample opportunity to learn more, as he entered upon a more active involvement in secular and ecclesiastical affairs with his appointment as archbishop.

The Virtues

If the Trinity, the origin from which the *Dialogues* emanate and the goal to which they aim, is their most lofty subject, charity is the principal theme which binds together

⁸⁷ Ibid., VII.11, 1143C-44A.

⁸⁸ See *infra*, chapter 9, for the controversy over Gilbert de la Porrée.

all seven books. Hugh defined charity as 'the going forth of the soul that loves God and all things in God.' It was 'the first of all virtues'⁸⁹ and struggled persistently against cupidity, 'the defect of charity, which loves neither God nor anything in God.'⁹⁰ From the beginning of the *Dialogues*, Hugh described charity as the path which leads to the truth.⁹¹ It makes creation greater in virtue.⁹² It causes the angels to adhere to God and distinguishes them in their nine ranks.⁹³ Without it, one cannot be absolved of sin.⁹⁴ God is charity, and the Holy Spirit is properly called charity as the love that proceeds from both the Father and the Son.⁹⁵ Anything one does without charity is not good.⁹⁶ In the gifts of the Holy Spirit, charity can be observed in all seven days of Creation.⁹⁷ Charity is the triple cord of Solomon, Jacob's ladder leading by way of contemplation to God, the virtue displayed by Abel, the love of Joseph which saved his brothers, the principle by which Phineas slew fornicators, and the twofold spirit of Elijah.⁹⁸ With it the Church

⁸⁹ 'Charitas est profectus animi qui Deum et in Deo omnia diligit. Charitas ergo prima est virtutum omnium, cupiditas vero prima vitiorum.' Hugh, *Dial.*, IV.4, 1180C-D.

⁹⁰ 'Econtra cupiditas est defectus charitatis, qui nec Deum nec in Deo aliqua diligit.' *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Proem, 1142A.

⁹² *Ibid.*, I.4, 1144C-D.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, I.14, 1149D; IV.4, 1181B-C.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, I.17, 1154B-C.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, II.1, 1153D-55B.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, II.4-6, 1157C-59D.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, II.7-14, 1159D-63B.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, III.14-15, 1176A-77B

offers prayers and alms for the faithful dead and excommunicates the unfaithful.⁹⁹

Charity is what makes the kingdom of God,¹⁰⁰ and it is the mother of the virtues.¹⁰¹

But if charity is the mother of all virtues, then humility is her eldest daughter. And for Hugh, a student of the Rule of St. Benedict, just as one could not reach God without charity, neither could one do so without humility. Furthermore, its importance was only emphasised by the crucial role its opposite vice, pride, played in the fall of the devil.

These he also defined:

Humility, indeed, is contempt of one's own excellence on account of the love of God. But pride is the contempt of God on account of the love of one's own excellence.¹⁰²

Hugh further elaborated upon humility and pride by giving them four grades or falls and describing them beginning with the greatest form of pride.¹⁰³ The first stage of pride, insane pride, holds no virtue and scorns all those who have virtue, as did the devil when he desired to be like God. Against this pride acts the first grade of humility, in which someone attends to virtues which he does not have and recognises himself to be a sinner.¹⁰⁴ The second fall of pride is exhibited by those who observe some virtue in them but boast that it is their own and not received from God. But the second grade of humility

⁹⁹ Ibid., V.19, 1213A-B; VI.4, 1221A.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., V.23, 1214D-16A.

¹⁰¹ 'Mater virtutum charitas,' Ibid., VII.1, 1229D.

¹⁰² 'Humilitas quidem contemptus est propriae excellentiae ob amorem Dei. Superbia vero est ob amorem propriae excellentiae contemptus Dei.' Ibid., IV.4, 1180D.

¹⁰³ Hugh's stages of humility are fewer and more generally applicable than those found in the *Rule of St. Benedict*, but his language of stages and the contrast of an ascent through humility and a descent through pride strongly reflect the language of the *Rule*. See St. Benedict, *Benedicti Regula*, ed. Rudolf Hanslik, CSEL 75 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1960), c. 7.

¹⁰⁴ Hugh, *Dial.*, IV.3, 1179C-D.

rescues one from this pride by assigning everything to God rather than to one's own work or to nature.¹⁰⁵ The third fall of pride occurs in those who recognise that their good comes from God but believe they deserve it, to which the third grade of humility responds that even if their good is merited, those very merits are provided by the grace of God.¹⁰⁶ Finally, the fourth fall of pride attributes even one's merits to God, but then it proceeds presumptuously to scorn others whom it perceives not to have the same merits. The fourth grade of humility, which always judges well about its neighbour, charges into battle against this pride.¹⁰⁷

Hugh then turned back and added a third pair to form a trinity of virtues and vices. Benevolence, 'the love of another's usefulness', is opposed to envy, which is the detraction from the goods of another.¹⁰⁸ Together, these virtues and vices form the two opposing sides of creation, and to them yet another pair of opposing values are added. Charity serves for the good angels as the foundation of obedience, the proper use of free will, while cupidity is the origin of transgression in the evil angels.¹⁰⁹ Although the more familiar triad of faith, hope, and charity appear occasionally, they never receive the treatment Hugh gave these unusual virtues. Like Hugh's various vestiges of the Trinity, this grouping of virtues along with the four grades of humility and pride, forms one of the truly unique aspects of Hugh's *Dialogues*.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 1179D-80A.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 1180A-B.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 1180B-C.

¹⁰⁸ 'Benevolente est quidem amor alienae utilitatis, invidio autem bonis aliorum detrahere non desistit.' Ibid., IV.4, 1180D.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., IV.4, 1180D-81B. Again, the influence of the monastic life and the *Rule* surfaces. See St. Benedict, c. 5, where the first step of humility is 'obedientia sine mora', and c. 58, where the profession of a brother includes stability, conversion of life, and obedience.

However, he did list the more familiar virtues in his introduction to Book VII, where he linked them together with charity, humility, obedience, and patience in a rousing description of the army of the virtues marching into battle against the vices. Charity is the mother of the four cardinal virtues, which are strengthened by humility, patience, and obedience. They triumph over the vices and advance victorious through faith, hope, and charity, arriving at their final rest and eternal contemplation of the Trinity.¹¹⁰ This description of the battle of virtue and vice involved not only the virtues of the world, but also those of the cloister. These include patience or long-suffering (which replaces benevolence in this scheme), humility, and obedience, all of which Hugh saw as necessary to the life of every Christian. Without them the virtues will not be strong enough to withstand the temptations of the world. He may not have viewed the monastic life as the proper vocation for all, but he saw the monastic virtues as having a crucial role not just within, but also without the cloister. And above all stands that hope of final contemplation and repose at the end of life's turmoil. As Hugh wrote these words, he was adjusting to his new duties as archbishop, and one can detect a hint of longing for this repose which probably seemed farther away than ever. He may particularly have taken the words of St. Bernard's letter of encouragement to heart, with its emphasis on the need for patience in all his dealings.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VII.1, 1230C-31A.

¹¹¹ *Supra*, chapter 1, p. 9.

Creation

Following upon his discussions of the Trinity and various aspects of charity, Hugh attempted to give an allegorical explanation of Creation. Since all three members of the Trinity were active in the creation of the world, the Holy Spirit played his part by founding all things with charity. Furthermore, since this charity is expressed as the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, each of them should be manifest in the days of Creation.¹¹² Accordingly, Hugh devised a scheme in which the Holy Spirit poured out one of the seven gifts upon each of the seven days of Creation. During the first day, as God separated light from darkness, he poured out the Spirit of Wisdom. On the second he poured out the spirit of understanding. The spirit of counsel followed on the third, with fortitude on the fourth, knowledge on the fifth, piety on the sixth, and fear of the Lord on the seventh.¹¹³ Hugh also found symbolism in each of the objects of Creation, where plants indicated the increase of good works and the fish of the sea the lives of pious individuals amidst the temptations of the world.¹¹⁴ Finally, he divided each day into three periods – evening, morning, and day – each of which illuminates in increasing stages the gift and the symbols already mentioned. Thus on the evening of the fourth day, the Doctors of the Church, symbolised by the lights of the heavens and given the gift of fortitude, exert themselves against scandals in the present day. They triumph in the victory of Christ in the morning, and they illuminate others by their virtue in the day.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Hugh, *Dial.*, II.7, 1159D-60A.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, II.8-14, 1160A-63B. Cf. *infra*, chapter 9, for his expanded scheme in *Super fide*.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II.10, 12, 1161A-C.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II.11, 1161B-C.

After his allegorical excursion, Hugh turned his attention towards the matter of the apparent contradiction between the description of the seven days of Creation¹¹⁶ and the declaration that all things were created 'in the day that the Lord God made the heaven and the earth.'¹¹⁷ To harmonise the two, he explained that God formed all things together into matter originally and primordially in the beginning, not subject to time. The cause for all Creation thus remains undivided in God's mind. But once all things were made, they then appeared visibly and proceeded temporally, according to the six days. However, the seventh day, on which God rested, can only be understood allegorically. For God neither begins nor ceases to rest, nor does he cease to carry out temporal works. But since creatures move towards the truth first by the contemplation of Creation and then of God, eventually resting in him, God's rest is most fitting if placed at the end of the account.¹¹⁸

A little over a decade later, Hugh of Amiens treated the Creation account again in a literal interpretation, *In Hexaemeron*.¹¹⁹ But at this stage, he thought the allegorical and moral interpretations he could extract to be more useful for a systematic approach. In contrast, Hugh of Saint-Victor gave a very literal, even scientific account of the seven days of Creation within his grand theological picture.¹²⁰ Peter Lombard likewise took the descriptions very literally,¹²¹ but he also mentioned the symbolism present in the advance

¹¹⁶ Gen: 1:1-2:3.

¹¹⁷ Gen. 2:4-25.

¹¹⁸ Hugh, *Dial.*, II.15, 1164C-66C.

¹¹⁹ See *infra*, chapter 6.

¹²⁰ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, I.i.1-27.

¹²¹ Lombard, *Sent.*, II.xii-xvi.

of the days from evening to morning, showing how man progresses from darkness to light in Christ.¹²² With regard to the seven days of the first account and the single day of the second, Hugh of Saint-Victor also attempted to discover a reconciliation by positing that God worked continuously through the seven, as if it were one day.¹²³ In contrast, Peter Lombard firmly supported the literal division of God's work into six temporal days, although he acknowledged that certain of the Church Fathers held that they occurred together.¹²⁴

The Problem of Evil and Free Will

Hugh of Amiens, like many of his fellow theologians, felt the pressing need to explain the existence of evil given that a good God created everything good.¹²⁵ How then could anything in creation be termed evil, if everything was good in God's eyes? Hugh decided to address the problem by first tightening the definition of evil. He noted that we call many things evil, from sickness, torment, pain, and hunger of the body to anxiety, fear, and restlessness of the spirit. But the people who suffer these effects are not themselves properly called evil. Only those who do those things that are condemned by the law to be properly evil are themselves evil, and that evil rests in their will.¹²⁶

Hugh thus came to the matter of free will, a topic which had greatly concerned Augustine and Boethius, and which continues to puzzle those seeking to explain and

¹²² Ibid., II.xiii.5.

¹²³ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, I.i.16.

¹²⁴ Lombard, *Sent.*, II.xii.1.

¹²⁵ Hugh, *Dial.*, III.1, 1165D.

¹²⁶ Ibid., III.2, 1166D-67B.

define just how free man truly is in his thoughts and actions. According to Hugh, God created every angel in a state prior to beatitude and every man with neither beatitude nor the gift of eternal life. But he also endowed both man and angel with free will to attain by grace what they did not have in their nature. This will was given to them with the express purpose that they be able freely to love him from whom they received their existence. Therefore, any individual who used free will rightly would have adhered to God in love and been given a share in his glory. But anyone who turned away from God to himself or to that which was lesser, desired what he did not deserve, neglected the good, and thus fell into evil.¹²⁷

Matthew interjected with the pertinent question:

How do you demonstrate that creation becomes evil, which, as all Scripture testifies, you declared above deeply good? Does it cease to be what was made, and is it made something else which is evil? If God made it, then all things are not good which he made. If another made it evil, God is not the Creator of all things, and neither were all things made through him.¹²⁸

Faced with the spectre of either the direct creation of evil by a good God or the existence of a dualistic deity, Hugh first responded with one of his admonitions: 'It seems to me that you attended sluggishly to what we said above.'¹²⁹ He then proceeded to clarify further the nature of evil. For evil, as he explained, is the fault of rational creation, and thus something is evil not by its nature but by the abuse or neglect of good. However, only in the following book did he define the nature of evil any further. There, he stated

¹²⁷ Ibid., III.3, 1167B-68A.

¹²⁸ 'Quid est quod creaturam, quam, omni Scriptura teste, praedixeras valde bonam, ostendis fieri malam? An desinit esse quod facta est, et efficitur aliud quod malum est? Si Deus hoc facit, tunc non bona sunt omnia quae facit. Si alius hoc facit malum, non est Deus creator omnium, nec omnia per ipsum facta sunt.' Ibid., III.4, 1168A.

¹²⁹ 'Videtur mihi quia quae supra diximus segniter attendisti.' Ibid.

that the will that turns away from good to evil actually turns away to nothing. And like blindness, evil can only be understood in terms of the good which is lacking:

If you strive to discover the cause of this negligence or defect, then you will avail when you have the strength to see darkness and hear silence. But darkness is not seen, nor is silence heard, except in not seeing and in not hearing. In whatever manner you are able to perceive darkness with the eyes and silence with the ears, it is not in appearance, but in privation of appearance. So even the appearance of intelligible things, which we know, we behold by the understanding of the mind. Where, however they fail, it is as if we recognise by not knowing and we do not know by recognising. So that when we perceive the soul of another to have wisdom, we behold by understanding the form of wisdom in it. And if wisdom is lacking in that soul, when you call it foolish, you do not place something in it through foolishness, but rather do you pronounce that through foolishness there is no wisdom in it.¹³⁰

To demonstrate further, Hugh turned to the use of grammar. Some words like 'goodness' describe things by assigning meaning; others, like 'malice' which designates that 'goodness' is absent, describe by removing meaning. Words such as 'poverty' and 'blindness' and phrases such as 'I don't know' and 'I am acting foolishly' fulfil the same function.¹³¹ Words of this sort can certainly name a specific thing if they are placed in their adjectival form, but even then they designate by removing something from their subject, as 'blind' removes 'sight' and 'malicious' removes 'goodness'. Thus adjectives represent that something, their origin (*sua primitiva*), either inheres or does not inhere in

¹³⁰ 'Hujus negligentiae seu defectus si causam invenire contenderis, tunc poteris cum videre tenebras valueris et silentium audire. Sed non videntur tenebrae, nec auditur silentium, nisi non videndo et non audiendo. Oculis quidem tenebras et auribus silentium utcumque potes percipere, non tamen in specie, sed in speciei privatione. Sic et rerum species intelligibilium, quas novimus, intellectu mentis conspiciamus. Ubi autem deficiunt, quasi nesciendo cognoscimus, et cognoscendo nescimus. Ut cum alicujus animam sentimus habere sapientiam, intelligendo conspiciamus in ea sapientiae formam. At si in anima illa defecerit sapientia, cum eam insipientem dicis, non per insipientiam in ea aliquid ponis, sed per insipientiam pronuntias in ea sapientiam non haberi.' Ibid., IV.10, 1187C-D.

¹³¹ Ibid., IV.11, 1187D-88B.

the subject.¹³² This idea of sin as a privation traced back to Augustine, who in his *Confessions* stated: 'I did not know that evil is nothing but the privation of good, even to the point where good wholly ceases to exist.'¹³³ In his attempts to flesh out Augustine's idea, Hugh made his only foray into the field of speculative grammar. His hesitancy kept him out of the troubles into which William of Champeaux and Gilbert de la Porrée plunged themselves by applying grammar too enthusiastically to the realms of philosophy and theology.¹³⁴

But what about free will itself? In what does it consist? Hugh defined it as 'a certain movement of the rational intelligence having a possibility which it judges must be followed.'¹³⁵ But this will only remains free when it is used to bring about what one knows ought to be done: loving the Creator and keeping his will. The fallen angels and man lost the freedom to do good when they sinned, hence losing the full freedom of will. And once this freedom has been lost, they can do no good whatsoever without the grace of God.¹³⁶

Hugh did not believe that fallen man had a will that was truly free, and he refused to give a morally neutral definition to free will that was not directed towards God. His

¹³² Ibid., IV.12, 1188B-89B.

¹³³ 'non noveram malum non esse nisi privationem boni, usque ad quod omnino non est.' St. Augustine, *Confessionum Libri XIII*, III.7.12.

¹³⁴ Karin Margareta Fredborg, 'Speculative Grammar,' in *History of Twelfth-century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 177-95; Martin M. Tweedale, 'Logic (i): From the Late Eleventh Century to the Time of Abelard,' in *History of Twelfth-century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 213-16; Nikolaus M. Häring, 'A Treatise on the Trinity by Gilbert of Poitiers,' *RTAM* 29 (1972), 15-21.

¹³⁵ 'Liberum, ut sentio, arbitrium est quidam motus intelligentiae rationalis habens possibilitatem quod iudicat exsequendi.' Hugh, *Dial.*, III.5, 1168C.

¹³⁶ Ibid., III.5, 1168C-69A, III.10, 1171D-72C.

treatment of free will, as well as his definition of evil, finds its origins in the ideas expressed by Augustine. In an attempt to discover a definition that encompassed man, the angels, and even God, Augustine could not simply define free will as the desire and the power to do good and evil. Certainly God cannot do evil, and yet only he is truly free.¹³⁷ Thus for Augustine, free will was the power to orient oneself voluntarily towards God. In arguing against the Pelagians, Augustine further declared that man could do no good without the grace of God, and thus fallen man is deprived of that liberty which allows him not only to will good but also to acquire it. This liberty exists in different stages and therefore creates a hierarchy of free will from the elect to God himself, who is the freest because he is unable to do evil to will evil.¹³⁸ Among Hugh of Amiens' contemporaries, Honorius Augustodunensis gave a characteristically simple and non-Augustinian definition of free will as 'the freedom of choosing good or evil.'¹³⁹ But Hugh of Saint-Victor and Peter Lombard took positions strongly influenced by the Augustinian version of free will and similar to that of Hugh of Amiens, further refining the definition.¹⁴⁰

Original Sin

Original sin originated in the abuse of free will, considered so extensively by Hugh. If the proper end of free will is to love God and keep his will, then the truly upright free will would always choose to obey a command instituted by God. Therefore, God permitted man to be tempted against his command in order to demonstrate whether

¹³⁷ M. Huftier, 'Libre arbitre, liberté et péché chez saint Augustin,' RTAM 33 (1966), 206-8.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 231-58.

¹³⁹ 'Libertas eligendi bonum vel malum.' Honorius, *Eluc.*, II.3.

¹⁴⁰ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, I.v.23-32; Lombard, *Sent.*, II.xxv.

or not he had an upright will.¹⁴¹ Adam's decision to disobey was thus a fully free decision and merited a severe punishment. Before turning to this punishment, Hugh first examined the mechanics of sin within this original sin of Adam.

Within Adam's sin, Hugh detected four stages which are mirrored in the will of every individual when he sins: suggestion, delight, consent, and defence. Adam first sinned by suggestion when he did not immediately resist the suggestion of sin, although he did not delight in it nor consent in it, as if he had listened to someone suggesting treason against his lord or betrayal of his friend without reprimanding him. From there his sin grew increasingly serious, for he followed this sin of suggestion with a feeling of delight centred on this suggestion. At length, he consented to the suggestion and ate of the fruit. But he was not finished here, for he compounded that sin by defending it with excuses and a shift of the blame to Eve.¹⁴² Hugh's analysis of the psychological nature of sin demonstrates that Abelard was not the only individual in the early twelfth century who was actively concerned with the role of intention. Hugh refused to reduce the definition of sin to a purely objective, observable act. For although this act was an intrinsic element of sin, sin itself went much deeper, into the very motivations and desires of the individual committing it.

Now if original sin consisted in this act of disobedience in Adam's free will, why is the rest of mankind subject to it? Hugh returned to Genesis for the answers, where Adam and Eve saw their nakedness and covered themselves in fig leaves out of shame.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Hugh, *Dial.*, IV.13, 1189B-C.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, IV.14-15, 1189C-90C.

¹⁴³ Gen. 3:7.

He explained that they were now besieged by concupiscence in their bodies and had shame incorporated into their members.¹⁴⁴ Matthew, confused by this result, inquired why sin was located in the genitals when Adam's first sin was through the ears by which he heard the suggestion of the devil. Hugh responded that it was not sin, but the punishment of sin that he observed there, and that it rages most intensely in the genitals because it is through them that humankind descends.¹⁴⁵ At this point he only described this descent as the mystery by which God punishes the sons of sinners, as with the cursing of Canaan for his father Ham's sins.¹⁴⁶ Only in the following book did he describe the mechanism of this transmission. There he explained that because every individual is engendered in this concupiscence, he is beset by both weakness in the mind (*ignorantia*) and the body (*debilitas* or *concupiscentia*), and only by the grace of God can he be freed.¹⁴⁷ But he did not settle on being begotten in concupiscence as the only means of transmission, for further on he affirmed (through Matthew's words) that the very flesh of Adam is extended through the inheritance of his seed, and thus by being part of Adam's flesh all mankind shares in Adam's guilt and punishment.¹⁴⁸

In viewing concupiscence as the constitutive element of sin, Hugh followed Augustine closely, as did most of his contemporaries. Yet many of them, especially the compilers of various sentence collections emanating from the school of Laon, saw

¹⁴⁴ Hugh, *Dial.*, IV.15, 1191A-B.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, IV.16, 1191B-C. The author of one sentence asked a comparable question: 'Et quare non omnia membra circumciduntur, cum omnia iugiter offendant?' The response is that it would have been hideous, or cruel, or intolerable to circumcise the nose or eyes. *Dubitatur a quibusdam*, in Weisweiler, *Das Schriftum*, 331, ll. 5-8.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1191D; Gen. 9: 25.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, V.4, 1194C-D.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, V.12, 1205D.

concupiscence as the actual sin of Adam.¹⁴⁹ Hugh emphasised that the actual sin of Adam consisted in disobedience, a truly grave fault for a follower of the Rule of St. Benedict. Furthermore, he doubled the role of original sin in Adam's descendants, for there it could be found in ignorance and concupiscence. Hugh of Saint-Victor took a similar stand in explaining the double role of original sin. He wrote that Adam sinned through disobedience brought on by pride, and because of this, men are afflicted with ignorance in the soul and concupiscence in the body.¹⁵⁰ Peter Lombard later reduced it again to the sole explanation of concupiscence,¹⁵¹ which remained the decisive explanation until later theologians, following Aquinas, would emphasise in turn that concupiscence was only an effect of original sin. Under this definition, original sin actually consisted in a deprivation of the grace of God. Accordingly, as a consequence of original sin and not a constituent aspect, the presence of concupiscence came to be defined as not sinful in itself.¹⁵²

Hugh had to return again to the subject of original sin, for while he had covered its effects on the body and mind, he still had not answered just how the soul is affected by sin. This issue, which he had already treated thoroughly in his *Epistola Gravioni*, arose in the midst of his discussion on Baptism, where he addressed four errors about the soul.¹⁵³ The first of these was that God makes souls not out of nothing, but out of his very substance, and thus the soul cannot be affected by the errors of the body. The second was

¹⁴⁹ See Dom Odon Lottin, *Problèmes de morale*, in *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, vol. IV, Part 1 (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1954), 11-76.

¹⁵⁰ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, I.vii.26-8.

¹⁵¹ Lombard, *Sent.*, IV.xxx.8-10.

¹⁵² Ludwig Ott, *Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma*, translated by Patrick Lynch, ed. James Canon Bastible (Cork: Mercier Press, 1955), II.22.1.

¹⁵³ The first three of these four errors also appeared briefly in *Grav.*, II. 22-9 (833B-C). See *supra*, chapter 2.

that the soul is a body, which it cannot be because it is a spirit, a rational and intellectual being made in the image of God. The third error was that a soul can merit good or evil before it is joined to a body, which Hugh regarded as ridiculous given that a soul is not proven to pre-exist and cannot sin unless joined to flesh. Finally, the fourth of these errors was that unbaptised children were not damned.¹⁵⁴

When he had eliminated these various possibilities for how a soul is held accountable for original sin, Hugh acknowledged that no authoritative decision had yet been made as to how each individual received a soul. Was it inherited from Adam through propagation as was the body? Or did God create a new soul for each individual as he had for Adam and Eve?¹⁵⁵ In answering these questions, Hugh went beyond the noncommittal treatment found in his *Epistola Gravioni*,¹⁵⁶ and made his sole reference to be found in the *Dialogues* to a Church Father. Mentioning that Jerome held the second of these views, and since the Church had largely upheld it, he proclaimed, 'we, who are sons of the Church, by no means ought to reject his opinion.'¹⁵⁷ But Hugh then acknowledged that the creationist view of the soul proved to be difficult to reconcile to Scripture, which states: 'Through one man sin entered into the world, and through sin death; and so it passed into all men, in whom all sinned.'¹⁵⁸ For if the soul, created good by God, necessarily sinned upon being joined to a body, then God himself would be acting

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., V.12, 1205D-1206C. See *infra*, pp. 108-09, for a discussion of this in the context of the sacraments.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 1206C-D.

¹⁵⁶ See *Grav.*, ll. 95-133 (835C-38C); and *supra*, chapter 2.

¹⁵⁷ 'Nos itaque, qui filii sumus Ecclesiae, nequaquam ejus debemus sententiam reprobare.' Hugh, *Dial.*, V.12, 1207A. The author of the *Sententiae Anselmi* also mentioned Jerome's anathema upon those who claimed souls were propagated, p. 76.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 1207C; Rom. 5:12.

unjustly.¹⁵⁹ Hugh argued that the two views, creationism of the soul and the actuality of sin in every soul, must be harmonised rather than treated as opposing propositions, as is done by those who are guilty of prejudice and choose one side, declaring the other to be heretical.¹⁶⁰

In this section of the *Dialogues*, not only do we have Hugh's only explicit mention of a Church Father, but also his only example of that growing trend during his period to harmonise various authorities, the need for which was demonstrated by Abelard but actually put into practice by figures such as Peter Lombard and Gratian. Matthew thus asked Hugh for harmonisation of the two views,¹⁶¹ and Hugh gave it by stating that the newly created soul sins not out of necessity, but out of its own will. When united to the body and faced with the overwhelming power of concupiscence, the soul chooses to sin out of its own will. Gradually, it falls under the habit of sin and eventually sins out of necessity. And thus, neither Adam nor God is to blame for the sin of a soul. To the soul itself pertains all the blame.¹⁶²

Even Augustine, with his clever mind and dexterity at finding solutions for so many theological difficulties, never discovered a satisfactory conclusion to the mystery of the soul's origin. And Jerome, although deciding in favour of a creationist explanation, declared himself ready to accept whatever Augustine adopted.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, Jerome's

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 1207B-C.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 1207D-08A.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., V.13, 1208A.

¹⁶² Ibid., 1208A-B. Once again, the views are the same as those in his letter to Gravion, although slightly more developed: *Grav.*, II 29-71 (833C-35A). See *supra*, chapter 2.

¹⁶³ Pontes, 182-88.

statement in favour of creationism as well as a false attribution of such a stance to Augustine eliminated the possibility of other explanations for most of the theologians of Hugh's period.¹⁶⁴ Peter Lombard took this same stance,¹⁶⁵ as did Hugh of Saint-Victor.¹⁶⁶ Honorius Augustodunensis, while also taking a creationist stance, added the explanation that all souls were created simultaneously from the same material, then distinguished and united to bodies.¹⁶⁷

Angelology

Most of Hugh's interest in angels focused on the most notorious of them all: the devil. But he did devote some remarks to the good angels. Just as man was created in the image and likeness of God, angels were created as signs of the likeness of God, in whom mankind would be able to contemplate his likeness.¹⁶⁸ The principle which binds the good angels together is charity, the foundation of their obedience, their path to beatitude,¹⁶⁹ and the principle which distinguishes the nine ranks of angels.¹⁷⁰ From the very first moment of their creation, they loved God, were immediately confirmed in their love for God, and attained the beatific vision.¹⁷¹ He had explained this strange concept at

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 189-94.

¹⁶⁵ Lombard, *Sent.*, II.xviii.7.

¹⁶⁶ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, I.vii.30.

¹⁶⁷ Honorius, *Eluc.*, II.14. Cf. the discussion of Odo of Tournai's views, *supra*, chapter 2, pp. 21-2.

¹⁶⁸ Hugh, *Dial.*, IV.6, 1183D-84A.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., IV.4, 1181A.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 1181B-C.

¹⁷¹ 'sine intervallo temporis quam cito facta est, tam cito factorem indefessa charitate dilexit...' Ibid., IV.9, 1186D-87A.

greater length in his discussion of Creation, where he declared that the angels were created without time and the good angels were immediately confirmed in good and strengthened in unchanging charity to keep them from falling into blame. They therefore see God without time and place and never fall away from contemplation of his glory.¹⁷²

Hugh said no more about the nature of the angels, although he gave short descriptions of their activities on behalf of men. They accomplish God's will throughout the world and serve the members of the Church, in which they are aided by their ability to see all things without time and by causal reason alone.¹⁷³ When Matthew inquired about how the saints administer their gifts to all the faithful everywhere, Hugh responded that they do so with the aid of the ministering angels, who appear in their stead and speak for them. He explained that such a concept should not be surprising, since the angels appeared to the Patriarchs in the person of the Lord and even spoke in his place.¹⁷⁴

Honorius Augustodunensis also expressed the idea that the angels were signs of the likeness of God and compared the manner of their expression of this likeness to the impression of a seal.¹⁷⁵ However, he had little to say about their ranks or their missions. Hugh's division of the angels into ranks of charity was unique, and reflects his peculiar concern for the greatest of all virtues. Hugh of Saint-Victor divided them instead by degrees of will and reason,¹⁷⁶ while Peter Lombard divided them by their possession of

¹⁷² Ibid., II.15, 1164A-B.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 1164B-C.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., VI.6, 1222A-C.

¹⁷⁵ Honorius, *Eluc.*, I.10.

¹⁷⁶ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, I.v.33.

free will and wisdom.¹⁷⁷ Apart from this difference, these two authorities also devoted much more coverage to the angelic nature, as they did with so many other issues.

The devil occupies far more space in the text, for although fallen, he is the largest angelic figure in the spectacle of salvation history and an ever-present threat to all the faithful. Hugh appears to have accepted the old view that the devil in some manner had mankind justly in his power because they had consented to his seduction, despite St. Anselm's criticism of this notion several decades earlier.¹⁷⁸ Although Hugh called the devil a plunderer who stole mankind from God and was thus condemned, he still gave him the aura of a rightful proprietor. For God was only able to free us from this plunderer by becoming a man and thus tricking the devil into seizing him over whom he had no rightful power.¹⁷⁹ St. Anselm, on the other hand, refused to grant the devil any rights and could not conceive that God would act in a deceptive manner, and thus he proposed that mankind was only abandoned to the punishment of the devil because of the unpayable debt incurred at the Fall. As a result, Christ came as the God-man not to trick the devil, but to pay that debt which only man ought to pay and only God could pay, and by doing so he delivered mankind from punishment.¹⁸⁰

But how did the devil come to be the plunderer and tempter of mankind? Hugh spent a good deal of time describing his fall. Unlike the good angels, he did not stand in charity. In fact he lacked it from the very beginning, when he fell into cupidity. God had given him the good of free will, but he abused it, desiring to become like God. His

¹⁷⁷ Lombard, *Sent.*, II.iii.2.

¹⁷⁸ St. Anselm of Canterbury, *Cur Deus Homo*, I.7.

¹⁷⁹ Hugh, *Dial.*, III.15, 1178A-C.

¹⁸⁰ St. Anselm of Canterbury, *Cur Deus Homo*, I.7-25.

cupidity, that 'impious mother', brought in her trail pride, her wicked firstborn child. This pride, which Hugh declared should be destroyed like the firstborn of the Egyptians, could only be defeated by the offering of Christ, God's firstborn.¹⁸¹

Hugh then had to reply to a long series of questions from Matthew, attempting to reconcile verses in the Bible which stated that the devil sinned from the very beginning with those which implied that he held beatitude.¹⁸² Matthew referred a number of times to verses referring to the King of Tyre in the book of Ezekiel, which Hugh acknowledged had been understood by the Doctors of the Church to refer figuratively to the devil.¹⁸³ The first of these that Matthew thrust upon Hugh were the words stating: 'You walked perfect in your ways from the day of your creation until iniquity was discovered in you.'¹⁸⁴ Hugh responded that they were to be interpreted as referring to his members and companions in evil rather than him, to the heretics who fall from the Church by a manifest decision.¹⁸⁵ Further on, Matthew brought forth another description: 'Every precious stone was his covering.'¹⁸⁶ This, stated Hugh, indicated that the devil would have had every precious stone if he had endured in charity, and that he had been created more brilliant than all others in his nature, thus deserving much greater blame for his fall.¹⁸⁷ Although he went through some elaborate convolutions to avoid the apparent

¹⁸¹ Hugh, *Dial.*, IV.4, 1181C-82A.

¹⁸² Ibid., IV.7; 'He was a murderer from the beginning: and he stood not in truth.' Jn. 8:44; 'The devil sins from the beginning.' 1 Jn. 3:8.

¹⁸³ Hugh, *Dial.*, IV.5, 1182A-B.

¹⁸⁴ Ezek. 28:15.

¹⁸⁵ Hugh, *Dial.*, IV.5, 1182A-C.

¹⁸⁶ Ezek. 28:13.

¹⁸⁷ Hugh, *Dial.*, IV.8, 1185D.

meaning of these verses, he had stated that they were to be understood figuratively and not literally.

Honorius Augustodunensis saw the devil's fall in similar terms, and as always very succinct, he stated that 'he did not even stand for a full hour, because he fell as soon as he was created.'¹⁸⁸ Hugh of Saint-Victor never spoke directly about the fall of the devil in his *De Sacramentis*, but in his discussion on angels he expounded upon the idea that the good angels were strengthened and the evil angels fell from the very beginning. The nature of the angels was determined in 'that first beginning and commencement of origin, which human consideration may accept as very brief and momentary and of a simple instant without delay and interval in the first substance.'¹⁸⁹ At that moment they all were good and he who would become the devil, as Hugh of Amiens affirmed, the most beautifully endowed of all. But immediately after this beginning, their free wills began to move, and from that instant they began to merit good or evil.¹⁹⁰ Peter Lombard, who did not explain the concept as fully, also noted that the devil fell immediately after he was created.¹⁹¹

Hugh's obsessive focus on the fall of the devil from his very beginning appears out of proportion to his coverage of other related topics, and in fact out of proportion with the coverage given it by other theologians. He shows only a little interest in the actions of the devil during the fall of man, and almost none in his actions afterwards. As surprising as Hugh's minimal interest in angelology may be, his total lack of demonology remains

¹⁸⁸ 'Non plenam horam in veritate stetit, quia mox ut creatus est cecidit.' Honorius, *Eluc.*, I.7.

¹⁸⁹ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, I.v.22.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, I.v.23.

¹⁹¹ Lombard, *Sent.*, II.iii.8.

even more striking. Hugh only once mentioned the actual workings of demons in the world in his *Vita Adjutoris*, when the demoniac Hilgod attacked the hermit.¹⁹² There the episode fits in with the genre of hagiography and miracle collection, where the supernatural and demonic are everywhere at work in the world.¹⁹³ In the *Dialogues*, any active instances of evil in the world end up being attributed to the workings of heretics or evil men, fallen like the devil through their own pride and cupidity. In his uneven coverage of the devil, Hugh once more provided evidence of both his scholastic and monastic training. For therein he displayed a strange cross between the growing philosophical nature of twelfth-century thought and an immersion in the Scriptures, that here weaved in and out of a few specific verses on the immediacy of the devil's fall.

The Immaculate Conception

It has generally been assumed that Hugh was an ardent supporter of the introduction of the feast of the Immaculate Conception. This feast, which had been celebrated in the English Church, had largely disappeared around the time of the Conquest. But in the 1120s it experienced a revival led by Osbert of Clare.¹⁹⁴ In 1128, Osbert wrote a letter to Anselm, abbot of Bury, encouraging him in his zeal for the feast. He mentioned that bishops Roger of Salisbury and Bernard of St. Davids had opposed the feast to no avail and he encouraged Anselm to consult those who supported it. These included Gilbert the Universal, bishop of London, and Abbot Hugh of Reading, 'a man of

¹⁹² See *infra*, chapter 6, p. 152.

¹⁹³ For examples from Hugh's own circle of acquaintances, see Peter the Venerable, *De Miraculis Libri Duo*, ed. Denise Bouthillier, CCCM 83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988).

¹⁹⁴ A.W. Burridge, 'L'Immaculée Conception dans la théologie de l'Angleterre médiévale,' *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 32 (1936), 570-9.

venerable life, who solemnly celebrates this feast at the request of King Henry.¹⁹⁵ But was Hugh really a partisan of this movement?

Hugh wrote about this very topic just a few years earlier in his *Dialogues*, where he described Christ's Baptism:

He was not then first anointed by the Holy Spirit, when the Holy Spirit was seen above him as a dove. For just as he came to Baptism without any sin, so not without the Holy Spirit, whom our humanity then fully received when it was united to the Word of God in the womb of the Virgin. For when the Holy Spirit, through whom the Virgin administered the substance of flesh to the Word of God, descended into Mary, all stain of original sin at once fled, and thereupon she remained free from the provocations of vices. Her perfect integrity begot the Saviour. Therefore, she was worthily called full of all grace, who temporally produced the Son whom God the Father eternally begot.¹⁹⁶

Hugh therefore maintained that Mary was not purified from all sin at her conception, but rather only at the Annunciation, when the Holy Spirit descended upon her and she conceived Jesus. He was writing his work for a continental audience, and he may have decided upon the need for caution in such a debatable matter. He may still have actively supported the devotional aspects of the feast while retaining some personal misgivings about it. And of course, one cannot forget that the feast was celebrated at the request of Henry I, and this royal request may have been the greatest factor influencing his support.

¹⁹⁵ 'Vir venerabilis, domnus Hugo abbas Radingensis, qui hanc festivitatem prece etiam regis Henrici solenniter celebrat, in divinis et humanis est liberaliter edoctus.' Osbert of Clare, ep. 7, p. 67.

¹⁹⁶ 'Nec tunc primum Spiritu sancto unctus est, quando sicut columba Spiritus sanctus super eum visus est. Ad baptismum namque sicut sine ullo venit peccato, ita non sine Spiritu sancto, quem nostra humanitas tunc plene accepit cum in utero Virginis unita est Verbo Dei. Cum enim Spiritus sanctus in Mariam descendit, per quem Verbo Dei carnis substantiam Virgo ministravit, omnem culpae originalis maculam mox evasit, et deinceps ab incentivis vitiorum libera permansit; cujus perfecta integritas Salvatorem genuit. Unde et plena omni gratia merito dicta fuit, quae temporaliter Filium edidit, quem Pater Deus aeternaliter genuit.' Hugh, *Dial.*, I.16, 1152A-B.

Sacramental Theology in the *Dialogues*

The Sacraments and Salvation History

In addition to the wealth of speculative theology included in the *Dialogues*, Hugh addressed some more practical matters as well. While most of the spectrum of theology lay in the realm of the eternal, the sacraments existed in the here and now of temporal life. They bridged the gap between the timeless, unmoved heavens and the temporal, changing world of men. In acknowledging this, Hugh first addressed the nature of history and of God's interventions in the lives of men. He was not alone in addressing the scope of salvation history, for it was a topic of growing importance during this period.

Hugh of Saint-Victor was probably the most thorough expositor of this topic during the early part of the century, dividing history into periods under the natural law, the Law of Moses, and the grace of Christ.¹⁹⁷ Each of the earlier stages had its own sacraments, though they were primarily signs of the future sacraments of the Church.¹⁹⁸ Anselm of Havelberg went even further in his *Dialogues* (1149-53), his records of discussions he had held with the Greek bishop Nechites of Nicomedia, which he prefaced with a book on the unity of the faith. Inspired by the accusations that such a diversity of forms of religious life witnessed throughout history and in the present day formed a grave

¹⁹⁷ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, I.10-12.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, I.xi.5.

scandal against the unity of the Church,¹⁹⁹ he emphasised that the gradual progress seen throughout history was the working of the hand of God. And he went further than Hugh of Saint-Victor by extending the progression even to within the age of the Church, celebrating the diversity of practices amongst all the different religious orders of his day.²⁰⁰

Hugh of Amiens followed a similar attempt. 'The times indeed are varied,' he agreed, 'and the life and action of the faithful is arranged for various times; but the unity of the faith is not dissolved because of the variety of times.'²⁰¹ Rather than detailing the vast scope of the history of the sacraments, Hugh focused on Baptism and its precursors. From Adam until Abraham, he declared, there was only faith and no visible sacrament. And while faith could be expressed through obedience by the older, it was received as a sacrament by children who were too young to have their own faith. From Abraham to Christ, however, the people of God had a visible sacrament in the ceremony of circumcision. Again, faith was what lay beneath this sacrament, and the faith of the elders sufficed for the children who did not have faith. In the present age, the fullness of the sacrament arrived with Baptism, which is given to all people, male and female.²⁰² With this comparison, Hugh followed the route taken by Anselm of Laon, who had focused on this same progression of faith, circumcision, and Baptism in one of his sentences.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogues: Livre I 'Renouveau dans L'Église'*, Source Chrétienne 118, ed. and translated by Gaston Salet, S.J. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1966), I.1.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, I.10.

²⁰¹ 'Tempora quidem variantur, et pro variis temporibus vita et actus fidelium dispensantur; sed unitas fidei pro temporum varietate non solvitur.' Hugh, *Dial.*, V.7, 1200A.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 1199D-1200D.

²⁰³ Lottin, *Laon*, s. 57.

Hugh described this entire process of history as a gradual process of education for man regarding his need for salvation. He was first abandoned to his own devices under the natural law so that he should recognise that he could do nothing but sin on his own. He learned to have faith during this period, but his education was incomplete. The Law and the prophets then came to reveal to him that even with the aid of written law and doctrine, he still could not avoid sin. The Law was good in that it brought order, but it still could not heal mankind. At length, with all the preparations having been made, Christ came and freed man from sin. And Christ showed that none of these former sacraments should be despised, for he himself instructed his followers from the words of the patriarchs and prophets. He also received in his own body the sacrament of circumcision, as later he received the sacrament of Baptism from John the Baptist.²⁰⁴

Hugh of Amiens wrote before the theology of the sacraments had fully developed. He still limited the definition of a sacrament to 'a sign of a sacred thing' that led by faith and understanding to God, although he did at times hint at its power to convey grace to the recipient.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, the sacraments had not been whittled down to seven expressly instituted by Christ. Hugh did not even address all seven, for he neglected Confirmation and marriage, and he only made very brief mention of Confessions and Last Rites. Later works witness to the explosive growth in sacramental theology, of which Hugh of Saint-Victor provides a good example. He extended the definition of a sacrament beyond just a sign of the sacred to include its nature as a vehicle of spiritual

²⁰⁴ Hugh, *Dial.*, V.7, 1200D-01C.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, V.14, 1211A-B.

grace.²⁰⁶ He also addressed all seven of the sacraments in Book Two of *De Sacramentis*, although he surrounded them with a host of sacramentals which he also labelled sacraments. By the time of Peter Lombard, investigation of the sacraments had advanced still further. He focused more intensely on the seven sacraments to the exclusion of many practices which Hugh of Saint-Victor had still included in his list.²⁰⁷

Baptism

Hugh wrote little more on Baptism than what he included in his discussion of salvation history. Apart from speculations as to whether or not the holy thief and the Apostles had been baptised,²⁰⁸ he only briefly mentioned the urgency of baptising infants. Those who suffer for the sake of Christ – not only those who are aware like the good thief, but even those who suffer unknowingly like the Holy Innocents slaughtered by Herod – are given the crown of martyrdom.²⁰⁹ Hugh doubted that any others could be saved, and condemned those who claimed that unbaptised children could still be saved.²¹⁰ If all had incurred original sin through the flesh they received from Adam, then children were not exempt, and this was why ecclesiastical custom demanded that children be rushed forth to the baptismal font.²¹¹ Hugh was not as willing as his master to indulge in

²⁰⁶ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, I.ix.2.

²⁰⁷ Lombard, *Sent.*, IV.i-xxxii.

²⁰⁸ Hugh, *Dial.*, V.9-10, 1201C-02C.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, V.9, 1201C-D.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, V.12, 1206B-C.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1207C-D. See Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200 – c. 1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 113-29 for a discussion on the development of St. Augustine's thought on the matter. See also Augustine, *De Gen.*, XI.x.19 for a possible source for Hugh's statement.

speculation on this topic, despite his interest elsewhere in intentionality. In contrast, Anselm of Laon showed a unique concern by stating that punishment would be given to the negligent parents of an unbaptised child since the child is unaware of the need for Baptism and thus not responsible.²¹² Hugh would return to the subject and mount a more thorough defence in *Contra haereticos*, responding to specific attacks on the institution of Baptism.²¹³ At this point, even in his work of systematic theology, he was content to address the topic only indirectly.

The Eucharist

Of the other sacraments, the Eucharist received the greatest attention in the *Dialogues*. Hugh limited his discussion on this topic to two key issues: the presence of Christ in the Eucharist wholly and everywhere, and the necessity of faith in its reception. He quoted a statement on the nature of the Eucharist which he attributed to St. Andrew, providing both an explicit description of its nature and apostolic authority for a belief from the very beginning of the Church:

I sacrifice daily the Immaculate Lamb on the altar of the cross; after the believing people eat his flesh and drink his blood, the Lamb who was sacrificed whole continues to be whole and alive. And although he is truly sanctified, and his flesh is truly eaten by the people, and his blood is truly drunk, nevertheless, as I said, he persists whole, immaculate and living.²¹⁴

²¹² Lottin, *Laon*, s. 59; Colish, 'The Sentence Collection,' 15.

²¹³ See *infra*, chapter 8.

²¹⁴ 'Immaculatum Agnum quotidie in altari crucis sacrificio; cujus carnes postquam populus credentium manducaverit, et ejus sanguinem biberit, Agnus qui sacrificatus est integer perseverat et vivus. Et cum vere sanctificatus sit, et vere carnes ejus manducatae sint a populo, et vere sanguis ejus sit bibitus, tamen, ut dixi, integer permanet immaculatus et vivus.' Hugh, *Dial.*, V.14, 1210A-B. The origins of this declaration, which is obviously not from the original St. Andrew, remain shrouded in mystery. I have found a few other sources for it, the earliest being the *Ennarationes in Psalmos* of Remigius of Auxerre, where the account is less graphic and detailed. In days closer to Hugh's own, this statement appeared on two occasions, in very vivid language regarding the eating of Christ's body and drinking of his blood. The first of these instances is the record of the synod convened at Arras in 1025 by Gerard, bishop of Cambrai, to

Though not the language of *transubstantiatio* which would gradually grow in prevalence from the 1140s, he did speak of a change in the substance of the bread and wine.²¹⁵

Hugh then underscored that Christ was received completely, no matter how many people received him at the same time. When asked by Matthew about how this could be, he replied that it was a matter of faith:

Do you wish to know the sacraments? Seek, son, who should teach you. The world does not know, the Christian knows. The heretic speaks against, the Catholic defends. Pass over the world, tread under foot the heretic, ask the Christian, listen to the Catholic. What does the Christian say, what does the Catholic teach? He responds that he knows; he responds truly. For he knows it, but by the notion of faith, not by human reason. It is not known by all. For it is a sacrament.²¹⁶

Furthermore, as a matter of faith, the Church was required to ensure that only the faithful received the Eucharist. If the clergy should see someone wandering away from the faith in either word or deed, Hugh declared that they should first plead with him that he mend

deal with heretics in his diocese. This text mentions that St. Andrew spoke these words when compelled to sacrifice to idols. The more recent of the two, Conrad of Brauweiler's life of abbot Wolphelm (1065-91), preserved St. Andrew's words in a letter against Berengar of Tours, where he attributed the legendary words to Greek tradition. These latter two sources witness to the popularity of this statement among anti-heretical polemics, and the growing emphasis on the real presence in the Eucharist during the eleventh century. Remigius of Auxerre, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Psalm 21, PL 131, 260B-C; Gerard of Cambrai, *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis*, PL 142, 1281C; Conrad of Brauweiler, *Vita Wolphelmi*, PL 154, 414B. Some of the legends of St. Andrew's martyrdom also involved a city of cannibals, which often inspired the authors to include comments on the Eucharist: Franz Blatt, *Die lateinischen Bearbeitungen der Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud anthropophagos*, in *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 12 (Gießen: Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann, 1930); Peter M. Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter. His History and His Legends*, in *Supplement to Novum Testamentum* 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1958).

²¹⁵ 'mutatam panis et vini substantiam,' *Ibid.*, V. 15, 1209C-D. For a good discussion of the changes in views of *transubstantio* and its concurrent interpretation as both substitution and transmutation throughout most of the later Middle Ages, see Gary Macy, 'The Dogma of Transubstantiation in the Middle Ages,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45:1 (Jan. 1994), 11-41; see also Joseph Goering, 'The Invention of Transubstantiation,' *Traditio* 46 (1991), 147-70, for a discussion of the origins of the term, possibly with Robert Pullen.

²¹⁶ 'Vis scire sacramenta? Quaere, fili, qui te doceat. Nescit mundus, novit Christianus. Contradicit haereticus, defendit Catholicus. Transi ergo mundum, conculca haereticum, interroga Christianum, audi Catholicum. Quid dicit Christianus, quid docet Catholicus? Respondet se scire, respondet vere. Novit namque idipsum, sed fidei notione, non humana ratione. Non omnibus notum est. Sacramentum enim est', Hugh, *Dial.*, V.15, 1210D-11A.

his ways. If this had no effect, they should exclude him from the sacrament by excommunication until he reconciled himself.²¹⁷

Prayers for the Dead

The Eucharist provided Hugh with a transition into the topic of prayers for the dead, for at the close of his discussion he mentioned that priests also offer the Eucharist for the remission of the sins of the dead. Matthew seized upon this statement and asked how could God remit the sins of those who are no longer alive. Hugh responded with a discussion of how the Church prayed for the remission of punishment due to sins, not of the sins themselves. Such prayers were only effective for the faithful dead, for those who died in full communion with the Church but who had not fulfilled satisfaction for their sins.²¹⁸ These comments are infused with the doctrine of purgatory, although it receives no specific mention apart from a brief comment that the punishment should be understood as purgatorial rather than damning.²¹⁹ Coming from Cluny, with its elaborate liturgy and prayers for the dead, Hugh understandably saw such prayers as serving a sacramental function on the same level as Baptism and the Eucharist. There he had witnessed the centrality of the feast of All Souls, the weekly commemorations of the dead, and the thousands of gifts given to the poor every day in memory of dead brethren.²²⁰ Thus Hugh placed prayers for the dead within the category of ‘sacrament’

²¹⁷ Ibid., V.18, 1212C-D.

²¹⁸ Ibid., V.19-21, 1212D-14A.

²¹⁹ ‘Quos autem cum poenitentia fideles, sed sine digna satisfactione praeoccupatos morte cernimus, poenas eis non damnatorias, imo purgatorias deberi fatemur.’ Ibid., V.19, 1213A.

²²⁰ See Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure. Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l’hérésie, au judaïsme et à l’islam, 1000-1150*, Collection historique, gen eds. Alain Corbin and Jean-Claude Schmitt

while other sentence collectors not so affected by Cluniac rituals would instead relegate this subject to their sections on Last Things.²²¹

Holy Orders and Excommunicated Priests

At the beginning of his sixth book, Hugh addressed the nature of the clergy and the monastic life. For the moment, we will pass over the section of Book VI in which Hugh made an extended argument about the dignity of monks and their relation to regular and secular clerics. This will fit more clearly within the context of the next chapter on Hugh's Cluniac views and his relation to the *Reprehensio*, written at the same time as his *Dialogues*.²²² Suffice it to be said here that these chapters, differing from the typical approach of works of systematic theology, treated of the role of the clergy in a very monastic manner. Therein, Hugh placed the monastic order at the very summit of the clerical hierarchy, deeming the monk-priest to be the most lofty purveyor of all the sacraments he had previously described.

Looking first at ordinations in general, Hugh did not limit them merely to those of the clerical variety, for he included the anointing of secular rulers, who must be humbly obeyed. But the most important sort of ordinations were those of clerics, who direct

(Paris: Aubier, 1998), 219-40. Iogna-Prat has drawn extensively from the research done by members of the Münster School on memorials for the dead. See the collection of articles in Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch, *Memoria: der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48 (Munich: W. Fink, 1984).

²²¹ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, II.xvii.9-10; Lombard, *Sent.*, IV.xxxxv.2.

²²² Hugh, *Dial.*, VI.2-4. See *infra*, chapter 4.

people to heaven.²²³ Regarding such clerics, Hugh showed himself to be a proponent of serious reform:

‘Clergy’ is interpreted as ‘a lot’, but ‘cleric’ as ‘drawn by lot’. Therefore, let him see that he is of the Lord, and the Lord is his lot. For a cleric ought to live canonically, in such a way that wholly unimpeded, as much as he is able, and supported by divine grace, he should preserve what is named both in himself and in others. For he is exceedingly confused who neglects to preserve what is committed to him and sets aside the office to which he is elected, who rejoices in the name and is void of work, who carries the sign of the king on his head and serves vices in the flesh, who moves forth crowned and endures being ruled by the cords of cupidity. For clerics, no matter how far they may be promoted, if they delay in offence, by ancient authority they are advised to be deposed from the clergy, lest prelates display an example for sinning to those whom they ought to benefit. Truly, it remains that the life of the prelate, who pollutes the souls of his subjects by example, should either be wholly blotted out, or swiftly corrected by canonical censure. The law of the land executes such men, unless the honour of their Order provides protection. But better that heavenly censure corrects them, when it deposes them from office or when it sends evil backsliders to be enclosed in a stricter form of life.²²⁴

Hugh had addressed issues revolving around priestly reform earlier, when he examined the problem of excommunicated priests. In the wake of the Gregorian reforms, a pseudo-Donatism had arisen among certain circles, denying the validity of any sacraments performed by sinful priests.²²⁵ Hugh responded to such arguments by

²²³ Ibid., VI.1, 1215B-C.

²²⁴ ‘Cleros namque sors interpretatur, clericus vero sortitus. Videat ergo ut ipse sit Domini, et Dominus sors ejus. Debet enim ita canonice clericus vivere ut omnino expeditus, quantum potest, et divinae gratiae subnixus, tam in se quam in aliis servet quod dicitur. Valde enim confunditur qui servare negligit quod ei committitur et praetermittit officium ad quod eligitur, qui gaudet nomine et vacat opere, qui signum regis portat in capite et vitiis servit in carne, qui coronatus incedit et cupiditatum funibus sustinet religari. Clerici namque, quantumcunque promoti, si in crimine dilabuntur, auctoritate antiqua a clero deponi censentur, ne quibus prodesse praelati debuerant, eis ad peccandum exempla praebeant. Restat enim ut praelatorum vita, quae subditorum animas exemplo maculat, aut omnino deleatur, aut canonica censura citius corrigatur. Delet hujusmodi lex fori, nisi honor defendat ordinis. Sed melius corrigit eos censura coelestis, dum ab officio deponit, dum sub arctiori vita male lapsos recludit.’ Ibid., 1215D-16C. Migne transcribed this statement as ‘Dolet hujusmodi...’ which does not make sense. At least one of the manuscripts, BN ms. lat. 13426, f. 41r, reads ‘Delet’.

²²⁵ The heresy of Tanchelm is a good example of this trend. See Jeffrey B. Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), 56-65.

emphasising the efficacy of the sacraments and declaring that even wicked priests do not interfere in the omnipotent power of God expressed through the sacraments. For God works through evil men as well as through good, and thus as long as the Church permits them to continue in their office, the faithful should by no means spurn the sacraments performed by them. They are to be scorned, however, if the Church excommunicates them. If this happens, although they retain the office of the priesthood, they no longer have the power to carry out the sacraments.²²⁶ When pressed by Matthew on the issue, he affirmed that the priest did nothing if he attempted to consecrate bread or perform any other sacrament. For if he did, the entire Church would be thrown into chaos, and anyone who chose to do so could consecrate the Eucharist, bind and absolve sins, and ordain.²²⁷ He recalled that a council of Nicaea had reordained clerics among the Novatians, as did a synod of Carthage for Donatist clerics. These decisions, he affirmed, belonged to the dispensation of the Church.²²⁸

These were Hugh's only words that excited any express disapproval, and Matthew himself wrote to him asking for clarification on these matters. Hugh strongly reaffirmed his stance, this time bringing authorities to his aid. He first referred to a statement by Pope Innocent I confirming that a certain Nezulon, ordained by heretics, held no office and could bestow no office upon others.²²⁹ A priest, however unworthy, still holds his office. And if his office is taken away through excommunication, he still has the

²²⁶ Hugh, *Dial*, V.10, 1203B-04A.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, V.11, 1204B-D

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1204D-05A.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, Letter to Matthew, 1228C. This statement is also found in Ivo of Chartres, *Panormia*, PL 161, 1148B-D (III.81).

sacrament of Holy Orders which he received.²³⁰ A suspension of office can not be applied to every sacrament, for some like Baptism are necessary, and the baptised man cannot be forbidden to go about his work. But because Holy Orders is an official and not a necessary sacrament, a priest can be suspended from his duties. The mark of the sacrament still remains, but it remains for the purpose of judgement, which will be more serious because of the responsibilities he bore.²³¹ With this distinction, Hugh revived Augustine's old formula of sacramental power (*sacramentum*) and the right to exercise it (*officium*),²³² although for Hugh *sacramentum* was not efficacious without *officium* and remained only as a mark upon the priest.

To further back up his argument Hugh referred to more authorities, although this time he did not mention to whom his quotations pertained. First came a decree that traced back to Pope Pelagius and could be found in Anselm of Lucca's *Collectio Canonica*: 'Whatever a schismatic consecrates, it is not the body of Christ.'²³³ Then followed an statement attributed variously to St. Augustine and Prosper of Aquitaine that also found its way into the writings of Cardinal Humbert, Ivo of Chartres, Gratian, and Gerhoch of Reichersberg: 'Outside the Catholic Church there is no place of true sacrifice.'²³⁴ Finally,

²³⁰ Ibid., 1228C-D.

²³¹ Ibid., 1228D-29C.

²³² Robert L. Benson, *The Bishop Elect. A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 49-50.

²³³ 'Quod conficit schismaticus, corpus Christi non est.' Hugh, *Dial.*, 1230A; Anselm of Lucca, *Collectio Canonica in Libros XIII Distributa*, PL 149, 532A (XII.44).

²³⁴ 'Extra Catholicam Ecclesiam non est locus veri sacrificii.' Hugh, *Dial.*, 1230A; Gratian, *Concordia Discordantia Canonum (Decretum)*, PL 187, 511B (II.i.71), after a statement attributed to St. Cyprian that there are true sacraments outside the Church, but they do not confer salvation. The statement occurs in the context of arguments against simony in Humbert of Silva Candida, *Adversus Simoniacos*, PL 143, 1191B (III.30); Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, PL 161, 180C (c. 84); and Gerhoch of Reichersburg, *De Simonia*, PL 194, 1366A.

Hugh gave the words of Scripture: 'In one house you shall eat it, and you shall not carry its flesh outside. And the uncircumcised shall not eat from it.'²³⁵ To crown his argument, he painted an even more vivid picture of the horrors that would follow if excommunicated priests could indeed consecrate, with a infinite number of bishops and popes, mutually excommunicating and absolving one another. In such a world, 'the Church would be wholly nothing.'²³⁶

The question of reordination did not only disturb Hugh and his readers, but he was one of only a few to attempt a decisive response to the problem. Honorius Augustodunensis, in an extensive section on evil priests, briefly agreed that those who were excommunicated could not perform the sacraments.²³⁷ Hugh of Saint-Victor only touched upon the topic in *De Sacramentis*, where in his discussion of the marriage of unbelievers he stated that the sacraments are not true for all those who treat them unworthily. Thus the sacraments had no saving power for a wicked priest, even if they still do for those to whom he ministers.²³⁸ Finally, Peter Lombard only cited conflicting authorities while prudently refraining from making a personal judgement on the matter.²³⁹

By taking such a strong stance, Hugh of Amiens achieved at least a little renown. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, who composed *Contra Duas Haereses* against the two heresies of subordination of Christ to the Father and the validity of schismatic priests, inserted

²³⁵ Hugh, *Dial.*, 1230B; Ex. 12:45-6.

²³⁶ 'nihil omnino esset Ecclesia.' *Ibid.*, 1230B-C.

²³⁷ Honorius, *Eluc.*, I.31.

²³⁸ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, II.xi.13.

²³⁹ Lombard, *Sent.*, IV.xxv.1.

Hugh's letter in its entirety in the midst of his treatise,²⁴⁰ confirming in conclusion that the Eucharist consecrated by a schismatic priest was the body of Christ in appearance and sign only.²⁴¹ Nevertheless, while Hugh's views on the lasting nature of the sacrament of orders were to be confirmed and supported by other authorities, he would ultimately be refuted in favour of the validity of sacraments conferred by excommunicated or heretical priests as long as they were done in good faith.²⁴²

A System of Thought

While yet to embark upon an active career as archbishop, and with nearly four decades of life still ahead of him, Hugh compiled the most comprehensive expression of his thought. He would return again to many of the issues he treated there, but seldom would he treat anything so extensively. After his completion of this work, he would leave behind his attempt at systematic theology for a return to a more traditional method of writing on specific topics. It was a bold attempt, one which had a good deal of influence on the topic of excommunicated priests and which treated a wide range of traditional topics alongside ones that were rarely treated in such depth, like the monastic priesthood and images of the Trinity in Creation. The massive waves of systematic theology which were to follow, culminating in Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, soon submerged the *Dialogues* into relative obscurity. But for a while they had their day, and they made Hugh

²⁴⁰ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Contra Duas Haereses*, 1172B-75A.

²⁴¹ 'Non est Christi corpus, quod schismaticus efficit, subintelligendum est, quantum ad essentiam, rem et efficientiam, quod tamen quoniam specietenus, et sacramentotenus dici potest corpus.' *Ibid.*, 1184C.

²⁴² Ott, III.6.5.1.

a more formidable and reputable figure, all the more suitable for the responsibilities he would face as archbishop of Rouen.

Chapter V

Hugh of Amiens and the Monastic Life: Cluny, Monk-Priests, and the 'Reprehensio'

Hugh was a Cluniac, one of the foremost of his order in England and an ardent defender of monasticism at the time he wrote his *Dialogues*. For these and other reasons he has been singled out as the probable author of the *Reprehensio*, an obscure retort to Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia*. On the other hand, apart from a short section of his *Dialogues*, he was not an overly active proponent of the monastic way of life, at least not in his extant writings nor in his policies as archbishop. Immediately after ascending to the *cathedra* of Rouen, he showed himself to be a strong foe of the concept of monastic freedom, and a friend to many of the new orders then spreading throughout Europe. He was a Cluniac, but that allegiance had its boundaries, boundaries that stopped at the doorstep of the cathedral and the admission of abuse. These boundaries, expressed in his actions and words, cast serious doubt on his identity as author of the *Reprehensio*.

Hugh the Cluniac and Monasticism

Hugh's first vocation had not been as a Cluniac, but rather as a cleric of the diocese of Thérouanne under bishop John. When he made his decision to join the Cluniacs, his cousin Matthew had already made this same choice. Like Hugh, he had risen through the ranks of the secular clergy, first at Laon, and then at Reims. There, in 1106, thanks to his close friendship with the new archbishop, Raoul le Vert, he became a

canon of the cathedral.¹ Only four years later, finding himself dissatisfied with the ambition, cupidity and rivalry of the secular life, and concerned about the possible involvement of simony in the purchase of prebends by his parents, he resigned his office.² He had heard Raoul often praise Cluny, and so travelling to the nearest major Cluniac priory, Saint-Martin des Champs, he convinced the abbot to receive him the very night he arrived.³ Shortly thereafter he travelled to Cluny to profess in the presence of Abbot Pontius, and in 1117 he returned to Saint-Martin to become prior.⁴ There he gained a reputation for being the most zealous of Cluniacs, rigorously following fasts, vigils, and the daily offices.⁵ His reputation only grew when he was called to Cluny to serve for a short time as grand prior under Peter the Venerable in curbing excesses.⁶ In 1126, he so impressed Honorius II by his tireless efforts in the prosecution of Pontius that he was made a cardinal.⁷ Residing in the Palladium, he shocked his fellow cardinals by continuing to follow the Cluniac hours and always arriving late to the curia.⁸

¹ Peter the Venerable, *De Miraculis*, V, 104-5; Berlière, 'Le Cardinal,' 114.

² Peter the Venerable, *De Miraculis*, VI, 105-6; Berlière, 'Le Cardinal,' 115.

³ Peter the Venerable, *De Miraculis*, VII, 106-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 107; Berlière, 'Le Cardinal,' 116-17.

⁵ Peter the Venerable, *De Miraculis*, VIII, 109 – 11, 116; Berlière, 'Le Cardinal,' 117-18.

⁶ Adriaan Bredero advances an intriguing hypothesis that Matthew was the grand prior who travelled to Clairvaux and brought back to Cluny Bernard's cousin, Robert of Châtillon, and that he may have been sent back to Saint-Martin rather quickly because of Peter the Venerable's desire to preserve harmony in the aftermath of the order's schism: 'Cluny et Cîteaux: les origines de la controverse,' in *Cluny et Cîteaux au douzième siècle. L'Histoire d'une controverse monastique*, ed. Adriaan H. Bredero (Amsterdam and Maarssen: Holland University Press, 1985), 47-9.

⁷ Peter the Venerable, *De Miraculis*, XIII, 121- 14, 124; Berlière, 'Le Cardinal,' 121-3.

⁸ Peter the Venerable, *De Miraculis*, XIV, 124; Berlière, 'Le Cardinal,' 123-4.

He proved himself still a zealous advocate of old Cluniac ways in the aftermath of a meeting between Benedictine abbots of the archdiocese of Reims in 1131. The abbots present, certain among them from abbeys reformed by Cluny, ruled in favour of reducing the numbers of psalms and solemnities,⁹ strictly enforcing abstinence from meat except for those who were 'completely frail and sick,'¹⁰ and maintaining continual and absolute silence in the cloister.¹¹ Shocked by these decisions, Matthew wrote a protest against their reduction of observances and their enforcement of absolute silence, claiming they were destroying the monastic observance.¹² Hugh's cousin and dear friend, a man who cherished every aspect of the Cluniac life, still tried to preserve it long after he had left his monastery for service in the curia, and perhaps this fervour enkindled a similar passion in Hugh. At the very least, Matthew had probably been a major influence on Hugh's joining the monastic life in the first place.

About two years after Matthew became a Cluniac, Hugh took the same step. The immediate context of his entry into Cluny was Pontius' journey to Flanders. In 1099, Countess Clemence of Flanders had given Saint-Bertin to Hugh of Cluny in her husband's absence, but many of the rights were diminished upon his return. In late 1111, with the death of Count Robert and the beginning of a regency under Clemence, Pontius, now abbot of Cluny for two years, came to set things in order. The monastery itself was divided into two factions, and Abbot Lambert, who had been imposed upon the abbey during the reforms of 1099, tried unsuccessfully to mediate. So did bishop John of

⁹ *Acta Remis*, ll. 1-36.

¹⁰ 'omnino debiles et aegrotos,' *Ibid.*, ll. 37-39.

¹¹ 'In claustro uero silentium a toto comuentu teneatur.' *Ibid.*, ll. 42-3.

¹² Berlière, 'Le Cardinal,' 282-9.

Thérouanne, to no effect. Pontius, facing opposition and even a violent assault from the clerics and some of the monks, demanded obedience or the withdrawal of all Cluniacs from Saint-Bertin.¹³ When the castellan of Saint-Omer intervened to stop this from happening, Pontius began withdrawing monks from Saint-Vaast, Arras, possibly a threat to withdraw entirely from Flanders.¹⁴ In the end, with papal intervention, Pontius backed down and granted the abbey independence so long as it followed Cluniac customs.¹⁵

It was during these volatile events, at the heart of which Hugh must have been, that he made his decision to join Cluny. In early 1112, at the Cluniac priory of Saint-Michel, Le Wast, Bishop John of Thérouanne granted the church of Frévent *ex integro* to Saint-Martin des Champs in the presence of Pontius and certain of his monks.¹⁶ This church had belonged to Hugh, and the donation was made at his request, along with that of the count and countess of Boulogne.¹⁷ Perhaps Hugh had been impressed by Pontius' strong stand for Cluniac rights. Like Matthew he may have been disillusioned with the clerical life, despite serving under a strong, reforming bishop. In all likelihood, Hugh

¹³ Simon of Saint-Bertin, *Simonis Gesta Abbatum Sancti Bertini Sithiensium*, MGH SS 13, c. 91-3, 653.

¹⁴ Ibid., c. 94, 653-4; H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Abbot Pontius of Cluny (1109-22/6),' in *Two Studies in Cluniac History, 1049-1126*, *Studi Gregoriani* 11 (1978), 207-11.

¹⁵ Simon of Saint-Bertin, c. 95, 654.

¹⁶ 'in manu scilicet domni Pontii Cluniacensis abbatis, presentibus quibusdam suis monachis.' *Recueil des chartes et documents de Saint-Martin des Champs*, c. 141 (I.222-3).

¹⁷ 'Hoc autem feci rogatu Eustachii comitis Bolonis, et Marie uxoris eius, rogatu etiam Hugonis Ribodimontensis canonici nostri, qui ipsam ecclesiam tenebat...' Ibid. Le Wast had been founded as a Cluniac priory in 1099 by Eustace's mother, the Countess Ida, in the presence of Abbot Hugh of Cluny, and she herself was buried there in 1113. See Tanner, 258, 263.

accompanied Pontius back to Cluny, for by 1114, he was already prior of Saint-Martial, Limoges.¹⁸

He must have greatly impressed Pontius to be recommended for this position. Indeed, Pontius himself had served as prior of Saint-Martial around 1108 before transferring to Cluny.¹⁹ In October 1114, after the death of Abbot Adhemar (1063-1114), Pontius travelled to Saint-Martial to stop the viscount from appointing his candidate as abbot, and in turn appointed his own, Bernard, then grand prior of Cluny.²⁰ The next year Bernard returned to Cluny and Pontius nominated a successor, but the monks protested. The affair resulted in a standoff with Pontius asking Paschal II (1099-1118) to place the abbey under interdict, and when the pope refused he actually took over a tower in Limoges to force their compliance.²¹ In the end, the two sides agreed that Cluny could appoint either the abbot or the prior, but not both.

What exactly his role was in these affairs we shall probably never know, but at the very least, Hugh maintained the respect of Pontius who appointed him as prior of Lewes a few years later in 1120. He continued to maintain his friendship with Matthew, the most ardent supporter of Cluny, and the respect of its most infamous and volatile abbot, at least until the events surrounding Pontius' deposition between 1122 and 1126. For Hugh was also a close friend of Peter the Venerable, and although far from the events

¹⁸ *Ex Chronico Gaufredi Coenobitae*, 431.

¹⁹ Andreas Sohn, *Der Abbatat Ademars von Saint-Martial de Limoges (1063-1114): ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des cluniacensischen Klösterverbandes*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinertums 37 (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1989), 290; Cowdrey, 194-5.

²⁰ *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, Collection de documents inédites sur l'histoire de France, 1^{er} série, Histoire politique (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1876-1903), V, 3009.

²¹ Cowdrey, 211-12.

shaking the motherhouse at that time, he was most likely along with Matthew a crucial supporter of the new abbot during those difficult days. His authentic writings give little indication of his views towards the particulars of Cluniac customs, but they do occasionally give evidence for his strong commitment to the ideals exemplified by Cluny. The most revealing of these passages is to be found in his *Dialogues*.

The *Dialogues* and Monk-Priests

In Book VI of the *Dialogues*, following Hugh's description of the deposition of guilty clerics, Matthew recalled that some argued that monks could not be clerics because they were dead. This question led Hugh to discuss in depth a series of subjects involving the dignity of the monastic life. Hugh reproached Matthew for paying heed to these statements, asserting that monks are only dead to themselves.²² Such accusations about monks being dead were becoming common at the time. Rupert of Deutz was asked a similar question in his debate with an anonymous cleric, perhaps St. Norbert, to whom he replied that all Christians are dead to the world through Baptism, yet they still live in the world.²³

Hugh continued his defence of monks by asserting that they are alive in Christ, and because they have one spirit in Christ, they are called '*monachus*', meaning

²² Hugh, *Dial.*, VI.2, 1216C-17A.

²³ Rupert of Deutz, *Altercatio monaci et clerici*, PL 170, 537C-8C. For the probability of Philip of Harvengt's attribution of the work to Norbert and its dating see Van Engen, 310-12.

singular'.²⁴ Furthermore, they are consecrated when clothed with the monastic habit, itself a sacrament with the same effect as Baptism:

It is one, son, the monastic habit is one of the sacraments in the Church. The same effect is brought about by the consecration of a monk and the regeneration of Baptism. For just as in Baptism the oldness of sinners is laid aside, and the newness which is in Christ is put on, so in the monastic benediction, when oldness has been laid aside, the tunic is received with a blessing, which is a sacrament of the newness of Christ. Truly, as long as he devoutly puts this on through the hand of a spiritual father, according to ecclesiastical custom, he is thereupon freed from sins, and recovers that grace which he held in Baptism.²⁵

But, as Matthew objected, some clerics also receive special linen tunics when they become regular canons. Is this not also a sacrament? The Cluniac in Hugh responded with a resounding 'No!' These tunics only represent penitence on the part of a cleric who recognises the true life he should be living. For every cleric should live by a canonical rule. Even so, the regular canons who recognised this fact came under criticism from Hugh. He complained that they were receiving many illiterate men into their ranks, a condition that was absolutely inappropriate for a cleric who should be well-read in both the Old and New Testament in order to guide his flock. But he stopped himself short to avoid arousing regular canons against him or appearing to be an enemy of the clergy, for the clerical order is pure and holy, and it brooks no criticism.²⁶

²⁴ Hugh, *Dial.*, VI.2, 1217A-B. See Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 8, for the various interpretations of *monachus*.

²⁵ 'Unum est, fili, unum est de sacramentis in Ecclesia vestis monachica. Idem namque efficiunt et monachi consecratio et baptismi regeneratio. Sicut enim in baptismo vetustas peccatorum exuitur, et novitas quae in Christo est supervestitur, ita in benedictione monachica, exuta vetustate, suscipitur cum benedictione colobium, quod est novitatis Christi sacramentum. Hoc enim dum per manum patris spiritalis more ecclesiastico devotus induit, mox a peccatis solutus, illam quam in baptismo habuit gratiam recipit.' Hugh, *Dial.*, VI.2, 1217C-D.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, VI.3, 1217D-18C.

Nevertheless, Hugh held that monks are purer and holier than those who are only clerics, for every monk is a cleric, although not every cleric is a monk:

Although they may envy, nevertheless if they have eyes, let them see that monks enjoy the clerical tonsure. For properly are they from the lot of the Lord, and they hold that very lot which alone they seek, having abandoned all things. Therefore, justly are they called clerics, and rightly canons, unless by the law of a stricter excellence they should deserve to be called monks. For every monk is indeed a cleric, but the reverse is not true; just as every cleric is a Christian, but not every Christian is a cleric.²⁷

Matthew asked how he could prove this state of affairs. Hugh responded that no one is made a monk unless he is first a cleric. Those who were still members of the laity became clerics through the benediction of their profession, and those who already were clerics received the monastic life on top of their clerical status.²⁸

Hugh went further in his defence of monks. Because they were clergy following a more perfect life, they should have all the powers of the clergy, which meant for monk-priests all the powers of the priesthood:

Monks of a more perfect life rightly and fittingly ought to preach the kingdom of God when convenient among the people, to rebuke sinners, to receive the penitent, to loose and to bind. They ought to serve at the altars with zeal, to live from offerings and tithes. Tithes indeed belong to the poor, but they are the true poor, as the Gospel testifies, who poor in spirit become fully what they appear, who not only forsake possessions, but surrender their wills to their fathers. Cenobites do this by public profession. Therefore, on account of true poverty and with the rejection of their own possessions, they rightly ought to live as true paupers of Christ from offerings and tithes.²⁹

²⁷ 'Sed licet invadeant, tamen, si oculos habent, aspiciant quia monachi tonsura utuntur clericali. Proprie enim sunt de sorte Domini, et ipsum habent sortem quem relictis omnibus quaerunt singularem. Jure ergo vocarentur clerici, recteque canonici, nisi pro jure arctioris excellentiae dici mererentur monachi. Omnis namque monachus est quidem clericus, sed non convertitur; sicut omnis clericus est Christianus, sed non omnis Christianus est clericus,' Ibid., 1218D-19A.

²⁸ Ibid., VI.4, 1219A-C.

²⁹ 'Debent ergo monachi perfectioris vitae merito cum opportunitate regnum Dei in populo praedicare, peccatores corripere, poenitentes suscipere, solvere et ligare. Debent sedulo altariis deservire, de oblationibus et decimis vivere. Decimae quidem sunt propriae pauperum, veri autem pauperes sunt, qui,

These chapters, and this passage in particular, express the fullness of the triumphalist vision of Benedictine monasticism and Hugh's particular love of the monastic life. The issue of monk-priests was not a new one, although it had become a pressing issue in his day. From the times of St. Pachomius and St. Augustine, monks and clerics had debated over whether monks should be priests, and numerous councils ruled that such should be an exception only to occur when good clerics were hard to find.³⁰ By the tenth and eleventh centuries, the situation had changed as a result of many factors, including Celtic monasticism, Anglo-Saxon missionaries, the secularisation of many monasteries under the Carolingians, privileges granted to individual monasteries by bishops, and a growing emphasis upon the Eucharist and masses for the dead.³¹ By this point as many as three-quarters of all monks were members of the clergy, with nearly half of these being priests.³² With the blossoming of the regular canons, who themselves claimed to lead the perfect combination of the clerical and communal life, and the increase in possession of churches by monasteries during the papal reforms of the

teste Evangelio, pauperes spiritu fiunt quod ii plane existunt, qui non solum possessa relinquunt, sed et voluntates suas patribus addicunt. Hoc autem publica professione faciunt coenobitae. Debent ergo merito paupertatis verae et proprii abiectione de oblationibus et decimis veri pauperes Christi vivere.' *Ibid.*, 1219C.

³⁰ Dom Ursmer Berlière, 'L'exercice du ministère paroissial par les moines dans le Haut Moyen-Age,' *RB* 29 (1927), 227-34. Such council pronouncements continued right through to the first and third Lateran councils: Philipp Hofmeister, 'Mönchtum und Seelsorge bis zum 13. Jahrhundert,' *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 65 (1955), 247-8.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 234-42; Thomas L. Amos, 'Monks and Pastoral Care in the Early Middle Ages,' in *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan*, eds. Thomas F.X. Noble and John J. Contreni (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987), 165-175; Jacques Winandy, 'Les Moines et le Sacerdoce,' *La vie spirituelle* 80 (1949), 29-30; Hofmeister, esp. 249-68.

³² Jean Leclercq, 'Le sacerdoce des moines,' *Irénikon* 36 (1963), 5-40; Constable, *Reformation*, 93-4, 229.

eleventh century, monks were being attacked on all sides for their claims to clerical ministry and revenues from churches.³³

The most vicious of these attacks came from the secular cleric, Theobald of Étampes, who claimed that no monk holds the dignity of a cleric.³⁴ Theobald was a master at Oxford, and some time between 1123 and 1133 he addressed the letter of opprobrium containing this remark to archbishop Thurstan of York.³⁵ It was part of a larger controversy between Theobald and an anonymous monk, and Hugh may have been aware of some of the specific assertions. Other attacks were somewhat more lenient, following the traditional stance that granted the right to preach to monks under certain circumstances. Proponents of this view included Hugh's former master, Anselm of Laon, who claimed that clerics were chosen to preach and monks to pray. The latter were only to assume the office of the former out of necessity.³⁶ Gerhoch of Reichersberg also admitted that monk-priests were allowed to serve, but only because of the lack of good regular canons.³⁷

³³ Berlière, 'L'exercice,' 246-9; Giles Constable, 'Monastic Possession of Churches and «Spiritualia» in the Age of Reform,' in *Religious Life and Thought (11th-12th centuries)*, ed. Giles Constable (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979), 319-40.

³⁴ 'Nullus autem monachus dignitatem habet clericalem.' Theobald of Étampes, *Improprium cuiusdam in monachos*, in Raymonde Foreville and Jean Leclercq, 'Un débat sur le sacerdoce des moines au xii^e siècle,' *Analecta Monastica. Textes et études sur la vie des moines au moyen âge*, 4^{ème} série, *Studia Anselmiana* 41 (Rome: Herder, 1957), 52.

³⁵ Foreville and Leclercq, 'Un débat,' 30-3.

³⁶ 'Clerici electi sunt ad praedicandum, et ad docendos subditos, monachi vero ad orandum; quia clerici propter distractiones officii et negotiorum jugiter, orationi vacare non poterant. Tamen causa necessitatis, ex praecepto episcopi, saepe monachi assumunt officium praedicandi, et docendi.' Anselm of Laon, *Epistola ad H. abbatum S. Laurentii Leodiensis*, PL 162, 1590B-C.

³⁷ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Liber de Aedificio Dei*, c. 28 (PL 194, 1268B).

On the side of the monks, the most vocal advocate was Rupert of Deutz, who addressed the issue of monk-priests throughout his works, but especially in his *Altercatio*, where he asserted that the right to preach belonged to a monk-priest as much as to a regular canon, and that to take away that right would be to cause injury to him.³⁸

Nevertheless, Rupert of Deutz does not appear to have been prepared to claim that all monks were automatically made clerics upon their reception into the monastic life. Much later, in 1210, Innocent III weighed in on the issue when asked whether members of the laity became clerics upon receiving the monastic tonsure. He judged in the affirmative, stating that since an abbot can make lectors in his own monastery by the laying on of hands, provided that he was ordained by the bishop, then surely through the tonsure they are made part of the clerical order.³⁹

This issue, more than any other contained in the *Dialogues*, demonstrates not only Hugh's monastic roots, but also his ardent love for the monastic life. Few other sentence collectors described the monastic life in such lofty terms – not even Honorius Augustodunensis, though he himself was a monk. Among them only Hugh of Saint-Victor, a regular canon, mentioned monk-priests and predictably declared that some monks were allowed to become priests through indulgence, for the express purpose of celebrating communion within their communities.⁴⁰

³⁸ Rupert of Deutz, *Altercatio*, 540A-D.

³⁹ 'lectores per manus impositionem licentia sit unicuique abbati in proprio monasterio solummodo faciendi, dummodo ipsi ab episcopo, secundum morem perficiendorum abbatum, manus impositio facta noscatur, et constet eum existere sacerdotem, per primam tonsuram a talibus abbatibus juxta formam Ecclesiae datam clericalis ordo confertur.' Innocent III, *Regesta sive Epistolae*, XIII, PL 216, ep. 127, 313D-14A.

⁴⁰ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, II.iii.3.

Hugh of Amiens concluded his discussion by declaring proudly that monks will not waste the money they receive on hawking and gaming, as so many clerics do. They know better and are better disciplined by their regimen, and they should not only live canonically, but they also 'should constrict themselves more narrowly and maintain silence in monastic cloisters.'⁴¹ On this matter, Hugh appears to have taken the same line that the abbots would take at Reims a few years later, though he did not indicate just how strictly he would define this silence and whether or not it would involve the absolute and perpetual silence advocated by these abbots. From his words, it does not seem likely that he would have pounced upon the abbots' pronouncement with a fervour as intense as that of Matthew.

Archbishop Hugh and Monasticism

Hugh's views on monasticism come into sharper focus when one looks at his years as archbishop of Rouen, especially in his dealings with the monasteries of his diocese. These monasteries had a long tradition of independence from their bishops, mostly due to neglect or chance rather than to any established principles and privileges. The best example of these is Bec which managed to have four abbots, from Herluin to Boso, elected without the need for a profession thanks to either well-timed vacancies or the intervention of the king in securing a free blessing from the archbishop.⁴² The monks of Bec soon saw this condition of independence as an incontrovertible right that dated

⁴¹ 'sese arctius contrahant et in claustris coenobialibus silentia teneant.' Hugh, *Dial.*, VI.4, 1219D.

⁴² Julie Potter, 'Monastic Freedom vs. Episcopal and Aristocratic Power in the Twelfth Century: Context and Analysis of the *De libertate Beccensis*,' in *Negotiating Secular and Ecclesiastical Power. Western Europe in the Central Middle Ages*, eds. Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld, Henk Teunis, and Andrew Wareham (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 73-8.

back to the time of Herluin, and around this time one among their number recorded these views for posterity in the *De libertate Beccensis*.⁴³

When Hugh became archbishop, he set out to put things in order.⁴⁴ He discovered that the abbots of Saint-Ouen, Saint-Wandrille, and Jumièges were all still without blessing, and required the abbots of Jumièges and Saint-Ouen to accompany him to the Council of Reims in October 1131, because of their claims of exemption from professions. The only existing letter from Hugh's hand regarding these disputes is one he sent to Adrian IV around 1157. Therein he recalled the events at the council for the benefit of those judging a current dispute between Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury and the monks of St. Augustine. He described how while Innocent II was investigating the documents, the bishop of Châlons announced that an abbot of Saint-Medard had forged the so-called privileges of Saint-Ouen along with those of St. Augustine, Canterbury. In the end, both abbots relented, William of Jumièges willingly and Raginfred of Saint-Ouen more grudgingly. Hugh, however, gave little indication of his personal views on the matter apart from rejoicing that the presumption exemplified by this forgery was quashed. He also gave no explanation of the principle behind professions other than that their absence threatened the liberty of the Norman church.⁴⁵

⁴³ Potter, 76-8. This monk was also the author of a number of other works, including a *Tractatus de professionibus abbatibus*, in which he opposed the extraction of obedience in exchange for the bishop's blessing. See Jean Leclercq, 'Un traité sur la "Profession des Abbés" au XII^e siècle,' *Studi Anselmiana* 50 (1962), 178, 182-3; André Wilmart, 'Les ouvrages d'un moine de Bec. Un débat sur la profession monastique au XII^e siècle,' RB 44 (1932), *passim*.

⁴⁴ For a detailed account of the dispute over professions, see Waldman, *Hugh 'of Amiens'*, c. 3, esp. 54-65; 'Hugh of Amiens, Archbishop of Rouen (1130-64), the Norman Abbots, and the Papacy: The Foundation of a "Textual Community",' *Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990), 143-4.

⁴⁵ *Idem*, *Hugh 'of Amiens'*, 59-60, *Acta* 1.

In December, Innocent II wrote to Alan of St-Wandrille on Hugh's behalf, demanding his profession of obedience, but by this point Henry I heard of the proceedings and complained to Innocent that Hugh was oppressing his duchy of Normandy, resulting in Innocent urging Hugh to back down.⁴⁶ However, on 20 January 1133 he once again stated he would support Hugh regarding Alan of Saint-Wandrille.⁴⁷ The issue soon faded with the resignation of Alan,⁴⁸ but it resurfaced again in 1136 when the monks of Bec elected Theobald as abbot without first notifying Hugh. Hugh protested and demanded a profession of obedience, but Theobald resisted, with the support of his monks and his abbey's long tradition of freedom. The dispute carried on for over a year, during which time the anonymous monk of Bec probably composed his *De libertate*. Eventually, the two sides compromised, and Theobald gave a verbal acknowledgement of obedience, probably in the hope that it would not be binding on his successors.⁴⁹

At first glance, Hugh's behaviour during these events appears to oppose the ideals of Cluny with which he had been imbued. The Burgundian monastery had striven resolutely to obtain independence from its diocesan bishop, and during the 1120s it faced a renewed struggle with the bishop of Mâcon and archbishop of Lyons, which Peter the Venerable eventually overcame with the help of even more extensive privileges. But

⁴⁶ Innocent II, *Epistolae*, ep. 76 (117D-18A), ep. *ad Innocentium* 10 (669C-70B), ep. 101-2 (150A-51A).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, ep. 255 (PL 179, 304C-5A).

⁴⁸ Waldman, *Hugh 'of Amiens'*, 59.

⁴⁹ Avrom Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: Athlone Press, 1956), 3-5; Potter, 79-80.

Cluny was a special case, and already had numerous pontifical privileges.⁵⁰ In most cases, the independent Benedictine monasteries of Normandy did not have similar privileges, and when one abbey, Fécamp, finally produced authentic charters granting their exemption, Hugh confirmed them.⁵¹ While he certainly did not maintain the same enthusiasm for monasticism as Matthew exhibited after attaining his bishopric, these events need not be interpreted as a major shift in his views. Most likely he was merely trying to serve as best he could in his new station in life and defend the rights of his new archbishopric to the fullest.

During his period as archbishop, Hugh did not show any favouritism towards Benedictines, and actually was quite influential in the spread of the regular canons throughout Normandy. Under Hugh, many houses for regular canons were founded, although with regard to most of them his only involvement was in confirming their rights. But he did play a significant role in introducing regular canons at Saint-Lô, Rouen, in 1140, and at Bourg-Achard in 1143.⁵² He also oversaw the attachment of Notre-Dame d'Eu to the Arrouasians shortly after his election and later the transferral of the house to the Victorines, who had begun their spread into Normandy in 1131 at Sées.⁵³ In a charter

⁵⁰ Marcel Pacaut, *L'Ordre de Cluny 909-1789* (Paris: Fayard, 1986), esp. 116-17, 130-1; Adriaan H. Bredero, 'Pierre le Vénérable: les commencements de son abbatiat à Cluny (1122-32)', in *Cluny et Cîteaux au douzième siècle. L'Histoire d'une controverse monastique*, ed. Adriaan H. Bredero (Amsterdam and Maarssen: Holland University Press, 1985), 80; Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'La geste des origines dans l'historiographie clunisienne des XI^e-XII^e siècles,' *RB* 102 (1992), 134-191.

⁵¹ Waldman, *Hugh 'of Amiens'*, 65.

⁵² Jean Fournée, 'Le Renouveau Canonial en Normandie au XII^e Siècle,' in *Crises et Réformes dans l'Église de la Réforme Grégorienne à la Préréforme*, Actes du 115^e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, Avignon, 1990, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1991), 33-4.

⁵³ Jean Châtillon, 'Arrouaisiens et Victorins en Normandie,' *Cahiers Léopold Delisle* 27 (1978), 84-5; Jacques Paray, 'La collégiale Notre-Dame d'Eu et ses chanoines réguliers des origines au XVIII^e siècle,' *Études Normandes* 42:3 (1993), 38.

recognising this change, he praised the Victorines, telling Abbot Gilduin, 'your life, through the works of present piety, provokes those who are elsewhere and attracts them to that way of life through the odour of sanctity.'⁵⁴

Hugh's tone in the above letter is quite different from his earlier statements to Matthew in the *Dialogues*. Perhaps by that point he had revised his opinions regarding regular canons through personal contact with such orders as the Victorines. Nevertheless, even while a monk, he had no objections to regular canons beyond his criticisms that they were sometimes too free in accepting recruits and that they should not consider themselves as important as monks who were also clerics. He never touched the subject of monasticism again in any of his subsequent works, and thus we cannot tell the extent to which his views changed. But his statements in favour of the diversity of orders imply that he was always open to the thriving coexistence of a variety of ways of life, so long as their members provided examples through their holy lives.

Authorship of the *Reprehensio*

With this background in mind, it may now be easier to determine Hugh's role in the *Reprehensio*. This retort to Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia* survives only in truncated form in a single manuscript now resident at the Bodleian Library.⁵⁵ This manuscript, a compendium of various texts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, belonged to Hugh of Wendover, a brother of the Augustinian house of St. Mary's,

⁵⁴ 'conversatio vestra praesentis per opera pietatis ad recte vivendum provocat absentes, et ad viam vitae per odorem sanctitatis invitat.' Châtillon, 91.

⁵⁵ Bodleian, ms. Ashmole 1285, ff. 198r-238v.

Southwark.⁵⁶ The text itself has no attribution, either internal or external, and the only indication of a title is found in a thirteenth-century index at the front of the book, which calls it '*Reprehensio libelli abbatis Clare Vallis quem ipse edidit generalliter contra monacos.*'⁵⁷ The work is clearly a copy from another manuscript, with a number of *lacunae* and an abrupt mid-sentence ending leaving more than half of Bernard's criticisms still unanswered.⁵⁸ Encompassing over 12,000 words even in its current state, the *Reprehensio* is a substantial work, longer than all of Hugh's save the *Dialogues* and *Contra haereticos*.

The arguments for Hugh's authorship, made first by Wilmart and later seconded by Talbot,⁵⁹ are mostly circumstantial. They do not delve very deeply into the text of the *Reprehensio* itself, let alone the certified works of Hugh, for their answers. For the most part, the evidence only narrows the pool of possible authors, with all the arguments in combination apparently suggesting that no one but Hugh could have written it. They begin with the author's identity as a Cluniac, for he responded very personally to each of Bernard's attacks against Cluny.⁶⁰ Indeed, he referred to 'our order' a couple of times and spoke of Bernard as falling 'into another order'.⁶¹ These instances alone in conjunction

⁵⁶ Ibid., ff. 1v, 166r. Alongside the *Reprehensio* are such works as Boethius' *De Consolatione*, a host of scientific and medical treatises, and Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Speculo Caritatis*; See William Henry Black, *A Descriptive, Analytical and Critical Catalogue of the Manuscripts Bequeathed unto the University of Oxford by Elias Ashmole* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1845), ms. 1285.

⁵⁷ Bodleian, ms. Ashmole 1285, f. 1r.

⁵⁸ See *Reprehensio*, ll. 259, 262, 1340, and accompanying footnotes.

⁵⁹ C.H. Talbot, 'The date and author of the "Riposte",' in *Petrus Venerabilis*, 72-80.

⁶⁰ Wilmart, 'Un riposte de l'ancien monachisme au manifeste de saint Bernard,' RB 46 (1934), 308; Talbot, 74.

⁶¹ *Reprehensio*, 1, l. 36 (Wilmart); 13, ll. 533-4; 'cecidistis...alium ordinem,' Ibid., 25, l. 991.

with his countless references to the Rule of St. Benedict could be taken to be the expressions of any Benedictine referring generally to the monastic *ordo*. But he did speak specifically of the Cluniac usage at one point,⁶² defending their particular use of several articles of clothing.⁶³ He also mentioned Hugh, Maieul, and the other Cluniac fathers whose lives were 'the shining apex of monasticism'.⁶⁴

The argument continues that the author was not only a Cluniac, but an English monk, since he described how he had heard of the text and had long sought a copy, only managing after some time to acquire it with the assistance of a friend.⁶⁵ This implies that he was at some remove from the area of immediate circulation in northern France, a situation that is supported by the current existence of only one copy from an English monastery that had no continental connexions.⁶⁶ In turn, this distance favours a dating of 1127 or 1128, since it is in response to the revised version of Bernard's *Apologia* to William of St-Thierry, written at the end of 1125.⁶⁷ And yet the pool narrows still further. As Wilmart and Talbot assert, the author's familiarity with the habits and circumstances of the Tironensians, Savigniacs, and Cistercians suggests a monk from the continent.⁶⁸

⁶² 'de Cluniacensium usu,' *Ibid.*, 26, l. 1031.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 26, ll. 1031-51.

⁶⁴ 'preclarum monachatus apicem,' *Ibid.*, 29, ll. 1142-44. He agreed with *Apologia*, 9.23, but emphasised that it does not follow that all monks can be expected to be so perfect, ll. 1144-59.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1, ll. 1-4.

⁶⁶ Talbot, 75.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 77-8; Wilmart, 'Un riposte,' 307; St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia ad Guillelmum Abbatem*, in *S. Bernardi Opera. Vol III: Tractatus et Opuscula*, eds. Jean Leclercq and H.M. Rochais (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1963), 80-108; See Bredero, 'Cluny,' 30-35, for arguments on dating the *Apologia*.

⁶⁸ Talbot, 76

He was a good polemicist and familiar with the language of the schools.⁶⁹ Finally, he was a man in authority, probably either a prior or abbot, as witnessed by his investigative visit to the kitchens to discuss matters with the cook of his monastery.⁷⁰ Because of all these indications, both authors conclude that Hugh of Amiens was the only logical candidate.⁷¹

Wilmart's conclusions were questioned by Bouton, who claimed that Hugh was too friendly with Bernard to write such a text.⁷² Talbot's rejoinder was that Bernard's correspondence with Hugh consisted solely of a single letter of congratulations upon becoming archbishop and one request for confirmation of a donation to Savigny. But also, as in the case of Peter the Venerable and Bernard, a lively disagreement need not have hindered later friendship.⁷³ Still, even with this argument dismissed, there are other arguments against an automatic attribution of the work to Hugh. He was not the only prominent Cluniac in England at the time, for also present were the towering figures Henry of Blois, then abbot of Glastonbury, and Henry of Poitou, abbot of Peterborough. Granted, the odds are less likely that either wrote the *Reprehensio* given that we have no evidence that either man wrote anything of a literary nature. Of the two, Henry of Poitou, who served as abbot of Peterborough from 1127-31, appears to have been too restless and intent upon glory and gain to have written such an extensive work.⁷⁴ The same could be

⁶⁹ Ibid.; Wilmart, 'Un riposte,' 307.

⁷⁰ *Reprehensio*, 10, 428-44; Wilmart, 'Un riposte,' 306-7; Talbot, 77.

⁷¹ Wilmart, 'Un riposte,' 306-7; Talbot, 78-80.

⁷² Jean de la Croix Bouton, 'Bernard et l'Ordre de Cluny,' in *Bernard de Clairvaux*, with a preface by Thomas Merton, (Paris: Editions Alsatia, 1953), 200.

⁷³ Talbot, 72-3.

⁷⁴ Cecily Clark, "'This ecclesiastical adventurer': Henry of Saint-Jean d'Angély, *English Historical Review* 84 (1969), 548-60.

said of Henry of Blois, but at this point he was still patiently rising through positions of power, serving first as prior of Montacute before becoming abbot of Glastonbury in 1126.⁷⁵ Only in 1129 did he rise to become bishop of Winchester, and before becoming a far more politically active figure than Hugh would ever be, he just may have found the time and inspiration to defend an order to which he had belonged from his youth. He is not known to have written any works, but even so, the sometimes satirical and irreverent *Reprehensio* could as easily come from his pen as from that of the generally serious and meditative Hugh.⁷⁶

In addition to these two prominent members of the Cluniac family, plenty of other possible authors were scattered throughout England, for some twenty-four Cluniac priories had been founded there by the mid 1120s.⁷⁷ Of the heads of these houses, we know very little beyond names and dates, but the *Reprehensio* could be the legacy of one of these men. Amongst these, the mysterious Ansgar stands out as a possibility. He was certainly distinguished enough to be chosen as prior of Lewes from around 1126 to 1130 and abbot of Reading from 1130 to 1135.⁷⁸ But this hunt for the author is highly speculative, and it proves that lacking definitive evidence, the most that we can state is that there is a possibility that Hugh of Amiens wrote the *Reprehensio*. A few details within the work show that this possibility is rather slim.

⁷⁵ *Heads of Religious Houses*, 51, 119.

⁷⁶ David Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 287-93; Sharpe, 164, lists only a single, almost certainly forged, charter under Henry's name.

⁷⁷ David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1971), 96-103.

⁷⁸ *Heads of Religious Houses*, 63, 119.

One of the most notable features of the work is the author's frequent resort to secular authorities. While often denouncing the use of satire and encouraging tears of sorrow rather than mockery,⁷⁹ he himself resorted far more than St. Bernard did to satirical authors such as Juvenal⁸⁰ and Persius.⁸¹ He also quoted a number of times Cicero,⁸² Horace,⁸³ Statius,⁸⁴ Aesop,⁸⁵ Plautus,⁸⁶ and Terence.⁸⁷ Not once in any of his works or letters did Hugh refer to these or any other secular author. This could partly be explained by genre, for none of the other works are satires and thus such authors would be out of place. Talbot argues that Hugh would have been writing as a young man with less concern for restraint in his style and material,⁸⁸ but Hugh was at least in his thirties and probably around forty years old. He was also in the midst of writing his *Dialogues*, a work full of restraint and introspection.

The *Reprehensio* often resorts to a variety of sacred authors, but here again there are many differences from Hugh. The chief is that while Hugh often used the words of authorities, most often Augustine and Gregory, rarely did he specify them by name. In

⁷⁹ For instance, *Reprehensio* 1, ll. 16-20; 2, ll. 120-30; 20, ll. 785-805 ('cum a veris christianis, maxime autem a monachis, risus omnino fit alienandus'); 28, ll. 1124-37.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 8, ll. 355-6;

⁸¹ Ibid., 8, ll. 356-7; 16, ll. 619-20; 19, ll. 762-6;

⁸² Ibid., 11, ll. 477-8; 21, ll. 834-6.

⁸³ Ibid., 10, ll. 424-5; 19, l. 753; 20, ll. 791-2; 23, ll. 907-8.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 19, ll. 781-3, 787-8.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 20, ll. 789-90.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 27, ll. 1087-9;

⁸⁷ Ibid., 27, ll. 1089-90.

⁸⁸ Talbot, 79-80.

fact only once, when quoting from Jerome in his *Dialogues*, did he refer to an authority by name.⁸⁹ One could argue that the circumstances called for the additional weight that a name would give, but why not then in a work such as *Contra haereticos*, which also depended on the weight of authority? In addition, although the *Reprehensio* never touches deeply upon serious theological issues, it does at a number of points resort to scriptural exegesis to support its points. But here the terminology is quite different from that of Hugh. When speaking of the senses of Scripture, the author refers to two senses, the '*tipicam significationem*', by which he generally means a moral interpretation, and '*historialem*'.⁹⁰ Hugh never used these terms, but instead frequently used '*historia*', '*allegoria*', and '*moralitas*', or '*historia litteralis*,' '*doctrina moralis*', and '*allegoria spiritali*'.⁹¹

When we look more closely at the *Reprehensio*'s treatment of allegorical and moral interpretations, we find that the author generally uses the term '*accipitur*' to describe how a mystical meaning is drawn from the words of Scripture: 'through the dragon the devil is received'.⁹² This term never once appears in Hugh's works. He instead sometimes made a simple statement involving '*dum*' or '*quando*' as in 'for them it becomes morning when they weep that they should have fallen through fault.'⁹³ He also sometimes used '*significare*' when describing such an interpretation, as in 'through the

⁸⁹ Hugh, *Dial.*, V.12, 1207A.

⁹⁰ *Reprehensio*, 6, ll. 296-7, 300.

⁹¹ Hugh, *Dial.*, II.9, 1160C; VII.11, 1243C-44A; *In Hexaameron*, *passim*.

⁹² E.g., 'per draconem diabolus accipitur,' *Reprehensio*, 5, ll. 246-7.

⁹³ 'Eis autem vespera fit dum dolent quod defluerint per culpam.' Hugh, *Dial.*, II.8, 1160B.

firmament we say that divine eloquence is signified.⁹⁴ These are terms that conversely do not turn up in the *Reprehensio*. Yet another area where their style and vocabulary differ is with regard to the language of the schools. Hugh never once used the term 'syllogismus' or 'sillogismus', which makes an appearance in the *Reprehensio*.⁹⁵ Neither did Hugh ever set forth arguments in a numbered series, not even in his *Epistola Gravioni*, arguably the most scholastic of his writings. The *Reprehensio* does just this when explaining why St. Bernard's description of eggs must be categorised as laughable.⁹⁶ Now of course a writer's language can evolve and change over time, but it would be very strange to find such differences in terminology and style not just in relation to all of Hugh's works, but especially to the *Dialogues* which were written at the same time.

One last area in which comparisons can be drawn is in the author's response to charges of abuses within the Cluniac order. He did not satisfy himself with a general argument for moderation and a general defence of the Cluniac ideal resting upon a heavy use of the *Rule* of St. Benedict and the Church Fathers, as did Peter the Venerable in his response to St. Bernard.⁹⁷ He did not care much for theological reflection upon the principles of the monastic life beyond the spiritual symbolism of some of the practicalities of that life. Instead he focused very narrowly and intensely upon Bernard's accusations, picking apart one sentence after another in an extremely thorough fashion. He did not recognise many of the targeted practices as being abuses, resorting instead

⁹⁴ 'per firmamentum significari divinum diximus eloquium.' *Ibid.*, 1160D.

⁹⁵ *Reprehensio*, 19, l. 756.

⁹⁶ 'Et tribus ex causis....primo....secundo....tercio....' *Ibid.*, 10, ll. 415-427.

⁹⁷ Peter the Venerable, *Letters*, I, ep. 28, pp. 52-105.

either to pointing out the utter absurdity of the accusations or to an outright admission with a corresponding explanation of why such a practice was not at all superfluous.

One instance of the author's lack of condemnation of abuse is in his response to Bernard's accusation that after excessive consumption of wine, monks were only fit to retire to bed. The author agreed that this was the case but that it was no cause for condemnation. After all, there is no company of good men which does not also have evil men in their midst. Would it be better for these drunken monks to stay up for Vigils and stammer alongside their sober brothers? Better that they should sleep, for as Solomon says, 'sleep is sweet.'⁹⁸ Another example of such views emerges in his response to Bernard's assertion that monks pretended to be ill so that they could spend time in the infirmary and eat meat.⁹⁹ Rather than condemn such a practice and merely defend the use of meat for those who were truly ill, the author claimed that this situation was not at all a problem, for these monks were ill in spirit. Like Lot's wife, they were looking back and dreaming of meat, and so a wise shepherd would allow its consumption for a time, as if a bandage to cure their sickness and restore their will. Better this, he explained, than to have them sad and murmuring, or perhaps to lose them altogether.¹⁰⁰

Of course, these comments were not so much to defend what these men were doing as they were a plea for moderation and acceptance that the world is a mixture of good and evil that will never be reformed until the Last Judgement. Above all, as he hammered in repeatedly, detraction and incriminations do far more harm than good.¹⁰¹ It

⁹⁸ *Reprehensio*, 17, ll. 695-707; Ecl. 5:11.

⁹⁹ *Apologia*, 9.22, ll. 11-17.

¹⁰⁰ *Reprehensio*, 22, ll. 839-78.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 2, ll. 98ff.; 3, ll. 154ff.; 9, ll. 404ff.

is a monk's duty to weep for himself and others rather than to criticise,¹⁰² and he must learn to tolerate the existence of evil.¹⁰³ Most important of all, discretion must be foremost in his thoughts and actions.¹⁰⁴ The tone is far different from what Hugh says about erring monks in his *Dialogues*. There, while he defends the honour of monasticism against abuses, he implies no leniency towards those guilty of such behaviour:

I myself, when I recommend the order of a monk, do not defend the vice of whoever desires to seem a monk, but neglects to be one. For whomever I see running to and fro like a vagabond, seeking after reward with shame cast aside, embracing honours, scattering falsehood, talkative, and of disgraceful renown, I grieve that he has fallen so much the farther as so much holier the order with which he had been bestowed. We abhor his crimes in such a way as to detract in no way from the monastic order. So let us check the tyrannically cutting sword, that we may not overthrow the royal dignity. So let us punish adultery, so that we may not condemn marriage. So let us take the stain from the eye, so that we might not extinguish the keen sight. So let us pursue the vice of a brother, so that we might by no means unbind charity, because we ought all to be one in Christ.¹⁰⁵

While Hugh too valued discretion, he also thought vices should be corrected, certainly in a charitable manner, but even to the extent of removing 'the stain from the eye.'

For all these reasons, from the style and vocabulary to the views regarding abuses within the order, Hugh most likely was not the author of the *Reprehensio*. The differences between the *Reprehensio* and his known works, though not absolutely irreconcilable, are

¹⁰² Ibid., 2, ll. 110ff.; 28, *passim*.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 13, ll. 537ff.; 34, ll. 1322ff.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 1, ll. 35ff; 3, ll. 154ff; 26, ll. 1047ff.

¹⁰⁵ 'Ipse ego dum monachi ordinem praedico, ejus tamen vitia non defendo qui videri monachus appetit, sed esse negligit. Quem enim video vagabundum discurrere, abjecto pudore munuscula quaerere, honores ambire, mendacia spargere, garrulum, turpis famae, hunc tanto altius doleo cecidisse quanto sanctiori praeditus fuerat ordine. Ejus quippe crimina sic abhorremus, ut tamen monastico ordini minime derogemus. Sic gladium tyrannice secantem reprimamus, ut regiam dignitatem non evertamus. Sic adulteria puniamus, ut conjugia non damnemus. Sic ab oculo maculam tollamus, ut visus aciem non exstinguamus. Sic itaque fratrum vitia prosequamur, ut charitatem minime solvamus, quia omnes unum in Christo esse debemus.' Hugh, *Dial.*, VI.4, 1220B-C.

significant enough to make his authorship highly doubtful. We will thus have to remain in the dark regarding Hugh's views on the controversy with the Cistercians apart from his brief statement quoted above regarding the dignity of monasticism despite justly condemned abuses. Apart from the context of Hugh and his works, the *Reprehensio* deserves a closer look and more attention than it has been given in the past, for it is a source rich in delightful narrative descriptions and detailed explanations of some of the everyday aspects of Cluniac life, from feasting and drinking, to the infirmary, to the garments of the monks. Beyond this, it is an unusually strong plea for moderation and charity in an era obsessed with reform. Hugh, while not amongst the ranks of the reformers, and a staunch supporter of some rather divisive views on the role of monks, as archbishop opposed the independent strivings of monasteries for what he saw as the good of his diocese. He was open to reformers, especially those leading holy lives, not only taking an active role in settling Normandy with regular canons, but in his first years as archbishop supporting the activities of the Tironensian hermit, Adjutor. This was a different view of moderation from that of the *Reprehensio*, a moderation between the contemplative and active, the new and old, and one of strict charity rather than resigned tolerance.

Chapter VI

A Saintly Crusader and Hermit: Hugh of Amiens' *Vita Sancti Adjutoris*

Amidst all the confusion of beginning his new vocation as archbishop of Rouen, those events surrounding the saintly hermit Adjutor stood out enough for Hugh of Amiens to write his only hagiographical work, a short treatise which exhibited surprising personal warmth and devotion of a sort not found in his other writings. He must have met Adjutor very shortly after his consecration as archbishop on 14 September 1130.¹ Unless the charter mentioned by Jean Théroutte and dated 12 April 1132, recording the recovery by Matthew of Vernon of a quarter of the woods given to Tiron by his brother Adjutor, is spurious, Adjutor most likely died on 30 April 1131.² There is no trace of it in the modern printed cartulary of Tiron, although there are several charters recording gifts to Tiron by Matthew, his sister Eugenia, and a host of other nobles, dating from between 1133 and 1145.³ Thus sometime in late 1131 or the years immediately following, Hugh composed the *Vita Adjutoris*.

The sources for Adjutor's life are scarce. Hugh's short *Vita* is the only contemporary source that exists, and this thanks to the transcription made from a

¹ Torigny, 117.

² *De Sancto Adjutore Monacho Tironensi Ordinis S. Benedicti Prope Vernonium in Normannia*, AAAS, Apr. III, 30 Apr., 823A-B.

³ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Saint-Trinité de Tiron*, ed. Luc Merlet, 2 vols. (Chartres: Garnier, 1883), charters 187, 188, 214.

Tironensian manuscript in the early eighteenth century in Martène's *Anecdotorum*, for no extant manuscripts now survive.⁴ Subsequent oral and written testimony was summarised by Jean Théroude, a seventeenth-century canon of the collegiate church of Vernon, in his *La Vie de S. Adjuteur*,⁵ from which the Bollandists later excerpted.⁶ This amalgam of information casts little additional light on the life of the man, though it gives ample information about the spread of the cult, including lists of miracles gathered through inquests by archbishops Walter of Coutances (1184-1207), and Eudes II Rigaud (1247-74).⁷ They attest to the popularity of the saint throughout the dioceses of Rouen, Evreux, and Chartres, as do the office and mass Théroude recorded in Adjutor's honour. The many churches, schools, and roads named after him witness his continued importance in the region today, and he has remained venerated as a patron of sailors, most remarkably from 1968 to 1986 in the role of the patron of the chapel at the Royal Navy's anti-submarine warfare institute, H.M.S. Vernon.⁸

Hugh's account begins with his greeting to the brothers of Tiron and a recollection of their request that he

commit to perpetual memorial the birth and origin of your place of the blessed Mary Magdalene upon the Seine, which shines with great prodigies, together with those miracles in the praise of the Church and verification of the Catholic faith.⁹

⁴ *Anecdotorum*, Vol. V, 1012.

⁵ Jean Théroude, *La Vie de S. Adjuteur* (Paris: 1638).

⁶ *De Sancto Adiutore*, 823-27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 823B, 824E-F, 825D-E, 826A-B.

⁸ Claire Biquard, 'Saint Adjutor. Sa vie et son culte (XII^e-XX^e siècle),' *Cahiers Léopold Delisle* 45:3-4 (1996), 22-6.

⁹ 'ut nascentiam et originem loci vestri beatae Mariae Magdalenes super Secanam magnis prodigiis et quamplurimis admirandis fulgentis miraculis, simulque miracula ipsa in laudem Ecclesiae certificationemque fidei Catholicae monimentis perpetuis traderemus.' Hugh, *Vita Adjutoris*, 1345B.

Adjutor, Hugh explained, was the son of John, seigneur of Vernon, and Rosamunde de Blaru, whom Hugh had known when in minor orders and for whom he vouched.¹⁰ John had become seigneur in 1066, when his father, Richard, accompanied William the Conqueror to England. With Rosamunde he had two sons, Matthew, lord of Vernon from 1094 to around 1150, and Adjutor, as well as at least one daughter, Eustachia.¹¹ The fact that Hugh claimed to know John and Rosamunde further strengthens arguments for his connexion to the nobility of Amiens and to the town of Ribemont-sur-Ancre rather than Ribemont (Aisne).¹²

Adjutor follows the topoi of a saint destined to be so from his youth, who thus in assiduous vigils, fasts, and prayers, at that time in which the generation of this world was accustomed to run riot, was tormenting his body, so that with his flesh consumed, it barely seemed to adhere with skin to his bones.¹³

And yet he grew, like many a saint, to be 'handsome in form, chaste in body, devout in mind, affable in eloquence, and amiable in countenance,'¹⁴ fully showing himself to be a noble man. Following the call of the First Crusade in 1095, like 'nearly all Christians,'¹⁵ Adjutor took the cross along with a company of nearly two-hundred men. At some point,

¹⁰ Hugh, *VitaAdjutoris*, 1346B.

¹¹ Théodore Michel, *Vernon et ses environs*, Monographies des villes et villages de France, gen. ed. M.-G. Micberth (Vernon: 1851, reprint, Paris: Res Universis, 1990), 23-4, 26, 45; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Saint-Trinité de Tiron*, charter 187.

¹² See *supra*, chapter 2.

¹³ 'Ita enim vigiliis, jejuniis et orationibus assiduis eo tempore, quo assolet hujus saeculi aetas lascivire, corpus suum macerabat, ut jam carnibus consumptis, peliis ossibus pene adhaerere videretur.' *VitaAdjutoris*, 1346C.

¹⁴ 'Erat enim forma speciosus, corpore castus, mente devotus, affabilis eloquio, amabilis aspectu.' *Ibid.*

¹⁵ 'Ea tempestate passagio terrae sanctae pene omnes christicolae vacabant.' *Ibid.*

he and his company were ambushed by over 1,500 Saracens at a place called 'Jambuit' near Antioch.¹⁶ His companions sought flight, but Adjutor threw himself prostrate on the ground and prayed to Mary Magdalene for victory, in exchange for which help he vowed to give his house at Pressagny with all its appurtenances to the monastery of Tiron and build a chapel for the monks thereupon. At once he was granted the courage to break in upon the ranks of his enemies and the newly encouraged company scattered their foes and killed one thousand.¹⁷ Adjutor thus thanked the monks of Tiron, Mary Magdalene and God for his deliverance, belting forth a few lines from the song of the Israelites after crossing the Red Sea.¹⁸ A number of knights who were present later attested to this victory, including Heliodore of Blaru, Odo of Port-Mort, Jean of Bréval, Anselm of Chantemesle, Guy of Chaumont-en-Vexin, Pierre of Cortigny, Richard of Haricourt, and Henry of Préaux.¹⁹

But Adjutor neglected his promise, and as the account tells us, he spent seventeen long years in the Holy Land. At this point, God decided to prod him. The crusader fell into the hands of the Saracens and was enchained and tormented by them so that he would deny his faith. He persevered, however, and prayed to Christ, the Blessed Virgin, Mary Magdalene, and now Bernard of Tiron (1046-1116). One night while asleep he saw Mary Magdalene standing on his right and Bernard on his left raising him up and leading him on a hasty march. When he woke the following morning, he found himself back on

¹⁶ Jean Théroüde named the place as 'Tambire', *De Sancto Adjutore*, 825A.

¹⁷ Théroüde recorded the dramatic addition of a great tempest full of thunder which scattered the enemy and left them vulnerable. *De Sancto Adjutore*, 824A; Jean Théroüde, *La Vie de S. Adjuteur*, 12-13.

¹⁸ Ex. 15:6-7.

¹⁹ Hugh, *Vita Adjutoris*, 1346C-47D.

his mount near Vernon, the broken chains at his side. At this point, he sent for William of Potiers (abbot of Tiron, 1119-50) and took up the habit, giving all his lands and goods to the abbey. Once again, there were witnesses willing to verify the preceding miracle, here the men who had eaten and spoken with him in captivity the very day before he was whisked away: Peter of Cortigny, Henry of Préaux, Andrew of La-Ferté, Rofred of Puiset, and Odo of Port-Mort.²⁰

These two events are difficult to date, especially with Hugh's insistence on the rather precise interval of seventeen years. The text can be taken to imply that the battle took place soon after Adjutor's arrival in the Holy Land, perhaps around the time of the siege of Antioch in 1098. But this would place Adjutor's capture in 1115, a year before Bernard's death in 1116,²¹ the news of which would probably not have reached Adjutor until late that year or the next, and likely not at all in captivity. Thus with Adjutor's return around 1117 at the earliest, the battle must have taken place no earlier than 1100. The Bollandists, accepting such an early dating and having access only to Théroutde's accounts, assumed that he must have been mistaken about Hugh's role in consecrating the chapel upon Adjutor's return. They thus advanced the possibility that returning around 1118, Adjutor enrolled himself in Tiron for a while before retiring to build his chapel, which would have been consecrated by Hugh's predecessor, Geoffrey Brito (1111-28).²²

²⁰ Ibid., 1347D-1348D. The miracle here resembles both the miraculous delivery of Peter (Acts. 12:4-11) and the transportation of the prophet Habakkuk by an angel from Judea to Babylon to minister to Daniel in the lions' den (Dan. 14:33-39).

²¹ Bernard Beck, *Saint-Bernard de Tiron, l'ermite, le moine et le monde*, with a preface by Lucien Musset (Cormelles-le-Royal: Éditions La Mandragore, 1998), 32.

²² *De Sancto Adiutore*, n. 825C.

Subsequent accounts have tended to follow their dating.²³ The consecration at least must have taken place later, for Hugh clearly stated that he himself consecrated the altars of the chapel when it was built,²⁴ but this does not preclude an initial stay at Tiron or some time spent as a hermit in the chapel before its consecration.

Another argument against such an early date is that Tiron itself was not founded until 1109,²⁵ and therefore Adjutor could not have promised to donate his lands to the abbey before 1110. However, this promise could have been a later invention without any deliberate falsehood on the part of either Hugh or Adjutor. Adjutor may have made only a vague vow during the battle and filled in the details later with his newly-found fervour for the Tironensians. Hugh would have had no reason to doubt Adjutor on this minor point, nor would he necessarily have even known the exact dates of Tiron's foundation. And if the monks of Tiron had noticed this discrepancy, they would certainly not have protested the authenticity of prophetic insight on the part of Adjutor.

Nevertheless, a case can be made for a date of 1110-13 for the battle at Jambuit and 1127-30 for Adjutor's return. Nowhere did Hugh specify the time of Adjutor's departure for the Holy Land nor how long he had been there before the battle took place. All Hugh stated was 'whence it happened on a certain day....'²⁶ Furthermore, he specified the location of Jambuit only as 'a certain small town in the territory of Antioch'.²⁷ If by this he meant the entire principality of Antioch and not just the

²³ Biquard, 5.

²⁴ Hugh, *VitaAdjutoris*, 1138D

²⁵ Beck, 31.

²⁶ 'unde contigit ut quadam quadam die,' Hugh, *VitaAdjutoris*, 1346D.

²⁷ 'parvulo loco quodam in territorio Antiocheno, qui *Jambuit* dicitur,' Ibid.

neighbourhood of the city, it need not have occurred during the initial conquest. There would have been plenty of opportunities for battle around the borderlands of a country perpetually at war with its hostile neighbours, especially after the dramatic loss of territory after the battle of Harran in 1104 and Tancred's continuing attempts to enlarge his borders.²⁸ While Adjutor may indeed have stayed at Tiron for a time before retiring to the Mount, it would be strange for him to have done so for more than ten years without any mention in Hugh's account and others. So too would it have been odd for such a delay to have occurred in the building and consecration of a small chapel, especially one which he had seemed so eager to construct.

Of the dates of the remaining events, we are much more certain, as they all took place in the consecrated chapel, either in 1130 or 1131. Hugh described in some detail the ascetic conditions of the hermit's life therein. He lived remote from others and beheld angelic visitors. He had no bed, but lay on the hard ground behind the high altar, with a little mound of dirt that served as a pillow. His clothing was wretched, and he wore a hair shirt which deprived him of sleep at night. And he spent each day in prayer and fasting, broken only for solemnities or hospitality.²⁹ When Hugh himself asked Adjutor why he did not favour his health and find some other place to rest, Adjutor responded: 'Once my body was refreshed according to the state of the world; now it devotes itself to giving back what it took excessively.'³⁰ Especially touching is Hugh's own personal devotion to the chapel, for receiving no response to his concerns about the place, Hugh held hope that

²⁸ Thomas S. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2000), 55-7.

²⁹ Hugh, *Vita Adjutoris*, 1348D-49C.

³⁰ 'Nimis olim fuit recreatum corpus meum ad saeculi statum, nunc instat ut reddat quae sumpsit nimis.' *Ibid.*, 1349B.

there was something of a divine nature about it. 'As long as we live in this fragile life,' he said:

we will supremely venerate that little place, and as often as we come near to it, and pour forth both prayers and entreaties in it, we perceive that some divine inspiration comes more often and much devotion towards God increases in us.³¹

Of the two miracles Hugh detailed, the first involved a demoniac named Hilgod Rufus, who had wandered about wielding a sword and wounding both men and women. One day when Adjutor's mother Rosamunde and many others were present in the chapel, Hilgod came upon it and entered, and the men seeing him tried to flee behind the altar. Adjutor rushed to meet him, proclaiming to Mary Magdalene that even this man, although possessed, surely must know of her benefits.³² At once the demon departed and Hilgod gave thanks. And Hugh confirmed this not only through the witness of those present, but also from Hilgod himself, 'through due authentication.'³³

The second miracle is all the more intriguing due to Hugh's own participation in its accomplishment. There was a whirlpool in the Seine near Pressagny which had endangered both men and goods, swallowing entire ships that passed by. After settling in his chapel, Adjutor decided it was time to deal with the trouble, and he summoned Hugh, so that they might deliberate over what they should do. Hugh celebrated a mass in honour of the Holy Spirit, and then the two embarked in a small boat, heading directly for the whirlpool. Hugh confessed that he himself had been terrified and had suggested to

³¹ 'Et hac de re quandiu in hac fragili vita degemus, locellum ipsum summe veneramus, et quoties ad ipsum accedimus, et orationes ac preces in eo fundimus, aliquid divinae inspirationis, et multum devotionis erga Deum nobis plus evenisse seu accrevisse perspicimus.' *Ibid.*, 1349B-C.

³² *Ibid.*, 1349D-50A.

³³ 'per debitam informationem certissima novimus.' *Ibid.*, 1350A.

Adjutor that they turn back. Adjutor calmly responded: 'The Lord is able, by the merits of blessed Mary Magdalene, both to free us in the present on behalf of those to come and to exercise his powers on this day in the presence of all.'³⁴ As the force of the whirlpool drew them in, Adjutor asked Hugh to give a blessing, make the sign of the cross, and asperge the whirlpool with holy water, which he promptly did. Then Adjutor cast the chains from which he had been freed into the whirlpool, proclaiming: 'The Lord is able, by the merits of blessed Mary Magdalene and the most blessed Bernard, to free his people, just as he freed me by their prayers.'³⁵ At once the whirlpool subsided and they sailed back and forth over the placid water where it had been, rejoicing along with other sailors who had been watching at a distance. And thereafter, as Hugh declared, no one saw the whirlpool again.

At length, recording the saint's death, Hugh described how he and abbot William were summoned to his deathbed, on the ground behind the altar, where they heard his desire to be buried in the chapel in which he had lived. Then, fortified by the Eucharist, clothed as always in his rags, he died on 30 April.³⁶ And as Hugh recalled, 'although we were saddened by natural grief, nevertheless we rejoiced, because we sent forth such a great patron and helper with God on our behalf.'³⁷

³⁴ 'Potens est Dominus meritis beatae Mariae Magdalene liberare nos in praesenti et pro in futurum populum, et hac die coram omnibus exercere virtutes.' Ibid., 1350C.

³⁵ 'Potest Dominus meritis beatae Mariae Magdalenes et beatissimi Bernardi liberare populum suum, sicut me eorum precibus liberavit.' Ibid., 1350D.

³⁶ Ibid., 1352A.

³⁷ 'Et licet naturali dolore contristati sumus, gaudebamus tamen, quia tantum ac talem apud Deum pro nobis praemiserimus patronum et adiutorem.' Ibid., 1352A-B.

Both the personal nature of many of the recollections, and Hugh's painstaking attempts to authenticate the few miracles he described, set this *vita* apart from many others of its day. He did not merely write as an impartial outsider at the behest of Abbot William: he was a chief promoter of the cult of Saint Adjutor, with his own devotion to the chapel and memories of the saint. Of course, as the archbishop, Hugh was also charged with the responsibility of overseeing the observance of the cult of saints in his diocese. Although the papacy had been gradually involving itself more intimately in the canonization process since at least 993, when John XV officially recognised St. Ulrich, only with Alexander III did a formal process of canonisation begin, and it would not be until the pontificate of Innocent III that canonization procedures would be reserved to the pope.³⁸ Hugh may indeed have brought the matter before the pope at one of the many synods he attended, but at the very least he was responsible for recognition on a local level. And he was fastidious in this role, revealing glimpses of the growing juridical spirit that would soon transform the process of canonization. Hugh collected a number of witnesses for both of the miracles in the Holy Land, possibly to counterbalance their fantastic nature. These were not just any witnesses but 'illustrious knights',³⁹ and Hugh was most certain of their veracity 'with the most diligent confirmations made by us.'⁴⁰ Similarly, of the other two miracles he included, the first involved a number of witnesses including Adjutor's mother Rosamunde and the demoniac Hilgod himself, again through

³⁸ André Vauchez, 'Les origines et le développement du procès de canonisation (XII^e-XIII^e siècles),' in *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berliner historische Studien, Bd. 31, Ordensstudien 13, eds. Franz J. Felten, Nicolas Jaspert, and Stephanie Haarländer (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1999), 845-50; Idem, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, translated by Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 22-29.

³⁹ 'inclytos milites,' Hugh, *VitaAdjutoris*, 1347C.

⁴⁰ 'ut diligentissimis per nos factis informationibus...reperimus certissimum!' Ibid., 1348B.

'due confirmation.'⁴¹ The second, of course, Hugh himself was present at, but even here he did not neglect to mention that many other sailors were also witnesses, though he gave no names.

Hugh mentioned how many penitents had been healed of deafness and other ailments by lying on Adjutor's bed, but as he counselled:

Not fully informed about them, let us remain silent. Rather, we will relate what was done under the patronage of blessed Mary Magdalene in that same chapel, and what we know to be most certain by the testimony of many men worthy of faith.⁴²

Further on he added:

We would be able, if we so desired, to tell of many other miracles performed in that place, as we heard from so many deserving of faith, by the merits and prayers of blessed Mary Magdalene, by the venerable Adjutor, both while living and after his death. But these only do we insert, which either we ourselves saw, or we know to be most certain by the attestation of many men worthy of faith.⁴³

Hugh did not want the reader to leave taking with him only the impression of Saint Adjutor as a wonder-worker. Instead he preferred to extol the exemplary nature of Adjutor's life:

Let others extol an expeller of demons, healer of corpses, rich in other miracles. We will praise the reward of the patience of our Adjutor, the power of God, the contempt of things, and after this, the gain of souls, the rebuilding of monasteries, the clothing and food of monks, the peace of the churches, the concord of kings and princes, the guarding of ways, an instance of all the commandments, perseverance in vigils and prayers, regard for the poor, reproof of the young, honour for the old, correction of

⁴¹ 'per debitam informationem,' Ibid., 1350A.

⁴² 'Ad plenum de eis non certiorati taceamus: imo quod sub obtentu beatae Mariae Magdalenes in ipsa capella actum est, quodque plurium fide dignorum testimonio novimus referemus.' Ibid., 1349D.

⁴³ 'Possemus si veilemus alia multimoda in ipso loco, ut a quamplurimis fide dignis audivimus, meritis et precibus beatae Mariae Magdalenes tam vivente ipso venerabili Adjutore, quam post ejus decessum patrata miracula narrare; sed ea tantum inserimus, quae vel nos ipsi vidimus, vel plurimorum fide dignorum attestazione certissima novimus.' Ibid., 1351A-B.

behaviour, love of virgins, consolation of the chaste, mercy for the wretched, perfect observance of rules and commands, and at last, a specimen of every virtue.⁴⁴

Hugh by no means denied that miracles had taken place, but he did not think that they provided the most useful message to the reader. In this opinion, he took part in a more general trend of transposing notions of sanctity from the realm of miracle working to that of an ascetic way of life and virtuous deeds, such as could likewise be found in other lives of hermits written around the same time.⁴⁵ Surely for a bishop such as Hugh, responsible for the mores of his spiritual flock, Adjutor's way of life would have been deemed a more fruitful lesson for the laity than merely a compilation of miraculous events.

Many lives of hermits were being written at this time, a number of them by bishops. One of these was Baudri, archbishop of Dol, who wrote the *vita* of Robert of Arbrissel at the urging of Petronilla, abbess of Fontevault.⁴⁶ Like Hugh, he wrote partially from personal recollection, for he had been abbot of Bourgueil at the same time that Robert was at Fontevault, not far away.⁴⁷ As with many such lives, it was an attempt to reconcile the conflicting natures of eremitic and communal life, and he ignored some

⁴⁴ 'Laudent alii expulsorem daemonum, curatorem cadaverum, caeterisque miraculis pollentem: nos Adjutoris nostri praemia patientiae laudabimus, virtutem Dei, contemptum rerum, post haec animarum lucrum, restaurationem coenobiorum; vestitum cibumque monachorum, pacem Ecclesiarum, concordiam regum et principum, custodiam viarum, omnium instantiam mandatorum, perseverantiam vigiliarum et orationum, respectus pauperum, correptionem juvenum, honorem senum, emendationem morum, amorem virginum, consolationem continentium, misericordiam miserorum, intemeratam observantiam regularum et mandatorum, ac postremum specimen omnium virtutum.' *Ibid.*, 1351A-B.

⁴⁵ Beck, 166-7; Jean-Hervé Foulon, 'Les Ermites dans l'Ouest de la France. Les Sources, Bilans et Perspectives,' in *Ermites*, 88.

⁴⁶ Baudri of Dol, *Vita Roberti de Arbrissello*, PL 162, 1043A-44B.

⁴⁷ Hervé Oudart, 'Robert d'Arbrissel *Magister* dans le Récit de Baudri de Dol. Spiritualité et Condition Juridique des Frères aux Débuts de l'Abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Roë,' in *Ermites*, 137-8.

of the more questionable aspects of Robert's life detailed in the letter of Marbod of Rennes.⁴⁸ Similarly, Étienne de Fougères, bishop of Rennes, wrote the *vita* of Vital of Savigny, and possibly that of William Firmat, sometime before 1178.⁴⁹ These works appeared long after the deaths of their subjects, and he made no mention of writing at the behest of anyone, but conceivably that of Vital was requested by the Cistercians, with whom Savigny would have then been affiliated. And around the time Hugh wrote the life of Adjutor for the Tironensians, they composed their own life for their patron. Between 1136 and 1143,⁵⁰ the monk Geoffrey le Gros addressed the life of Bernard to Geoffrey de Leves, bishop of Chartres, in the hope of his support as papal legate.⁵¹

The works are all similar in their emphasis on the asceticism of their hermits. Robert of Arbrissel's practices in particular bear a striking resemblance to those of Adjutor. During his time in the forest of Craon, he lived as a comrade of beasts, wearing a shirt of pigs' hair and sporting a beard, with only the bare ground as a bed, no wine or rich food to eat, and little sleep.⁵² These were the ideals of the eremitic life, and the descriptions and variations can be multiplied many times over in the hagiographies of the day. This was a life which Adjutor sought to follow and Hugh strove to record.

Terrible imprisonments arise frequently in these works. William Firmat, a canon at Tours and then a hermit, travelled to the Holy Land, albeit not on Crusade but pilgrimage, sometime between 1050 and 1080. Returning to France, he lived at several

⁴⁸ Marbod of Rennes, *Epistolae*, PL 171, ep. VI, 1480-86.

⁴⁹ Foulon, 85.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁵¹ Geoffrey le Gros, *Vita Beati Bernardi*, PL 172, preface, 1367A-72A; Beck, 165.

⁵² Baudri of Dol, 1049C-50A.

more hermitages, the last of them at Mortain, where he died around 1095, and where Hugh himself oversaw his translation in 1156.⁵³ Like Adjutor, he too was imprisoned and bound in chains by the Saracens,⁵⁴ although we are not told how he was freed, only that it was done by the 'benevolent disposition of God, when and as he willed.'⁵⁵ He in turn helped free many after his death, including Count Baldwin of Boulogne (d. 1118) when he was imprisoned by Robert of Mortain (d. 1100).⁵⁶ Another similar tale was that of Odo Arpin, the vicomte of Bourges who sold his office to Philip I (1052-1108) to go on crusade in 1100. He was captured in the battle of Ramla, at which Stephen of Blois (1045-1102) met his untimely end, and carried off to Cairo. There he suffered many torments but was finally released by enlisting the aid of Emperor Alexius Comnenus (1048-1118). On his way home, he met with Pope Paschal II, who encouraged him to renounce his former life, which he did, becoming a monk at Cluny.⁵⁷ Even Adjutor's patron Bernard, though not himself imprisoned, helped free Rotrou du Perche (d. 1144) from the clutches of Robert of Bellême (c. 1052- c. 1130) through his prayers, and it may be that word of this very occurrence led Adjutor to seek his aid during his own incarceration.⁵⁸

Adjutor's devotion to Mary Magdalene deserves a few remarks. Her cult had become widely popular throughout France, especially thanks to a renewal of devotion in

⁵³ D.G. Morin, 'Un Traité inédit de S. Guillaume Firmat sur l'Amour du Cloître et les saintes Lectures,' RB 31 (1914), 244-6; Torigny, 188.

⁵⁴ Stephen of Reims, *De Sancto Guillelmo Firmato*, AASS, Apr. III, s. 11 (336C-D).

⁵⁵ 'Dei benigna dispositio, quando et quomodo voluit.' Ibid., 336D.

⁵⁶ Stephen of Reims, s. 28-9 (340F-41A).

⁵⁷ Orderic Vitalis, V, 20, 22-23.

⁵⁸ Geoffrey le Gros, 79-81, 1414A-16A.

the mid-eleventh century at Vézelay under abbot Geoffrey (1037-52) that resulted in both a *vita apostolica* detailing her legendary journey to Marseilles, and an account of her translation.⁵⁹ A *vita eremitica*, which may have arisen from the same milieu but which first appears in a twelfth-century Victorine manuscript, tells how the Magdalene became a hermit, eating no bread and drinking no liquid, but living solely on the nourishment that angels gave her.⁶⁰ She thus became a patron of hermits: one of the houses at Fontevrault was named in her honour,⁶¹ as were nine Tironensian priories, including that at Pressagny which survived Adjutor's death.⁶² Geoffrey, abbot of Vendôme from 1093 to 1132, wrote a popular sermon for her feast day in which he described her leading a life of fasts and vigils.⁶³ St. Godric of Finchale (d. 1070), a hermit who had made two pilgrimages in person and one in spirit to the Holy Land, was visited by Mary Magdalene and the Blessed Virgin appearing 'as if two virgins', wishing to teach him about the Song of Songs.⁶⁴ It could be that Adjutor had been inspired by his presence in the Holy Land to pray to an apostolic saint, and who was more apt than the apostle to the apostles? Who was, Hugh asked, 'as prompt and as ready to be heard in obtaining prayers as she? Who

⁵⁹ Guy Lobrichon, 'Le Dossier Magdalénien aux XI^e-XII^e siècles. Édition de Trois Pièces Majeures,' *MEFRMA* 104:1 (1992), 163-7.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 177-8.

⁶¹ Jacques Dalarun, 'La Madeleine dans l'Ouest de la France au tournant des XI^e-XII^e siècles,' *MEFRMA* 104:1 (1992), 71-2.

⁶² Beck, 154.

⁶³ Dalarun, 80-2, 107-9. Geoffrey of Vendôme, *Sermones*, PL 156, 273D (*Sermo IX*).

⁶⁴ 'quasi duas virgines,' Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitaie de Finchale*, Publications of the Surtees Society 20 (London: J.B.Nichols and Son, 1847), 50.109-112; See 6.19, 14.39-15.43, 56.123 for his visits to Jerusalem.

was as near to the Lord as she?'⁶⁵ Adjutor may have encountered devotion to her amongst the many hermits who were then flooding the Holy Land, but he would have just as easily done so in France before his journey. In any case, his special devotion to the Magdalene fits firmly within larger trends of eremitic life and popular devotion.

In Hugh's works we find much about monks and clerics, but little about hermits. This lack makes the *Vita Adjutoris* valuable in discerning his thoughts about the value of the life of a solitary. His short assessment in the *Dialogues* was hardly praiseworthy, although it did acknowledge Scriptural precedent for hermits:

One thing indeed is the law of monastics, another is that of hermits. The former obey their fathers; they do not wish for personal property. The latter live by their own will; they gather together possessions, wherefore they bear tithes and offerings to the altar. Scripture commends both, and to both it assigns laws for living.⁶⁶

It may be that Hugh had never truly considered the positive value of the eremitic life until he actually met Adjutor. Although he would have had opportunities to meet hermits during the decades before becoming archbishop,⁶⁷ it may be that it took the special friendship he developed with Adjutor, as well as his new responsibility as shepherd of this holy man and many others like him, to illustrate the value of this calling. In only one other instance, much later in his life, do we have a record of Hugh's dealings with a hermit. In 1160 he wrote a letter relating the discovery of the relics of St. Nicasius thanks

⁶⁵ 'Quis putet aliquem in impetrandis precibus tam promptum tamque audiendum esse, quam eum qui Domino tam proximus, ut actum est, fuerit?' Hugh, *Vita Adjutoris*, 1345C.

⁶⁶ 'Alia quidem est lex coenobitarum, alia anachoretarum. His patribus obediunt, propria nolunt; illi suo arbitrio vivunt, propria colligunt, unde et decimas et oblationes altario deferunt. Utrosque Scriptura commendat, utrisque vivendi leges assignat.' Hugh, *Dial.*, 1219D-20A.

⁶⁷ There were many hermits associated with Cluny, including those who traveled to the abbey to participate in communal worship on Sundays and feast days. See Jean Leclercq, 'Pierre le Vénérable et l'éremitisme Clunisien,' in *Petrus Venerabilis 1156-1956. Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Century of his Death*, eds. Giles Constable and James Kritzeck, *Studia Anselmiana* 40 (Rome: Herder, 1956), 99-120.

to the help of a hermit named Geoffrey. Hugh described Geoffrey in terms reminiscent of those he used for Adjutor. He was a man of 'venerable life', who was granted visions, and with whom angels spoke concerning the location of the saint's remains.⁶⁸ As in the *Vita Adjutoris*, Hugh acknowledged not only the holiness of a hermit's life, but the unique blessing he had of being able to commune with God and the angels through his solitude.

The *Vita Adjutoris* grants a unique glimpse into Hugh's character found in no other work of his. It is in these pages that we come closest to the man in action. His words take us beyond his writing desk and his contemplations, away for a moment from the realms of theological disputations, both heady and tortuous in their own way. Here we have a glimpse of the Hugh who braved the whirlpool of the Seine, trembling yet trusting. Here we have the Hugh who wept at his friend's death. Here we have the Hugh who held a personal devotion to a little chapel upon a hill, wherein he would pour out his heart in prayer whenever he could. The *Vita* fleshes out his portrait as much as it does that of Adjutor, and it provides a welcome companion to the rest of his works.

⁶⁸ Waldman, *Hugh 'of Amiens', Acta* 48.

Chapter VII

'*In Principio Deus Creavit*': *In Hexaemeron* and the Tradition of Hexaemeral Commentary

Around 1142, Hugh of Amiens published *In Hexaemeron*, a literal interpretation of the Creation account in Genesis.¹ He had already broached the topic in his earlier works, giving an allegorical reading in Book II of the *Dialogues*, and wished at this point to examine the historical sense.² The Genesis account was a foundational text for his thought, as was St. Augustine's exegesis in *De Genesi ad litteram*. As the source for doctrines on Creation, the Fall, the origin of the soul, and original sin, the Hexaemeral account allowed him to combine traditional exegesis with investigation of the many issues which had interested him from his early days, alongside some new problems which did not find their way into the systematic structure of his *Dialogues*.

The Work

Hugh dedicated *In Hexaemeron* to Arnulf of Lisieux, who served as bishop of Lisieux from 1141 to 1181, at which point he retired to the Abbey of Saint-Victor. Hugh

¹ Only two manuscripts survive to this day, and both of them originate from Clairvaux. These are:
1) Paris, BN lat. 13426, ff. 58r-87v (twelfth century, *ex* Clairvaux). This slightly fragmented version was joined by the Maurists to another twelfth-century manuscript from Saint-Martin-des-Champs containing the full second edition of Hugh's *Dialogues*.

2) Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale. 423, ff. 91r-126r (twelfth-century, *ex* Clairvaux).

There is also a theoretical lost manuscript descended from Paris, BN lat. 13426 which was probably the source for the Martène edition used in the *Patrologia*. See Berndt, 353-67.

² For Hugh's allegorical treatment of the Creation account, see Hugh, *Dial.*, II.7-14, 1159D-63B; *supra*, chapter 4, pp. 86-8.

referred to him as 'eruditus', and this may be because Arnulf's defence of Pope Innocent II, the *Tractatus de schismate* written between 1131 and 1138, was still fresh in his mind.³ Nevertheless, although Arnulf did not publish any additional work until after Hugh's death, this did not preclude Hugh from holding him in esteem through personal contact or knowledge of his legal learning.⁴ A closer dating results from two other clues within the work, the first being the number of septenaries, which continued to grow throughout his writings from only two in the allegorical account of Creation in the *Dialogues*⁵ to seven in *De memoria*.⁶ The lack of a given septenary does not necessarily prove the date of the work, for although Hugh introduced the seven clerical orders in *Contra haereticos*,⁷ he neglected them in *De fide*⁸ and reintroduced them in *De memoria*. Furthermore, only in his *Hexaemeron* are the seven seals of the Apocalypse included as a linked septenary.⁹ Nevertheless, beginning with *Contra haereticos*, the seven dominical prayers hold an important place in Hugh's works, strongly suggesting that he completed his treatise on the Hexaemeron before he wrote against the heretics, and thus sometime prior to 1147.¹⁰ Finally, as we shall see, the work may have also been a response to

³ Hugh, *InHex.*, Epist. (p. 235); Arnulf of Lisieux, *Tractatus de schismate*, PL 201, 173-194; Van den Eynde, 77.

⁴ Hugh, *InHex.*, III.66 (p. 288)

⁵ Hugh, *Dial.*, II.7-14.

⁶ Hugh, *Mem.*, 9-10, 1321B-22B.

⁷ Hugh, *Haer.*, II, 1273Aff.

⁸ Hugh, *Fide*, 1334-45.

⁹ Hugh, *InHex.*, Epist. (p. 235-6).

¹⁰ See *infra*, chapter 8.

Abelard, who was condemned in 1141. All these factors suggest a date between 1142 and 1147, and most likely in or shortly after 1142.

In its structure, the work is quite traditional. Hugh followed established methods of exegesis for the most part, working through the first three chapters of Genesis verse by verse. Yet he also utilised some of the more recent developments of scholasticism. His commentary begins with a typical scholastic *accessus* to the work, analysing the work according to its author, material, method, and intention. The author is Moses and the material is God the Creator and his creation. The method is fourfold: it focuses on God and things in the divine mind, on created things made together in pre-existing matter, on the same things formed together in the beginning, and on all things actually and temporally. Finally, the author's intention is that all things be referred to God.¹¹ Occasionally the terminology of the schools surfaces elsewhere, though usually negatively, as when Hugh insisted that any words which signify God must not be considered according to the eight parts of grammar, nor for that matter according to rhetoric or dialectic.¹² Despite its occasional modern techniques, the work exemplifies traditional Augustinianism.

Background

In Hexaemeron followed a long tradition of similar texts tracing back to the very first years of Christianity. Philo, a Hellenistic Jew who flourished in the early first century of the Christian era, was the initiator of Hexaemeral literature, writing the first

¹¹ Hugh, *InHex.*, I.3-4 (pp. 237-8).

¹² *Ibid.*, I.6 (p. 240).

such commentary on Genesis in his *De opificio mundi*.¹³ There he followed the Genesis account through the six days of Creation to the Fall, although not in a verse-by-verse manner. He also wrote the *Quaestiones in Genesim*, in which he answered various questions from the second chapter of the book.¹⁴ Philo drew heavily upon the thought of Plato, who endeavoured in the *Timaeus* to compose an account of the creation of the world by a transcendent, personal deity and the processes by which the world came to be as we know it. Later Christian thinkers would return to Plato's thought as expressed in the *Timaeus*, despite his views in favour of the eternity of pre-existing matter, metempsychosis, and the World Soul, which had to be condemned by conscientious Christians.¹⁵ Philo combined Plato's thought with that of the Neo-Pythagoreans, Stoics, and Jews to create a syncretic reading of Genesis.¹⁶ Through his illuminating examination of such an important text for Christians, Philo heavily influenced Christian writings about Creation from their earliest commentaries with the language of ideas, forms, and substances. He helped to ensure that throughout the medieval period, until the reintroduction and adaptation of Aristotle in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Plato's interpretations reigned supreme.

Hexaemeral literature came into its own among the Church Fathers with St. Basil of Caesarea (370-79), who could be considered the instigator of this tradition of exegesis

¹³ Philo of Alexandria, *De opificio mundi*, translated with an introduction and notes by R. Arnaldex, *Les Œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie* 1, gen. eds. Roger Arnaldex, Jean Pouilloux, and Claude Mondésert (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1961).

¹⁴ *Idem*, *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesim*, translated with an introduction and notes by Charles Mercier, *Les Œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie* 24, gen. eds. Roger Arnaldex, Jean Pouilloux, and Claude Mondésert (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1979).

¹⁵ Frank Eggleston Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature. A Study of the Greek and Latin Commentaries on Genesis* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1912), 2-11.

¹⁶ Philo, *De opificio mundi*, Introduction, 70-88.

on the six days of Creation.¹⁷ St. Ambrose introduced his work to the West, and it is through his *In Hexaemeron* that Basil's views became known indirectly to most Western thinkers.¹⁸ More influential than even Ambrose's work was that of St. Augustine, who wrote no fewer than four commentaries on Genesis, the most important of which was *De Genesi ad litteram*. This was the text that inspired Hugh of Amiens throughout his career. In fact, the popularity of this work revived during the twelfth century, for its influence had faded somewhat in the intervening centuries. Augustine's work, although a literal interpretation, tended towards difficult philosophical abstractions and explanations for events that many readers found easier to interpret as natural processes similar to those with which they were familiar. Although he used Augustine in his *Commentary on the Pentateuch*,¹⁹ Bede later in his *Hexaemeron* abandoned the interpretation of a purely rational division of six days for a temporal process of creation over six natural days. He also turned his attention from the larger philosophical and ontological issues to natural processes, angels, and other more earthly subjects.²⁰ Only in the twelfth century were some spurred on to find new explanations or revive old ones that had fallen out of favour.

Throughout his works, both those already published and those yet to come, Hugh continued to return to those difficult questions of the faith dealing with the origins of creation, sin, the purpose of man and the means of his redemption, and other such issues. Others had gathered a rich harvest by tilling the fields of Genesis, and Hugh decided it

¹⁷ Robbins, 42.

¹⁸ Ibid., 58-9.

¹⁹ He did so most notably in his discussion of seminal reasons and the six days: Bede, *In Pentateuchum Commentarii*, PL 91, 205B-C, 207A.

²⁰ Robbins, 77.

was his turn to tend to these verses. The reasons for this decision are not clear. And it was a challenging task, for Abelard himself admitted that it was one of the three most difficult parts of Scripture to understand, the other two being the Song of Songs and the two visions of Ezekiel.²¹ Why write yet another treatise on the Hexaemeron? Were there not already enough of these tracts circulating around at this point to supply every house of significance in Europe? Had not Augustine already written down everything important that needed to be said regarding these three chapters of Scripture?

The Contemporary Scene and Hugh's Purpose

No significant literal exegesis of Genesis had been written from the time of Bede until the twelfth century that was not largely a restatement, sometimes nearly word for word, of Bede's views. Augustine's interpretation had largely faded from sight and been replaced by the simpler, more eclectic analysis of Basil and Ambrose as filtered through Bede. Apart from the natural philosophy of Eriugena and those who emulated him, no other examinations of Creation were written until the twelfth century, when the industrious efforts of many different individuals once more tried to unlock the secrets of the Hexaemeron. Very few of these followed a traditional exegetical method. The various sentence collectors, including Hugh in his *Dialogues*, treated issues relating to Creation in a systematic manner. Other authors also compiled series of *quaestiones* from the various books of the Bible including Genesis, addressing the major questions that arose without attempting a verse-by-verse elucidation of every matter and even every word.²²

²¹ Peter Abelard, *Expositio In Hexaemeron*, PL 178, 731A.

²² For instance, Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Notitiae in Pentateuchon*, PL 175, 29-86.

Still others wrote philosophical treatises similar to those of Eriugena, including the creation of the world and of man in the context of the natural workings of the universe.

Only a few men wrote actual exegetical works on the Creation account. One of the chief of these was the anonymous *Glossa ordinaria* on Genesis, possibly compiled by Gilbert of Auxerre in the 1120s.²³ The *Moralia in Genesin*, written by Guibert of Nogent sometime before his death in 1125 and dedicated to the reforming bishop Bartholomew of Laon, covered the Creation and Fall in the first two of ten books.²⁴ Rupert of Deutz completed his *De sancta Trinitate* in 1116,²⁵ really a *summa* under the form of traditional exegesis which was very thorough for the first three chapters of the book of Genesis. Rupert used many of the traditional commentators, including St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Bede, and Remigius of Auxerre, as well as the Neoplatonic writings of Macrobius.²⁶ As with most of Rupert's works, few if any copies made their way to France,²⁷ although sections did enter the *Glossa*,²⁸ and Hugh may have heard of his fame. Yet another author among the ranks of these exegetes was Peter Abelard, who between 1136 and 1140 wrote a largely traditional *Expositio in Hexaameron*.²⁹ Honorius Augustodunensis also wrote a commentary on the Hexaameron sometime before 1140.³⁰

²³ *Glossa*, xi.

²⁴ Guibert of Nogent, *Moralia in Genesin*, PL 156, 19C-78D.

²⁵ Van Engen, 133.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 86, 89.

²⁷ Rupert of Deutz, *De Sancta Trinitate*, xviii-xxxii.

²⁸ Van Engen, 89.

²⁹ Eligius M. Buytaert, O.F.M., 'Abelard's *Expositio in Hexaameron*,' *Antonianum: Periodicum Philosophico Theologicum Trimestre* 43 (1968), 182-8.

³⁰ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Hexaameron*, PL 172, 253-266.

A short work of exegesis which treated only a handful of problematic verses from throughout Genesis from Bede's perspective, while also providing a short synopsis of Augustine's views on seminal reasons and the days of Creation, Honorius' *Hexaameron* survives in fifteen manuscripts, all of German and Austrian provenance.³¹ Though Hugh almost certainly never encountered this treatise, it attests to the widespread interest in the *Hexaameron* at the time.

Honorius had written another work addressing some of the issues of Creation in *Imago mundi*, a work that reflected the increased interest in natural science and physical explanations, and one which he continued to revise and update from 1110 to 1139.³² With the ever-present influence of Eriugena, the *Imago* detailed an eclectic range of subjects from the formation of the world, the elements, a geographical gazetteer, the wonders of nature, and the heavenly bodies. Much more prominent than his *Hexaameron*, the *Imago mundi* survives in over one hundred and ten manuscripts from all over Europe.³³

Of closer proximity to Hugh were those masters linked to the 'school of Chartres', especially William of Conches, whose *Philosophia mundi* resembles the work of Honorius and also witnessed several editions between 1110 and 1145.³⁴ This work would in turn influence Thierry of Chartres, who at the very least lectured on the *Hexaameron* in the schools. The *De operibus sex dierum* was written in the 1140s or 1150s and Thierry's pupil, Clarembald of Arras, preserved one copy. Clarembald became

³¹ Valerie I.J. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis, Authors of the Middle Ages 6, Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West*, ed. Patrick J. Geary (Aldershot, England and Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, 1995), 76.

³² Eadem, 'Honorius Augustodunensis. *Imago Mundi*,' *AHDLMA* 49 (1982), 8.

³³ *Ibid.*, 19-35; Eadem, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, 71-3.

³⁴ Southern, *Scholastic Humanism II*, 67-8.

master of Laon in 1155 and sent a copy of this treatise accompanied by one of his own to a noble lady, probably the Empress Matilda.³⁵ Neither tract is strictly exegetical, focusing only on the more important verses, but they both follow the order of the biblical account rather than the rational schemes favoured by the earlier scientific works by Honorius and William of Conches. Thierry's treatise probably was too late to influence Hugh, and Clarembald's certainly was, but once again they witness to the popular trends current throughout the schools and monasteries of the time.

The *Dialogues* had been among the very first works of its kind, and in writing it Hugh had truly broken new ground. By the time he wrote *In Hexaemeron*, many others had already gone before him. And yet, none of these works had become particularly widespread, especially in France where Rupert's works had little influence and Abelard's were regarded with suspicion. Hugh and Arnulf probably felt this lack, and perhaps Arnulf specifically requested such a work from him. Or perhaps instead Hugh wrote of his own volition and dedicated the treatise to Arnulf as a good friend and a sympathetic reader. The two men had a good deal of respect for each other. Hugh referred to Arnulf as 'erudite' and 'his most beloved son', and later called him 'skilled in legal learning.'³⁶ Without access to these sources and with the increased interest in Genesis and systematic theology, they probably felt it was time for a new work, one updated with some of the methods of their time.

³⁵ Nikolaus M. Häring, 'The Creation and Creator of the World according to Thierry of Chartres and Clarenbaldus of Arras,' *AHDLMA* 22 (1955), 137-216; Peter Dronke, 'Thierry of Chartres,' in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 359-60; Southern, *Scholastic Humanism* II, 79-89, notes that the two treatises are indistinguishable in style and method, suggesting that Clarembald recorded and organised his master's thoughts. But since other copies of the text exist and Thierry's edition slightly truncated the version found in these to give it a satisfying ending, it probably was genuine. See Häring, 'The Creation,' 144-5, 181-2.

³⁶ Hugh, *InHex.*, Epist. (p. 235), I.66 (p. 288).

However, Hugh may have had a more specific aim in mind when writing *In Hexaemeron*. If any of the above-mentioned writings had directly roused Hugh to write, it would have been Abelard's *Expositio in Hexaemeron*. Abelard composed it only a few years before Hugh wrote his commentary. Both followed a very similar method with verse-by-verse exegesis, both began their works with a scholastic *accessus*, and both covered many of the same subjects. Placed alongside one another, they give the impression that Hugh modelled himself after Abelard, either out of inspiration or competition. One area in particular where Hugh may have been influenced by Abelard was in his use of Hebrew terminology, especially his interpretation of the word 'Elohim'. But as we shall examine below, there were other sources for this word.

Overall, the similarities between Hugh and Abelard are mostly in the structure of their work, which is traditional in both, and in their obvious debt to Augustine for their subject matter. In fact, there is little in Hugh's work that did not come from Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*, and nothing that necessarily needed to derive from Abelard. Nowhere are there direct critiques of Abelard's doctrines, and there are certainly aspects that could have been seized upon, not least among them being his use of the World Soul. But Abelard's *Expositio* has few of the truly controversial doctrines found elsewhere in his works. The *anima mundi*, found in his other works, does not receive even a mention here, and nowhere are his more contentious Trinitarian assertions pronounced. Even where he referred to the Father as being *proprie* omnipotence, and the Son and the Holy Spirit similarly wisdom and love, he did not deny the use of these names to the other members.³⁷

³⁷ Abelard, *Expositio*, 761A-B.

In any case, Hugh knew enough of Abelard's errors to request that Thomas of Morigny, a friend of his, write a discourse against them soon after the Council of Sens and the publication of Abelard's *Apologia in* 1140.³⁸ Thomas had been abbot of Morigny near Étampes from 1110 until 1139, when he was suspended by Henry, archbishop of Sens. The monks tried to regain him in 1144, but they failed, and he died in exile.³⁹ He met Abelard personally in 1131 during Innocent II's visit to Morigny,⁴⁰ and spoke of their friendship, but he spared no words in comparing Abelard's use of dialectic to the opening of cisterns full of slime⁴¹ and in accusing him of 'inviting Plato, Virgil, and Macrobius unshorn and unwashed to the banquet of the Highest King.'⁴² Accordingly, his treatise eschewed the use of dialectic and logic and argued by opposing to Abelard many of the Fathers, especially Augustine, 'our Aristotle'.⁴³ Ironically, Peter the Venerable

³⁸ M.-B. Carra de Vaux St-Cyr, 'Disputatio Catholicorum Patrum adversus Dogmata Petri Abaelardi,' *Revue des Sciences Philosophique et Théologiques* 47 (1963), 214; Thomas of Morigny, *Disputatio Catholicorum Patrum Adversus Dogmata Petri Abailardi*, ed. N. Häring, *Studi Medievali*, Series 3, 22:1(1981), 341, II.1 ('pater optime'), 356, III.3 ('domino meo...o clarissima Rothomagensium lucerna'), 368 (III.77) ('vestris orationibus et praecepto sanctitatis vestrae roborati, pater optime Hugo'), 328D ('vestraeque jussione praesens opus explevi'). This work is also in the *Patrologia Latina*, where it is attributed to William of Saint-Thierry: PL 180, 283-333. The work itself is anonymous, but see Carra de Vaux St-Cyr, 213-20, for contemporary references linking it to a Benedictine abbot and the abbey of Morigny. See also Gunar Freibergs, 'Hugh of Amiens: An Abelardian against Abelard,' in *Aspectus et Affectus: Essays and Editions in Grosseteste and Medieval Intellectual Life in Honor of Richard C. Dales*, ed. Gunar Freibergs, with an introduction by Sir Richard W. Southern (New York: AMS Press, 1993), 77-85.

³⁹ Carra de Vaux St-Cyr, 217-19.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 219.

⁴¹ Thomas of Morigny, 343-4, II.14.

⁴² 'ac philosophos Platonem, Virigilium, Macrobius, intonsos et illotos ad convivium Summi Regis introduxit,' *Ibid.*, 368, III.78.

⁴³ 'noster Aristoteles, beatus Augustinus,' *Ibid.*, 330, I.24.

bestowed this honorific title, along with 'the Socrates of the Gauls' and 'the greatest Plato of Hesperia' upon Abelard himself in his epitaph.⁴⁴

Could it be that in composing his commentary, Hugh was engaging in a two-pronged attack involving both a more direct assault by Thomas and a more subtle flanking movement by himself? Abelard's Hexaemeral commentary was one of his more conservative works, and one of his few attempts at a traditional method of exegesis. Even if Hugh only knew of the existence of Abelard's treatise, he may have decided without necessarily even having read it that a Hexaemeral commentary from a more reputable and orthodox source was needed. Perhaps he assumed that it would be every bit as audacious as Abelard's other works and a good way to counter it would be to teach by example with a thoroughly traditional account, updated of course with modern techniques and structure. Even if he had read Abelard without disagreeing with anything therein, he may have considered his disrepute to have compromised the work, necessitating a new attempt. Ultimately there are no clear answers, and Abelard's influence remains a shadowy possibility.

A final stimulus that might have caused Hugh to write was the Jewish presence in Rouen. Regrettably, no direct evidence exists of any contacts between Hugh and the Jewish community, and yet, a few clues hint at the possibility of such a scenario. Alongside the boom in Christian scholastic theology and exegesis was a similar upsurge in Jewish intellectual endeavours. Jewish communities with their own schools and a higher rate of literacy than the neighbouring Christians were located in Paris, Troyes, Rouen, and the Rhineland, and beginning in the late eleventh century, they began to

⁴⁴ 'Gallorum Socrates, Plato maximus Hesperiarum, Noster Aristoteles, logicis quicumque fuerunt.' Peter the Venerable, *Epitaphium Petri Abelardi*, PL 189, 1022D.

produce their own exegetical commentaries.⁴⁵ Rashi began a new tradition of commentary based on the *peshat*, the literal interpretation of the Bible, drawing upon older *midrashic* commentaries with the specific aim of confuting Christian claims.⁴⁶ He saw these commentaries as a way of preparing Jews for the disputations that were becoming more common with Christians, and addressed such issues as the possession of the Holy Land, the existence of original sin (which he denied), and the creation of angels and man.⁴⁷ His school gained many disciples including Joseph Kara and Rashbam, who continued his tradition throughout the twelfth century.⁴⁸

Many theologians were engaging the Jews in myriad ways during the twelfth century. Some people such as Gilbert Crispin, Odo of Tournai, Rupert of Deutz, Guibert of Nogent, Peter Abelard, and Peter Alphonsus saw the best way to deal with the Jews as being to dispute with them. Hugh could not have failed to be aware of such polemics, and he may have even known Peter Alphonsus, who was the personal physician to Henry I.⁴⁹ But other contacts were also occurring besides personal disputes. Stephen Harding and other correctors of the biblical texts conferred with the Jews to remedy corruptions that had accumulated over time, while others like the Victorines actively consulted Jewish teachers for their opinions and interpretations of various texts.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (London: 1995), 69.

⁴⁶ Elazar Touitou, 'Rashi's Commentary on Genesis 1-6 in the Context of Judeo-Christian Controversy,' *Hebrew Union College Annual* 61 (1990), 164-5.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 168-82.

⁴⁸ Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 151.

⁴⁹ Sir Richard W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste. The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986, reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), xli.

⁵⁰ Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 79-172 *passim*.

Hugh may have been prompted partly by the presence of a strong Jewish community right in the shadow of his cathedral. *Le Monument Juif*, recently uncovered just a few hundred metres from the cathedral in the grounds of the Palais de Justice, was built between 1090 and 1110 and may have served as a rabbinic school.⁵¹ Only towards the end of the century are there lists of rabbis teaching at a rabbinic school at Rouen, but Rashbam himself may have resided in the city for a time, from 1135 to around 1150, and may even have directed a school there, writing commentaries on the Bible and the Talmud.⁵² Rashbam's presence, possibly even so close to the cathedral, leads to the intriguing possibility that Hugh, or perhaps someone in his cathedral chapter, just might have consulted with him.

In two places Hugh showed a strong interest in the etymology of the original Hebrew. The first, his citation of the Hebrew words for man and woman, *Ys* and *Yssa*, was a traditional motif of Hexaemeral literature. The two words showed, just as *vir* and *virago*, that woman came from man.⁵³ Elsewhere, Hugh referred to the Hebrew word for God at the very beginning of the Genesis account, *Elohim*, which as he noted was in the plural.⁵⁴ There were at least two sources at his time that referred to this word and its apologetic use in support of the Trinitarian doctrine. These included Abelard, who in his *Hexaameron* and in his *Theologies* referred to the evidence for the Trinity in the Creation

⁵¹ Norman Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Age. Portrait d'une culture oubliée* (Rouen: Publications de l'Université de Rouen, 1985), 102-5.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 146-56.

⁵³ Hugh, *InHex.*, III.55 (p. 277); Bede, *Hexaameron*, PL 91, 52A.

⁵⁴ Hugh, *InHex.*, I.6 (p. 240).

account, giving the word *Elohim* as an example along with *faciamus*,⁵⁵ to indicate plurality in the Godhead.⁵⁶ Peter Alphonsus also used the same argument in his dialogue between a Christian and a Jew.⁵⁷ Either of these could have conceivably been Hugh's source for the word, and certainly their fame had spread far and Hugh may only have been influenced by hearsay.

The grammar in the verse can support a Trinitarian interpretation because the word for God, '*Elohim*', is plural while the verb is singular. These other theologians indicated this by using the Latin '*creavit*' without reference to the Hebrew etymology to indicate the singular creative act of '*Elohim*'. Hugh went still further and added the Hebrew verb 'to create', '*bara*':

Therefore it is written through Moses: '*Deus creavit*.' For this word which we call God, in Hebrew is written '*Elohim*'. Indeed, *Elohim* is a plural word for the Hebrews, but the Latin language cannot translate it. Thus it is among the Hebrews '*bara elohim*', and if you should translate it word for word, in Latin speech it should be necessary to say '*creavit dii*' against our customs. Whence it must be known that the word '*Elohim*' signifies God by plural enunciation, and nevertheless cannot indicate several gods, because it is limited by a singular voice joined to it among the Hebrews, that is '*bara*', which is '*creavit*' among the Latins.⁵⁸

Hugh's specific interest in Hebrew, including his use of a word that does not appear in any other commentary on Genesis or even any other text that I have been able to locate,

⁵⁵ Gen. 1:26.

⁵⁶ Abelard, *Expositio*, 769B-C; *Theologia Christiana*, I.12, p. 76 (PL 178, 1126D-28A); *Theologia Scholarium*, I.69-74, pp. 346-8 (PL 178, 998C-99D).

⁵⁷ Peter Alphonsus, *Dialogi*, PL 157, 608C-610D. Isidore mentions the Hebrew term but does not note the significance of its plural nature: Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, PL 82, 259D.

⁵⁸ 'Inde per Moysen scriptum est: *Creavit Deus*. Pro hac voce quam dicimus Deus, in hebreo *elohim* scribitur. *Elohim* vero apud Hebreos vox est pluralis, sed idioma linguae latinae hoc transferre non potuit. Sic est enim apud Hebreos, *bara elohim*, ut si verbum ex verbo transferas, latino sermone contra morem oporteat dici *creavit dii*. Unde sciendum est, quia vox illa *elohim* Deum significans enunciatione plurali, non tamen plures deos ponere potuit, quod determinat apud Hebreos vox adiecta singularis, id est *bara*, quod est apud latinos *creavit*.' Hugh, *InHex.*, I.6. (p. 240).

may indicate that he was consulting the Jews, or at least in contact with someone who was doing so.

Whatever may have produced Hugh's interest in writing, whether a simple request from Arnulf or a concern to combat Abelard or Jewish exegesis, the topics and doctrines covered through the course of the first three chapters of Genesis are diverse and manifold, and they provide much fruitful ground for the exegete. Hugh had already treated many of these issues in his *Dialogues* and would continue to do so in later works, for in a scholastic schema of Creation, Fall, and restoration, the essentials of the first two and premonitions of the last were all contained in these verses. A look at some of these doctrines is rewarding, both in comparison to Hugh's developing thought and to other Hexaemeral commentaries. Similarities can be found to many systematic texts of his day, for although the format differed from them, the subject matter stayed the same. After all, systematic theology evolved out of a firm exegetical rooting in the text. Rather than continuing on from the *Dialogues* into more rarefied methods, Hugh returned with the fruits of his earlier labours back to a traditional form of exegesis.

The Six Days of Creation

At the heart of Hexaemeral literature beat the pressing concern of reconciling what appeared to be two separate accounts of Creation. The first account, reaching from Genesis 1:1 to 2:3 gives the familiar six days of Creation, testifying that God created herbs and trees on day three, birds and fishes on day five, and beasts and man on day six. But the second account begins by speaking of the day on which God made heaven and earth and proceeds to describe the forming of animals and birds together after the creation

of man. For Hugh, as for St. Augustine, there was no question that both accounts were part of the infallible, inspired Word of God, and therefore the two had to be reconcilable and mutually supportive.

Augustine's manner of dealing with the conflict was to reconcile the two accounts by means of Ecclesiastes 18:1 which stated that God created all things *simul*. If the actual Creation happened all at once, then the six days must describe something other than the actualisation of Creation. The six days began with the creation of light, and according to Augustine's interpretation, although this light could signify physical light, it properly stood for the formation of the angels, who preceded everything else in time and excellence. He had no difficulty in seeing light as an indication of spiritual creatures, since Christ himself is light in its most proper sense.⁵⁹ The angels were the first creation by God, and they were shown everything that would follow them. Each day therefore symbolised their understanding of creation as they turned their attention towards it.⁶⁰ The days are divided into evening and morning, and while each evening indicates the angels' understanding of creation according to its own nature, each morning designates that the angels raise this understanding to the praise of God.⁶¹ It may be that angels could see all things simultaneously, and in any case when they see creation they see it primordially, but the account is written spatially, temporally, and partially—the only ways that we can perceive reality in this life.⁶²

⁵⁹ Augustine, *DeGen.*, IV.xxviii.45.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, IV.xxi.38.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, IV.xvii.39.

⁶² *Ibid.*, IV.xxix.46; V.iv.10.

Hugh actually departed from Augustine slightly, for he envisaged that the creation of heaven and earth in Gen. 1:1 included everything, both spiritual and material, and therefore the angels were created along with fire, air, and all spiritual natures as part of the heavens.⁶³ The light as described in the first account was therefore natural light. Because it precedes the sun in reason, the account shows that light is not dependent upon the sun, nor is day, for the sun only accompanies and clarifies day. It deservedly comes first because it illuminates all other things.⁶⁴ Hugh also explained the account's description of a day as including first evening and then morning. Apparently unaware of the Jewish reckoning of days, he explained that until the resurrection of Christ a day began after sunrise and progressed through the following night, therefore including evening and morning. But because Christ rose at night, that night was consecrated and night began to proceed into day in a new sequence from morning to evening.⁶⁵

Although he gave a different reading for the nature of light, Hugh reaped the fruits of Augustine's analysis and followed him in affirming the days to be according to a rational and not temporal distinction. As he explained, the six days are really the one day of Creation 'repeated six times according to works for reason of understanding.'⁶⁶ Nevertheless, he no longer linked them to angelic understanding, and in fact angels disappeared altogether from his explanation. He instead explained the days as rational divisions of creation as it existed primordially in the mind of God or as uttered by the

⁶³ Hugh, *InHex.*, I, 6-7 (pp. 238-41).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 17 (pp. 246-7)

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 18 (pp. 247-8).

⁶⁶ 'Dicimus itaque deum unum sexies propter opera repetitum pro ratione cognitionis,' *Ibid.*, II.42 (p. 266).

Word. The six days are therefore an attempt to bring to our understanding and describe in human terms the eternal, immoveable reasons of creation as they exist in the mind of God. They teach 'by the arrangement of relation, not by the unfolding of time.'⁶⁷ Abelard viewed the days similarly, and urged that his reader 'should not understand them as delays of time, which we now receive in our days. Rather, the diversity of days refers to the diversity of works.'⁶⁸ Hugh explained that each work, which is unformed when without light, becomes multicoloured when placed under the light of a day.⁶⁹ Each evening and morning as well only indicates the form of the work as it existed in God's mind and not as actually created.⁷⁰

This explanation clarifies many more difficult aspects of the account, such as the description of the earth as void and empty. This description does not at all indicate that matter can ever exist in reality without form but rather separates the two in the understanding to indicate that God created both matter and form, and did not merely link them together as would an architect.⁷¹ It also explains the seventh day of rest, for this day has no evening or morning. It does not indicate that God rests as if fatigued after his work, because he always rests and always works, sufficient in himself, with no beginning

⁶⁷ 'distinctis admodum diebus ediderat relationis conditione, non temporis evolutione,' Ibid.

⁶⁸ 'nec cum audit unam diem vel aliam a propheta dici, moras istas temporis intelligat, quas nunc in diebus nostris accipimus, sed diversitatem dierum ad diversitatem operum referat.' Abelard, *Expositio*, 746A.

⁶⁹ Hugh, *InHex.*, II.39 (p. 262).

⁷⁰ Ibid., I.22 (p. 248); 1.25 (p. 251)

⁷¹ Ibid., I.7-8 (pp. 240-2).

or end. It only follows the other six days in time to signify the perfection of the saints who will arrive at this rest, because for them it will have a beginning but no end.⁷²

Not all agreed with this theory, and among those in Hugh's day these included Honorius Augustodunensis⁷³ and Hugh of Saint-Victor.⁷⁴ They were principally following the work of Bede, who although he adopted Augustine's scheme in his early *Commentary*,⁷⁵ later abandoned it in his *Hexaameron*. There he stated the day on which God created all things was a figurative day, and that the six days were a temporal progression of Creation.⁷⁶

Hugh also followed Augustine in focusing on the importance of the senary.⁷⁷ Number theory of this sort reached back to the beginnings of Hexaemeral literature in Philo. But Philo was mostly interested in the meaning of the septenary, the 'triangle rectangle' made up of a triad and a tetrad, with its symbolism in the ages of man and the stars of the Pleiades.⁷⁸ Indeed, several years later, Hugh would reflect in his *Super fide* upon the properties of the septenary, but here he did not venture so far.⁷⁹ The days of the works were enumerated at six, he explained, because of the perfection of the senary, which is perfect in itself. 'Moses, not ignorant of the art of arithmetic, discerned the

⁷² Ibid., II.40 (p. 264-5).

⁷³ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Hexaameron*, 255C-57B. He did however later summarise St. Augustine's views, without reconciling the two accounts: 260A-65B.

⁷⁴ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Notitiae*, 35A, 38B.

⁷⁵ Bede, *In Pentateuchum*, 205B-C, 207A.

⁷⁶ Bede, *Hexaameron*, 39A-40B.

⁷⁷ Hugh, *Fide*, 1342B-46A; Augustine, *DeGen.* IV, I.1-II.6.

⁷⁸ Philo, *De opificio mundi*, 89.

⁷⁹ See *infra*, chapter 9.

primordial works of God by numbering them under the type of the senary.⁸⁰ Hugh analysed the pyramidal form of the senary, which is composed of the sum of its dividers: one, two, and three. Thus on one day all creation is described, on two the visible world is made, and during the last three days it is adorned.⁸¹ Finally, he concluded by placing works in the mind of God where they persist perfectly as indicated by the senary, where he disposes everything by weight, measure, and number. To the reader who wished to know more about these, he informed him that he treated these things 'in the seventh book of our *Dialogues*.'⁸²

Seminales Rationes

Hugh also adapted Augustine's theory of the *seminales rationes* or *causae*, which helped to develop and link the two Creation accounts. According to Augustine's explanation, the angels always see the face of God and view the Word of God, and therefore they see all of creation and the eternal *rationes* in him, described in the first account.⁸³ There are other subordinate reasons in creation itself, but there they exist in a manner different from that in which they exist in the Word.⁸⁴ At the beginning of time, God sowed these reasons like seeds throughout creation, to act as natural forces and bring things about in their allotted times. They give unto creatures the powers of generation,

⁸⁰ 'hoc Moyses intuitus, artis arithmeticae non ignarus, sub typo senarii opera Dei primordialia numerando discrevit.' Hugh, *InHex.*, II.39 (263).

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² 'De his tribus nos egisse meminimus in septimo nostri dyalogi libro,' Hugh, *InHex.*, II.39 (p. 263). See Hugh, *Dial.*, VII, 1229D-48B.

⁸³ Augustine, *DeGen.*, IV.xxiv.41

⁸⁴ Ibid., VI.x.17.

motion, growth and death. Creatures in turn produce visible seeds that contain the seminal reasons of all future beings to arise from them.⁸⁵ Moreover, God gave to all these reasons a passive capacity to receive his intervention so that he could accelerate them for purposes such as creating Adam as a full-sized man.⁸⁶ However, natural processes such as rain normally cause the reasons to develop on their own.⁸⁷

The theory of the *rationes* ultimately derived from Plotinus, whose philosophy included a strong strain of emanationism, in which each layer of reality produces the subsequent layer, all radiating ultimately from the unknowable One, which cannot itself directly produce mutable things. But Plotinus also sought some sort of direct connexion throughout all levels of beings. For this purpose he proposed the *logoi*, which mediate between all the levels. The divine mind, the *Nous*, is itself a being, produced not by any action but as a 'circumradiation' like light from the sun.⁸⁸ This mind, in which all life and intellect inheres, is always one and complete, and therefore anything it produces must be outside itself.⁸⁹ This outward production is the *logos*, Reason, and its emanation 'within a seed contains all the parts and qualities concentrated in identity.' But these parts begin to distinguish one another after emanation as the *logoi*, the many reasons, from which the whole Universe rises and develops.⁹⁰ Just as hand-made items are not realised until they

⁸⁵ Ibid., V.iv.7-9.

⁸⁶ Ibid., VI.xiv.25.

⁸⁷ Ibid., V.vi.17-19.

⁸⁸ Plotinus, *The Enneads*, translated by Stephen MacKenna with a foreword by E.R. Dodds and an introduction by Paul Henry, S.J., 4th ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1956, reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), V.1.6.

⁸⁹ Ibid., III.2.1.

⁹⁰ Ibid., III.2.2.

have had an intellectual principle imposed on them that corresponds to their shape and the artist, so too, all things are formed by the intellectual principles, the *logoi*, which emanate from the divine mind.⁹¹ All Augustine had to do was substitute a personal God for the One and the Word for the *Nous*, and he easily adapted this theory for his purposes, highlighting, of course, God's personal role in the sowing of these reasons throughout creation.

While Augustine allowed for all things to arise from reasons within the elements, Hugh described them as all arising at once at the beginning of time. The first trees and living things appeared immediately, not arising from seeds, but created and brought into being at the same time as heaven and earth. From them in turn other things would arise by means of the *seminales rationes*.⁹² All things which followed were brought about by natural processes, such as rain and the labour of man, but then only if God permitted.⁹³ Genesis 2:6 signalled the beginning of time and these natural processes with the presence of life-giving water: 'But a spring rose out of the earth, watering all the surface of the earth.'⁹⁴

The Augustinian theory of *seminales rationes* differs from modern theories of evolution in many ways, but none more so than that the divine reasons in God's mind keep the seminal reasons in existence, cause them to bring about their effects, and

⁹¹ Ibid., V.9.3

⁹² Hugh, *InHex.*, II.43 (p. 266-7).

⁹³ Ibid., II.44 (p. 267).

⁹⁴ Ibid., II.45 (p. 267); Augustine, *DeGen.*, V.vii.20; *Glossa*, Gen. 2:6 (p. 19), compares both Augustine and Bede, who saw the font both as a literal fountain and a symbol of unity.

interfere with them from time to time.⁹⁵ The seminal reasons are subordinate, conditional causes dependent upon God's exemplary cause. God disposes them all by number, measure, and weight, which he inserts in them.⁹⁶ They cannot, according to Hugh, pass outside the bounds set for them, for the species were determined from the very beginning, and each thing that arises from those creatures that appeared immediately upon creation 'differs from the preceding things, certainly not by nature, but by its own property, through space of places and intervals of time.'⁹⁷

Miracles can also be explained by the *seminales rationes*. They are not explicitly against nature, for there are even special reasons hidden in creation that—if given the proper conditions—cause rods to turn into snakes or produce different coloured sheep when coloured rods are placed before them.⁹⁸ The reasons for these miracles are not only in the mind of God, but also placed in created things themselves by God. According to Hugh, these also included the creation of Eve:

Indeed, it was prefixed by God in the nature of man that woman would be able to be made from his rib. For the Lord God thus acts regarding each thing: sometimes, by an ordinary course of nature, he prefixed in them how things are able to be made from them, according to which these plants germinate in one way, those in another; this stage of life gives birth, that one does not; man is able to speak, a beast is not. Sometimes, in an extraordinary manner, he acts, as when an ass speaks, a serpent tells tales to a man, a tree cut short without root, earth, and water bears flowers and fruit, and a woman remains sterile through her youth but begets in old age by nature serving that which is superior, that is by divine will, in

⁹⁵ Augustine, *DeGen.*, V.iv.7-11; IX.xvii.31-2.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, V.iii.7-8.

⁹⁷ 'ex eis exoriantur et propagentur quaeque sequentia, a precedentibus differentia, non utique natura, sed proprietate sua, per locorum spatia, per temporum intervalla.' Hugh, *InHex.*, I.43 (p. 267).

⁹⁸ Augustine, *DeTrin.*, III.ii.12-15; Ex. 7:9-12; Gen. 30:37-43.

accordance with that which he prefixed to be able to be made from these things outside the accustomed course of events.⁹⁹

Other even more miraculous effects can be produced, by causes which God 'does not insert in created things, but retains in himself for himself.' Hugh included under this category the causes of the Virgin birth, the hypostatic union, and saving grace.¹⁰⁰

Augustine had also included the creation of Eve within this classification.¹⁰¹

A slightly different view of miracles arises in Abelard's account. Although Abelard did not emphasise the divine will as much as Hugh, he placed miracles much more at odds with nature. In fact, Abelard did not think that miracles could happen according to reasons hidden in nature as did Hugh and Augustine. They only happened outside and against nature:

We are accustomed to think of a force of nature prepared at that time in these things so that their constitution or preparation should suffice for anything to be made without miracles. Therefore that which is made through miracles we profess to happen against or above nature, when that prior preparation of things by no means suffices to make it, unless God should confer a certain new force in these things, just as he made in those six days, where his will alone possessed the force of nature in each action. But indeed, if he made now just as he did then, truly we should say it is

⁹⁹ 'Erat quidem prefixum a Deo in natura viri ex costa eius feminam posse fieri. Sic enim dominus Deus de singulis rebus agit quomodo ex ipsis posse fieri: prefixit in eis aliquando usitato cursu naturae, secundum quem illa herba sic germinat, illa sic, illa aetas parit, illa non parit; homo loqui potest, pecus non potest. Talium rationes modorum non tantum in Deo sunt, sed etiam in rebus creatis a Deo inditae sunt. Aliquando inusitato agens modo, ut aliquando asina loquitur, quando serpens cum homine fabulatur, quando lignum precisum absque radice, absque terra, sine aqua florem profert et fructum, ut femina per iuventam manet sterilis, in senectute parit natura serviente superiori, id est divinae voluntati secundum hoc quod ipse prefixit ex eis posse fieri preter cursum inolite consuetudinis.' Hugh, *InHex.*, III.55 (276).

¹⁰⁰ 'Habet etiam Deus quorundam causas operum quas in rebus conditis non inservit, sed in seipso sibi retinuit.' Hugh, *InHex.*, III.55.

¹⁰¹ Augustine, *DeGen.*, IX.xvii.31-xviii.34. Peter Lombard, acknowledging this debate over the cause of Eve's creation, sided with Augustine and placed her creation amongst the primordial causes which were hidden in God and occurred miraculously: Lombard, *Sent.*, II.xviii.5-7.

against nature: if the earth should of its own accord without any seed produce plants or beasts from itself, or the water form birds.¹⁰²

These words could be taken as an assertion of the inscrutable and transcendent will of God. More likely it just indicates Abelard's impatience for the miraculous and an assertion of the rarity of such phenomena. Still, he did not deny their existence, and even criticised those who spent too much time seeking naturalistic causes for aspects of creation that had no satisfactory natural explanation, like the firmament above the heavens.

If material creation only occurred beginning with Genesis 2:4, how then can we obtain any information from the preceding verses about perceptible reality? Hugh explained how the first Creation account describes the *seminales rationes* from the perspective of the mind of God where they exist without time and are hierarchically subordinate to eternal reasons. Whenever God says '*fiat*' in these verses, whether the object be *lux* or *firmamentum*, it is spoken only in the divine mind, where the ultimate causes of things subsist.¹⁰³ When the account reads '*factum est*' or '*Deus fecit*', God creates the thing itself with its rational causes.¹⁰⁴ This differs from the Augustinian scheme, where '*factum est*' denotes that the creature was shown to angelic reason, and

¹⁰² 'Deinceps vim naturae pensare solemus, tunc videlicet rebus ipsis jam ita praeparatis, ut ad quaelibet sine miraculis facienda illa eorum constitutio vel praeparatio sufficeret. Unde illa quae per miracula fiunt magis contra vel supra naturam quam secundum naturam fieri fatemur, cum ad illud scilicet faciendum nequaquam illa rerum praeparatio prior sufficere possit, nisi quamdam vim novam rebus ipsis Deus conferret, sicut et in illis sex diebus faciebat, ubi sola ejus voluntas vim naturae obtinebat in singulis efficiendis. Quae quidem si nunc quoque sicut tunc faceret, profecto contra naturam haec fieri diceremus: veluti si terra sponte sua sine seminario aliquo plantas produceret vel bestias ex se, vel aqua volucres formaret.' Abelard, *Expositio*, 746C-D.

¹⁰³ Hugh, *InHex.*, I.13 (p. 245), I.19 (p. 248).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 14 (p. 246).

'*Deus fecit*' that it was actually made.¹⁰⁵ But in either case, the understanding is of creation not as it is created, but rather as it exists both in the *rationes* in the mind of God and in the *seminales rationes* that are sown throughout creation.

The hierarchical relation between the eternal reasons and the natural reasons could also be divided into what Hugh called superior and inferior causes:

In these things which he created he sowed natural causes. From the superior causes hangs the necessity of things, from the inferior causes is the possibility of natures. According to the superior causes, whatsoever is made must necessarily come into being; according to the inferior causes, it is possible for that to become which is made from these things; and for implanted mutability, it can become otherwise whenever it is made in a certain way. According to the inferior causes, it was said to Hezekiah, 'You will die,' and yet he did not die, but rather fifteen years were added to his life. According the superior causes, they were not added, but they continued, because he died when it was necessary....Behold therefore, because of the superior cause, that is because of the will of God, which always remains free, all things are necessarily made. But those things which are made, because they proceed from nothing, are subject to mutability. Because of their mutability, that which God prefixed in them to be made from them can be made from them, although not necessarily.¹⁰⁶

The superior causes were the reasons that God reserved hidden with himself, and indeed could sometimes be contrary to natural causes. God is the superior cause, with no other cause above him, and therefore whatever he wills must necessarily happen, whether it be the prolonging of a man's life or the freeing of a city from predicted destruction.

This does not mean, however, that everything that happens does so necessarily. As Hugh

¹⁰⁵ Augustine, *DeGen.*, II.viii.19.

¹⁰⁶ 'In his vero quae condidit causas naturales inseruit. Ex causis superioribus pendet rerum necessitas, ex causis inferioribus naturarum est possibilitas. Pro causis superioribus, necesse est fieri quod cumque fit; pro causis inferioribus, possibile est de rebus hoc fieri quod fit; et pro insita mutabilitate, aliter quandoque taliter fit. Secundum inferiores causas, dicitur Ezechie, 'morieris'; nec tunc moritur, sed ei quindecim anni apponuntur. Secundum superiores causas, non sunt appositi, sed continui, quia mortuus est cum necesse fuit....Vide ergo pro causa superiori, id est pro voluntate Dei, quae libera semper existit, omnia necessario fieri. Sed quae facta sunt, quia de nichilo processerunt, mutabilitati obnoxia sunt. Pro causis igitur suae mutabilitatis efficitur ex eis, quod Deus prefixit in eis posse fieri ex eis, nec tamen necesse fit.' Hugh, *InHex.*, I.14 (pp. 245-6).

pointed out, there are many things that can result from mutable things but do so only out of possibility. There are thus many possible things that may never happen at all, even though they can happen. And therefore there are things which God can make but which he does not make. These ideas came almost entirely from Augustine, who used the same example of King Hezekiah and the same language of superior causes, with an emphasis that God's will cannot be restrained by natural causes because he willed them all in the first place.¹⁰⁷

This passage runs counter to at least two contemporary trends, whether or not Hugh intended it to be a critique. The first is Abelard's theory that God cannot do other than he does, which Thomas of Morigny directly criticised in his *Disputatio*. There Thomas quoted from Abelard's *Theologia Christiana*:

If that alone which God makes is that which it is good for him to make, truly he is able only to make that which he makes, since he is able to make nothing except that which it is good for him to make. Therefore for this reason, it seems that God is able to make only that which he makes and not to do that which he does not do.¹⁰⁸

Thomas retorted that God acts in two ways, one according to his unchangeable essence and one according to his actions in creation which occur in time and space.¹⁰⁹ For all things naturally subsist in the Son, and God is present in all things but not circumscribed by them. Wherefore should his will, which is before all things and the cause of all things,

¹⁰⁷ Augustine, *DeGen.*, VI.xiv.25-xviii.29.

¹⁰⁸ 'Si illud solum quod facit Deus, fieri ab eo bonum est, profecto illud solum quod facit, facere potest, qui facere nihil potest, nisi quod ab eo fieri bonum est. Hac itaque ratione id solum posse facere videtur Deus, quod facit; vel dimittere, quod dimittit.' Thomas of Morigny, 363, III.42. Cf. Abelard, *Theologia Christiana*, V, 31, p. 359 (PL 178, 1324D-25B).

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 317A.

be circumscribed by them?¹¹⁰ It is greater than heaven and earth.¹¹¹ Therefore 'no cause is superior to the will of God in doing and in not doing things, and he errs who seeks a superior. God is able to make many things that he does not make.'¹¹²

The passage contains another implicit critique of those writers like Thierry of Chartres (who may have been lecturing on the Hexaameron long before he composed his treatise on the subject) who took a strongly naturalistic view of *seminales rationes*.¹¹³ Thierry employed Aristotle's four causes to arrange his explanation, with God as the efficient cause, the Son as the formal cause, the Holy Spirit as the final cause, and the four elements as the material cause out of which every bodily substance subsists.¹¹⁴ But after the first creative act the elements took over as the efficient cause as well. Thierry, like Bede, viewed the six days as actual temporal periods, and creation *simul* was only the creation of primal matter.¹¹⁵ At the beginning of the six days, God created heaven and earth in the four elements and inserted causes in them by which they naturally brought all the works of these days in being over time. These elements themselves act as seminal causes which largely take over the operation of creation from God.

Therefore fire is, as it were, the artifex and efficient cause; and the subjected earth, as it were, the material cause; the two elements which are

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 317B-D.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 317D-18A.

¹¹² 'in rebus agendis vel dimittendis voluntate Dei nulla causa superior sit; et errat qui superiorem quaerit. Potens igitur est Deus de rebus multa facere, quae non facit.' Ibid., 318A-B.

¹¹³ See Richard C. Dales, 'A Twelfth-Century Concept of the Natural Order,' *Viator* 9 (1978), 183-4.

¹¹⁴ Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus*, in Häring, 'The Creation,' 185 (3).

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 185-6 (4).

in between, as it were an instrument or a certain messenger by which the action of the highest is administered to the lowest .¹¹⁶

While Thierry granted that God created throughout the six days, even if wholly through natural processes, he denied that anything new arose afterwards. He left little room for miracles:

Whatever arises or is created after the sixth day, is not instituted in a new way of creation, but its acquires its substance from one of the aforesaid ways....from one of the aforementioned ways and from the seminal causes, which he inserted into the elements in the space of those six days, we affirm that he produced whatever he created and still creates.¹¹⁷

Even Abelard, while he viewed miracles as against nature, still allowed for God to create new things or act in new ways with regard to creation. And although he possibly constrained the actions of God in the world, he upheld the supremacy of the will of God in contrast to the natural reasons. Like Hugh, he thought they rested wholly in the mind of God during the six days of the first account, and only with the beginning of time were they allowed to run independently through nature.

When we require or assign a force of nature or natural causes to certain effects of things, in no way do we do this regarding that prior working of God in the construction of the world, where the will of God alone had the power of nature in creating or ordering these things, but only regarding those things completed by the working of God in those six days....Thus we call nature the force of things conferred upon them from that first preparation, which is sufficient for anything to be born, that is to be produced, from them.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ 'Ita igitur ignis est quasi artifex et efficiens causa; terra vero subjecta quasi materialis causa; duo vero elementa, quae sunt in medio, quasi instrumentum vel aliquid coadunativum quo actus supremi administratur ad infima.' *Ibid.*, 189-90 (17).

¹¹⁷ 'Quicquid igitur post sextum diem vel natum vel creatum est, non novo modo creationis institutum est sed aliquo praedictorum modorum substantiam suam sortitur....Sed aliquo praedictorum modorum et ex causis seminalibus, quas in spatio illorum sex dierum elementis inservit, affirmamus eum, quaecumque postea creavit vel adhuc creat, produxisse.' *Ibid.*, 189 (16).

¹¹⁸ '...nullatenus...modo, cum in aliquibus rerum effectis vim naturae vel causas naturales requirimus vel assignamus, id nos facere secundum illam priorem Dei operationem in constitutione mundi, ubi sola Dei voluntas naturae efficaciam habuit in illis tunc creandis vel disponendis, sed tantum ab illa operatione

Hugh on the other hand upheld the right of God to perform inexplicable things, without any need for natural explanations if they did not fit. Like Augustine, he emphasised that they could not be against nature, even if they were against the ordinary course of nature.¹¹⁹ His position on the superior reasons of God shines through most clearly in his discussion on the firmament of Genesis 1:6-8.

Scientific Issues: the Firmament

Like all those who endeavoured to compose literal interpretations of the Hexaemeron, Hugh directed himself towards scientific explanations of some of the aspects of Creation described throughout the Scriptural accounts. Many of these come straight from Augustine, even word for word. Besides explanations for the *rationes seminales*, he investigated the nature of the moon's light, which he declares to be lit by the rays of the sun, always on one side which it turns away from and towards the earth at various times.¹²⁰ The element of earth is mixed throughout air and water to give them a certain solidity and allow us to touch waves and feel the wind. Furthermore, particles of water are intermingled throughout the air to allow birds to fly with their wings much as fish do with their fins. He also gave, like Augustine, the two possibilities that either every element can be changed into every other element, or that all things wholly inhere in their

dei sex diebus illis completa....Naturam itaque dicimus vim rerum ex illa prima praeparatione illis collatam ad aliquid inde nascendum, hoc est efficiendum sufficientem.' Abelard, *Expositio*, 746B-D.

¹¹⁹ Hugh, *InHex.*, III.55 (p. 276); Augustine, *DeGen.*, VI.xviii.29.

¹²⁰ Hugh, *InHex.*, I.27 (p. 252). Augustine characteristically gives two possibilities without committing himself: that which Hugh accepts and a theory that the luminous zone varies while the moon remains still. Augustine, *DeGen.*, II.xv.30-2.

own elements, with no transformation possible.¹²¹ Before reaching the creation of man, Hugh engaged in a wide-ranging discussion of animals listing the various beasts of labour, wild animals, and reptiles created by God, and using the same lists provided by Augustine, in the same order. He did feel the need to add a few embellishments: to Augustine's beasts of burden he added donkeys and camels, and to the wool-giving animals he added goats (useful for those hair shirts!). Roebucks joined the company of stags and other wild quadrupeds, while bears joined the wild beasts which tore things with their teeth and claws.¹²²

All the same, Hugh did not find as much enthusiasm for scientific explanations and natural observations as did some of his contemporaries, or even Augustine. The best example of this attitude appears in his discussion on the firmament. The verses about the firmament that God created on the second day, which divided the waters below from the waters above, puzzled and fascinated the commentators. They all accepted the Greek theories of the different weights of the elements—that fire always rose to the highest portions of the universe and earth sank to the lowest, with water resting upon the earth and air upon the water. Because of the order of the elements, questions abounded as to how the water was kept from sinking to its natural place in the order of things, and how, if there was water in the upper regions of the heavens, did it not evaporate from the heat of the outer fires?¹²³ Hugh solved the problem simply by referring it to the inscrutable power of God:

¹²¹ Hugh, *InHex.*, I.30 (pp. 253-4); Augustine, *DeGen.*, III.ii.3-vii.9.

¹²² Hugh, *InHex.*, I.32 (p. 255); Augustine, *DeGen.*, III.xi.16-17.

¹²³ Augustine, *DeGen.*, II.iv.7.

Do not rashly speak of how many and of what sort are the heavens or the waters above the heavens, lest it remain to be proven. Truly, an opinion not proven by reason or strengthened by authority remains void or null. Do not therefore dispute about how the waters hold themselves above the heavens, whether they remain or flow back, nor about the other things which the psalmist binds together, when he says: 'Praise the Lord from the heavens.' About all of which the same psalm concludes thus, saying: 'For he spoke, and they were made: he commanded, and they were created. He hath established them for ever and ever; he hath made a decree, and it shall not pass away.' Therefore, you know that the establishment, law, and order of natures is the will of the Creator alone.¹²⁴

Others were more willing to speculate. Augustine went into great detail first on the natural tendencies of the elements to find their places, reporting such experiments as holding glasses full of air underwater.¹²⁵ He reported various theories such as St. Basil's that the water above the firmament might be the clouds and the firmament the lower regions of air,¹²⁶ or that the waters above the heavens existed in the form of ice near the orbit of Saturn, which was very cold on account of its slow orbit around the heavens.¹²⁷ But he also ultimately concluded that 'In whatever way and of whatever kind these waters are, let us by no means doubt that they are there; greater indeed is the authority of this Scripture than every capacity of human cleverness.'¹²⁸

¹²⁴ 'Quot et quales sunt caeli quae et quales super caelos aquae; tu, noli dicere temeraria ostentatione ne restet probare. Sententia enim quam nec ratio probat, nec auctoritas roborat, cassa remanet aut nulla. Noli ergo disputare de aquis quomodo super caelos sese habeant, an maneant, an defluant, nec de ceteris quae psalmista colligit, ubi ait: "Laudate Dominum de caelis, et cetera." De quibus omnibus idem ita concludit, dicens: "Quia ipse dixit et facta sunt; ipse mandavit et creata sunt. Statuit ea in seculum et in seculum seculi; preceptum posuit et non preteribit." Naturarum igitur conditionem, legem et ordinem scias esse creatoris solummodo voluntatem.' Hugh, *InHex.*, I.19 (p. 248).

¹²⁵ Augustine, *DeGen.*, II.i.3-iii.6.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, II.iv.7.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, II.v.9.

¹²⁸ 'Quoquo modo autem et qualeslibet aquae ibi sint, esse ibi eas minime dubitemus; maior est quippe scripturae huius auctoritas quam omnis humani ingenii capacitas.' *Ibid.*

Abelard moved one step further. He repeated Augustine's words and affirmed that 'it would seem most arrogant for us to affirm what so great a doctor left himself as a doubt.'¹²⁹ But then he went on anyway to give two theories about these waters, under the guise of the theories of some other people to whom he could point in order to exculpate himself from such charges of arrogance. These included the theory that they were reserved until the flood and then released.¹³⁰ The second opinion, more justifiable in his mind, was that the waters were in the form of vapour to temper the heat of the heavenly fires and prevent them from consuming creation.¹³¹

Thierry of Chartres, of course, tried even harder to find scientific explanations. His text swims with all sorts of theories of the interactions of elements, processes of evaporation and condensation, of compression and dispersion, of heating and cooling. His firmament is the air, which supports water vapour while it compresses the earth and gives it solidity.¹³² Rupert of Deutz made his own investigations and came to no conclusion, mentioning that great and illustrious men had dissented regarding the firmament and the waters. He was certain that the upper waters could not refer to the angels, nor could they refer to ice, and no man can know in what form they existed before the firmament divided them, because then all was a confused mass.¹³³ So he turned towards what we can

¹²⁹ 'Quod ergo tantus doctor quasi dubium sibi reliquit, affirmare nobis arrogantissimum videtur.' Abelard, *Expositio*, 743D.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 743D-44C.

¹³¹ Ibid., 744C-D.

¹³² Thierry, *De sex diebus*, 186-7 (8).

¹³³ Rupert of Deutz, *De Sancta Trinitate*, I.23-4.

know: the firmament, which he affirmed was a vault, and the heavens below it.¹³⁴ Of all of these, Hugh was the most cautious, appealing ultimately to authority and faith as the safe resort when reason failed to provide sure answers.

The Origin of the Soul

Whence come our souls, those eternal parts of our being that Adam received directly from God in a breath of life? Hugh had relentlessly pursued this question since his early days as a cleric, when he wrote to Gravion of Angers.¹³⁵ He returned to the subject again during his abbacy at Reading, when he composed the *Dialogues*.¹³⁶ This interest in the puzzle of the human soul continued, and Hugh recognised yet again while writing *In Hexaemeron* that it was a pressing issue:

This known diversity of the generation of human bodies is publicised by holy writ, but how or whence they received souls remains a famous question among those who do not wish to seek piously, but rather to contend with questions. They do this not so that they may know, but so that they may appear learned among the unskilled.¹³⁷

In the *Dialogues* Hugh had briefly mentioned four errors regarding the soul before moving on to a discussion of transmission of sin. Here, he lingered upon these errors, adding new ones and pronouncing harsher judgement upon them. First of all, he

¹³⁴ Ibid., I.24-7.

¹³⁵ Hugh, *Grav.*, 37-40 (PL 166, 833-36). See *supra*, chapter 2.

¹³⁶ Hugh, *Dial.*, V.12-13, 1205D-09B. See *supra*, chapter 4.

¹³⁷ 'Haec humanorum generationis corporum nota diversitas scripturis agyographis propalatur, sed quomodo vel unde animas acceperint, famosa questione versatur, maxime inter eos qui nolunt pie querere, sed questionibus decertare. Non ut sciant, sed ut scioli inter imperitos appareant.' Hugh, *InHex.*, III.56 (p. 279).

condemned the error that the soul comes from God's substance,¹³⁸ detailing why it cannot and adding that neither does the soul come from pre-existing matter:

The 'breath of life' is the human soul, breathed by God into man, not a creator but created life. For the breath of life is not made from the body, nor is it from pre-existing material, but it is life made and infused by God, as it is made so it is infused, and as it is infused so is it made; inspired in man, and breathed in, that is increated, not made from the nature of God. For God is immutable; this [the human soul] is often changed, sometimes condemned because of blame and made wretched for punishment.¹³⁹

He returned to the question of pre-existing matter later, arguing that God does not create the human soul as he does the souls of all other living things that arose from the four elements.¹⁴⁰ The soul is increated from nothing and this inbreathing is repeated for every diverse man, just as the generation of each man's body is diverse.¹⁴¹

Next he turned to metempsychosis, a doctrine he had not broached in the *Dialogues*, and which he had only briefly touched upon in his letter to Gravion,¹⁴² intermingling it with criticisms of the belief that the soul is a body.¹⁴³ He proclaimed, 'No one should rashly say that soul is drawn from soul, unless he should be convinced of this by manifest authority, or perchance strong reason'¹⁴⁴ It can not become the soul of a beast

¹³⁸ Error #1, Hugh, *Dial.*, V.12, 1206A.

¹³⁹ "Spiraculum vitae" est quidem humana anima inspirata a Deo homini, vita non creatrix, sed creata. Non facta (*sic*) de corpore est enim spiraculum vitae, nec est de preiacenti materia, sed est vita a Deo facta et infusa, ut facta sic infusa, ut infusa sic facta; homini inspirata, vel insufflata, id est increata, non de natura Dei facta. Deus enim immutabilis est; haec sepe mutata, pro culpa quandoque dampnata, pro pena quoque fit misera.' Hugh, *InHex.*, II.47 (p. 269).

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, III.56, (pp. 279-80).

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, (p. 280).

¹⁴² Hugh, *Grav.*, II. 26-29 (833B-C).

¹⁴³ Error #2, Hugh, *Dial.*, V.12, 1206A-B.

¹⁴⁴ 'Nemo igitur temere dicat animam traduci de anima, nisi hoc auctoritate manifesta, aut ratione pervalida fore convincat.' Hugh, *Hex.*, III.56 (p. 280).

or any other body, for it will inhabit the same body now and always. It is not divided into parts or enclosed in space, for wherever it is, it remains whole.

Hugh's views towards Traducianism had certainly hardened since writing the *Dialogues*. There he had said:

Manifest reason has not yet proven to us, nor has prophetic or evangelical authority yet promulgated to us whether descendents hold their souls whence the first man held his (that is, just as God endowed a new soul to that first man, so posterity hold new souls from God, not from inheritance), or whether just as the bodies of those following are propagated from the first body, so are the souls of others formed from the first soul.¹⁴⁵

He had then gone on to argue in favour of the idea that souls are created anew, arguing long and hard for a reconciliation between creationism and the inheritance of sin.¹⁴⁶

Earlier, he had been even more hesitant in his support for creationism.¹⁴⁷ But here in his commentary he did not hesitate to declare that the soul is certainly not drawn from father into son. He began with rational arguments against this possibility. It cannot be the soul of both, he asserted, nor is part of the soul of the father transferred, because it cannot be divided or diminished. But he ended with an argument that appears to have convinced him even more strongly than this, one of disgust at the notion that the soul could proceed from the sexual act:

If it were transferred as particles, then it would be proven to be corporeal. Because if, as certain men rant, the seed of this soul has to be transfused with the seed of the flesh in generation, many dishonourable and impossible things would be able to be claimed along with this, which

¹⁴⁵ Utrum autem inde animas habeant posteri unde primus hominum habuit, id est ut sicut primo illi novam Deus indidit, sic novas quoque, non de traduce, a Deo habeant posteri, an sicut corpora sequentium propagantur de primo corpore, sic de primi anima caeterorum formentur animae, nondum nobis manifesta ratio probavit, nondum nobis prophetica vel evangelica auctoritas promulgavit.' Hugh, *Dial.*, V.12, 1206D.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, V.12-13, 1206D-09B.

¹⁴⁷ Hugh, *Grav.*, ll. 79-137 (835B-36C).

neither ought to be said about the rational spirit, nor even held as an opinion. It is indecent to weave it together with an obscene thing and to designate that it is wickedly fused with the seed of the flesh.¹⁴⁸

Instead, he affirmed that God creates new souls daily as he did in the beginning, 'a new creation from nothing, not by a new institution.'¹⁴⁹

This brings up the question of how sin is drawn from Adam when souls are infused anew. He may have made up his mind on Traducianism, but he could only give a provisional answer to this 'famous question, ventilated rather than discussed in past times',¹⁵⁰ as he waited for the opinion of greater men. In the meantime, he held that as soon as the body is vivified by the soul it is oppressed by the chains of original sin and through its affections the soul is weighed down. If the soul fails and consents to these affections, it becomes Adam not only according to the flesh but also the spirit. Whoever continues the struggle and does not fail, with the help of the grace of God, will be considered Adam only according to the flesh. But for this to happen, he needs recourse to the sacraments.¹⁵¹ Hence the need for the Baptism of children, for they are submerged under this chain of sin, and their souls, united to the flesh, are considered as a unity of person, not a diversity of nature. His language mirrors that of the *Dialogues*, where he condemned the error that children do not need to be baptised.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ 'Si enim particulariter transfunderetur, corporeus esse probaretur. Quod si, ut delirant aliqui, semen animae cum semine carnis haberet generando transfundi, multa quidem inhonesta et impossibilia possent ex inde conclamari, quae de spiritu rationali nec dici debent nec opinari. Indecens est obscena re texere, et male fusa carnis semina denotare.' Hugh, *InHex.*, III.56 (p. 280).

¹⁴⁹ 'nova de nichilo creatione, non nova institutione.' Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ 'Questio famosa et retroactis temporibus ventilata potius quam discussa.' Hugh, *InHex.*, III.56 (p. 281).

¹⁵¹ Ibid., (pp. 281-2).

¹⁵² Error #4, Hugh, *Dial.*, V.12, 1206B-C, 1207C-D.

Because of this it is necessary for a child while he lives to be renewed by the sacrament of Christ, lest the company of the flesh of sin hinder his soul, by which it is oppressed even when the body is laid aside, unless while he lives in the body he will have been purified by the saving remedy. Therefore let adults rush, rush forth on their behalf. Let them administer the sacrament of faith for children, let them receive their faith with the sacraments, so that the faith of the Church may preserve children reborn in Christ, and the works of faith may accompany adults with the sacraments.¹⁵³

Neglected only is the error mentioned in the *Dialogues* that a soul pre-exists and merits good or evil even before it enters a body.¹⁵⁴

Finally, Hugh returned to that dreaded question: 'Why did God give souls to those whom it befalls to die without the saving remedy, when their own will did not lead them to sin?'¹⁵⁵ This time, rather than emphasising the will of the soul, which always consents to sin as it enters a body,¹⁵⁶ he merely responded that it would be wrong for God to change the divine institution by which things were made just because sin had intervened. The fact that men have become adulterers and fornicators and are overcome by the fires of lust does not hinder God's instituted plan of generating new life. No blame falls upon him; all blame falls upon those who tried to seize what did not belong to them.¹⁵⁷ But even with his justice there is the mercy of the sacraments, open to all who come. Therefore 'he does not excuse children from blame just because they do not yet know

¹⁵³ 'Ea propter necesse est parvulum dum vivit Christi sacramento renovari, ne obsit eius animae societas carnis peccati, qua gravatur etiam corpore exuta, nisi dum in corpore vivit salutari remedio fuerit expiata. Currant igitur adulti, currant pro seipsis. Impendant etiam parvulis sacramenta fidei, suscipiant ipsi fidem cum sacramentis, ut parvulos in Christo renatos fides ecclesiae tueatur, et adultos cum sacramentis, opera fidei comitentur.' Hugh, *InHex.*, III.56 (p. 282).

¹⁵⁴ Error #3, Hugh, *Dial.*, V.12, 1206B.

¹⁵⁵ 'Sed cur, aiunt, Deus dedit animas illis quos absque remedio salutari mori contigit cum eas ad peccandum voluntas propria non perduxit?' Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Hugh, *Grav.*, 834B-5A; *Dial.*, V.13, 1208A.

¹⁵⁷ Hugh, *InHex.*, III.56 (pp. 282-3).

about blame, neither does he exclude grace from them just because they are ignorant of grace.¹⁵⁸

As with much of Hugh's subject matter, the material for this topic came largely from Augustine's *De Genesi*. Augustine devoted two of the twelve books to the matter of the soul, in the end coming to no satisfactory conclusion for a matter which he called '*valde difficilis*'.¹⁵⁹ He included theories regarding the soul, treating those mentioned by Hugh as errors along with some others: that the soul comes from God's substance,¹⁶⁰ that it comes from an already existing material,¹⁶¹ that it derives from beasts or other men through metempsychosis (which he expressly condemned),¹⁶² that it is from spiritual matter,¹⁶³ that it is part of the body,¹⁶⁴ or that it is a fifth element.¹⁶⁵ He concluded provisionally that it was incorporeal spirit and from God but not of the divine substance.¹⁶⁶ He then returned and devoted the entirety of Book X to the origin of the soul, juggling creationism and Traducianism back and forth, listing points in favour and to the detriment of each, but in the end deciding in favour of neither.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁸ 'Non excusat parvulos a culpa, quia eam non norunt, nec excludit gratiam ab eis, quia eam nesciunt.' *Ibid.*, (p. 283).

¹⁵⁹ Augustine, *DeGen.*, VI.xxix.40.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, VII.ii.3.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, VII.v.7.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, VII.ix.13-x.15.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, VII.xii.18.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, VII.xiii.20-xix.25.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, VII.xxi.27.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, VII.xxviii.43.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Book X.

This topic was notably lacking in other contemporary treatises. Abelard did not broach it, Thierry did not even make it to the second Creation account, and Rupert simply declared that

The opinion of all orthodox men is that souls do not flow from one inheritance, lest (which is ridiculous) it should follow that as many souls would perish daily as seeds perish.¹⁶⁸

But the indecisiveness of Augustine, the great master, must have influenced the young Hugh strongly. Only gradually did he come to break free and decide in favour of creationism, and even then he had to justify this decision. He probably was not the only one to need such rationalisation.

The Dignity of Woman, Marriage, and the Fall

As the book of Genesis narrates, the Fall was brought about first by the sin of woman. This was enough to bring some men to an everlasting contempt for the fairer sex, and fortunately most theologians resisted the temptation to do so. But Abelard, for one, had little to say about woman's dignity, denying her even a creation in the image of God:

And note that when he [the author] says this: 'He created him in the image of God,' and afterwards he adds, 'Male and female he created them', and he does not repeat 'the image of God' when he says plurally 'them', he openly acknowledges that man alone is the recipient as far as he is created in the image of God.... The Son indeed, who is from the Father alone, is called the image of God, while the Holy Spirit is said to be from the Father and the Son. Therefore man was created in the image of God, because in this he held an extraordinary likeness to the Son of God: that just as the latter is begotten from the Father alone, so the former has being as created

¹⁶⁸ 'Quorum animas non ex traduce fluere, omnium orthodoxorum una est sententia, ne (quod ridiculum est) tot consequatur quotidie animas perire, quod pereunt semina.' Rupert of Deutz, *De Sancta Trinitate*, II.21.

from the Father alone, not assumed from something living, as woman was taken from man and made from his rib.¹⁶⁹

For Abelard, the inferiority of woman is inherent within her very soul. Without the image of God in her soul, she is given a radical subordination in which there is little to distinguish her from the state of beasts. This is all he had to say about the creation of woman and her relation to man in his *Hexaameron*. His commentary ends with the creation of paradise, so we do not have his thoughts therein on the temporal creation of woman or on her role in the Fall.¹⁷⁰

Some were silent on the state of woman, such as Hugh of Saint-Victor who gave her almost no mention in *De Sacramentis*. Others had a few good things to say, such as Peter Lombard, who indicated that woman came from man's side and not his feet, to indicate that she was to be a companion and not a slave.¹⁷¹ Rupert of Deutz recognised that God made both man and woman in his image simply because 'where man is made in the image of God, he is neither male nor female.'¹⁷² Hugh, following Augustine, strongly

¹⁶⁹ 'Et nota quod cum ait hic: *Ad imaginem Dei creavit illum*; et postmodum addit: *Masculum et feminam creavit eos*, nec repetit ad imaginem Dei, cum dicit pluraliter *eos*, sicut fecit cum dixit *illum*, patenter innuit de solo viro recipiendum esse quod ad imaginem Dei creatus sit... Filius quippe Dei imago dicitur, qui ex solo Patre est, cum Spiritus sanctus a Patre et Filio esse dicatur. Vir itaque ad imaginem Dei creatus est, quia in hoc praecipuam habet cum Filio Dei similitudinem, quod sicut ille ex solo est Patre tanquam genitus, ita iste ex solo Deo habet esse tanquam creatus, non de aliquo animali assumptus, sicut mulier de viro sumpta est et de costa ejus formata.' Abelard, *Expositio*, 763D-64A.

¹⁷⁰ However, Abelard was far more gracious in his language than St. Jerome, and his other writings, especially his letters to Heloise, show a much more complex view of the dignity of women under the dispensation of grace, beginning with Christ's female disciples being more highly favoured than the men. For a good discussion of the complex and at times contradictory nature of Abelard's views, see Mary Martin McLaughlin, 'Peter Abelard and the Dignity of Women: Twelfth Century «Feminism» in Theory and Practice,' in *Pierre Abélard – Pierre le Vénérable. Les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en occident au milieu du XII^e siècle*, Abbaye de Cluny 2 au 9 juillet 1972, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 546 (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975), esp. 291-8, 308-13.

¹⁷¹ Lombard, *Sent.*, II.xviii.3.

¹⁷² Rupert of Deutz, *De Sancta Trinitate*, II.7.

emphasised the equality of the souls of both woman and man. Man and woman together are created in the image and likeness of God:

Woman was made with man, just as we read on the sixth day....Moses, as if through repetition, said about man in what way God produced him from the earth, and just so he wrote about woman in what way she proceeded when she was formed from the rib of man, not because she was made after man, but because he could not say to us simultaneously what happened simultaneously. He utters temporal words, through which he describes eternal things.¹⁷³

As soon as Adam was created he received the knowledge of Eve's creation in his sleep. 'The Lord God made things as he wished and man wrote of these things to men as he was able.'¹⁷⁴ In the account he prefaced the creation of Eve with the tale of the animals being led to Adam to be named and Adam not finding a helper amongst them. This actually happened later, Hugh explained, but it was placed before her creation to commend woman who excelled far beyond the beasts both for her upright form and for her use of reason.¹⁷⁵

Hugh did not deny that woman proceeded from the side of man, only that she was subsequent in time to him. A small matter, perhaps, but it still mitigates the subordination to some extent. He insisted that both were created in the image and likeness of God, in the 'spirit of their mind.'¹⁷⁶ Woman was made first as a helper to man so that the two

¹⁷³ 'Facta quidem erat femina cum viro, sicut legimus die sexto....Sed sicut recapitulando Moyses de viro dixit qualiter eum deus de terra produxit sic et de femina scribit qualiter de costa viri formata processerit, non quia post virum facta fuerit, sed quod simul factum est, simul nobis dici non potuit. Verba promit temporalia quibus etiam proponit eterna.' Hugh, *InHex.*, II.52. (pp. 272-3).

¹⁷⁴ 'Fecit ea dominus Deus quomodo voluit, scripsit ea hominibus homo ut potuit.' *Ibid.*, III.54 (p. 275).

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* Incidentally, Abelard insisted that the naming of the animals must have been placed out of order because it would have taken several years at least to invent a language with which to name them all. Abelard, *Expositio*, 781C-D.

¹⁷⁶ Hugh, *InHex.*, II.53 (p. 273).

could mutually fulfil the commandment of charity and secondly to help propagate humankind.¹⁷⁷ Both are given the power of domination over the earth.¹⁷⁸ She is a helper like unto man, 'alike because of corporeal wrappings, alike because of rational soul, because of the image and likeness of God.'¹⁷⁹

Hugh spoke more of marriage here than in his other works. The fact that woman was created from Adam's rib shows that man should not leave the side of his wife and take another to himself.¹⁸⁰ God pronounced the law of marriage before sin, and there would have been procreation in paradise, but 'without the restless ardour of lust and the pain of giving birth.'¹⁸¹ When the members of the human race had reached a particular number, their animal bodies would have been transformed so that they could have received all bodily sustenance from the spirit. But sin intervened, and now marriage is the remedy for sickness and the evil of incontinence, and the good of marriage transforms concupiscence into only a venial fault, for marriage is always good and can never be evil.¹⁸²

Marriage provides the Augustinian tripartite good: faith, offspring, and permanence. The two spouses must never separate, for a marriage is a symbol of Christ and the Church, who are one flesh. Although multiple marriages were allowed for the patriarchs just as other laws are permitted for other times, under the Church a man can

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., III.53 (p. 274).

¹⁷⁹ 'Simile pro lineamentis corporeis, simile pro anima rationali, pro ymagine et similitudine Dei.' Ibid., II.53, (p. 274).

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., III.55 (p. 276).

¹⁸¹ 'sine inquieto ardore libidinis, sine dolore pariendi.' Ibid., (p. 277).

¹⁸² Ibid., (pp. 277-8).

only have one wife. Because of this a man can never be ordained as a cleric if he has remarried and transgressed unity.¹⁸³ And of course, one must not forget that the celibate life is higher, for it controls and restrains what marriage ordains.¹⁸⁴ But whereas marriage was treated as a mere afterthought in the *Dialogues*, here it is celibacy that is treated as a postscript.

Hugh's ideas on women and marriage once again derived nearly exclusively from Augustine, but he differed considerably both in what he emphasised and in what he neglected. Augustine made a point of stressing that woman was created principally for procreation and not for friendship, for had God wanted to create a friend for Adam he would have created another man!¹⁸⁵ Nor did Augustine emphasise the equality of the image as often as did Hugh. As for woman's role in the Fall, they both took similar views.

Eve was the first to sin, and it was she who conveyed temptation from the devil to man.¹⁸⁶ She was as proud as man in defending her sin and transferring the blame with no humility of confession.¹⁸⁷ And so she received the punishment of subjection, emphasised by Adam's naming of her,¹⁸⁸ and what before she did out of love for man she now does because of a law of condition. Woman can never dominate man, and conversely, man dominates woman, not because of nature but because of her blame. If they do not serve

¹⁸³ Ibid., III.56 (278-9).

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., III.55 (p. 278).

¹⁸⁵ Augustine, *DeGen.*, IX.iii.5, v.9.

¹⁸⁶ Hugh, *InHex.*, III.61 (p. 286).

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., III.68 (p. 288).

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., III.72 (p. 291).

this sentence, their nature becomes even more depraved and blame multiplies. There is a remedy, however, for what appears to be a harsh subordination. Spouses may still serve each other out of charity, each helping the other without either holding domination.¹⁸⁹ Once again, Hugh displayed his desire to lessen the condemnation and elevate woman's dignity. By emphasising the charity expressed in serving each other, he indicated that this was the ideal to follow: to grow into and exemplify the likeness of God in which we all were formed.

Conclusion

As with his other writings, when Hugh wrote *In Hexaemeron*, he balanced a scholastic, even scientific, approach with monastic contemplation. Unlike many of the monastic writers of his day, he not only wrote allegorical and moral interpretations of Genesis, but he also tried his hand at a literal analysis. But in contrast to other literal commentators, he maintained a meditative, prayerful attitude more congruous with contemporary allegorical treatments. When the account ends with the expulsion from Eden and the terrible sight of the Cherubim blocking the way with his flaming sword, the reader cannot but feel that Hugh has more than fulfilled his duty in guiding him through these convoluted passages. He ended by leaving the literal interpretation behind for a glimpse into the promise of the eternal meaning of paradise, bidding us look forward rather than back in despair. For paradise has been regained in an even happier paradise:

¹⁸⁹

Ibid., III.70 (p. 290).

the present Church, with its sacraments and most abundant virtues. And the happiest of all is yet to come, he promised, in the celestial paradise, which will remain perpetually.¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., III.76 (pp. 293-4).

Chapter VIII

Hugh of Amiens and the Heretics: The Polemics of *Contra haereticos*

In 1145, fifteen years into his term as archbishop of Rouen, Hugh of Amiens travelled to Nantes with Alberic, papal legate and cardinal-bishop of Ostia, to preach against heresy and witness the translation of the bodies of the early Christian martyrs Donatian and Rogatian. In the spring of that year, Halley's comet once again made its periodic return to the skies of earth, having last been seen in the fateful year of 1066. If the translation occurred, as is likely, on 24 May, the feast day of the martyrs, a nearly new moon would have given the bishops a perfect view of the comet.¹ Seen by a variety of chroniclers as presaging or announcing events as disparate as the death of Pope Lucius II, widespread famine and death, and the fall of Edessa to the Turks,² the comet also provided meaning for the two bishops, giving Hugh a vivid memory which he carried with him during the following years. In response to this event and Alberic's urging, Hugh wrote *Contra haereticos sui temporis*, also known as *De ecclesia et eius ministris libri tres*, sometime before Alberic's death in 1147.³ He fulfilled Alberic's request through an

¹ Gilles Bounoure, 'L'archevêque, l'hérétique et la comète,' *Médiévales: langue, textes, histoire* 14 (1988): 119; Rev. Alban Butler, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. and revised by Herbert Thurston, S.J. and Donald Attwater (London: Burns and Oates, 1956), II.381-2.

² *Ibid.*, 120-6.

³ *Bibliographie Universelle*, I.541. There are three extant manuscripts of *Contra haereticos*: 1) Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 1422, ff. 137r-168v (twelfth or thirteenth century). This manuscript comes from the monastery of La Lyre and later from Saint-Ouen, Rouen. *Contra haereticos*

elaborate defence of orthodoxy, attacking a wide range of beliefs held by these and other heretics while expounding upon orthodox doctrines of the Catholic faith.⁴

Hugh began *Contra haereticos* with a recollection of the events at Nantes:

To Alberic, bishop of Ostia, son of the Holy Roman Church, so often legate of the apostolic seat, from Hugh, a sinner, nevertheless priest of Rouen: Reverend Father, I have hesitated for a time to obey your mandate, although without forgetting it. Grant your pardon to a petitioner to whom you habitually show your grace. There remains within me a memory worthy to be recalled: how I deserved to assist you at the borders of Gaul near the Britannic Sea in the city of Nantes. There, having received the relics of the holy martyrs, the brothers Donatian and Rogatian, you displayed them in the presence of a great crowd of the faithful. When you had displayed them, you translated them with worthy honour and giving of thanks. Together we saw a comet rushing down in the west, having been cast into a headlong fall, signalling, as you declared, the ruin of the heresy which then teemed in Armorica. Then, in the presence of your orthodox preaching, the heretical people were not able to stand. Their heresiarch was afraid and did not venture to show himself. Accordingly, it pleased

comes at the end after Turpin's *De Aquisitione Hispaniae*, collections of miracles of St. James, St. Paul, and St. Leonard, and the *Vitae Patrium* by Heraclitus.

2) Paris, BN, ms. lat. 13427 (twelfth century). *Contra haereticos* comprises the entirety of this manuscript from Saint-Martin-des-Champs.

3) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Phill. 1733, ff. 15r-41r (early thirteenth century). This manuscript comes from northern France and was part of the collection of the Jesuit College de Clermont in Paris. St. Anselm of Canterbury's *De concordia* precedes the text. Valentin Rose, *Verzeichnis der Lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Erster Band: Die Meermann-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillipps* (Berlin: Asher, 1893).

Two other manuscripts once existed. One was at the abbey of Bec, part of the collection left there by Philip of Harcourt, bishop of Bayeux. The other was held by the library of Saint-Evroult in the twelfth century. Geneviève Nortier, *Les Bibliothèques Médiévales des Abbayes Bénédictines de Normandie*, Nouvelle édition, *Bibliothèque d'Histoire et d'Archeologie Chrétienne* (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1971), 44-5, 215.

⁴ C. C. de Bruin wrote a brief article on *Contra haereticos* within the context of Ecclesiology, Cathar heresy, and rational disagreement with tradition: C.C. de Bruin, 'Ineffabile mysterium. Mater Ecclesia in hat traktaat *Contra haereticos sive de Ecclesia et eius ministris* van Hugo van Amiens (+1164),' in *Ecclesia. Een bundel opstellen Aangeboden aan Prof. J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959), 46-59. Gilles Bounoure has looked more closely at the heresy of Eudo de l'Étoile, using the epistle and preface of *Contra haereticos* as a springboard for better understanding the nature of the times and of his heresy, Bounoure, 'L'archevêque.' Jan Michael Joncas has analysed Book II from the viewpoint of a modern liturgist and given some good insights on the theology of orders that Hugh attempted to construct and its possible reflection of the state of the hierarchy in his day, Jan Michael Joncas, 'A Skein of Sacred Sevens: Hugh of Amiens on Orders and Ordination,' in *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays*, ed. Lizette Larson-Miller, *Garland Medieval Casebooks* 18 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1997), 85-120. However, as of yet, no in depth study of the entire work has been written.

you that we should write something about the insurgent heresies, which I have undertaken under the authority of your request, although in a succinct work of brief character. Therefore, a most extensive conclusion is drawn from a narrow premise, a copious dish taken out of a small vessel, according to a Catholic manner in the Holy Spirit.⁵

Alberic's preaching convinced those heretics present, but failed to draw out the heresiarch who propagated the heresy, a leader for whom Hugh failed to provide any identity. Their beliefs were close to those of other heretics of the day, and they had a specific anti-clerical element that lends credence to the view that they were actually held by a specific group. On the other hand, Hugh probably used these specific heretics as an opportunity for launching into a much broader polemic against heresy in general. Of the three books into which he divided his text, the first contains an exposition on the Trinity and Incarnation, a definition of heresy, and details on heretical objections against infant baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist.⁶ The second book delivers a full-blown defence of the seven orders of the clerical hierarchy involving symbolism and biblical precedent.⁷ Finally, the third book deals in depth with the rest of the heretical beliefs including a denial of clerical dignity, questioning of the resurrection of the body, opposition to marriage as a sacrament, and scepticism about the nature of the Church as

⁵ 'Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae filio ALBERICO Ostiensi episcopo, quamsaepe sedis apostolicae legato, peccator HUGO Rothomagensis utcunque sacerdos. Reverende Pater, tuis obedire mandatis pro tempore distuli, non tamen illud omisi, sed praesta petenti veniam, cui soles praestare gratiam. Digna sedet mihi memoria reminisci, qualiter in finibus Galliarum prope mare Britannicum, civitate Nannetensi meruimus assistere tibi. Ibi sanctorum corpora martyrum Donatiani et Rogatiani fratrum, multo coetu praesente fidelium, suscepta praesentasti, praesentata relocasti cum digno honore et gratiarum actione. Ibi tecum aspeximus cometem praecipiti lapsu in occiduo ruentem, ruinam haeresis, quae in Armorico tunc scatebat, te protestante signantem. Ibi quidem coram orthodoxa praedicatione tua plebs haeretica stare non poterat. Eorum haeresiarches pertimuit, nec apparere praesumpsit. Proinde placuit tibi super haeresibus insurgentibus nos aliqua scribere, quod et suscepimus tuae jussionis auctoritate; sed succincto opere, sed brevi characterere. Trahatur itaque ex arcto commate clausa latissima, sumantur ex vase modico fercula copiosa, more Catholico in Spiritu sancto.' Hugh, *Haer.*, 1255B-1256B.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1257A-1273A.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1273A-1283B.

an institution.⁸ All of these beliefs fit into a pattern commonly held by heretics both in Hugh's time and in the early eleventh century.

Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Heresies

From the dawn of the new millennium until the midpoint of the eleventh century, various heresies sprang up frequently across Western Europe. As recorded by both Radulphus Glaber and Adémar of Chabannes, these millennial heresies were assumed to be part of a widespread movement with links to much more ancient heresies. Beginning with Adémar's statement that 'Manichaeans appeared throughout Aquitaine and led the people astray,'⁹ similar accusations made regular appearances. These early heresies often included an opposition to some of the sacraments, but they manifested themselves under a variety of forms including everything from opposition to tithes by the peasant Leutard to the mysterious, gnostic practices of the group of canons condemned in Orléans in 1022.¹⁰ In most cases, it was the bishop who oversaw the suppression of heresy, as in

⁸ Ibid., 1283B-1298.

⁹ WEH, 2, p. 74.

¹⁰ Ibid., 1a, pp. 72-3; 3, pp. 74-81; Lambert, 14-21, 35. Theories for the origins of heresy abound and have done so since their very beginning. Widespread accusations of Manichaeism were in part a desire to find a pedigree for heresies and to categorise them under the name of that which was, thanks to St. Augustine, perhaps the best known of all. Nevertheless, the appearance of dualist tendencies among heretics also contributed to the particularly widespread use of the epithet 'Manichaean'. Struck by the dualistic nature of some of the heresies of this period and the number of contemporaries who saw Manichaeism in such heresies, some scholars have attempted to find direct links with Eastern dualists, but a lack of evidence prevents such assertions from being more than speculation. See Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee. A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947, reissued 1982); Heinrich Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages. 1000-1200*, translated by Denise A. Kaiser (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 26-8, 35-9, 105-111. Other scholars have asserted that such heresies were entirely native to the West, arising solely through social discontent and the same desire for apostolic purity that drove reforms in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. For these views, see in particular R. Morghen, 'Problèmes sur l'origine de l'hérésie au Moyen Age,' *Revue Historique* 236 (1966), 1-16; Robert I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Ltd., 1985); and Russell, *Dissent and Reform*.

1025 when Gerard, bishop of Cambrai, was informed of the presence of heretics in Arras. Inquiring into their teachings and practices, he discovered beliefs similar to those of Hugh's heretics, including a rejection of Baptism, the Eucharist, penance, sacramental marriage, and the cult of the saints.¹¹ Having uncovered their views, Gerard embarked upon a long discourse that was recorded and expanded in the diocesan annals, along with some views that the heretics probably never even held.¹² He provided, in a treatise that resembles Hugh's with its broad concerns exceeding the bounds of one simple heresy, a precursor to twelfth-century polemics against heresy.

During Hugh's own period, two heretics held beliefs with an anti-clerical and anti-sacramental nature that corresponds to that of the heresy which Hugh refuted. The first of these heretics, Henry the Monk,¹³ appeared outside Le Mans in 1116 where

Against the common assertion that heresy was generated mainly among a marginalized peasantry driven more by social than religious concerns, see Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism*, translated by Steven Rowan, with an introduction by Robert E. Lerner (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), esp. 1-17. Fichtenau, 113-26, points out the dangers of simple theories and underlines the learned aspects of heresy. See also Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy. Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 90-150, for the necessary presence of literacy at least among some of the heretics. As textual communities, heretics shared a common understanding of a specific text, implying that at least some members, especially the originators of a heresy, had a basic level of literacy and learning.

¹¹ Gerard of Cambrai, 1269-1322.

¹² Ibid. Guy Lobrichon, effectively arguing for authenticity of Gerard's authorship of the discourse, attributes its aims to an attempt to protect a Carolingian system of hierarchy against social disruption. In his view, the accusations have little basis in truth and are little more than fictions serving as a justification to suppress rebellious factions. See Guy Lobrichon, 'Arras, 1025, ou le vrai procès d'une fausse accusation,' in *Inventer l'herésie? Discours, polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'Inquisition*, ed. Monique Zerner (Nice: Centre d'Études Médiévales, 1998), 80-1, 84-5. Of course, one might also view Gerard's discourse principally as an attack against actual heretics, but one which simultaneously kept in mind the broader social situation and hoped to rein in other rebellious tendencies which were not specifically doctrinal.

¹³ He is generally referred to as 'Henry the Monk', and although there is no evidence that he belonged to a religious order, Robert Moore speculates that he may have been a Cistercian novice: *Origins*, 91. Some scholars have called him 'Henry of Lausanne', based originally upon a misreading of Bernard of Clairvaux, who stated, 'Ask, if you please, noble Sir, under what circumstances he left the city of

Hildebert of Lavardin gave him a license to preach in his absence.¹⁴ However, while Hildebert was absent, Henry led a popular uprising against the cathedral canons, whom the people boycotted, assaulted, and eventually forced to flee to the protection of the count.¹⁵ He then proclaimed a reform of marriage, preaching that none should concern himself with whether he married incestuously. Hildebert returned only to be denied access to his city and told that he and his 'wicked' clergy had no authority.¹⁶

Through much effort, Hildebert was able to force Henry to flee,¹⁷ but he continued to preach and once again re-emerged upon the scene between 1133 and 1135. At that time, a monk named William recorded a debate in which the heretic denied infant Baptism, sacramental marriage, clerical dignity, confession to priests, the priestly power to loose and bind, and the benefit of prayers and masses for the dead.¹⁸ Henry then came before the Council of Pisa in 1135, at which Hugh was present, and he was condemned as a heretic and delivered into confinement.¹⁹ He managed to escape and once again spread heresy, from Poitiers to Toulouse, sparking a new campaign against him in 1145 by

Lausanne, or Le Mans, or Poitiers, or Bordeaux!' WEH, 14a, 124; St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, ep. 241 (VIII.125-7).

¹⁴ WEH, 11a, 109.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 110.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 114.

¹⁸ Monique Zerner, 'Au temps de l'appel aux armes contre les hérétiques: du "Contra Henricum" du moine Guillaume aux "Contra Hereticos"', in *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours, polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'Inquisition*, ed. Monique Zerner (Nice: Centre d'Études Médiévales, 1998), 125. Zerner has demonstrated that the work commonly attributed to William is actually a later polemical source against the Waldensians that incorporated some of his work. Therefore, the actual tract by William remains unedited.

¹⁹ WEH, 11b, 115; Orderic Vitalis, XIII, 17.

Bernard of Clairvaux and Alberic of Ostia, who probably departed for the south as soon as he was finished at Nantes.²⁰

Around 1119, Peter of Bruis, a village priest from the Alps, began preaching, and by his death in 1139 or 1140 had moved into the south of France. According to Peter the Venerable, who began his treatise *Contra Petrobrusianos* shortly after the heretic's death, his views included elements similar to those of Henry and the Arras heretics, including a denial of infant Baptism, a violent opposition to the construction of churches, an intent to break and burn crosses because of their association with Christ's torment, a denial of the real presence of the Eucharist, and a rejection of prayers and offerings for the dead.²¹ Peter of Bruis' fervour brought him to a violent end when he came to the recently built basilica of Saint-Gilles where, having lit a bonfire of crucifixes, a people angry with him for desecrating an important and popular shrine pushed him into the flames.²² Although much more radical with his total rejection of all outward forms of religion than Henry the Monk ever was, Peter came to be viewed as a mentor to his fellow heretic, probably because Henry came south so soon after Peter's death and revived the flames of dissent and heresy still smouldering from his passage.²³

Contra Petrobrusianos shows similarities to *Contra haereticos*, both in the subjects Peter addressed and in his resort to Scriptural evidence to counter the heretics'

²⁰ Moore, *Origins*, 90.

²¹ For Peter's summary of the division of his work into these five main chapters, see Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos haereticos*, ed. James Fearn, CCCM 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968) Epistola, pp. 4-5 (PL 189, 722B-23A).

²² Moore, *Origins*, 110.

²³ Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos*, Epistola, p. 5 (PL 189, 723A-24A); Lambert, 55.

use of the Bible. They do differ, in that Peter the Venerable addressed his work to a named heretic and focused very narrowly on the five headings, while Hugh not only never named his heresiarch, but also ranged across a broader spectrum of material. Since *Contra Petrobrusianos* found no more of an audience than did the *Contra haereticos*, with only three twelfth-century manuscripts now extant,²⁴ it is doubtful that Hugh actually read the work. But given Hugh's friendship with Peter the Venerable, it is possible that he knew of Peter's anti-heretical writings and even modelled his work on what he had hear of them. At the very least, the works witness to a similar motivation in the two to fight heresy and build up a firm understanding of the faith.

One heretic in particular has been often proposed as the target of Hugh's treatise, although we know little of his specific beliefs. Eudo de l'Étoile, began to gain a following in Brittany. He was a Breton, possibly noble, but according to William of Newburgh 'unlettered and ignorant.'²⁵ According to William, he took upon himself the name 'Eon' when he heard the words of an exorcism 'Through him (*eum*) who shall come to judge the world', while according to the anonymous continuation of Sigibert of Gembloux, he obtained it from the end of the general Collect at mass: 'Through the same (*per eundem*) Christ our Lord.'²⁶ After Eudo's capture, he announced before the assembled bishops at the Council of Reims in 1148: 'I am Eon, who shall come to judge the quick and the dead, and the world through fire.' He then proceeded to demonstrate his Y-shaped staff which, when two prongs pointed towards heaven, announced that God

²⁴ Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure*, 120.

²⁵ WEH, 18b, 143.

²⁶ Ibid. The name 'Eon' being unlikely for a Breton (unless influenced by gnostic doctrines) because of its meaning of 'froth' or 'foam', Eudo may have adopted 'Eun' which was directly related to *per eundem* and meant 'straight' or 'direct' in his native tongue. See Russell, 120-1.

held two parts of the world and the third part was given to him, but when turned around announced that he held two thirds of the world and relinquished only one to God. Laughing in derision at his idiocy, the bishops condemned and imprisoned him. His followers were not so fortunate: they were tried and committed to the flames.²⁷

Of Eudo's beliefs, little is known other than his belief that he was the Son of God, his custom of destroying and plundering church buildings, and his practice of calling his followers by the names of angels, prophets, and apostles. Most scholars have thus assumed that Eudo could not be the target of Hugh's treatise simply because of his ignorance and simplicity and the largely unlettered peasant following he gathered to himself.²⁸ However, Gilles Bounoure has argued convincingly that Eudo was a member of the lesser nobility whose relatives perhaps intervened in the end to commute his sentence to imprisonment.²⁹ At the same time, he argues that rather than a noble surname, the title 'de l'Étoile' referred specifically to the comet which lit the skies in 1145 and thus directly related to Hugh's treatise.³⁰ The location and the time of the heresy certainly coincide, and one chronicler specifically linked Eudo's appearance with the comet, describing his influence throughout Brittany in the year 1145:

²⁷ WEH, 18b, 145.

²⁸ See esp. Raoul Manselli, 'Per la storia dell'eresia nel secolo XII: Studi minori,' *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 67 (1955), 244. According to Runciman, Eudo was part of a rebirth of gnosticism that included Henry and Peter of Bruis and he may have specifically taken his name from the Eons, semi-eternal, divine beings directly under God with names of abstractions like 'Intellect' and 'Truth,' resembling his practice of calling followers by names such as 'Wisdom', 'Knowledge', or 'Judgement'. Generally denied not only because of the lack of proof of gnostic dissemination in the West but also because of Eudo's depiction as an 'illiteratus', the possibility cannot entirely be discounted that Eon was influenced by Eastern dualists. See Runciman, 6, 121; WEH, 18b, 145.

²⁹ Bounoure, 74-8.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 122-3.

'A comet was seen, the winter was warm, and the trees were bare. [Monasteries?] were burned and some of their inhabitants were killed by sword and famine, as were many other hermitages in Brocéliande and other forests, by a certain heretic living in those forests with many followers, whom alone they followed. Among other heresies he made himself God. In the steadfastness of his faith, nay heresy, through diverse provinces, especially in the diocese of Saint-Malo, many endured diverse punishments even unto death. Eudo was his name, and he was raised in the district of Loudéac.'³¹

Despite this connexion between Eudo and the comet, the evidence that Hugh specifically targeted him is scant. Even if Eudo were named after the comet, its symbolic nature left it open to a multitude of interpretations. Hugh need not have linked its appearance specifically to Eudo, even if he knew that such an association was being made. The fact that Eudo may not have held many of the beliefs attacked by Hugh does not necessarily mean that Hugh was not addressing him while making use of the opportunity to refute a range of heresies. Nevertheless, some of the specifics mentioned in the accounts of Eudo's life, especially the plundering and burning of churches, monasteries, and hermitages, would have been too scandalous for Hugh to have overlooked. And such attacks on church buildings receive no mention whatsoever in *Contra haereticos*.

Of course, heresy did not end with the death of Peter or the imprisonments of Eudo and Henry. Others, including the Cathars, would soon spread throughout France and Italy and inspire both the birth of the Dominicans and the formal institution of the Inquisition. But in Hugh's own day, it was still the responsibility of individual bishops to

³¹ 'Cometa visa, hyems tepida et arbores fuerunt steriles. [?] cremantur, quibusdam inhabitantium gladio et fame peremptis, et aliae multae heremitarum mansiones in Befrelien et aliis forestis a quodam haeretico ipsas forestas cum multis sequacibus habitante, quem [?] tantum sequebantur. Qui inter caeteras haereses Deum se faciebat: in cuius etiam fidei, immo haeresis perseverantia multi per diversas provincias, praesertim in Aletensi Episcopatu diversa usque ad mortem pertulere supplicia. Eudo erat nomine, de pago Lodiace ortus.' *Ex Chronico Britannico*, RHF XII, 558.

deal with heresy where they found it. Hugh's heresiarch may have been Eudo, Henry, or a charismatic follower of one of the two, but given the widespread discontent of those years, it is just as likely that he addressed a nascent heresy unknown to this day. At the same time that these better known heretics propagated their heresies, other unknown figures were doing the same. Heretics were plentiful in those days, and there is no reason why, apart from the text serving as a more general polemic, Hugh could not have been addressing yet another group.

Popular Piety: Heretical and Orthodox

Discontent among the people need not have resulted in disobedience. Just as with the pilgrims, hermits, and Peace of God movement of the millennium, this restless energy could be devoted to thoroughly orthodox endeavours.³² At the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century, preachers such as Robert of Arbrissel (c. 1045-1116), Bernard of Tiron, and Vitalis of Mortain (c. 1060-1122) wandered with a papal seal of approval in the same forests through which Henry the Monk would later pass. Along with Norbert of Xanten (c. 1080-1134), all three would form thoroughly orthodox orders.³³ In the very same year as the incident in Nantes, Hugh approvingly observed a popular movement that existed in full obedience to the Church and under the supervision of the hierarchy. He wrote a letter to Thierry, bishop of Amiens from 1144 to 1164, detailing its rapid spread throughout the north of France.

³² Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History. Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995), 37-9.

³³ Grundmann, 18-19, 210-11; Lambert, 43-51.

At Chartres, they began in humility to drag wagons and carts for the work of constructing a church. Their humility becomes famous with miracles and this celebrated rumour reaches everywhere. At last, it excited our Normandy. Therefore, when members of our own diocese had received a blessing from us, they set out and fulfilled their vows. Thence in a similar form they began to come to their mother church in our province, through our bishoprics, under such a plan: that no one should come into their company unless he has first confessed and received penance and unless they who before had made enemies, leaving behind hatred and ill-will, come together in reconciliation and firm peace. These things having been done, a leader is set up over them, under whose rule they drag their wagons by their shoulders with silence and humility. And they do not present their offering without discipline and tears.³⁴

The event was widely reported, but perhaps the most detailed contemporary account came from Haymo, abbot of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives in Calvados. He described how the people would surround a church with carts full of food, stones, and other supplies. Then they would spend the night in a candlelit vigil, keeping watch with psalms and hymns. This would end the following day with processions of relics, led by priests and clerics.³⁵

The key factors that gained Hugh's support for the members of this movement were their assimilation of approved practices into their devotion and their search for the bishop's blessing. Hugh emphasised the virtue of obedience among these penitents and the miracles that resulted from it:

These three things which we mentioned above, namely confession with penitence, reconciliation from all ill-will, and humility coming with

³⁴ 'Apud Carnotum coeperunt in humilitate quadrigas et carpenta trahere ad opus ecclesiae construendae. Eorum humilitas etiam miraculis coruscare, haec fama celebris circumquaque pervenit. Nostram denique Normaniam excitavit. Nostrates igitur benedictione a nobis accepta, illuc usque profecti sunt, et vota sua persolverunt. Deinde forma simili ad matrem suam Ecclesiam in dioecesi nostra, per episcopatus nostros, venire coeperunt, sub tali proposito, quod nemo in eorum comitatu veniret, nisi prius data confessione, et poenitentia suscepta; nisi deposita ira et malivolentia, qui prius inimici fuerant convenirent in concordiam, et pacem firmam. His praemissis: unus eorum princeps statuitur, cujus imperio in humilitate et silentio trahunt quadrigas suas humeris suis; et praesentant oblationem suam non sine disciplina et lacrymis.' Hugh, *Epistolae*, X, 1133C-D.

³⁵ *Ex Haymonis Abbatis S. Petri Divensis, Relatione de miraculis B. Mariae fragmentum*, RHF XIV, 318-19. There are also accounts of these events in *Ex Chronico Rothomagensis*, RHF XII, 785, and Torigny, 150-1.

obedience, we required from all these when they come to us. And we dutifully received them, absolved them, and blessed them if they bore these three, while they proceeded on their way thus formed, and sometimes, even in our churches, miracles most especially occurred very frequently. From among their own, they brought with them those with infirmities, and they led them back healthy whom they had brought as invalids. We even permit the members of our dioceses to go outside our diocese, but we forbid them to enter places where there are excommunicates or places under interdict.

These things happened in the year of the incarnation of the Word 1145. Be well.³⁶

As much as Hugh actively combated the disobedience of heretics, he was prepared to defend any lay movement that did not threaten either the well-being of the Church and society, so inextricably linked and even identified, or the orthodoxy of the faith. He himself stressed the virtue of obedience in the preface to *Contra haereticos*:

God orders (let the servant obey), the Fathers decree, the brothers beseech, the sons demand, together and singly they enjoin with the authority of charity, that against the new, emerging heretics, against their heresies not new, but old, we will at some point rise up together at last, and both set against these the sincere purity of the Catholic faith, and with God's help defend it against them.³⁷

It is to this particular obedience that we now turn. As with Adémar of Chabannes, who was eager to find precedents for such heresies, the heretics were new, but the heresies were old. And the accusation of novelty just cast one more aspersion upon them, for most

³⁶ 'Tria illa quae praemisimus, confessionem videlicet cum poenitentia, et concordiam de omni malivolentiae et humilitatem veniendi cum obedientia, requirimus ab eis cum ad nos veniunt, eosque pie recipimus, et absolvimus, et benedicimus si tria illa deferunt, dum sic informati in itinere veniunt, quandoque et in ecclesiis nostris quam maxime miracula creberrima fiunt. De suis etiam quos secum deferunt infirmis, et reducant sanos quos secum attulerunt invalidos. Et nos permittimus nostros ire extra episcopatus nostros, sed prohibemus eos ne intrent ad excommunicatos, vel interdictos. Facta sunt haec an. incarnati Verbi 1145. Bene vale.' Hugh, *Epistolae*, X, 1133D-1134A.

³⁷ 'Mandat Dominus, obediat servus, Patres praecipunt, fratres expetunt, filii requirunt, charitatis imperio simul et singulariter injungunt, ut contra haereticos emergentes novos, contra eorum non novas sed veteres tandem aliquando consurgamus, sinceram Catholicae fidei puritatem, et eis opponamus, et contra eos, assistente Domino, defendamus.' Hugh, *Haer.*, 1256B-C.

theologians of the day had a distrust of anything lacking precedent, some going so far as to view novelty as intrinsically evil and a sign of Antichrist.³⁸ For Hugh, these heresies were at the same time a new evil and an age-old attack on the Church which, although he did not explicitly state so, stretched back to figures like Arius and Mani and posed as much a threat as they once had to the unity of the faith. To combat heretics, one needed to refute their views. However, even more essential was the need to secure a firm foundation for orthodox faith to ensure that such heresies did not arise in the first place. Such was the purpose of *Contra haereticos*.

A Defence of Orthodoxy against Heresy

What exactly, according to Hugh of Amiens, was heresy? He answered this question in the middle of Book I, beginning by tracing its origins back to the devil himself.

The first ebb away from the light of truth soon rushed into the darkness of ignorance; the blindness of ignorance led into error, and when it had been anointed, error generated heresy. That error, which is proven to be obstinate, is called heresy. The Holy Spirit inspired sound doctrine, by which path, truth and life became known to us. Satan, the spirit of wickedness, spread falsehood, by which he gave error, heresy, and death to the world.³⁹

³⁸ Beryl Smalley, 'Ecclesiastical Attitudes to Novelty c. 1100 - c. 1250,' in *Church, Society and Politics*, ed. Derek Baker, *Studies in Church History* 12 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975), 119.

³⁹ 'Prima quidem defluxio a luce veritatis mox ignorantiae tenebras incurrit; ignorantiae caecitas errorem induxit, error inolitus haeresim procreavit. Haeresis autem error ille vocatur, qui pertinax esse probatur. Spiritus sanctus sanam doctrinam inspiravit, qua via, veritas et vita nobis innotuit. Spiritus nequitiae Satanus mendacium sparsit, quo errorem, et haeresim, et mortem mundo propinavit.' Hugh, *Haer.*, I.6, 1261A.

Here he focused on the devil's role as the creator of heresy, the father of lies who fell from heaven because of his pride.⁴⁰ He became the abyss and the darkness of his presumption sent forth the evils of cupidity, presumption, lust, error, and iniquity.⁴¹

Just as he interpreted the abyss as the devil and the font of heresy, Hugh also interpreted the verses in Genesis which followed, witnessing to his continued love of the Hexaemeron as a source of inspiration. In these verses he found an allegorical hint of that orthodoxy to which heresy was opposed. This obedient orthodoxy was embodied in both the good angels and the faithful here on earth, symbolised by the waters above and below the firmament.⁴² Those here below, gathered like those waters into one place, were 'one in the unity of faith, hope, and charity; in one God, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit; in one Catholic Church, gathered together in one Spirit.'⁴³ In the midst of this unity arose the dry land, Mary, whom the Holy Spirit watered and made fruitful, begetting Christ, both king and priest, and the saviour of all mankind.⁴⁴

Now that he had defined the orthodoxy from which heresy was a deviation, Hugh turned to a definition of the heretics themselves. From this unity that he had described,

sometimes impious men fall by a manifest decision, corrupted in mind, shipwrecked concerning faith, having a seared conscience. Heretics are a plague, they spread wickedness, they propose perversities, they create schisms, they sow scandals.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ For Hugh's more detailed analysis of the devil, see *Dial.*, IV.5-9 (1182A-86A), and the discussion in chapter 4, *supra*, pp. 100-103.

⁴¹ Hugh, *Haer.*, I.6, 1261A-C; Gen. 1:2.

⁴² *Ibid.*, I.7, 1261C-62A; Gen. 1:6-7.

⁴³ 'Unum in unitate fidei, spei, charitatis, in unum Deum Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum; in unam Ecclesiam Catholicam, uno Spiritu congregatam....' *Ibid.*, 1262A-B.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I.8-9, 1262C-63C; Gen 1:10-12.

⁴⁵ 'Ab hac unitate sancta cadunt aliquando decisione manifesta homines impii, mente corrupti, naufragi circa fidem, cauteriatam habentes conscientiam. Pestes sunt hujusmodi haeretici, mendacia

He explained that they had embraced haughtiness of the mind, and by doing so and falling away from God, they had lost the light of reason, which came from God and could only be used for the glory of God.⁴⁶ In similar language, Bernard of Clairvaux compared heretics to devious little foxes, ignorant peasants bereft of understanding who sought secretly to destroy the Church.⁴⁷ These were harsh words, but for Hugh, heretics were imitators of the devil himself in their pride, and a present menace to the peace of the faithful.

Attacking heresy was not only a destructive action, but also highly constructive. For if there was heresy, there must be an orthodoxy which preceded and needed to be fortified against it. The methods of medieval writers hearkened back to St. Paul who had said, 'There must be also heresies: that they also, who are approved may be made manifest among you.'⁴⁸ They were one of many necessary sufferings that the Church had to encounter in this vale of tears.⁴⁹ But heresy was an enemy against which the Church was not only fully armed,⁵⁰ but by which she would also be strengthened. Medieval writers saw the appearance of wrong belief as a necessary presence in order to clarify

spargunt, perversa proponunt, faciunt schismata, seminant scandala.' Ibid., I.9, 1263C; cf. I Tim. 4:2 The language of heresy as a plague or infectious disease, common in the twelfth century, can be found in St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, ed. Bernard Dombart and Alphonse Kalb, CCSL 47-8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), XI.13.

⁴⁶ Hugh, *Haer.*, I.9, 1263C-1264A.

⁴⁷ WEH 15b, 132-38; St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vols. 1-2, eds. J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957-8), *Sermo* 65 (II.172-77).

⁴⁸ I Cor. 11:19.

⁴⁹ Hugh, *Haer.*, I.10, 1265C.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 1265D.

correct doctrine, and perhaps this recognition lent them some of their zeal for uncovering heresy. In any case, a rebuttal of heretical views could serve a higher purpose as a further definition of orthodox views. Gerard of Cambrai had used his treatise against the heretics at Arras for such a purpose. So too did Peter the Venerable employ his treatise against Peter of Bruis to expound upon Catholic doctrine. Hugh followed the same route in *Contra haereticos*, and declaring his purpose to defend the faith against heresies, he hoped that through such a defence, his readers would understand the faith more thoroughly than before.

The first sections of *Contra haereticos* had already begun this task. They resemble a summary of some of the main points of Book I of the *Dialogues*, starting with the doctrine of the Trinity, the relations between the persons, and the incarnation of Christ.⁵¹ These provided Hugh with the sure foundation upon which he could build his defence of orthodoxy against specific heresies. Following his exposition of these beliefs, he summarised that aspect of the Church most under attack by heretics: the sacraments. He spoke of the crucial role three of these played in the life of the believer as a member of the Church, betrothed to Christ:

This betrothal is celebrated in the present through the sacraments, in the future through manifest vision.First she is washed with joy by water and the Spirit, by which with sins removed she is freed from blame, so that reborn by holy Baptism, she may be united in a sanctified state to the celestial bridegroom. Thus reborn by the font of eternal grace, by the imposition of the hand of the groomsman with a prayer, she is sealed with the celestial chrism; so that the unction of the supereminent chrism, duly performed by the bishop, might endow her with the virtues whom the Baptism of Christ washes from all sins.Thereafter is prepared the participation in that life-giving nourishment, the body and blood of her very bridegroom, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and when it has been

⁵¹ Hugh, *Haer.*, I.1-3.

received, man is joined to God, and God to man, in an indescribable unity.⁵²

So Hugh emphasised the importance of the sacraments, and these three in particular.

When he turned to his detailed rebuttal of the heretics' views in the tenth chapter of his first book, he began with these very institutions.

Baptism

Baptism was not only the first of the sacraments in order of reception, but because of its application to unknowing infants, it was also commonly the first of the sacraments to fall under suspicion.

Heretics propose perversities and they rage in disputation against the sacraments. Sacraments, they claim, only benefit those who know. They are of no benefit for ignorant adults and they confer nothing to children. These heretics condemn the Baptism of children and infants; they draw from the Gospels against the Gospels, and they say, 'it is written in the Gospel: "He who believes and is baptized will be saved, but he who does not believe will be condemned."'”⁵³

Such an attack needed to be rebuffed, for it struck at the very foundations of the faith, the institution of the Church, and the sacraments through which it dispensed grace. This wave of questioning both coincided with and probably spurred on the development and

⁵² 'Celebratur desponsatio ista in praesenti per sacramenta, in futuro visione manifesta....Aqua primum et Spiritu gratanter abluitur, quo detersis criminibus a culpa solvitur, ut sacro renata baptismate, coelesti sponso sanctificata societur. Renata itaque fonte perennis gratiae, manus impositione paranymphe cum oratione, coelesti signatur chrismate; ut quam Christi baptisma a peccatis omnibus emundat, supereminens unctio chrismatis, rite per episcopum celebrata, eam virtutibus induat....Exinde praeparatur ei vitalis participatio alimenti, corpus et sanguis ejusdem sponsi sui Jesu Christi Filii Dei, quo suscepto et homo Deo, et Deus homini unitate foederantur inenarrabili.' Ibid., I.5, 1259D-60A; cf. II Cor. 11:2.

⁵³ 'Haeretici perversa proponunt, et contra sacramenta disputando saeviunt. Sacramenta, inquiunt, solummodo prosunt scientibus, non ignorantibus adultis prosunt, parvulis nihil conferunt. Condemnant isti baptismata parvulorum et infantium; trahunt de Evangelio contra Evangelium, et dicunt: in Evangelio legitur: *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit; qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur.*' Ibid., I.11, 1266B; Mk. 16:16.

solidification of sacramental theology, as demonstrated in such contemporary texts as Hugh of Saint-Victor's *De Sacramentis*.

The definition of a sacrament was still very broad and had not at this point been limited to the seven known today. Indeed, for Hugh of Saint-Victor a sacrament was very broadly defined as 'the sign of a sacred thing' in which 'there is one thing which is treated visibly without and is seen, and there is another which is believed invisibly within and is received.'⁵⁴ They gained their representation through similitude from Creation, their signification through institution by Christ, and their power through sanctification by the Holy Spirit.⁵⁵ However, some of these sacraments had always held key positions in the life of the Church, and others were beginning to rise to loftier positions. They required an exceptionally fervent defence, and rising to fulfil this need, Hugh called the faithful to arms. 'Against these, Catholics rise up, fortified with all the armour of the steadfast.'⁵⁶ He then proceeded to demolish the enemy's argument, taking on the heretics on their own soil. For rather than defending the faith solely through tradition, Hugh delved into the very Scriptures in which the heretics placed their faith.

Thus Hugh traversed a great variety of verses to bury the argument against Baptism and show that it had been taken out of context as an isolated verse. He stressed that the Gospel of Mark referred only to competent adults when it stated, 'He that believes and is baptised will be saved; he that believes not will be condemned.'⁵⁷ It had nothing to say about that situation of infants or unsound adults, just as St. James's

⁵⁴ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, I.ix.2.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ 'Ad haec surgunt Catholici, omni armatura fortium praemuniti.' Hugh, *Haer.*, I.11, 1266B.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 1266B; Mk. 16:16.

statement that 'faith without works is dead' could only possibly refer to those able to respond on behalf of their faith.⁵⁸ He supported this contention by synthesising this verse with the statements of the other Gospels, where Jesus said, 'unless you are born again of water and the Holy Spirit, you will not be able to enter into the kingdom of God,'⁵⁹ and again where he ordered the apostles to 'Go, teaching all nations: baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.'⁶⁰

Having thus turned the Gospels against the heretics, Hugh then concentrated on an attempt to prop up the theological foundation for such a practice.⁶¹ Baptism was foreshadowed in ancient times by the practice of circumcision through which the Jews consecrated their children to God on their eighth day. This was necessary because all born through concupiscence bore the stain of original sin: 'For all have sinned in Adam and need the glory of God.'⁶² 'Just as children are not excused from blame because they do not know, neither are they excluded from grace, the authority of which they do not recognize.'⁶³ Canaan did not know of Ham's sin of laughing at Noah's nakedness, and yet, because of this sin he and all his posterity were subjected to slavery.⁶⁴ Likewise, through the obedience of Abraham, all nations were blessed through no merit of their

⁵⁸ Ibid., 1266C; Jas. 2:20, 26.

⁵⁹ Jn. 3:5.

⁶⁰ Mt. 28:19.

⁶¹ Hugh, *Haer.*, I.11, 1266D-67D.

⁶² Rom. 3:23.

⁶³ 'sicut autem parvuli non excusantur a culpa, quia eam nesciunt, sic nec excluduntur a gratia, quam praestitam non agnoscunt.' Hugh, *Haer.*, I.11, 1267A.

⁶⁴ Gen. 9:22.

own.⁶⁵ For as with Jacob and Esau, God 'has mercy on whom he will, and whom he will, he hardens.'⁶⁶ Hugh emphasised that Christians are only saved through the undeserved grace of God given through Christ, who received in himself the sacrament of circumcision although he did not need it and sanctified it. He was presented in the temple to consecrate the sacrifices, not because he needed to be consecrated by them. So too was Christ baptized when he was thirty years old, not because he needed Baptism. Indeed, if he had needed Baptism, then to be baptized at such an age would seem to support the heretics' view that only adults should receive Baptism. Instead, he did so to 'fulfil all justice' and to sanctify the sacrament of Baptism.⁶⁷

Throughout Hugh's defence runs an emphasis on substitutional theology. Just as Christ's obedience and submission could bestow grace upon the believing Christian, so too could every Christian's faith and obedience be applied to others. Hugh cited examples including those of the woman of Canaan whose daughter was healed through her faith and the ruler from Capernaum whose son recovered from his deathbed because of his father's faith.⁶⁸ If such things were possible through the faith of others, why should not parents' faith be sufficient for their children to receive the grace of Baptism? However, these concepts stretched the imaginations of the heretics, who wished to simplify the faith and emphasise the role of personal responsibility in salvation.

An emphasis on a simple, internal, apostolic faith accounted for the frequent appearance of heresies regarding infant Baptism during the eleventh and twelfth

⁶⁵ Gen. 22:18.

⁶⁶ Rom. 9:13, 18.

⁶⁷ Hugh, *Haer.*, I.12, 1268A-B; Mt. 3:13-15.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1269A; Mt. 15:22-8; Jn. 4:46-54.

centuries, which were held by the heretics of Arras, Henry the monk, and Peter of Bruis, among others. The age was one that placed a great stress on the primitive church. From Bernard of Clairvaux to Norbert of Xanten, individuals and communities were attempting everywhere to return to the simplicity of the apostolic life, emphasising its expression in poverty, charity, and manual labour.⁶⁹ Of course, these views were heavily influenced by tradition and especially by the Church Fathers, and many of those who pursued these goals were able to remain within the bounds of orthodoxy. However, when individuals began to rely solely upon the apostolic texts and discard anything not explicitly found therein, they began to cross over those bounds. In addition, an increasing stress on internalisation of faith along with an emphasis on the direct responsibility of an individual to God could create grave doubts as to the power of objective, external sacraments.⁷⁰ Henry the monk certainly appears to have started upon this road of questioning, although he never condemned the basis of sacramental theology. His views were dangerous nonetheless. For once the efficacy of the imputation of grace upon an unknowing infant came into question, the seeds of doubt were sown regarding the efficacy of sacraments in general as vehicles of unmerited grace.

Confirmation

The heretics' doubts did not stop with the sacrament of Baptism, but encompassed that of Confirmation, which they entirely rejected. While they were willing to accept the

⁶⁹ Constable, *Reformation*, 157-60; Grundmann, 18-21, 210-13, 220-25.

⁷⁰ Constable, *Reformation*, 151-2, 266-76.

efficacy of Baptism for understanding adults, they could see no justification at all for the existence of Confirmation.

Beyond this they say yet another thing (nevertheless wishing to avoid being called heretics), they form a question and they say: In the Old Testament, we read the words: 'Abraham believed God, and it was reputed unto him for justice.' Further, in the New Testament the sacrament of Baptism was attached to faith, where it says: 'Who believes and is baptized will be saved.' If therefore justification comes from faith and salvation from Baptism, what does Confirmation made by the hand of the bishop add to those believing and baptized, justified and saved?⁷¹

The heretics had gone beyond doubting the efficacy of a sacrament under certain circumstances as with Baptism to a full-scale denial of the existence of a sacrament. In response, Hugh first lauded the institution of Confirmation and the anointing with chrism as the reception of the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit:

the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and fortitude, the Spirit of knowledge and piety, the Spirit of the fear of the Lord: these are the seven eyes in one stone, the seven candelabra in the temple of God, the seven trumpets under the hand of triumphant Joshua, the seven stars in the order of bishops: these superabundant treasures, these excellent riches.⁷²

However, knowing his audience and recognising that such a resort to the traditional power of bishops would not have a great effect on those who placed an emphasis on internal conversion and apostolic precedent, Hugh turned once again to the Scriptures.

There he remarked upon the events in the Acts of the Apostles where Peter and John laid

⁷¹ 'Praeterea loquuntur aliqui (tamen evitare volentes ne dicantur haeretici), quaestionem faciunt, et dicunt: In Veteri Testamento legimus scriptum: *Credidit Abraham Deo, et reputatum est ei ad justitiam*. Denique in Novo sub junctum est fidei sacramentum baptismi, ubi ait: *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit*. Si ergo ex fide justificatio, et salus ex baptismo, quid credentibus et baptizatis, justificatis et salvatis confirmatio manu facta pontificis superapponit?' Ibid., I.13, 1269B.

⁷² 'ita et ii qui praeeminent officio pontificali, donant opere coelesti, vice Jesu Christi, donant filiis in baptismo regeneratis, super eos imponentes manus, cum oratione et signo sanctae crucis, et unctione chrismatis Spiritum sapientiae et intellectus, Spiritum consilii et fortitudinis, Spiritum scientiae et pietatis, Spiritum timoris Domini: hi sunt septem in uno lapide oculi; septem candelabra in templo Dei; septem tubae sub manu Josue triumphantis; septem stellae in ordine pontificali: hi thesauri superabundantes; hae divitiae prae excellentes.' Ibid., 1270A.

hands upon those already baptized and gave them the Holy Spirit.⁷³ The same story also included the tale of Simon Magus, which Hugh also used as an opportunity to demonstrate his opposition to simony. Such opposition fits firmly within the context of heresy, the definition of which had grown during the Gregorian reforms to envelope such misbehaviour as simony, lay investiture, priestly concubinage, and schism. But of all these, simony, with its biblical precedent in Simon Magus and its blasphemy against the Holy Spirit was interpreted as a heresy against the Trinity.⁷⁴ According to Cardinal Humbert, it was the worst of all heresies, even worse than Arianism, which only debased one of the members of the Trinity.⁷⁵ Hugh implicated his heretics in the heresy of simony through their dissatisfaction with Confirmation:

The power of Peter, episcopal authority, and the purity of the Catholic faith, immediately destroyed and cursed this infectious disease in Simon and his followers. Simon Magus was destroyed with all his followers, because he wished to possess the gift of God, with the intervention of money, so that what he had bought he could sell to others. May those heretics perish also who now speak out their contradictions, calling it vain and superfluous that after the reception of sacred Baptism the faithful of Christ should be confirmed by the bishop.⁷⁶

With the issue of Confirmation, yet again the heretics' doubts appear to have stemmed more from a conviction of inner personal responsibility and an attempt to return

⁷³ Ibid., 1270B-70D; Acts 8.12-25.

⁷⁴ Michel Lauwers, 'Un écho des polémiques antiques? À Saint-Victor de Marseille à la fin du XI^e siècle,' in *Inventer l'herésie? Discours, polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'Inquisition*, ed. Monique Zerner (Nice: Centre d'Études Médiévales, 1998), 64.

⁷⁵ Humbert of Silva Candida, *Adversus simoniacos*, I.3, 1014A-15B; Russell, 130-43.

⁷⁶ 'Sed Petri potestas, sed pontificalis auctoritas, sed fidei Catholicae puritas, hanc in Simone pestem, et in ejus complicitibus illico perdidit, et maledictioni subjecit. Perditus est itaque Simon Magus cum suis sequacibus, quia donum Dei possidere voluit, pecunia interveniente, ut quod emerat posset aliis vendere. Perdantur et isti qui nunc obloquuntur haeretici, dicentes inane et superfluum esse, quod post perceptionem sacri baptismatis confirmantur ab episcopo fideles Christi.' Hugh, *Haer.*, I.13, 1270D-1271A.

to apostolic ideals of simplicity than from an outright denial of sacramental theology. Of especial irritation to the heretics may have been the predominant role of the bishop in Confirmation, which some may have interpreted as a hierarchy attempting to assert too much control over their lives. As an archbishop himself, Hugh needed to defend his position as a vehicle through which God's grace was bestowed. However, this control did not strike everyone in the same manner. Indeed, theologians such as Hugh of Saint-Victor actually viewed Confirmation as a higher sacrament than Baptism, because only the highest pontiffs celebrated it.⁷⁷

The Eucharist

At this point, in chapter fourteen, Hugh turned to a brief defence of the Eucharist, although it appears to have served little more than a catechetical purpose. He did not mention the views of heretics once, but only emphasised first of all that the Eucharist was truly the body and blood of Jesus Christ. Secondly, he stressed that Christians were not permitted to abstain from participation in Communion. To these he added that the words and deeds of the priest, no matter how sinful he might be, consecrated the body and blood, avoiding the earlier controversy surrounding his assertion in the *Dialogues* that excommunicated priests could not consecrate.⁷⁸ Christ did not begin nor was he born there, but while wholly present at the right hand of God the Father, he was also, without anything being taken away, in the hand of the priest and received by the mouths of

⁷⁷ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, II.vii.4.

⁷⁸ See *supra*, chapter 4, pp. 112-17.

many.⁷⁹ Rather than responding directly to the views of any particular heretics, Hugh probably recalled the existence of a variety of Eucharistic heresies such as that of Berengar of Tours as well as the Donatist extremes to which some Gregorian reformers went to end simony and clerical marriage. With his defence of the Eucharist, Hugh probably intended to reinforce orthodox doctrines and prevent the possibility of an even more dangerous heresy amongst his readers.

Clerical Dignity

At this point, Hugh began Book II, entirely devoted to a theology of priestly orders, to which he was inspired by the doubts of heretics about the sacrament of Holy Orders. With the beginning of Book III, Hugh directly confronted the heretics' doubts about not only clerical, but also monastic dignity. He affirmed that God had ordained the seven orders of clerics under the sign of the clerical tonsure to perform the divine mysteries and substantiated this remark by invoking St. Paul ('He that resists the powers resists the ordinance of God'), St. Peter ('Be ye subject therefore to every human creature for God's sake'), and Daniel ('The Most High rules in the kingdom of men, and to whom he wishes will he give it').⁸⁰

As maintained by Hugh, the clerical tonsure was a regal crown and a sign from Christ. The heretics debated this view, however, asking, 'Whence did this tonsure have its beginning? What is this tonsure to us?'⁸¹ In response, Hugh defended it as a

⁷⁹ Ibid., I.14, 1271B-72D. Cf. Hugh, *Dial.*, V.13-15, 1209A-11A.

⁸⁰ Ibid., III.1, 1283D-84B; Rom. 13:2; I Pet. 2:13; Dan. 4:14.

⁸¹ 'Unde, inquiunt, unde corona haec accepit initium? Quid nobis et coronae huic?' Ibid., III.2, 1284C.

magnificent crown, a symbol of the crown of thorns received by Christ for our sins. The Church raised certain of the faithful who were steadfast, honest, and knowledgeable by placing an image of the crown of Christ upon their heads.⁸² These included not only clerics, but also monks, recalling his view in the *Dialogues* that every monk is a cleric:

All of these, because of the celestial sign and the grace of a blessing, are called by the common name of clerics, because God is part of them, and they a part of God through a special prerogative on behalf of the sign of holiness. From these, certain ones, having rejected their own property, hold common property together in canonical unity, as with the regular clerics and the coenobitical monks. But others, called alone, are deputed to the service of the Church, and because they celebrate canonical praises of God together in churches at prescribed hours, they are also named canons. Nevertheless, their prebends are shared out by distributing, and if they live well they are greatly praised and rightfully raised to ecclesiastical honours for their life and knowledge.⁸³

As a bishop in charge of a diocese, with a profusion of monks and canons, and a cathedral chapter at Rouen, Hugh showed wisdom in recognising the equal validity of all varieties of the religious life. He certainly did not (nor could he) deny the dignity of the cathedral canons with their prebends and private property. Indeed, he had been a canon himself at one time. Given Hugh's background as a Cluniac, he could easily have resorted to criticism of the new orders as did some of his fellow brothers. Nonetheless, he did not hesitate to include the new monastic and canonical orders among his words of praise.

⁸² Ibid., 1284C-1285B.

⁸³ 'Omnes hujusmodi pro signo coelesti, et gratia benedictionis, communi nomine vocantur clerici, quia Dominus pars eorum est, et ipsi pars Domini praerogativa speciali pro signo sanctitatis. Ex his aliqui proprietate rejecta sua simul habent communia in unitate canonica, tam regulares clerici, quam coenobitae monachi. Aliqui vero singulares nuncupati, servitio Ecclesiae deputantur, et quia canonicas simul in Ecclesiis, horis statutis, laudes Dei persolvunt, etiam canonici nominantur; praebendas tamen suas dividendo partiuntur; et hi si bene vixerint merito collaudantur, et honoribus ecclesiasticis pro vita et scientia rite sublimantur.' Ibid., 1285B-C. Cf. Hugh, *Dial.*, VI.2-4, 1216C-19C; and *supra*, chapter 5, pp. 124-34.

Once again, as with the other issues the heretics found with the faith, one can discover traces of a desire for the apostolic life and personal conversion taken to a radical conclusion. It could be that the heretics only questioned the tonsure itself and not the institution of the priesthood. But most likely, given Hugh's extensive defence, they had serious doubts about clerics in general. The increasing importance of clerics, especially with regard to their role in administering the sacraments, could only have increased the discontent of such individuals. Just as it drove them into wholesale questioning of sacramental theology in some cases, it could also result in a profound anticlericalism. And unlike other issues, this attack on clerical dignity kindled a fully developed response from Hugh. Not content with defending the virtue of the clerical office, he determined to expound much further upon each one of the seven grades of the clergy, from bishop and priest to ostiary.⁸⁴ Hugh thus devoted himself to an explanation of each of the grades, finding a representation for each within the seven spiritual gifts, seven of the beatitudes from Matthew, and seven parts of the Lord's Prayer. Yet these were more than just symbols, they were actually in some manner sources that empowered each of the grades. The clerics' heartfelt prayers generated a zeal for asking for the gifts of the Spirit, while the gifts in turn brought the rewards of beatitudinal virtues.⁸⁵ Clerics were thus apostolic men who formed the seven columns of the house of Christ. They were consecrated with

⁸⁴ In this plan, he differed greatly from Gerard of Cambrai, who although he mentioned the seven grades of the clergy, focused almost entirely on the dignity of priests: Gerard of Cambrai, 1291C-94D.

⁸⁵ This process is very similar to that described in *Super fide*. See Hugh, *Fide*, 1337A-1346A; see also *infra*, chapter 9, pp. 265-75, for an explanation of Hugh's role within this tradition of septenaries, and Appendix 2 for a table.

seven petitions, illuminated with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and glorified with the seven beatitudes.⁸⁶

In developing such associations, especially between the seven graces and the seven grades of the clergy, Hugh drew upon a view that was popular in his day and proposed by Ivo of Chartres, Peter Damian, Hugh of Saint-Victor, and Peter Lombard.⁸⁷

As Peter Lombard explained in his *Sentences*, Book IV:

There are seven grades or orders of spiritual offices, just as is manifestly handed down in the sayings of the Holy Fathers. The example of our head, namely, Jesus Christ, who exhibited the offices of all in himself, demonstrates that to his body, which is the Church, he bequeathed the same orders to be observed. Seven they are, according to the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit, and those who are not participants in this grace enter the ecclesiastical grades unworthily. But when those in whose minds the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit is diffused enter into the ecclesiastical orders, they are believed to receive more abundant grace in this promotion in spiritual grade.⁸⁸

In addition, Hugh found a sanction for each rank not only in Christ's life, but also through various events found throughout the Bible. Thus he also drew upon the tradition of the Ordinals of Christ, which gave events and sayings from Christ's life to demonstrate

⁸⁶ Hugh, *Haer.*, II.9, 1279C-80A; Prov. 9.1.

⁸⁷ Ibid.; Roger E. Reynolds, "At Sixes and Sevens" – And Eights and Nines: The Sacred Mathematics of Sacred Orders in the Early Middle Ages, *Speculum* 54:4 (Oct., 1979), esp. 669, 677, 682-4. Patristic writers had sometimes recognised as many as nine or ten clerical ranks, including even that of grave-digger. Even in the twelfth century, most collections of canon law included an epistle from Pope Leo giving the priest and bishop different tiers, although some canonists, including Anselm of Lucca, excluded this text.

⁸⁸ 'Nunc ad considerationem sacrae ordinationis accedamus. Septem sunt spiritualium officiorum gradus sive ordines, sicut ex sanctorum Patrum dictis aperte traditur, et capitis nostri, scilicet, Jesu Christi exemplo monstratur, qui omnium officia in semetipso exhibuit, et corpori suo quod est Ecclesia, eosdem ordines observandos reliquit. Septem autem sunt, propter septiformem gratiam sancti Spiritus, cujus qui non sunt participes ad gradus ecclesiasticos indigne accedunt. Illi vero in quorum mentibus diffusa est septiformis gratia Spiritus sancti, cum ad ecclesiasticos ordines accedunt, in ipsa spiritualis gradus promotione ampliorem gratiam percipere creduntur.' Lombard, *Sent.*, IV.ii.24.

his fulfilment of each of the clerical ranks.⁸⁹ Hugh therefore underscored the importance and dignity of all the clerical offices, even the least of them, despite their hierarchical structure and the towering importance of the bishop. They, and not the heretics were the correct vehicles for the preaching of God's words and the bestowal of God's grace.

The bishop came first in the list, although not in a rank of his own because he shared the priestly office. Still he was highest in dignity, part of a foundation which traced back to the apostles. The duties of this priestly order to which the bishops belonged were to act as mediators between God and man, to absolve sin and reconcile sinners, and to appease God on behalf of men. Their prayer was to be the opening of the Lord's Prayer: 'Hallowed be thy name.' They possessed the spirit of wisdom by virtue of their office and were blessed as 'the peacemakers.'⁹⁰ The dominical sanction for priests could be found in the Last Supper, while that for the bishop could be found with Christ's Passion as well as in his general blessing given to all mankind through the Incarnation.⁹¹

Deacons and subdeacons came next with deacons immediately below the priestly office with the prayer 'Thy kingdom come,' the spirit of understanding, and the blessing given to the pure of heart. They received their sanctification through the placing of Mary under the care of the apostle John by Christ upon the Cross as well as through the Levites, from whom they received their name *levites*, and through the origins of their rite of sacrifice with Moses.⁹² Subdeacons followed in third rank with the prayer 'Thy will be done,' the spirit of counsel, and the blessing of the merciful. They were given their

⁸⁹ Reynolds, 680; Joncas, 100.

⁹⁰ Hugh, *Haer.*, II.2, 1276A-D.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, II.10, 1281D-82B.

⁹² *Ibid.*, II.3, 1276D-77B; II.10, 1281B-D.

justification through the miracle at Cana, the washing of the disciples' feet, the provision of manna from heaven, and the feeding of Elijah by a raven.⁹³

The next four ranks begin with the Acolytes, who prayed, 'give us this day our daily bread,' possessed the spirit of fortitude, and obtained the blessing of those who hunger and thirst for justice. Christ's words 'I am the light of the world' provided their justification, as well as the words 'Fiat lux' at Creation and the pillar of fire in Exodus.⁹⁴ They were followed in turn by the exorcists, in the fifth rank with the prayer 'forgive us our debts,' the spirit of knowledge, and the blessing given to those who mourn. These exorcists, not surprisingly received sanctification through Christ's victory over the temptations of the devil in the desert as well as through the many times he cast out demons.⁹⁵

At the sixth grade came the lectors with the prayer 'lead us not into temptation,' the spirit of piety, and the blessing of the meek. Christ had sanctified them by being the Word of God, writing in the Book of Life, writing with his finger in the dust, and reading from Isaiah in the synagogue.⁹⁶ Finally, the ostiaries claimed the seventh rank, praying 'deliver us from evil,' possessing the spirit of the fear of the Lord, and receiving the blessing of the poor in spirit. But they possessed in turn a multitude of illustrations from the life of Christ: the moneychangers being driven out of the Temple, the doors of paradise being opened for the blessed thief upon his cross, the sundering of the gates of

⁹³ Ibid., II.4, 1277B-D; II.10, 1281B.

⁹⁴ Ibid., II.5, 1277D-78A; II.10, 1281A-B.

⁹⁵ Ibid., II.6, 1278A-C; II.10, 1280D-81A.

⁹⁶ Ibid., II.7, 1278C-79A; II.10, 1280B-D.

hell, the parting of the veil of the Temple, Christ's words 'I am the door,' the opening of the tombs and the rising of the saints, and the opening of heaven at the Ascension.⁹⁷

Hugh rarely delved into allegorical explanations in *Contra haereticos*. Even here, where he could have embarked upon a grand allegorical defence of clerical orders, apart from his use of the seven pillars of wisdom, Hugh preferred to speak in terms of precedent and actual bestowal of graces and blessings. In choosing this approach, Hugh acknowledged that his most pressing need was to address the doubts of members of the laity who were looking for apostolic and scriptural precedent and not to provide a clerical or monastic audience with material upon which they could meditate. Nevertheless, Book II of *Contra haereticos* could certainly provide a surplus of riches for contemplative activities.

The Resurrection of the Body

In spite of his strong support for clerics, including those with prebends, Hugh did not at all tolerate those who were greedy and grasping. As already noted in his chapter on Confirmation, Hugh regarded simony as a heresy every bit as pernicious as those of the heretics whom he addressed. But also worthy of condemnation were those who did not keep their eyes on heavenly goods but solely sought material gain. These he linked to the heretics because of their denial of the resurrection of the body.

We see that certain men bear the crown of Christ, not for Christ, but for themselves, and not to seek the virtues in the habit of religion, but to acquire profit. Not content with their own possessions, they covet those of others. Pretending that they do not have property, in their great ambition they seize what is forbidden....They rage against and with a quick pace they transgress the limits fixed for them by the Fathers and turn their eyes

⁹⁷ Ibid., II.8, 1279A-B, II.10, 1280B.

away from heaven. Although they profess the future resurrection, by no means do they believe.⁹⁸

In addition to their objections to certain sacraments, the heretics had adopted this very distinctive heresy, which could be divided into two separate objections. Their first objection, similar to their objection to the existence of a visible Church, which Hugh would later address, was that they had no firm evidence of a future bodily resurrection. ““We know,” they say, “these present goods, these temporal goods. We do not know those which you call eternal, which you call goods, lacking end.””⁹⁹ In response, Hugh affirmed that man was made in both the image and likeness of God. The image of God carries with it eternal life and the likeness carries beatitude. Although man lost the likeness of God in the Fall and as a result he fell from a state of beatitude, the image of God within man did not fall, and therefore the dead must rise again. To back this up, Hugh quoted extensively from both the Old and New Testament.¹⁰⁰

The second argument of the heretics is much more striking, and indeed one for which Hugh had only a single response.

Although those who are rational and believe in God ought by no means to deny the resurrection, they nevertheless question it and they thus propose: We see men’s bodies sometimes cut apart and pulled to pieces, carried off and devoured by birds and beasts alike, and moreover reduced into powder and sometimes carried upon the wind, by no means are they able to be

⁹⁸ ‘Haec ita diximus, quia quosdam videmus portare coronam Christi non Christo, sed sibi, et in habitu religionis non virtutes quaerere, sed quaestus facere; non contenti suis, inhiant alienis, simulantes se non habere propria nimia ambitione sua rapiunt inconcessa.... Econtra saeviunt et terminos sibi a patribus praefixos rapido pede transiliunt, oculos a coelo deponunt, resurrectionem futuram etsi fateantur, nullatenus credunt.’ Ibid., III.3, 1285C-D.

⁹⁹ ‘Scimus, inquit, ista bona praesentia, haec bona temporalia. Nescimus ea, quae dicitis aeterna, quae dicitis bona, fine carentia.’ Ibid., 1286B.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 1286C-88A.

gathered back together. Therefore they are incapable of being reunited and the bodies of these dead will in no way be resurrected.¹⁰¹

To this, Hugh had only one simple response. If it were man who had to restore such bodies to their complete form, then the resurrection would be impossible. But such is not the case. The one who restores the bodies of the dead is God, who is omnipotent and disposes, ordains, and holds the entire Universe according to his will and thus can do anything he wills.¹⁰²

Hugh of Saint-Victor described a similar mindset:

There are some who, considering that the spirit is freed from the flesh, that the flesh is turned into decay, that decay is reduced to dust, that dust is resolved into elements so that it is not seen at all by human eyes, despair that the resurrection can take place. And while they look upon dry bones, they distrust that these bones can be clothed with flesh and grow again into life.¹⁰³

He responded with the archetype of all resurrections: that of Christ himself. He too gave visual, tangible examples from nature including the revolution of the seasons and the cycles of day and night. Like the stress on scriptural precedent, this focus on visual evidence for one's faith was so pervasive that Hugh of Amiens would be forced to return to it once again at the end of his tract.

¹⁰¹ 'Proinde quia resurrectionem nullatenus diffiteri debent qui rationales sunt, et Deo credunt, quaestionem tamen super hoc faciunt, et ita proponunt. Videmus hominum corpora aliquando scissa, et distracta, vel a bestiis, et avibus asportata, et devorata, insuper et in pulverem redacta, quandoque et in aerem exsufflata, nullatenus ista recolligi possunt, ideoque recompactari nequeunt, et ipsa eadem mortuorum corpora minime resurrectura sunt.' Ibid., 1288A. Cf. Hugh, *Mem.*, III.12, 1323D-24A; *infra*, chapter 8, pp. 302-03. See also Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), for various concerns on the resurrection, especially pp. 194-6 on the iconography of beasts returning the body parts they had consumed.

¹⁰² Hugh, *Haer.*, III.3, 1288B.

¹⁰³ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, II.xvii.13.

Hugh strikingly made no mention of prayers for the dead, a practice often attacked by heretics, and one which he had fully defended earlier in his *Dialogues*.¹⁰⁴ Peter the Venerable, to the contrary, devoted a significant portion to prayers for the dead in *Contra Petrobrusianos*.¹⁰⁵ This was partly because Peter of Bruis was a known and dedicated opponent of prayers for the dead, but also probably in part due to Peter the Venerable's role as head of Cluny and thus defender of Cluny's elaborate promotion of the cult of the dead. This omission shows that if Hugh had read Peter's work, it did not have a great influence upon him, and that at least this specific observance of the Cluniacs was exerting less of an influence upon him at this point than it did while he was abbot of Reading. Furthermore, the absence of any mention of prayers for the dead lends credence to the view that Hugh was targeting a particular heresy and not just heretics in general. For while he did not hesitate to expound very broadly on some issues, like that of marriage, there were a number of issues prevalent among heretics that he failed to mention at all, like prayers for the dead, the veneration of the crucifix, and the building of physical church buildings.

Marriage and Celibacy

After this digression from the sacraments, Hugh of Amiens returned to one that was very near to the hearts of the laity: marriage. Here, as in his chapter on the Eucharist, Hugh never specifically described the views of the heretics. Nevertheless, he indicated a particular area of dissent that was widespread at the time. In the eleventh and twelfth

¹⁰⁴ Hugh, *Dialogues*, V.19-21, 1212D-14A. See *supra*, chapter 4, pp. 111-12.

¹⁰⁵ Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos*, 211-72, pp. 126-61 (PL 189, 819A-47D).

centuries, the Church began an attempt not only to enforce monogamy through the sacramentalisation of marriage, but also to enforce and tighten strictures against consanguinity and affinity. In fact such efforts had been increasing since the time of Gregory the Great (c. 540-604), who excluded marriage between individuals with the same grandparents. By the ninth century, the restrictions were growing to encompass seven degrees of consanguinity, counted by the Roman method with one degree between each individual linking the two, back to a common ancestor and then forward again. The Lateran Council of 1059 enshrined these seven degrees as part of its reforms. Soon thereafter, largely under the influence of Peter Damian's writings, Pope Alexander II (1061-73) formally declared in favour of the Germanic method of reckoning, in which degrees only counted back to a common ancestor. This method resulted in forbidding all marriages between anyone who could find ancestral connexions within seven generations, that is, sixth cousins.¹⁰⁶ This rule, while making circumstances difficult for all, made it nearly impossible for both the nobility and those in isolated villages to find suitable spouses. For such individuals, these inconvenient requirements probably only enhanced a perception of the sacramentalisation of marriage as little more than a pretence for bringing the oversight of the Church into a private affair.

Hugh of Amiens did not see marriage in such terms. From his perspective, marriage was a sacred affair and opposition to any aspect of this sacrament served as a catalyst upon which to develop a full defence of both marriage and celibacy. With

¹⁰⁶ Jack Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 34-7, 134-46; Robert I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c. 970-1215* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Ltd., 2000), 92. Hugh of Saint-Victor devoted a long section of his chapter on marriage to the determination of degrees of consanguinity, noting all the various relationships involved and coming to the conclusion that after the sixth degree no names could be found for the relationships between individuals. He then followed with excerpts from councils and canon law including Gregory the Great, Bede, Pope Zachary, Gregory VII, and Gratian. Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, II.xi.14.

marriage, he had to show its sacred nature, and he began by demonstrating that marriage had to remain monogamous, just as the marriage between Christ and the Church.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, marriage, imbued with holiness through its symbolic relation to Christ's union with his Church, was further sanctified because of its institution at the very beginning of time, where it was present with Adam and Eve even in paradise.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, Christ himself consecrated the act of marriage through his willing participation in the wedding feast at Cana,¹⁰⁹ and emphasised its singular nature when he stated 'What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.'¹¹⁰ To fall from the unity of marriage is to fall from sacramental symbol of the unity of Christ.¹¹¹

Against this stand the heretics. They resist the Church, they do not wish to hear or to acquiesce. They keep with them girls drawn together from every direction, not under the law of marriage, not under the duty of consanguinity, but under the cohabitation of private lust. They say that they live communally in their houses and hold their women with them in an apostolic manner. They claim that Paul said, 'Do we not have the power to carry women around, just as Cephas and the other apostles?' 'Therefore we preserve the form of the apostolic life, who do not reject women, and gather them together licitly in the same house and at the same table.'¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ Hugh, *Haer.* III.4, 1288D.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 1288A.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 1289B.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*; Mt. 19:6.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1289C.

¹¹² 'Econtra stant haeretici, resistunt Ecclesiae, nolunt audire, nolunt acquiescere, tenent secum mulierculas undecunque conductas, non sub lege conjugii, non sub debito consanguinitatis, sed sub contubernio privatae libidinis. Dicunt se communem in domiciliis suis vitam ducere, et more apostolico secum mulieres habere. Proponunt quia Paulus ait: *Nunquid non habeo potestatem circumducendi mulieres, sicut Cephas et alii apostoli* Igitur et nos formam apostolicae vitae servamus, qui mulieres non abjicimus, qui in eodem domicilio, in eadem mensa eas nobiscum licite colligimus.' *Ibid.*, 1289D-1290A; I Cor. 9:5.

These remarks recall the accusations made against Robert of Arbrissel and Henry the Monk, who both had women as companions upon their travels.¹¹³ Indeed, the heretics against whom Hugh wrote may have lived every bit as innocently as these two individuals. But Hugh also appears to have been addressing members of the laity in general who were ignoring clerical oversight of marriage, as well as the clerics themselves who were illicitly marrying, perhaps both within the ranks of the heretics and elsewhere.

Hugh, in his position as archbishop, had great concern for the state of priests with regard to marriage. He stressed that deacons (presumably including subdeacons implicitly under the category of *levitas*), priests, and bishops must all remain celibate, and if they had wives from before their ordination, they had to be kept chastely, like sisters.¹¹⁴ After their ordination, he explained, Peter and the other apostles kept their wives in such a manner. Lower orders, on the other hand, were perfectly within their right to marry, but not within the degrees of consanguinity.¹¹⁵ Hugh then reminded his readers that sex without the 'remedy of marriage' (*conjugii remedio*) was fornication, abhorred by the Apostle Paul,¹¹⁶ while transgression of the unity of marriage was adultery. Both were forbidden, along with marriage within the seven grades of consanguinity in one's own family or through affinity with relatives of a dead spouse.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Manselli, 241. For Robert, see Marbod of Rennes, *Epistolae*, ep. VI, 1480-86.

¹¹⁴ One can read into this statement the suggestion of a pre-Gregorian conception of priestly marriage. However, Hugh acknowledged only those marriages that preceded advancement in rank and insisted upon their celibate nature. See Tellenbach, 161-7.

¹¹⁵ Hugh, *Haer.*, III.4, 1290A-C.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1290C-D; I Cor. 6:15.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1291A.

For someone who had embraced the celibate life and who viewed it as the highest state of life, a defence of marriage came with some effort. Having expounded upon the virtues and the limitations of marriage, Hugh cheerfully moved on to the subject of celibacy. He proceeded to term as 'heretics' all who claimed that monks, canons, and any others who had publicly professed chastity had the right and duty to marry. He responded to them with the words of St. Paul that the married were solicitous and divided between the things of God and the things of the world, while the unmarried could devote their full attention to the things of God.¹¹⁸ Those who could not contain themselves should by all means marry rather than commit fornication, for as St. Paul pronounced, 'It is better to marry than to burn.'¹¹⁹ But he who is joined to God must be of one spirit, undivided and unsolicitous for the things of the world.¹²⁰

After fully declaring the orthodox views on marriage and celibacy, Hugh endeavoured to find, as a means of reinforcing these views, a precedent for each state in the lives of individuals from the Bible. He turned to a prophecy from Ezekiel which mentioned Noah, Daniel, and Job together:

Son of man, when a land shall sin against me, so as to transgress grievously, I will stretch forth my hand upon it....And if these three men, Noah, Daniel and Job, shall be in it, they shall deliver their own souls by their justice, says the Lord of hosts....If these three men shall be in it, as I live, says the Lord, they shall deliver neither sons nor daughters: but they only shall be delivered and the land shall be made desolate.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Ibid., III.5, 1291C-D. I Cor. 7:32-5.

¹¹⁹ I Cor. 7:9.

¹²⁰ Hugh *Haer.*, III.5, 1291D-1292C

¹²¹ Ezek. 14:13-14, 16.

These three figures thus exemplified the three states of life.¹²² Noah symbolised continence, supported by Hugh's claim that he abstained from sex after the Flood.¹²³ Daniel stood as an image of the celibate life, always resting in the presence of God.¹²⁴ Finally, Job provided an example of the married life (albeit, not exactly one of matrimonial bliss), who after his temptation was blessed anew with daughters and sons.¹²⁵ Thus, as foreshadowed in Ezekiel's prophecy, all whom these three designated—the continent, celibate, and married—would be saved through the justice of their lives.¹²⁶

The Church

At length, Hugh addressed one final error of the heretics, one which went even closer to the heart of the faith than the sacramental status of a particular ritual. The heretics had begun to question not just church buildings, but the very institution of the Church, without which there would be no sacraments.

Men scarcely attend to this, not having understanding of mind, fully directing themselves towards corporeal things, truly bestial with slumbering reason.... They respond, and as if filled with pride they say to us: 'You who propose that the Church of God must be followed, tell us, what is it, and where is it, and what makes it the Church of God? We would like,' they say, 'to know it, and to acquire it when we know it, and having acquired it as a result of its usefulness (if it is useful) to preserve it. We seek visible things and we approve of them; we have no knowledge of invisible things and we reject them'¹²⁷

¹²² The origin of this allegory and Hugh's likely source was probably in Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCCM 143-43B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), I.14.

¹²³ Hugh, *Haer.*, III.6, 1292D.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1292D-93A.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1293A-B.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1293D-94A.

¹²⁷ 'Ista non attendunt homines fere mentis intelligentiam non habentes, rebus corporeis plenius intendentes, vere sopita ratione bestiales... Respondent illi, et quasi irridentes aiunt nostris: vos qui

The heretics had taken the argument used against the resurrection of the body to its logical conclusion. If they could not actually see a body in existence, how could it be reconstituted? So too, if they could not see a concrete, entirely corporeal Church, how could it exist? To combat this disbelief, Hugh first turned to the concept of the Church, the unity of all believers, 'an ineffable mystery, a miraculous sacrament, which cannot be explained by us yet cannot be ignored.'¹²⁸ This one Church, collected from out of Jews and Gentiles, includes all the faithful. Any who recedes from its unity becomes an apostate.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, as important as the Church might be for salvation, one cannot inquire as to where it is. The Church is in Christ. But if one were then to ask the Son of God, 'Where are you?' He would only respond, 'I am in the Father and the Father is in me.'¹³⁰

Hugh conceded that the Church is ultimately a mystery, a mystery understood least of all by those who have not entered into the sanctuary of God. Here, more than elsewhere, they failed in their attempt to understand spiritual concepts through corporeal understanding. Asking where the Church is, Hugh insisted, was like asking when God created the earth. For the world was created from nothing, at the very beginning, before

Ecclesiam Dei sequendam proponitis, dicite nobis, quid est et ubi est, et quare est Ecclesia Dei? Volumus, inquiunt, eam agnoscere, et agnitam invenire, et inventam pro utilitate, si qua est, eam conservare, visibilia quaerimus et approbamus; invisibilia quoniam ignoramus, ignorata reprobamus.' Ibid., III.7, 1294C-D.

¹²⁸ 'Hujus unitatis ineffabile mysterium, mirabile sacramentum, cum a nobis nequeat explicari, non tamen potest ignorari.' Ibid., III.8, 1295B.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 1295D-96A.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 1296C; Jn. 14:11.

there were intervals of time.¹³¹ Only at that very moment (*statim*) did time begin and space stretch out. Thus the creative act stands on the threshold of time and space, both within and outside of such measurements.¹³² Like this act, the Church stands on the threshold of our comprehension, and it remains hidden within time, only to be made manifest in eternity.¹³³ As Hugh finished his tract, he departed into a final allegory, comparing the Church to Jacob's ladder, with angels ascending and descending between heaven and earth and God resting unmoved over all.¹³⁴

Hugh's final response could hardly have been satisfactory to heretics who sought to internalise and rationalise their beliefs. For many moderns, such a statement might appear as a mere semantic evasion, an attempt on Hugh's part to shore up his position without having to address the true accusations. Yet ultimately, this was the only answer he or any other orthodox believer could give at the time, and most followers of the Christian faith would have been satisfied with such an answer. This was the only answer that other theologians of the day from Anselm of Laon to Bernard of Clairvaux gave, and only with the arrival of the full Aristotelian corpus and the flowering of Scholasticism in the thirteenth century were theologians able to develop a fuller, more logical ecclesiology.¹³⁵ Admitting in the end that the only possible understanding of God and of the nature of the Church could be had through symbolic approximation, Hugh finished his debate with the heretics.

¹³¹ Ibid., III.9, 1297A.

¹³² Ibid., 1297B.

¹³³ 'In tempore quidem est abscondita, in aeternitate erit manifesta.' Ibid., 1298A.

¹³⁴ Ibid., III.9, 1298C-D.

¹³⁵ Bruin, 58.

Defining the Faith

Throughout his treatise, Hugh of Amiens does not appear to have been only addressing the heretics, but rather using the opportunity to extrapolate from a wide range of doctrines. The clearest evidence that he did not intend to address only a small group of heretics limited to Brittany emerges in the very beginning of the work, where he began with several chapters entirely devoted to the Trinity and the Incarnation and no reference whatsoever to heretical beliefs. In attacking parts of the faith, heretics were threatening the entirety of its dogma and practices. In questioning the existence of the Church, they questioned not only the efficacy and usefulness of clerics but their very doctrines on the existence of God and the Incarnation. One reason for the inclusion of this discourse was therefore that even if matters such as the Trinity and the Incarnation were not directly attacked, they still needed to be reinforced as basic foundations of the faith. These doctrines required an underpinning not only to prevent still more heresies from forming, but also to ensure that the heart of the faith, the very first principles from which rational discourse could begin, were secure and thoroughly understood. Their inclusion thus does not necessarily imply that Hugh thought the heretics denied the existence of the Trinity or the historicity of the Incarnation.

However, such heretical views had surfaced before and were particularly on the minds of the bishops while Hugh wrote *Contra haereticos*. In one regard, the entire treatise can be read as a tract against all heresies of all sorts, a *Contra haereticos sui temporis* in the broadest sense. Hugh would therefore appear to have been summarising many of the main points tackled at the councils of his day. He had been present at the

Council of Pisa in May 1135, where Henry the Monk was condemned for holding many of the heretical views mentioned by Hugh. In 1147, perhaps having just completed *Contra haereticos*, Hugh travelled to Paris where he took part in the council which oversaw the condemnation of Gilbert de la Porrée.¹³⁶ He also took part in the Council of Reims, held in Lent 1148, where Eudo de l'Étoile was condemned and imprisoned.¹³⁷ The same council issued a fresh condemnation of the Trinitarian views of Gilbert de la Porrée, along with a general condemnation of heresiarchs spread throughout Gascony and Provence.¹³⁸ It also dealt with a number of issues found within *Contra haereticos*. Canon II dealt with clerics, both bishops and priests, who had improper tonsures or flashy clothing. Canons III and VII prohibited clerical marriage and concubinage. Canon XVI accused some bishops of charging exorbitant fees for chrismatic oil, an action that may have caused discontent over Confirmation. Finally, canons XVII and XVIII dealt with the matter of heresy.¹³⁹ *Contra haereticos* reads almost as if it were prepared for such an occasion. It could very well be that Hugh, especially given his role in the Council of Paris and his pursuit of heresy, had influenced the agenda of the council. Perhaps his work had already begun to circulate by this point, or had at least been passed on to a few leading bishops. If not, it certainly was present in the person of Hugh of Amiens.

Contra haereticos deserves a much wider consideration than it has previously been afforded. All too often, scholars have shuttled this work back and forth in attempts to prove its pertinence to a specific heretic of the time, whether it be Eudo de l'Étoile,

¹³⁶ See *infra*, chapter 9.

¹³⁷ Waldman, *Hugh 'of Amiens', Acta* 52.

¹³⁸ Mansi, Council of Reims (1148), can. xviii, 21.717-18.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.713-18.

Henry the Monk, or another unknown character. Hugh may certainly have had a specific heretic in mind, but he also appears to have been simultaneously considering a much larger vista. Ultimately, he was dealing not with one man or one group of heretics in a small corner of Europe, but with the entirety of the Church, that unity of believers and 'ineffable mystery'. For Hugh of Amiens, anyone who placed himself outside that Church declared himself its enemy and became a heretic.

Chapter IX

Exegetical Speculation, Contemplation, and a Host of Septenaries: *Super fide Catholica et oratione dominica*

Nearing the end of his episcopal career, Hugh of Amiens addressed a short treatise on two of the most important components of the Christian faith to his nephew Giles, archdeacon of Rouen (1143-1170) and later bishop of Evreux (1170-79).¹ Hugh recognised the importance of the basics of the Catholic faith when he wrote *Super fide Catholica et oratione dominica*, a treatise on the Apostles' Creed, Psalm 88:2, and the Lord's Prayer. Without a grounding in such basics of the faith, there would have been no foundation for his more lofty speculative works. Concern for Giles, whose indiscriminate reading of hagiographies both delighted and troubled him,² spurred him as both an uncle and religious superior to teach about these fundamentals. The resulting treatise breathes the dense atmosphere of his earlier works. It both addresses in a cursory manner many of the issues upon which Hugh had expounded at great length in his Dialogues and does not hesitate to comment upon disputatious matters. But the treatise extends beyond mere system and definition in the section on the Lord's Prayer, which brings it into a symbolic world of speculation and contemplative meditation on the goal of beatitude in the presence of God.

¹ Van den Eynde, 81-3; William FitzStephen, s. 17 (p. 27).

² Hugh, *Fide*, 1332C.

Hugh set pen to parchment sometime between 1147 and 1159. The work specifically mentions a theological stance Gilbert de la Porrée took at the Council of Paris in 1147, and the phrasing 'a certain man was once heard to say'³ appears to indicate a date after Gilbert's death in 1155. He probably finished before 1159, when the schism following the election of Alexander III would give him a renewed sense of the urgent need for unity in the Church. This concern and the implications of schism in turn inspired him to write his last work, *De memoria*, but no sign of this concern appears in *Super fide*.

⁴ As with most of Hugh's works, *Super fide* did not gain great popularity, but it found enough of an appreciative audience to be preserved in at least two twelfth-century manuscripts.⁵

Hugh began *Super fide* by expounding upon the Apostles' Creed. Each point of the creed allowed him to review briefly the learning he had exhibited in earlier works. Some of the points of the Creed allowed him to expound more than others. 'Suffered under Pontius Pilate,' allowed him to contemplate the mystery of redemption, here however with the Anselmian language of the payment of a debt creeping in. For while in the *Dialogues* he had focused on Christ winning us from the hands of the devil who had us in his power, here he just stated that he bore 'from us the debt of ancient

³ 'Ausus est quidam aliquando dicere,' Ibid., 1327B.

⁴ Van den Eynde, 81-3; see *infra*, chapter 10.

⁵ *Super fide* exists to this day in two twelfth-century manuscripts:
 1) Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, ms. lat. 41 (late twelfth century from Normandy), ff. 1r-39v. *Super fide* is the only work in the manuscript, which belonged to archbishop Rotrou of Rouen, as evidenced by the words in a contemporary hand on the inside cover page: 'Hunc librum dedit dominus Rotrodus Archiepiscopus ecclesie rothomagensi.' It was thus written before 1183, when Rotrou died.
 2) Paris, BN ms. lat. 2935 (twelfth century, ex Beaupré Abbey, Beauvais), ff. 64v-82v. It follows St. Bernard's *De consideratione* and precedes Geoffrey of Monmouth's prophecies of Merlin from his *Historia Regum*. Bibliothèque Nationale, *Catalogue General*, vol. III; Sharpe, 182-3.

prevarication.⁶ The old view lingered, however, for later he went on to say that God plucked man from the hand of Satan.⁷ ‘And was buried,’ gave him rein to examine Christ’s two natures and how he assumed man (not a person but human nature).⁸ Hugh continued in like manner through the Creed, but when he reached the end he realised that there had not been enough to say on the nature of evil and the Fall, so he continued with a commentary on Psalm 88:2 ‘The mercies of the Lord, I will sing forever.’ And so he discussed the nothingness of evil, the fall of Satan from his free will on account of pride, the fall of man, and his salvation through God’s mercy and compassion.⁹

Hugh’s ever-present interest in defending the Trinity came to light when, upon reaching the Holy Spirit in the Apostles’ Creed, he declared:

God is the Father, and the Father is God. God is the Son, and the Son is God. God is the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit is God. In this blessed and immutable truth neither does Trinity divide unity nor does unity drive away Trinity.¹⁰

There was one notable individual who would have denied such a statement, and Hugh refers to his words without naming him:

A certain man was once heard to say: ‘This proposition I do not concede: God is Father, God is Son, God is Holy Spirit. This,’ he said, ‘I reject, but this I accept: The Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Spirit is God.’

⁶ ‘Ecce mysterium redemptionis nostrae: impassibilis passus est indebite, ut a nobis auferat debitum praevaricationis antiquae,’ Hugh, *Fide*, 1325A-B.

⁷ Ibid., 1330A.

⁸ Ibid., 1325C.

⁹ Ibid., 1328B-30C.

¹⁰ ‘Deus est Pater, et Pater est Deus. Deus est Filius, et Filius est Deus. Deus est Spiritus sanctus, et Spiritus sanctus est Deus. In hac beata et immutabili veritate nec Trinitas dividit unitatem, nec unitas abigit Trinitatem,’ 1327A.

He placed God in the predicate; he did not wish to place God in the subject.'¹¹

This individual certainly can be no other than Gilbert de la Porrée, who was questioned at the Council of Paris in 1147 and condemned following the Council of Reims in 1148.

Hugh had encountered Gilbert personally in 1147, shortly after completing *Contra haereticos*. Otto of Freising described the confrontation between the two, when a horrified Hugh discovered that Gilbert appeared to be denying the unity of the Trinity, a unity which Hugh emphasised continually throughout his works:

As he was again brought to trial the next day and was assailed for the novelty of his words because in his essay on the Holy Trinity he had called the three Persons three separate beings, N., archbishop of Rouen, aggravated the situation by saying that God ought rather to be called one separate being than three separate beings, not, however, without offence to many, since Hilary says in his book on the synods: 'Just as it is unholy to speak of two Gods, so it is sacrilegious to speak of a separate and sole God.'¹²

Even in Otto's simplified form of what was probably a longer speech, the resemblance to the *Dialogues* is obvious. Otto then presented Gilbert's defence of his statements, in which he asserted that he called each of the three persons 'singular' to emphasise their uniqueness. Otto went on to explain that Gilbert viewed the term 'person' to mean precisely an individual whose personal property distinguished him from all other persons, but with God it did not entail a different substance. Thus each of the persons was a

¹¹ 'Ausus est quidam aliquando dicere: Hanc propositionem non concedo: Deus est Pater, Deus est Filius, Deus est Spiritus sanctus. Hanc, inquit, rejicio, sed istam suscipio: Pater est Deus, Filius est Deus, Spiritus sanctus est Deus. Iste ponit in praedicato Deus, non vult poni in subjecto Deus.' 1327B

¹² Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, translated and annotated with an introduction by Charles Christopher Mierow, with the collaboration of Richard Emery. *Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching* 31, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953, reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), I.54 (52), 90.

unique, singular individual, each with his own distinguishing property, but not of a different substance from the other members of the Trinity.¹³

The matter was postponed and reinvestigated in a special consistory following the Council of Reims in 1148. The gathering moved to the archbishop's chambers where Gilbert was tried over the course of two days, during which Gilbert's supporters read from his texts and his opponents from a collection of patristic texts.¹⁴ Otto described the end of the first day, when Pope Eugenius bluntly asked Gilbert whether he believed that the highest essence, by which the three persons are God, is God. The exhausted Gilbert answered 'no', and the council adjourned for the day. The following day he tried to extricate himself as best he could, but ultimately he refused to accept without distinction that divinity is God, because this would entail either a plurality of substances or a Sabellian lack of any distinction between the persons.¹⁵ After the consistory adjourned, St. Bernard met in his residence with certain of the members to draw up a profession of faith answering four condemned propositions, which was then submitted to the consistory.¹⁶ Otto had earlier listed the four condemned propositions: 'that the divine essence is not God; that the properties of the persons are not the persons themselves; that persons (in the theological sense) are not predicated in any proposition; that the divine

¹³ Ibid., I.54 (53), 90-94.

¹⁴ Nikolaus M. Häring, 'Notes on the Council and Consistory of Rheims (1148), *Mediaeval Studies* 28 (1966), 46-8.

¹⁵ Otto of Freising, I.58 (56), 95-98.

¹⁶ Häring, 'Notes,' 49-50.

nature did not become flesh.¹⁷ It is this third proposition that Hugh addressed in *Super fide*, perhaps feeling that it most strongly impugned the unity of the Trinity.

Hugh thus elaborated upon the information reported by Otto of Freising: that Gilbert proposed that the three persons of the Trinity were three separate beings. This claim, Hugh asserted, was only the inevitable result of using human philosophy and reason to try to understand God. Did not Gilbert realise that all our predications of God are merely for human convention and ultimately foreign to the true nature of God?

This man, demented from his construction of predicaments, from the custom of parts of our worldly doctrine, does not know that God is the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and conversely that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit always is God. This truth is not subject to human reason, and temporal understanding is not able to see divine things; for they are not circumscribed, whence they are neither able to be defined nor determined. Any names, words, and sayings of human invention are not able to signify these incomprehensible things for you as they are. Indeed, if you speak according to our custom, God signifies substance with quality, as do the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit according to our custom. Propositions in this manner are foreign to divine signification. For God is not substance with quality; he does not say or do something in himself with action or suffering; nothing there is dissonant, nothing varied. For this reason, the Catholic faith holds it established that 'Father', 'Son', and 'Holy Spirit' do not signify with accidental difference or contingent property. God is not able not to be the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not able not to be God.¹⁸

¹⁷ Otto of Freising, I.52 (50), 88.

¹⁸ 'Dementatus iste ex sua praedicamentali constitutione, et ['et' reads 'ex' in BN ms. lat. 2935, f. 67r] more partium saecularis doctrinae nostrae; nescit quia Deus est Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, et e converso Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus Deus semper est. Veritas ista non est humanae rationi subdita, nec temporalis potest intelligentia videre divina; non enim sunt ei ['ei' is absent in BN ms. lat. 2935, f. 67r] circumscripta, unde nec definiri, nec determinari ea possunt. Nomina et verba et dictiones quaelibet inventionis humanae non possunt vobis ea incomprehensibilia sicut sunt assignare. Deus quidem, si more nostro dixeris, significat substantiam cum qualitate, sic Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus pro nostra consuetudine. Hoc modo proposita aliena sunt a significatione divina. Deus enim non est substantia cum qualitate; non dicit, non agit aliquid apud se cum actione vel passione; nihil est ibi dissonum, nihil varium. Eapropter ratum tenet fides Catholica, quia Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus non significant cum accidentali differentia seu contingententi proprietate. Deus non potest non esse Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus. Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus non possunt non esse Deus.' Hugh, *Fide*, 1327B-D.

But Gilbert thought we could speak about God according to our custom. Indeed, for the bishop of Poitiers, there was simply no other way to speak.¹⁹ At the foundation of Gilbert's teachings was a strict application of the rules of grammar and logic to theology and a refusal to admit any language that did not adhere strictly to these rules. According to these rules, a statement like 'God is the Father' is a form of predication, the construction of a predicament which Hugh asserted had so strongly addled the poor man. Because of the limitations of language and human understanding, predication can only treat of things from reason and nature, from which we know that nothing can exist by itself and explain itself.²⁰ For Gilbert, to view this use of reason as an intrusion into the realm of revelation would be to create a contradiction between reason and faith.²¹

Gilbert had been thoroughly steeped in the works of Boethius, and much of his thought stemmed from an attempt to find a unified explanation for his theories as to the reasons for things.²² In his attempts to find a unified theory for analysing creation as well as the Creator, he distinguished between two grammatical terms identified by Boethius which had to be used in all predication: *id quod*, the substance itself, and its *id quo*, that by which it is, the cause or reason that explains it. Many *id quos*, or *proprietaes*, go into making this *id quo* of the whole, which defines its recipient and distinguishes it from

¹⁹ Gilbert's philosophy is difficult, and the division between *id quo* and *id quod* is only one of its many features. However, it is one of the most fundamental aspects of his thought, and crucial to understanding the Trinitarian dispute about which Hugh wrote. In trying to make sense of his views, I have felt great sympathy towards Pope Eugenius, who at the end of a long day pleaded for Gilbert to state his views more simply, because he and the others did not understand what Gilbert was saying. See Otto of Freising, I.58, 96. I am especially thankful for the interpretations of Nikolaus Häring and John Marenbon. See Häring, 'A Treatise,' 14-50; John Marenbon, 'Gilbert of Poitiers,' in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 328-52.

²⁰ Gilbert de la Porrée, *A Treatise on the Trinity*, in Häring, 'A Treatise,' 36, s. 9-10.

²¹ Marenbon, 335.

²² *Ibid.*, 332-6.

every other being.²³ With regard to the persons of the Trinity, there are three respective properties that distinguish them: *paternitas/generatio, filiatio/nativitas, and conexio*.²⁴ Begetting is the *id quo* of the Father and makes him the Father, being begotten is that of the Son, and the bond of love between the two that of the Holy Spirit. These are extrinsic relations, distinct from God but still eternal reasons, real things which oppose each other and so distinguish the persons.²⁵ All other *id quos* can be predicated of all three, whether *auctoritas, unitas, principalitas, or divinitas*. Thus for instance, *divinitas* is that by which the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God.²⁶ And so according to rational distinctions, whatever the *id quo* may be, whether the godhead, eternity, or unity of God, it is distinct from God himself, the *id quod*.

Gilbert admitted that these were abstract ideas he was dealing with, treating things as forms where there are no forms, but as a concession to reason they must be treated separately.²⁷ Therefore, according to the rules of predication which must follow logic, one can only predicate a form of a substance and not a substance of a substance or a substance of a form.²⁸ One could thus say 'The Father is God', because it states that the Father participates in divinity, that divinity is an *id quo* conjoined with his paternity. In

²³ Ibid., 340-43; Häring, 'A Treatise,' 20; Lambert Marie de Rijk, 'Gilbert de Poitiers, ses vues semantiques et metaphysiques,' in *Gilbert de Poitiers et ses contemporains. Aux origines de la Logica Modernorum*, Actes du septième symposium européen d'histoire de la logique et de la semantique médiévales, Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale de Poitiers, Poitiers, 17-22 Juin 1985, eds. Jean Jolivet and Alain de Libera, *History of Logic V* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1987), 148-9, 153-8.

²⁴ Gilbert de la Porrée, 39-40, s. 22, 26; Häring, 'A Treatise,' 20, 26.

²⁵ Gilbert de la Porrée, 39, s. 21; Häring, 'A Treatise,' 20-21, 25; Marenbon, 342.

²⁶ Gilbert de la Porrée, 35, s. 4-5.

²⁷ Ibid., 44, s. 45-8; Häring, 'A Treatise,' 28-30.

²⁸ Gilbert de la Porrée, 48, s. 66; Häring, 'A Treatise,' 31.

these terms, 'God is the Father' is unacceptable, because according to the same rules this is to say that fatherhood is that which defines God, which is clearly not the case.²⁹ If it were the case, it would create a Sabellian blurring of all distinctions between the persons.

For Gilbert's opponents, the attempt to absolutise mere human convention conveyed ideas that could not be true of God. The real dispute lay not in the validity of Gilbert's logic or grammar, but in the application of logic and grammar, of any form of limited, human reason where it did not belong.

For God is not substance with quality. He does not say nor does he do anything within himself with action or suffering. Nothing there is dissonant, nothing varied. For this reason, the Catholic faith holds it established that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit do not signify by accidental difference or contingent property. God is not able not to be Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not able not to be God. We say these things because we wholly deny that there are several gods. For if they were several gods, they would certainly be different. If they were different, one would have more and another less, and thus they would remain imperfect and insufficient. Therefore we dare, and against the laws of philosophical disputation, when we speak about God, we infer: if several, then none. God himself is simple, and is essentially the perfect gift: nothing there from the predicate is imputed to the subject, nothing in the subject increases in the predicate. The divine essence indeed is not susceptible to contraries. There is nothing there resembling our predication.³⁰

An unbridgeable chasm stood between Gilbert and the more traditional theologians which, apart from his nearly indecipherable language, ensured that Hugh, St. Bernard,

²⁹ Gilbert de la Porrée, 42, s. 38.

³⁰ Deus enim non est substantia cum qualitate; non dicit, non agit aliquid apud se cum actione vel passione; nihil est ibi dissonum, nihil varium. Eapropter ratum tenet fides Catholica, quia Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus non significant cum accidentali differentia seu contingenti proprietate. Deus non potest non esse Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus. Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus non possunt non esse Deus. Ista dicimus quia plures esse deos omnino negamus. Si enim essent plures, essent utique differentes; si essent differentes, alius alio plus minus haberet, sic et imperfecti remanerent et insufficientes. Audemus itaque, et contra leges disputationis philosophicae, cum de Deo loquimur, hoc inferimus: si plures, et nullus. Idipsum Deus est simplex, et perfectum donum essentialiter est: nihil ibi ex praedicato refunditur in subjecto, nihil in subjecto crescit in praedicato. Divina quidem essentia non est susceptibilis contrariorum. Nihil ibi simile nostrorum praedicamentorum,' Hugh, *Fide*, 1327C-28A.

and many others would never understand or appreciate his works. And although there appears to have been no official *acta* nor a decision by the pope at Reims, in large part owing to the support of many of the cardinals for Gilbert,³¹ his teachings remained under a cloud of suspicion thereafter.

Super fide Catholica moves into a more poetic and creative mood in Hugh's exegesis on the Lord's Prayer. The commentary begins in a typical fashion with a straightforward commentary on each of the seven petitions in the prayer. Hugh treated each of the verses by dealing with any obscurities, pulling out the hidden meaning, and joining allegorical examples from the Old Testament. 'Hallowed be thy name,' for instance, presents the reader with some obvious problems, for the Lord's name is already holy and cannot be increased or decreased. It is rather hallowed when the faithful become holy and thus glorify God. A specific precursor to this hallowing can be found in the Old Testament, where Aaron in fact wore the name of God, the holy tetragrammaton, for all to see, and thus was hallowed.³² Each of the sections of the prayer received such treatment, and predictably, Hugh managed to find yet another outlet for his Trinitarian speculation. He discovered a sign of the Trinity in prayers involving God's name, kingdom, and will. The name of the Father is glorified before all time, the kingdom of God is his Son, who conquered the kingdom of the devil in us, and the will of God is the Holy Spirit, the highest charity, by which God wished to make all things.³³

³¹ Otto of Freising, I. 60 (57), 99-100; Häring, 'Notes,' 52-9.

³² Hugh, *Fide*, 1331C-D.

³³ *Ibid.*, 1332A-D.

The exegesis in this first section resembles another specific treatise on the Lord's Prayer written by Gilbert Foliot several decades later, between 1178 and 1187.³⁴ The result of Gilbert's attempts was a more literal exegesis, with very little in the way of allegory. The Lord's name was hallowed in a similar manner for Gilbert. Through the Lord's name, faith in that name is signified, so that when one asks for the Lord's name to be hallowed, he asks that faith in that name will appear holy. In turn, that faith will only appear holy if the faithful engage in good works and love God with all their heart and mind and strength.³⁵

Both men used the petition for our daily bread to expound upon the Eucharist. Hugh devoted himself to a few brief statements about Christ as the living bread and the supersubstantial (as it is called in the Vulgate version of Matthew 6:11) nature of the Eucharist, in that it is present whole and undiminished everywhere, unconsumed by the faithful who eat of it.³⁶ Gilbert Foliot engaged in a much more developed Eucharistic theology. Here he investigated the Old Testament precedent of Elijah being fed bread by an angel when fleeing from Ahab and Jezebel. He explicitly declared the Eucharist to be the body and blood of Christ and then explained that it appeared in the form of bread to protect the faithful from the fear of being impious by consuming actual flesh and blood. The bread is of course daily in that the Eucharist is celebrated daily.³⁷ The two examples witness to the intensification of interest in the Eucharist since the days of Berengar. This

³⁴ David Bell, 'The Commentary on the Lord's Prayer of Gilbert Foliot,' RTAM 56 (1989), 88.

³⁵ Gilbert Foliot, *Expositio in Orationem Dominicam*, in David Bell, 'The Commentary,' 93.

³⁶ Hugh, *Fide*, 1333A-C.

³⁷ Gilbert Foliot, 97-99.

process had already led to the emergence of the term '*transubstantio*', a term which would be included a few decades later in the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council.³⁸

Hugh of Amiens' exegesis of the Lord's Prayer surpassed Gilbert's in the extensive allegorical superstructure he built upon it, which leant heavily upon examples found in traditional and contemporary commentaries and glosses upon the gospels. He proposed a process in which one first prays to God with one of seven petitions and is rewarded by being given one of the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit.³⁹ This gift in turn prepares one to be raised to beatitude in the presence of God, each of the gifts bringing a different beatitude expressed in the Sermon on the Mount.⁴⁰ Finally, each of the seven beatitudes is expressed according to each day of the temporal process of Creation, which like those seven beatitudes all remaining in the one eternal state of blessedness, are all contained together in the seventh day, the eternal day of rest in which the causes of all creation remain in the mind of God.⁴¹

The process begins when the Christian prays 'hallowed be thy name.' By this prayer he receives the spirit of wisdom by which he knows God in his essence and loves him by giving all things to God's sons on earth.⁴² When this happens, he becomes a peacemaker,⁴³ and like the separation of darkness from light on the first day of Creation,

³⁸ See *supra*, chapter 4, n. 215.

³⁹ Isa. 11:1-3.

⁴⁰ Mt. 5:1-12.

⁴¹ See *infra*, Appendix 2, for a table of these septenaries.

⁴² Hugh, *Fide*, 1334D-35A.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1337C.

he is separated from the darkness and blindness of those who do not hallow the Lord's name.⁴⁴ And so he is brought into the glory of beatitude.

Each part of the Lord's Prayer follows likewise. The one praying pleads 'thy kingdom come' and receives the spirit of understanding by which he reigns with God and his heart becomes pure. This kingdom, like the firmament of the second day separating the waters below from the waters above, divides him from earthly and changeable things and brings him to beatitude.⁴⁵ He prays 'thy will be done' and receives the spirit of counsel by which he follows the Lord's will and does works of mercy. The good works and virtues which result are like the green herbs and fruit-bearing trees of the third day of Creation, which can never grow in the Church without the will of the Father, work of the Son, and the counsel of the Holy Spirit. In these first three prayers and results, Hugh found the three theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity.⁴⁶

The process continues with 'give us this day our daily bread,' to do which the one praying first needs to be given the spirit of fortitude. With this spirit he hungers and thirsts for justice and is victorious against falsehood. And so he is like the luminaries created in heaven on the fourth day, destined to be blessed in the splendour of the saints.⁴⁷ He prays 'forgive us our debts,' and is given the spirit of knowledge so that he may know how to forgive just as he wishes to be forgiven. Through this spirit, he is consoled from all mourning, and like the creatures emerging from the waters on the fifth day, he emerges from the floods of worldliness into a life of godly habits and holy works.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 1339B-D.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 1335A, 1337D, 1339D-40A

⁴⁶ Ibid., 1335A-B, 1337D, 1340A-C.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 1335B-C, 1337D, 1340D-A.

Eventually he will be elevated like the birds of that fifth day into the heavens.⁴⁸ 'Lead us not into temptation' is the prayer that brings him the spirit of piety, which makes him meek and humble, zealous to obey God and avoid temptation. When he does so, he is conformed to the image and likeness of God, just as Adam was in his rational soul when he was created on the sixth day.⁴⁹ Finally, he prays 'deliver us from evil,' by which he receives the spirit of fear of the Lord, a filial fear that flees from sin and fears to offend God. By this he is poor in spirit and rejects all things for God, and so he is received into that blessed rest of the Lord symbolised by the seventh day.⁵⁰

This method of interpreting the Lord's Prayer and the beatitudes had precedents as far back as the time of the Church Fathers. St. Augustine treated the material in this manner in his explanation of the Sermon on the Mount, where he saw fit to join the beatitudes to the sevenfold gift of the Holy Spirit. With the gifts, the fear of the Lord appears to be most appropriately given first, as the beginning of all wisdom.⁵¹ This in turn fits perfectly to the poor in spirit, for those who are poor in spirit have humble hearts, and they are therefore fortified against pride, the beginning of all sin.⁵² Following this order, piety fits with meekness, because pious men seek only to follow the Scriptures, even when they do not understand them. Those who have knowledge weep because they know how they are held by the evils of the world. Those who hunger for justice have fortitude because they labour for good. The merciful have counsel, a remedy

⁴⁸ Ibid., 1335D, 1337D, 1341A-C.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 1335D-A, 1338A, 1341D-42C.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 1336A-B, 1338A, 1342D-43A.

⁵¹ St. Augustine, *De sermone Domini in monte*, PL 34, 1231-2, 1234.

⁵² Sir. 10:15.

for avoiding evil and helping others. The clean of heart have understanding, which purifies their eyes so that they may see what the eye has not seen. Finally, the peacemakers have wisdom, because all things are ordered within them and they have ceased all rebellion against God.⁵³ Augustine thus ordered the beatitudes and gifts in the reverse of the order Hugh used, finding different interpretations but also keeping the same pairs.

Nevertheless, when linking all to the Lord's Prayer, Augustine created a different scheme, for he kept this reversed order of beatitudes and gifts while linking them to the prayers in their Scriptural order. We pray that the Lord's name be sanctified in men so that the poor in spirit may be blessed in the fear of the Lord. We seek meekly that his kingdom come in us, and that his will be done on earth so that he will bring peace and we will no longer weep. We pray for our daily bread, which sustains us with fortitude and satisfies our hunger, and we ask that he dismiss the sins of others as well as our own out of mercy. We pray that he lead us not into temptation because we are clean of heart and that he deliver us from evil as peacemakers and sons of God.⁵⁴ The beatitudes and gifts are linked in the same manner. And so the only group of the septenary that remains the same is the fortitude/hunger/daily bread trio, which has both the benefit of being in the midst of the series so that it always occurs and the most clear relationship between its elements.

Paschasius Radbertus, the ninth-century abbot of Corbie best known for his strongly realist views on the Eucharist, also wrote an influential *Exposition on the Gospel*

⁵³ St. Augustine, *De sermone Domini*, 1234.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1286.

of *Matthew*. In the midst of his exegesis upon the beatitudes, while discussing those who hunger and thirst after justice, he announced that for these beatitudes to be fulfilled we needed to ask for gifts by means of the Lord's Prayer. But instead of following Augustine's order, he reversed the prayers, and began with 'deliver us from evil.'⁵⁵ He weaved in and out of all seven, giving us a schema just like that of Hugh's but following the Lord's prayer in reverse.⁵⁶ His examination of the Lord's Prayer then flipped them around and provided the same order as that which Hugh would follow some centuries later.⁵⁷

Twelfth-century theologians revisited these two schemes in the numerous commentaries and *glossae*, including those that would eventually become the definitive editions regarded as part of the *Glossa Ordinaria*. Hugh may have had any of these at hand rather than Paschasius' work itself, and probably also recalled the teaching he had received at the feet of Anselm of Laon. The most influential of all these works, the Gloss on the book of Matthew, was attributed to Ralph of Laon and probably begun by his brother Anselm.⁵⁸ By around 1160, just a couple of years after Hugh wrote *Super fide*, the masters of Paris were frequently citing and lecturing upon the Gloss.⁵⁹ It returns to the linked septenaries on several occasions. In the verses on Matthew 5 referring to the

⁵⁵ Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo Libri XII*, ed. Bedae Paultus, O.S.B., CCCM 41 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), 289 (Mt. 5:6).

⁵⁶ Ibid., 290-306 (Mt. 5:6-12).

⁵⁷ Ibid., 381-409 (Mt. 6:9-13).

⁵⁸ Beryl Smalley, 'Some Gospel Commentaries of the Early Twelfth Century,' RTAM 45 (1978), 151-2.

⁵⁹ Ibid.; E. Ann Matter, 'The Church Fathers and the *Glossa Ordinaria*,' in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West. From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irena Backus (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 109.

beatitudes, it links each of the seven beatitudes with one of the sevenfold gifts of the holy spirit. As in Augustine, the gifts begin with the spirit of fear and the beatitudes with the poor in spirit.⁶⁰ Then, in the commentary on the Lord's Prayer in Matthew 6, each of the prayers gains a gift and a beatitude, following the same order, the reverse of that which Hugh followed.⁶¹

However, the *Glossa* expanded upon this synthesis with a detailed examination of each of the seven petitions.⁶² Here, as with the interlinear gloss for these verses, the order has been changed to mirror Paschasius' structure, and the analysis greatly resembles that of Hugh. The process also reflects that which Hugh encouraged: the Christian prays to receive each of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, through these gifts he practices virtues, and these virtues in turn lead him to beatitude. The inclusion of both schemes of the septenaries follows the spirit of the Gloss's attempt to compile authorities. Sometimes it was necessary to have more than one gloss, especially if they both came from venerable sources, and in lecture courses different glosses, such as those interpreting Jesus' entry to Jerusalem in Matthew 21, were read and treated separately.⁶³ These two readings may have only been an attempt to pass down both interpretations to posterity and to allow the merits of both to be discussed in the classroom.

Other such commentaries include one in fragmented form in *ms. Valenciennes 14* which has been found in over sixty manuscripts. Falsely attributed to Anselm of Laon,

⁶⁰ *Biblia Latina cum postillis*, ff. 1024r-25r (Mt. 5:1-12); Dom Odon Lottin, *Problèmes d'histoire littéraire. De 1160 à 1300*, in *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, vol. VI (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1960), 445-6.

⁶¹ *Biblia Latina cum postillis*, ff. 1029r-v (Mt. 6:9-13); Lottin, VI, 447-8.

⁶² *Biblia Latina cum postillis*, f. 1029v.

⁶³ Smalley, 'Some Gospel Commentaries,' 152.

but nevertheless one of the first gospel commentaries to derive from the Laon milieu, this one follows the Paschasian order.⁶⁴ Another attributed to Anselm and found in *ms. Alençon 26* follows the Augustinian order in Matthew 5 and the Paschasian in Matthew 6.⁶⁵ An influential piece in its own right, this commentary spread far and wide, with one version from northern France fittingly finding its way in the thirteenth century to All Saints Priory on the Isle of May, Scotland, a daughter-house of Reading Abbey.⁶⁶ Finally, an even more popular commentary, alternatively attributed to Anselm of Laon, Geoffrey Babion, and Geoffrey Loroux, but probably belonging to none of them, neglected the Augustinian order entirely and only followed the Paschasian.⁶⁷ This work, composed from 1130-1150, also found its way into the hands of Peter Comestor and Peter the Chanter and exists in over forty manuscripts.⁶⁸ All these works show that exegetical interest in the Lord's Prayer and the linked septenaries devolving from both Augustine and Paschasius continued to develop, radiating outward from the centre of Laon.

Others besides Hugh of Amiens and the Laon theologians took up the challenge of interpreting the septenaries of the Lord's Prayer and the beatitudes in new ways. Hugh of Saint-Victor, in *De quinque septenis seu septenariis*, arrived at five septenaries which he linked together. His procedure was similar to that of his predecessors, and his main contribution was to add the seven vices, those fountains of the abyss from which the

⁶⁴ Ibid., 157-60; Lottin, VI, 459-70. Lottin claimed the Valenciennes manuscript was an authentic work of Anselm of Laon, written after the Gloss on Matthew and in turn the source for the second interpretation of the Lord's Prayer.

⁶⁵ Lottin, VI, 455-9.

⁶⁶ Smalley, 'Some Gospel Commentaries,' 161-2.

⁶⁷ *Enarrationes in Evangelium Matthaeum*. PL 162, 1283-9, 1304-9; Lottin, VI, 470-1; Smalley, 'Some Gospel Commentaries,' 173-5.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 166.

rivers of Babylon flow: pride, envy, wrath, sloth, avarice, gluttony, and lust.⁶⁹ Each of the petitions of the Lord's Prayer thus served both to free the one praying from the corresponding vice and to endue him with a gift of the Holy Spirit. This gift would enable him to attain one of seven virtues corresponding to one of the seven beatitudes. These virtues combating the seven vices are not the typical ones, however. Instead we find humility, benevolence, compunction, the desire for the good, mercy, cleanness of heart, and peace.⁷⁰ These virtues are separated from their resulting beatitudes, making five septenaries in all.

Peter Lombard discussed the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, but without reference to the popular septenary schemes associated with them.⁷¹ He developed at length the meaning behind some of the gifts, especially the various meanings behind fear and the difference between wisdom and knowledge. But ultimately he left no trace of the allegorical construction found in Hugh's writings.

John of Salisbury wrote a treatise on seven septenaries, including such schemes as the seven modes of erudition and the seven windows of the soul, many of which were saturated with classical allusions. But among these he also returned to the traditional exegetical septenaries under the umbrella of the seven virtues by which the soul strives.⁷² These seven virtues, slightly different from those of the beatitudes, are humility, meekness, patience, perseverance, mercy, abstinence, and cleanness of heart. As with previous arrangements, each of the virtues is still informed by a gift of the Holy Spirit.

⁶⁹ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De quinque septenis seu septenariis*, PL 175, 405B, 406A-07C.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 405C-D.

⁷¹ Lombard, *Sent.*, III.xxxiv-v.

⁷² John of Salisbury, *De septem septenis*, PL 199, 954A-55A.

While the beginning of *Super fide* followed a theological process more reminiscent of the theological sentences of his *Dialogues*, this latter part of the treatise extends into the realms of symbolism and contemplative speculation. To claim that such a difference marks the sharp divide between the monastic and the scholastic would be somewhat artificial, for the Laon school also easily adopted these same interpretive edifices of septenaries. But Hugh did approach these matters in a calmer, more contemplative manner. He did not create an immediately systematic summary of the whole, and the above summary of his septenaries may give the false impression that he did. Rather he developed each layer, one at a time, exploring the possibilities of each additional septenary and standing back to meditate on what he had done before moving on to the next. Hints of a more systematic theology surfaced from time to time, with echoes of what he had written in the *Dialogues*. But the symbolic and multifaceted nature of the different components of his constructions combined with the moral interpretation of the days of Creation give the work a contemplative cast, which becomes even more evident when it veers at the end into even more explicit speculation.

Hugh concluded his account with an investigation into the numerology behind them, manipulating the numbers in interesting ways to find additional meaning in the septenaries. The six days of Creation form a senary, Hugh explained, the first of all perfect numbers and the only one under ten. For it is composed of the sum of all its parts, the numbers one, two and three. These three can be distributed amongst the days of Creation: one for the first light, two for the two days of heaven and earth, and three for the adornment of the world with plants and creatures.⁷³ This senary is completed on the

⁷³ Hugh, *Fide*, 1342B-C.

seventh day, making a septenary. This septenary in turn should be raised to a new perfect number, and by attaching the three other septenaries to it he did just that. For the four septenaries together made twenty eight, composed again of the sum of its parts: fourteen, seven, four, two, and one.⁷⁴ He tried to drive himself onward to loftier heights and soon stopped himself: 'But lest you should overflow with computation, place a limit for yourself so that you will not be carried away and sink beneath an immense endlessness.'⁷⁵

Returning to the septenary once more, Hugh declared it to be a virgin number if not a perfect number, singly simple and one, with no parts. The senary presents the works of the earthly world, but the septenary raises them up to the contemplation of rational understanding.⁷⁶ At length, Hugh searched briefly for two more such senary/septenaries that expressed hallowed truths for contemplation. The first he found in the Transfiguration, with the presence of Jesus, Moses, Elijah, Peter, James, and John. The last three figures stood for the Trinity, Moses and Elijah for the law and prophecy, and the Son for his equality with the Father and the Holy Spirit. All these will be manifest in eternity.⁷⁷ A final allegorical septenary existed in salvation history. The Church was born with the faith of the Patriarchs and was educated with the censure of the Law and the doctrines of the prophets. It was and is being extended by the virtues of apostles,

⁷⁴ Ibid., 1343B-C.

⁷⁵ 'Sed ne computando supereffluas, pone tibi modum ne rapiaris, et corruas infra immensum interminatum.' Ibid., 1343D.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 1343D-44A.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 1344C-D.

evangelists, and Doctors of the faith. These too will eventually be raised to beatitude and the Church will be glorified.⁷⁸

A quarter of a century after leaving Reading Abbey, Hugh showed himself to be taking seriously the offices of archbishop and monk. In the space of one work, he managed to dispute the teachings of a heretic, expound upon the important tenets of the faith, and launch contemplatively into moral and mystical exegetical exercises. Disputations and heated assertions, like those found in earlier writings, are largely absent from this work, with the exception of those against Gilbert de la Porrée. Above all shines a focus on the beatitude which waits all the faithful and for which Hugh longed, which could only be seen through snatches of contemplation in the present world. Hugh's addition of the days of Creation and their fulfilment in beatitude added an anagogic element to his work, a focus on the next life. This may have been only the sign of a man wearied with the battles and efforts of a long career and yearning for that final rest. But the focus is more expectant and hopeful than weary. It appears rather to be a monastic orientation of his whole being to the contemplation of God, which will only fully be obtained with that final rest. To this end he urges Giles, whom he encouraged to seek God in all things.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Ibid., 1345A-46A.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 1332C.

Chapter X

Hugh of Amiens' *De memoria*: Memory and Unity in the Face of Schism

During the last years of his life, Hugh composed his final treatise.¹ It was the height of summer, and he was wearied by all sorts of afflictions. Despite the rigours of old age, he still found the strength to write to his friend, Philip, persevering in his duties as instructor and advisor:

Though at the present I am quite bothered by the heat, wearied by old age, aching in my feet, and weighed down by sickness, I do not want to offend against your concern, which I proposed always to honour. Indeed, the things which we enjoin upon you are limited and brief, and we compress these matters by putting them into writing. But the things which we place before you with due charity are the greatest and most sublime with heavenly doctrine.²

The Philip he wrote to remains unknown. Perhaps it was Philip of Harcourt, bishop of Bayeux (1142-63). Or perchance it was a young cleric in his diocese. Whoever the addressee may have been, he received a work ripened by Hugh's old age, a mellow treatise without the acerbic qualities that sometimes pierced through in earlier writings.

¹ *De memoria* exists in just one manuscript: Vatican, ms. Reg. lat. 1637, i, 1r-18v (twelfth century), where it is joined to another manuscript containing Seneca's *Declamationes*.

² 'Ego quidem aestate praesenti caloribus admodum teneor anxius, senio fessus, pede collisus, morbo gravatus, sollicitudinem tuam nolo offendere, quam proposui semper honorare. Arcta quidem sunt et brevia quae tibi mandamus, et stilo contracta porrigimus; sed permaxima, sed coelesti dogmate sublimia, quae charitate debita tibi praesentamus. Hugh, *Mem.*, preface, 1299D-1300A.

Hugh's weary comments are not the only clue to the work's dating. Indeed, Hugh was already in his forties when he took up his office and could easily have expressed these complaints long before the end. But throughout *De memoria* he placed a particular stress on the unity of the Church and the primacy of Peter, an emphasis that does not appear in the other works. This suggests that Hugh may have been writing in light of the schism that had broken out between Alexander III and Victor IV in 1160. In addition, the work has a section devoted to septenaries which encompasses all the material from Hugh's previous books with the addition of yet another septenary.³ All these factors indicate a date of 1160 at the earliest, thus placing its composition in the last four years of Hugh's life, when he was at least seventy and possibly nearing the venerable age of eighty. Appropriately for one nearing his end, he focused above all on the power of memory and its aid in the contemplation of God and his graces. But if memory remains the primary theme, a strong secondary theme is the unity of the Church, and it was through these two lenses that Hugh treated a range of subjects much broader than he suggested in his epistle, including the Trinity, the history of the sacraments, and the kingdoms of God and the devil.

Memory

The apt subject of memory is an underlying theme for much of this work of Hugh's old age. It is not, however, a psychological treatise with theories on the inner workings of the memory, or on its relation to the mind, spirit, and soul, such as those that

³ Hugh, *Mem.*, III.9, 1321C-22A; Van den Eynde, 82.

were written by many medieval thinkers inspired by Augustine and even Aristotle.⁴ Nor is it a practical treatise, such as that found amongst the pages of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Didascalicon*, where he painted a scholarly picture of memory, urging that the reader employ such techniques as memorising brief abstracts from which he can later derive everything else.⁵ Hugh of Amiens had introduced the topic once before in book seven of the *Dialogues*, but only in the Augustinian context of a sign of the Trinity, in conjunction with understanding and love. This analogy did however point to the important role that memory has as a likeness of God the Father. Here he returned to flesh out this important role, with the specific aim of indicating the proper objectives and intentions of the memory, without too much of an interest in the practicalities of obtaining memories. He explored not how but what it stores in its archives, and to what end this action is done.

Hugh envisioned the memory as a storehouse or vessel for all of one's discoveries and desires. But its primary purpose is to receive the wisdom of God, to which all its other stores are to be subjected:

'The wise memory gathers together all at once, attends prudently, and guards carefully everything that the intellect discovers, study appropriates, and pious love desires. Whoever hastens to go with such discoveries, perceptions, and retentions, skilfully prepare for yourself a pure and settled mind by the help of divine grace, not by vain presumption, but with subject humility, and piously present the vessel of your memory to receive the wisdom of God.'⁶

⁴ See Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories. Studies in the reconstruction of the past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), for a thorough survey of these theories, especially pp. 80-111 and 155-273 for St. Augustine and twelfth-century theologians.

⁵ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Didascalicon*, III.11. Later in the work he urged the reader to pay particular attention to the deeds performed in the Scriptures, in order to prepare for allegorical exegesis, a role of memory closer to that which Hugh envisioned, albeit more systematic and practical: *Ibid.*, VI.1.

⁶ 'Omne quod intellectus invenit, quod studium attingit, quod pius amor appetit, totum simul sapiens memoria colligit, prudenter attendit, provide custodit. Talibus inveniendis et percipiendis atque retinendis quisquis ire festinas, non praesumptione vana, sed humilitate subdita, mentem puram et expeditam, propitiante divina gratia, solerter tibi praepara, et tuae vasa memoriae ad suscipiendam Dei sapientiam pie praesenta.' Hugh, *Mem.*, Preface, 1299B.

Hugh urged that the filling of the memory be a very selective process, and his words of exhortation bear a resemblance to those of Bernard of Clairvaux in his work *De conversione*, written about a decade previously. Therein Bernard focused on the conversion of both reason and will to God, observing that the memory is a horrible place of vices, pride, and all sorts of abominations, soiled by the events of one's past life.⁷ Even after all these things have been forgiven, the memory still remains, and one must work to erase the shame and the fear from the memory, turning to God and divine wisdom to deliver it from desires.⁸ Rather than this negative, purgative approach to the memory, Hugh sought out a positive process of acquisition and recollection from the beginning. Nevertheless, he did not have in mind any random storage of facts. Although Hugh deemed historical deeds to be pertinent for his purposes, they were limited to those found in sacred history. Above all, the memory was a place for the wisdom of God, found in the Scriptures and other sacred writings, and perhaps in discoveries made through pious contemplation.

Memory holds knowledge and is the key of knowledge (*clavis scientiae*),⁹ but it is more than just a passive receptacle, for it must serve practical aims. It is the ladder which raised Jacob to heaven, he explained, and allowed him to progress by the threefold cord

⁷ St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad clericos de conversione*, eds. J. Leclercq, H. Rochais, and C.H. Talbot, translated with an introduction and notes by Françoise Callerot and Jürgen Miethke, *Sources Chrétiennes* 457 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2000) iii (p. 330), iv (pp. 332-4), xi (p. 352).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 28 (p. 388), 29 (pp. 390-92). See Daniel K. Griggs, 'Augustine's Influence on Bernard of Clairvaux's Teaching on Memory,' *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 32:4 (1997), 475-85, for a full account of Bernard's mentions of memory and its importance in relation to the will.

⁹ Jesus denounced the lawyers who had taken away the 'key of knowledge' in Luke 11:52.

of charity to love God, neighbour, and self.¹⁰ Here indeed is implicit a version of the Augustinian Trinity, with understanding and memory both exciting one another to the love of God.¹¹ St. Anselm had referred to this capacity to understand, remember, and love God as the mind's 'most momentous ability',¹² that which made it closer than anything else to the supreme essence of God.¹³

The memory does more than excite love alone, for it also serves the laudable aim of encouraging all of the virtues:

Among all the powers of human reason, the power of memory flourishes most abundantly: it alone returns the past to the present, binds passing instants, brings wise things back to mind, reports with wisdom, and foresees the future. It adorns prudence, affirms justice, strengthens fortitude, and illuminates temperance. It builds faith, raises hope, and promotes charity. When faith has been excited, hope raised, and charity quickened, it admires God, one in Trinity and triune in unity.¹⁴

Thus memory served both practical and contemplative aims, the two together bringing the believer closer to Christ.

The common theory of memory at this time, still held by many today,¹⁵ was that memory involves a mental image of the thing being remembered. Aristotle greatly influenced classical thinking on the matter when he stated that one cannot even think

¹⁰ Hugh, *Mem.*, pref., 1300B; cf. Hugh, *Dial.*, III.14, 1176A-B.

¹¹ Augustine, *DeTrin.*, IV.ii.6-v.24.

¹² St. Anselm of Canterbury, *Monologion*, c. 68.

¹³ *Ibid.*, c. 66.

¹⁴ 'Inter omnis rationis humanae valetudines, memoriae virtus viget uberius: sola haec praeterita reddit praesentia, instantia ligat, sapientia reportat, futura prospectat; haec prudentiam ornat, justitiam firmat, fortitudinem roborat, temperantiam illustrat; haec fidem astruit, spem erigit, charitatem producit; haec fide citata, spe levata, charitate corusca miratur Deum in Trinitate unum, in unitate trinum.' *Ibid.*, I.1, 1301B.

¹⁵ See Coleman, esp. 603-611.

without images,¹⁶ and that memory exists as an imprint upon the mind in the form of a sensory image.¹⁷ Augustine in turn similarly viewed that 'we absorb the images of bodily things through the senses of the body and transfer them somehow to the memory.'¹⁸ Beasts too have the faculty of memory, and what distinguishes us from them is the ability to commit things to memory on purpose, to recollect and re-impress memories, to compose fabricated memories, and to make judgements upon them.¹⁹ Recollection from the memory is, as Augustine so vividly stated, like the regurgitation of food from the stomach.²⁰ But Augustine also expanded the definition of memory to include things present, for he observed that we can remember and forget what is present, that we can even forget ourselves.²¹

Hugh's definition was even more expansive than Augustine's. He lauded its ability to behold not just things past and present, but also things yet to come. For him, it was not merely a matter of sense perception, although to be sure it did involve seeing things in their actual act. But it flew beyond to an actual participation in the forms in the mind of God:

Memory rushes through all things, it beholds all things. Humbly exalted even to behold God, it sees that God is the author of all things, spiritual and bodily. It sees things eternally deposited in the divine mind, in wisdom itself. It sees created things subsist in their own act. Things past do not flee from it, things present do not desert it, and things to come do

¹⁶ Aristotle, *De memoria et reminiscencia*, in Richard Sorabji, *Aristotle on Memory*, (London: Duckworth, 1972), 48.

¹⁷ Ibid., 50.

¹⁸ Augustine, *De Trin.*, IX.ii.11.

¹⁹ Ibid., XII.i.2.

²⁰ Ibid., XII.iv.23.

²¹ Ibid., XIV.iii.14.

not keep it in suspense: it sees God present through all things, existing in all things, not contained but containing, not lacking anything, but abundant in all things. Always illumined by supernal wisdom in things to be done, it produces upright eloquence, bestows sound counsel, promises true judgement, sees God essentially good, and sees his works.²²

Past, present, future, Creator, and created – Hugh’s memory beholds them all. This broad definition of memory, far more comprehensive than the modern notion of the memory, and even than that of his contemporaries,²³ deals not only with recollections of things past but with the realms of contemplation and prophecy as well.

Unity

Although *De memoria* is ostensibly about memory, the continual theme throughout the work is the unity of the Church under Peter. With an emphasis on this unity, and the struggle between the kingdom of God and that of the devil, it reads almost as if it were a condensation of Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei*. Certainly the work was not a reworking of Augustine to the same degree as Otto of Freising’s *De duabus civitatibus*, which traced the history of the two cities in an annalistic manner until his present day.²⁴ Hugh mentioned no events outside those found in the Scriptures, but nevertheless kept

²² ‘Laudabilis et praedicanda fidelis memoria per omnia currit, omnia conspicit, haec humiliter ad Deum usque videndum sublimata, videt Deum actorem omnium spiritalium et corporalium; videt-ea in mente divina, in ipsa sapientia, quae aeternaliter deposita sunt, videt ea in actu proprio quae facta subsistunt, non eam praeterita fugiunt, non eam praesentia deserunt, non eam futura suspendunt: videt Deum per omnia praesentem, in omnibus existentem, non contentum, sed continentem; non aliquo indigentem, sed omnia locupletantem. Haec a superna sapientia semper illustrata in agendis omnibus rectum profert eloquium, sanum praestat consilium, verum promittit iudicium, videt Deum essentialiter bonum, videt ejus opera....’ Hugh, *Mem.*, III.1, 1316C-D.

²³ Despite his more limited view of memory, Hugh of Saint-Victor did not see it as something static and directed solely towards the past. Memories of the past, especially of events in Scripture, were to be meditated upon and internalised, thus affecting both one’s behaviour through imitation of virtue, and one’s views of the present and future. See Carruthers, 162-4; Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Didascalicon*, V.5.

²⁴ Otto of Freising, *Otonis Episcopi Frisingensis Chronica sive Historia de Duabus Civitatibus*, ed. Adolfus Hofmeister, MGH SS 45 (Hanover: Hahn 1912).

the basic premise of the two cities vying with one another. However, the city of man had now become the kingdom of the devil, not to be discussed except in terms of an outside enemy. That of God, on the other hand, received most of the attention, as indeed it had largely subsumed both cities within Hugh's day. Moreover, it was now endangered as a coherent unity by a rift much more drastic than the small and generally localised heresies that threatened the unity of faith throughout the twelfth century. For Hugh had found his own sack of Rome in the schism currently gripping the Church.

On 4 September 1159, Roland, the papal chancellor, was elected as Alexander III by the majority of cardinals. But as maintained by Cardinal Boso, Hadrian IV's chamberlain, in his humorous account of the affair, Octavian, cardinal of St. Cecilia, seized the papal mantle, and after a series of mishaps he was proclaimed by the people and crowned by a group of cardinals as Victor IV.²⁵ Thus began an attempt by both sides to curry favour from the rulers of Europe, with Victor IV receiving Frederick Barbarossa's support at the Council of Pavia in February 1160.²⁶ Alexander, in exile in France, had many fervent supporters in the west. In June, the councils of London and Neufmarché brought the support of the bishops of England and Normandy behind Alexander, and both Henry II and Louis VII fell behind Alexander after the Council of Beauvais in July, during which Alexander granted a dispensation for the marriage of the

²⁵ Boso, *Boso's Life of Alexander III*, translated by G.M. Ellis with an introduction by Peter Munz (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973), 43-5.

²⁶ Marshall W. Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century*, in *The Popes through History* 3, gen. ed. Raymond H. Schmandt (New York: Newman Press, 1968), 50-1.

young Henry to Louis VII's daughter.²⁷ Thus began a schism that would last for seventeen years, tearing asunder the ties that bound Christendom together.

Just as Hugh ended his career with a schism, so he began it with the Anacletian schism, towards the ending of which he had put all his efforts. It was he who announced Henry I's recognition of Innocent II at the council of Reims in 1130, and in a letter confirming the possessions of his new diocese, Innocent thanked him for all his help in bringing him the support he needed.²⁸ Hugh was just as vital in this current schism, and William Fitzstephen recounted that with the help of Giles du Perche, he was the chief force in bringing the opinion of the bishops around to the support of Alexander:

Because Archbishop Hugh of Rouen approved of this, and through Giles, his nephew and archdeacon, he commanded his suffragen bishops to accept [Alexander], the king, being violently moved, ordered the houses of the archdeacon to be destroyed, since he was afraid to be angry openly against the archbishop, who was elderly, and a magnanimous man.²⁹

Giles' home was only spared by the persuasion of Thomas Becket, then chancellor. Hugh had seen the cost of schism, and not only in the threatened destruction of his archdeacon's home. His own order had been split asunder by the schism when the abbot of Cluny declared for Victor IV.³⁰ It is no wonder that in the aftermath of this affair, he turned his heart and mind to the importance of unity under the pope, in his most vivid

²⁷ Ibid., 52-3; Mary G. Cheney, 'The recognition of Pope Alexander III: some neglected evidence,' *English Historical Review* 84 (1969), 474-97.

²⁸ See *supra*, chapter 1, pp. 9-10.

²⁹ 'pro eo quod archiepiscopus Rothomagensis Hugo eam approbavit, et per Gilonem, nepotem et archidiaconum suum, suffraganeis suis recipiendam mandavit, rex vehementer commotus, domos archidiaconi dirui praecepit, quoniam in ipsum archiepiscopum grandaevum, et virum magnanimum palam excandescere rex veritus est.' William FitzStephen, s. 17 (p. 27)

³⁰ Baldwin, 56.

vision of the bonds that united all Christians, and the constant struggle that faced the Church, God's kingdom on earth.³¹

Book One: The Unity of the Trinity

Hugh directed himself in the first book to the topic of the Trinity, emphasising as always its unity, a unity which is mirrored in the Church. He reiterated the error of Gilbert de la Porrée to which he had referred in *Super fide*. This time, more than a decade further from Gilbert's condemnation, he did not mention the error as coming from any individual master. In place of '*Ausus est quidam*' and '*dementatus est*'³² is the more general '*Qui hoc dicis*,' possibly indicating that Philip asked a question along these lines, but more likely a general address to all those whom Hugh still viewed to be in error over the issue:

They are three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, remaining one in essence of deity, inseparable in will, the same in power. But you say, 'If there are three persons in deity, there are three individuals of divine essence. Therefore, when you assert that there are three persons of deity, you confess that it is necessary for there to be three gods.' You who say this, you ignorantly consider the person which God is, for these names, or – if you will – utterances, communicate by signifying not our usage, but divine usage. We do not call the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit three persons as a substance with quality, a word with action or suffering, or something with some variety, nor do we divide God, limit him, and define him, we

³¹ Etienne de Rouen claimed that while the French clergy, the king of England, and his counts and bishops all came to the support of Alexander, Hugh absented himself from the deliberations: 'Defuit alloquio regum praesul Rodomensis / Hugo, vir sapiens, religione potens. / Quae super his Romae fuerat dissensio novit, / Quis prior electus sive sacratus erat.' Etienne de Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett, vol. 2, *Rolls Series* 82, 2 (London: Longman and Co., 1885), 727, ll. 445-8. What might have inspired this remark is unclear. Etienne may have been misinformed, or as a monk of Bec he may have been expressing some deep-seated hostility towards Hugh and his opposition to Bec's assertions of liberty (see *supra*, chapter 5). At any rate, the specificity of William FitzStephen's account of the king's anger against Hugh, along with the polemical nature of the *Draco Normannicus* and its frequent sorties into the legendary, makes Etienne's portrait of Hugh extremely dubious.

³² Hugh, *Fide*, 1327B. See *supra*, chapter 7.

who contemplate the truth of faith, not the rules or arguments of the wisdom of this world. The highest Trinity which God is, is not able to be increased nor diminished, but has to be adored inseparably. Therefore 'person', which according to our usage denotes a rational individual, does not signify God.³³

Hugh's coverage of the disputed matter was less thorough than his previous attempt, summarising his argument without trying to cover every possible angle. All the same factors are still present: divine and human usage, substances with quality, action and suffering, variety. The only thing lacking was a denunciation of human reason overstepping its bounds, which Hugh remedied to some degree by managing to get in a jab at those who dabbled too much in the realm of philosophy:

The Catholic Christian responds to you, not as a vain-speaking man, nor as a philosopher who rambles, verbose in his talkativeness, lest he should seem ignorant.³⁴

Hugh's narrative shifted into a description of God as omnipotent and ever-present, without any beginning, the prime mover moving all things through time and space.³⁵ This led into the first of several historical narratives, this one based upon the manifestations of the Trinity and the omnipotent power of God to depose the powerful and exalt the humble. From the very beginning he had done so, with the fall of Satan along with those

³³ 'Tres equidem sunt personae, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, una deitatis essentia permanente, inseparata voluntate, eadem potestate. Sed dicis: si tres personae sunt in deitate, tria sunt individua divinae essentiae, dum igitur tres personas deitatis asseris, tres deos esse necessario fateris. Qui hoc dicis, personam quae Deus est, ineruditus attendis, ea enim nomina seu quaelibet vocalia, ut Deum significant assumpta, non morem nostrum, sed divinum significando proponunt. Non substantiam cum qualitate, non verbum cum actione vel passione, non aliquid cum aliqua varietate Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum tres personas dicimus, nec Deum dividimus, nec determinamus, nec definimus, qui veritatem fidei, non regulas vel argumenta sapientiae hujus mundi contuemur. Trinitas summa quae Deus est, nec potest augeri nec minui, sed inseparabiliter habet adorari. Igitur persona quae more nostro individuum rationale nominat, Deum non significat,' *Ibid.*, I.2, 1301C-D.

³⁴ 'respondet tibi Catholicus Christianus, non ut vaniloquus, non ut philosophus qui, ne videatur inscius, verbosa loquacitate vagatur,' *Ibid.*, I.3, 1301D.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, I.5-7, 1302C-1303A.

angels who did not want to love God humbly. Those who persisted humbly in their love remained blessed. 'Run through every age of the world,' Hugh urged, 'and so you will discover that he always acts in such a way.'³⁶ The brief account leads the reader from the expulsion of the disobedient parents from paradise, through the humble offerings of Abel, to the rescue of Noah in the flood and the escape of the Israelites from Egypt, led by the pillars of cloud and fire. The pillar of cloud symbolises the Holy Spirit protecting against the provocation of lust, and the pillar of fire is the Holy Spirit 'against the darkness of liars, the storms of slanderers, and the tempests of heretics.'³⁷ Thence they were brought across the Jordan into the Promised Land, conquered their enemies, and were led by judges and kings, often offending God but receiving mercy through penitence.³⁸

All these events culminated in the life of Christ, 'the Son of God the Father, foreshadowed by the oracles of the patriarchs, announced by the proclamations of the prophets, presented in the evangelic manifestation....'³⁹ He cast out Satan, and against him he built the Church, raised up by the seven pillars of the Holy Spirit, where the penitent are renewed by the sacraments, ordained with virtue, eat the bread of life, and live the life of Christ.⁴⁰ Thus the Trinitarian meditation becomes a Christological meditation, beginning with the nature of the Son of God, who received a true and perfect

³⁶ 'Curre per singulas mundi aetates, et ita eum facere semper invenies.' *Ibid.*, I.8, 1303A.

³⁷ 'Beata columna ignis Spiritus sancti contra tenebras mendaciorum, contra turbines scandalorum, contra tempestates haeresum.' *Ibid.*, I.8, 1303B.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, I.8, 1303A-C.

³⁹ 'Dei Patris Filius, patriarcharum oraculis praesignatus, prophetarum praeconiis nuntiatus, evangelica manifestatione praesentatus.' *Ibid.*, I.9, 1303C-D.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I.9, 1303D.

human nature, 'without the concupiscence of the flesh, without the root of sin.'⁴¹ Even at this late date, Hugh still showed no predilection for belief in the Immaculate Conception of Mary, which could easily have been mentioned here. Instead, as in his earliest works, a simple faith sufficed that however Christ drew human nature to himself, he could do so without sin.⁴²

Hugh then moved on to the passion of Christ, the Lamb of God, 'slain from the origin of the world,' as seen in the Apocalypse. Memory serves here by finding foreshadowings of this event throughout sacred history, beginning with the death of Abel the just. Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son, Isaac, is held up as another portent, as is the Paschal lamb, whose blood, having been painted on the lintels and doorposts of the homes of the Israelites, protected them from the angel of death.⁴³ At his death, Christ's unity overcame all obstacles, for even though his body and soul were separated, he remained one in person. His soul descended into hell while his body remained in the tomb. And at the same time, as during his ministry on earth, he was in heaven leading the good thief into paradise.

Developing upon this unity of the person of Christ, Hugh expressed a metaphor worthy of comparison to St. Patrick's legendary shamrock. The Trinity, he explained, is

a palm enclosing all things, holding the universe with three fingers. Attend that in the palm is considered the unity of deity and in the three fingers the Trinity. Palm and fingers remain one hand....omnipotent, holding the currents of time, extending the space of places, containing the universe.⁴⁴

⁴¹ 'sine concupiscentia carnis, absque radice peccati.' *Ibid.*, I.10, 1304A.

⁴² Hugh, *Grav.*, 836B-C.

⁴³ Hugh, *Mem.*, I.11, 1304B-D.

⁴⁴ '...palmo concludens omnia, tribus digitis portans universa. Attende quia in palmo deitatis unitas, in tribus digitis pensatur Trinitas. Palmo et digitis constat manus una....omnipotens, temporum tenet perfluida, locorum praetendit spatia, continet universa.' *Ibid.*, I.12, 1305A-B.

And so with Christ firmly brought into the unity of the Trinity, Hugh reminded his reader that all things were made through him, and 'good, he made all things good.'⁴⁵ We made ourselves evil, and mercifully he descended and freed us.⁴⁶

This unity extends to the whole Church, in whom Christ is continually present, bestowing the remedy of the sacraments and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The most important of these is his body and blood, which he gives today as he did at the Last Supper and as he will until the end of the world. 'This is the true sacrifice, which he gives us out of the office of the minister consecrated for this purpose. But outside the Catholic Church there is no place of true sacrifice.'⁴⁷ Hugh expressed a continuing development towards the doctrine of transubstantiation, stating that for our imperfection, the Eucharist 'is given under the appearance of bread and wine, although there is neither bread nor wine, but the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.'⁴⁸ Then, mentioning Christ's wish 'that they may be one',⁴⁹ Hugh exclaimed: 'O blessed unity, in which the Father and the Son are one, in which they receive as a free gift the glory which the Father gave the Son without beginning or end.'⁵⁰

⁴⁵ 'bonus bona omnia fecit.' Ibid., I.13, 1305B. Cf. Hugh, *InHex.*, 38 (p. 261).

⁴⁶ Hugh, *Mem.*, I.13, 1305B-C.

⁴⁷ 'hoc est verum sacrificium, quod dat nobis ex officio ministri ad hoc consecrati. Sed extra Ecclesiam Catholicam non est locus veri sacrificii.' Ibid., 1305D. Cf. Hugh, *Dial.*, 1230A, where the same words are spoken in the context of excommunicated priests.

⁴⁸ 'Interim pro modo sumendi imperfectioni nostrae convenienti, datur sub specie panis et vini, cum tamen neque panis neque vinum ibi sit, sed corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.' Ibid., 1305D-06A.

⁴⁹ Jn. 17:22-3.

⁵⁰ 'O beata unitas, qua Pater et Filius unum sunt, qua claritatem quam Pater dedit Filio absque inchoatione sine termino isti suscipiunt munere gratuito.' Hugh, *Mem.*, 1306A-B.

The third finger of the Trinitarian hand needed still to be mentioned: the Holy Spirit. It is he who binds together this unity. He is not only the spirit of the Father and the Son, but of all the faithful. This unity comprises not only Jews and Gentiles, but angels and men. Satan and his followers did not reach this unity, but the blessed company of angels did so immediately. Men have neglected this unity from the beginning of time, starting with Adam who fell through disobedience. Cain, the firstborn of men, did not wish to listen to God or seek his mercy, directly sinning against the Holy Spirit when he said 'My iniquity is greater than that I should receive pardon.'⁵¹ It was as if, Hugh interjected, he said 'the mercy of God is insignificant and weak. There is none who takes away sin.'⁵² He retained his sin by refusing to seek its remedy from the Holy Spirit, a remedy which Jesus gave to the office of the priesthood.

Here Hugh waxed eloquent on the unity of the Church as ensured by this power granted unto it, launching a volley against those who stood outside the Church, heretics and schismatics alike:

By no means do they seek the keys committed to Peter, with negligence they scorn the Church of God which absolves sins from the gift of the Holy Spirit. They sin against the Holy Spirit, which will not be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. The mother Church received the Holy Spirit for the remission of sins. Pertinacious, obdurate, and despairing in their sins, they scorn the Church of God and wish to remain in their sins....They do not receive life, who scorn the Church; they scorn the Church, who do not believe that she has the Holy Spirit; they do not believe she has the Holy Spirit who say she cannot forgive sins. This is blasphemy, that is, a word against the Holy Spirit: blasphemers, schismatics, and heretics rage against the Church of God, they say that there is no remedy for sins, and as far as they can, they rend

⁵¹ Gen. 4:13.

⁵² 'quasi dicat: misericordia Dei minor est et invalida, non est qui peccatum tollat.' Hugh, *Mem.*, I.15, 1307A.

the unity of the Church. *This is, he says, their hour, and the power of darkness.*⁵³

Even in such a dark hour, probably the hour of schism now threatening Christendom, hope remained. The Church would rise above the waves like Noah's Ark, elevated and exalted. It would benefit from their evil, and eventually all evil would be excluded and the Church would possess all things. These passages signalled the end of his first book, and the beginning of a look at the history of the Church, designed to give encouragement to the reader. 'Let us,' he urged, 'make a seat for these things to be contemplated.'⁵⁴

Book Two: The Unity of the Church

Only those faithful within the unity of the Church are led to life, Hugh explained. Those outside perish under death,⁵⁵ and yet even those who have left might still return. Hugh began by taking the reader through a history of the most noteworthy figures who exemplified repentance, or lack thereof, throughout the history of the Church. And indeed it was a Church that posthumously enveloped everyone from the time of Abel. The exemplar in this case was King David, who committed adultery and murder through a devious act of betrayal. Yet God warned him through his prophet, and he repented,

⁵³ 'Hi claves Petro commissas minime requirunt, hi Ecclesiam Dei quae peccata solvit ex dono Spiritus sancti negligendo contemnunt; hi peccant in Spiritum sanctum, quod non remittitur neque in hoc saeculo, neque in futuro. Ad remittenda peccata suscepit Spiritum sanctum mater Ecclesia; pertinaces in peccatis, obdurati, desperati contemnunt Ecclesiam Dei, volunt se perpetuare in peccatis suis....Non suscipit vitam, qui contemnit Ecclesiam; Ecclesiam contemnit, qui Spiritum sanctum eam habere non credit; non credit eam habere Spiritum sanctum, qui dicit eam non posse dimittere peccatum. Haec est blasphemia, hoc est verbum contra Spiritum sanctum: blasphemi, schismatici, haeretici contra Ecclesiam Dei saeviunt, nulla esse peccatorum remedia dicunt, unitatem Ecclesiae pro posse suo scindunt. *Haec est, inquit, hora eorum et potestas tenebrarum.*' Ibid., I.16, 1307C-08B; Lk. 22:53.

⁵⁴ 'His intuendis sela faciamus.' Ibid., 1308B.

⁵⁵ Ibid., II.1, 1307C.

composing the beautiful psalm '*Miserere mei*' in his sorrow.⁵⁶ David was the model for such penitence, and like him anyone who accepts the commandments of God can convince the judge to change his sentence.⁵⁷

If David is the model to be followed, then Judas is the archetype to be avoided at all costs. For he betrayed his Lord and master, and with his conscience accusing him, he knew he had sinned, and he knew he could not flee from his sin. But unlike David he did not seek the Holy Spirit, and he hanged himself out of despair. He was a full member of the Church, chosen together with the good apostles by God himself. Hugh would later apply the image of the Church casting her net and gathering all together from the sea, spurning no one and leading them all to the shore. There, by the judgment of God, the evil will be thrown out and the good brought to heaven.⁵⁸ This presence of the good and the bad, the wheat and the tares within the Church, did not overly concern Hugh, for he was a firm believer in the utility of evil, and the ability of God to work good from all things.⁵⁹ God chooses good and evil together, and he always works good from both. Even Satan and all his evil followers serve the Church, which is both exercised and strengthened by their crimes.⁶⁰ Judas' betrayal of Christ was evil for him because of his wicked intentions, but it became useful for all believers by the workings of grace. He

⁵⁶ Ibid., II.2, 1307D-08C; Ps. 50.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 1308C-09B.

⁵⁸ Ibid., II.11, 1315B-C; cf. St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 48-9.

⁵⁹ Cf. Hugh, *Dial.*, III.8, 1170C-71A.

⁶⁰ Hugh, *Mem.*, II.4, 1309C.

may have surrendered Christ to his death, but the Father surrendered his Son to the life of the Church.⁶¹

But in contrast to Judas, there was another exemplar for good among the apostles, and a very apt one who would become the leader of the Church itself. Peter, like David, was a sinner, who denied his very Lord at his Passion, even after he had been called a rock and received the promise that the Church would be built upon him.⁶² He was allowed to repent, and reformed by tears he rose up again in the Holy Spirit, and was placed at the head of the Church with Christ's command to feed his sheep:

Behold, Peter once more was placed in charge of the Church of Christ. On one rock, the whole of the present Church is gathered. For this reason, the successors of Peter, the Roman pontiffs, with pre-eminent power from the virtue of Christ in the unity of the Holy Spirit, maintain the Catholic Church, teach, and ordain. They maintain under the discipline of obedience, they teach under evangelical unity, they ordain under the provision of offices, and they do these things under the firm faith of Peter....The firmament of the present Church comes from this faith of Peter.⁶³

And so Hugh turned to the language of the Church as the 'barque of Peter, in which Christ entering from the sea calmed the winds.'⁶⁴ Amidst the floods of the age and over the waves of the world the Church sails, undisturbed and at peace. The image was an

⁶¹ 'Sic et iste Judas, per quem sanguis Redemptoris nostri venditus est, et pro nobis in cruce fusus est; malus sibi pro nequitia sua, utilis nobis factus est, operante superna gratia, tradidit eum in mortem suam, quem et Pater tradidit in vitam nostram. Ecce malum Judae factum est bonum sanctae Ecclesiae.' Ibid., 1309D.

⁶² Ibid., 1310A.

⁶³ 'Ecce iterum Petrus Ecclesiae Christi praeficitur. In uno Petro praesens Ecclesia tota colligitur. Ea propter Petri successores Romani pontifices potestate praeceminenti ex virtute Christi in unitate Spiritus sancti Catholicam tenent Ecclesiam, docent et ordinant: tenent sub obedientiae disciplina, docent sub unitate evangelica, ordinant sub officiorum providentia, fiunt ista sub Petri firma fide....Ex hoc fides Petri firmamentum est Ecclesiae praesentis.' Ibid., 1310B-C.

⁶⁴ 'hoc significavit navicula Petri in qua de mari Christo ingrediente cessavit ventus,' Ibid. Mt. 8:23-7.

ancient one, tracing back to a sermon of St. Ambrose.⁶⁵ And Hugh was not the only one to invoke it during the present schism. Thomas Becket also used the same imagery of a ship at sea in a letter to Pope Alexander III, consoling him in the face of that 'schismatic Frederick'.⁶⁶

The Church was not limited to the present age, nor did it begin with Peter. For the Holy Spirit was present in every age, saving men with the sacraments of life:

The sacraments of life were proposed, diverse indeed for diverse times, but in effects the same, not diverse. The same because of faith in Jesus Christ, the same in the unity of the Holy Spirit. Indeed in the earthly paradise there was given to our first parents the sacrament of life, which Christ is, namely, the tree which was called the tree of life.⁶⁷

Hugh had told the tale of Adam and Eve at much greater length in his *In Hexaemeron*. Here he merely wished to emphasise that a sacramental unity had existed from the beginning of time, that the Church included those chosen from every period of history. The tree bestowed the nourishment of life, but it also presented a sacrament by which Adam and Eve would pass over into eternal life through their obedience. Through disobedience, they fell and were expelled from the garden, but God did not cease to be merciful. He prepared a sacrament of faith to replace the lost sacrament of paradise, a faith which leads to Christ through the Holy Spirit.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Therein, St. Ambrose observed that not only was Peter in the boat, but so also was Judas alongside him: St. Ambrose, *Sermo 37: De mirabilibus*, PL 17, 678C-D; Gratian, quoting Ambrose in his *Decretum*, observed that Peter was ignorant of Judas's sins, and presumably would have thrown him overboard if he had been aware: Gratian, *Decretum*, 560C-61B (II.i.4.12).

⁶⁶ Thomas Becket, *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1162-1170*, ed. and translated by Anne J. Duggan, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), I, 640 (ep. 139).

⁶⁷ 'diversa quidem pro diversis temporibus, sed eisdem non diversis effectibus, eisdem pro fide Jesu Christi, eisdem in unitate Spiritus sancti, siquidem in paradiso terrestri datum erat primis parentibus nostris sacramentum vitae, quae Christus est, arbor scilicet quae lignum vitae dicta est.' Hugh, *Mem.*, II.6, 1311A.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 1311B-D.

The theme of memory returned, as Hugh swept back once more to begin a survey of history, this time of the Church. Through this conception of the sacraments, Hugh could envision a Church which enveloped all the faithful, from long before Christ walked upon the earth. He perceived the presence of theological virtues and the gift of martyrdom from the beginning. In such a scheme, Stephen was no longer the protomartyr. Instead it was Abel the just, who was both the first to display faith and the first to be crowned a martyr. Enoch followed as another member of the faithful, and because he exemplified the three theological virtues by believing, hoping, and loving, he walked with God and disappeared to remain with him. Soon Noah came and restored the world in the unity of faith after leading the ark through the flood, offering a sacrifice of perfect faith to God. Abraham, who left his homeland out of faith, received a new, visible sign in the sacrament of circumcision. Through his faith he offered his son to be sacrificed, but with his faith proven, he received his son back with many blessings. Isaac gave a blessing to his son, and although he was blind, through his faith in the promise it remained firmly established despite all the pleadings of Esau, who had lost it through his foolishness.⁶⁹ Memory can distinguish exemplars of the three theological virtues with faith in Abraham, hope in Isaac, and charity in Jacob.⁷⁰

The story continued. After the period of faith alone, which was then made manifest in the flesh through the sacrament of circumcision, the law was given to Moses, and in turn followed by the sacred words of the prophets. All these were fulfilled in Christ, no longer under shadows and figures but essentially. 'He is the body of the

⁶⁹ Ibid., I,7, 1311D-13A.

⁷⁰ 'Laeta super his memoria fidem in Abraham, spem in Isaac, charitatem in Jacob speciali praerogativa miratur.' Ibid., 1312D.

shadows, the truth of the preceding figures.’⁷¹ And so Hugh turned to the sacrament which ushered in the modern age of salvation, the sacrament which ensured entry into the Church, whose unity he so defended. Christ brought with him the new sacrament of Baptism, by which men are reborn and made new from visible water and the invisible Holy Spirit. This was the moment all history had been leading up to, the goal at which the Patriarchs and prophets aimed without fully understanding it. They were all at last given the opportunity to receive it:

Our ancient Fathers, faithful and holy, by no means actually received this regeneration, but they sought it in Christ through faith and sacrament. They descended into hell, and because they were not reborn, Christ descended to them, and those whom he recognised unmistakably in the sacrament of faith, he led forth with him, and raised to heaven.⁷²

With the advent of Baptism, the power of the Holy Spirit is fully revealed, by whom ‘the antiquity of the old world is abolished.’⁷³ A distinction between the sons of darkness and of light has now been established. The carnal, unbaptised man is a dark abyss, who does not know him who is reborn. ‘The one is blind, the other is enlightened.’⁷⁴ Here Hugh set up a dichotomy which would lead into the theme of his third book. Christ’s heavenly kingdom has been separated from the earthly kingdom:

We do not speak of the kingdom of ancient creation, the universe of all things, which was corrupted by sin, which remains under death; but rather

⁷¹ ‘Ipse est corpus umbrarum, veritas figurarum praecedentium.’ Ibid., II.8, 1313B.

⁷² ‘Antiqui patres nostri fideles et sancti regenerationem istam actualiter minime susceperunt, sed in Christo per fidem et sacramenta quaesierunt. Ad infernum descendebant, quia renati non fuerant, Christus ad eos descendit, et quos in sacramento fidei manifeste cognovit, secum eduxit, et ad coelestia levavit.’ Ibid., 1313C-D. Cf., Hugh, *Dial.*, V.7, 1200A; cf. Lottin, *Laon*, s. 57.

⁷³ ‘quo vetustas mundi veteris aboletur.’ Hugh, *Mem.*, 1314A.

⁷⁴ ‘Ille tenebrosus est, ille illuminatus est.’ Ibid.

the kingdom of the new world, of the new creature, of holy regeneration, of divine adoption.⁷⁵

Book Three: The Kingdom of God versus the Kingdom of Satan

Hugh notes that even after dwelling so long upon the brilliance of the Church, the memory is still quick to linger upon those things not nearly so pleasant:

Memory is suddenly disturbed, and wonders at unaccustomed, unnatural things, not built by God, for it knows nothing in God except that which is good. How swiftly it contemplates unexpectedly the resulting evils, wandering about with a tumultuous din, through well-nigh everything with furore, pertinacity, and blasphemy. What are they?⁷⁶

Hugh had investigated the nature of evil in past works, most especially in *Dialogues*, Book IV, where he discussed the nature of evil as a privation of good, going into the grammatical function of words indicating both good and evil.⁷⁷ Here he still held to his earlier convictions, emphasising that evil is not created and not from God, who made everything good.⁷⁸ He further affirmed that evils are named by the privation of good and not the naming of anything substantial.⁷⁹ He then decried the vile effects of evils:

I perceive them to be contrary to unity, overturning peace, confusing all things because of their wickedness, disturbing everything, and what must

⁷⁵ 'Non dicimus regnum creationis antiquae, rerum omnium universale, quod ex peccato corrui, quod sub morte remansit; sed regnum mundi novi, creaturae novae, regenerationis sanctae, adoptionis divinae.' *Ibid.*, II.11, 1316A.

⁷⁶ 'Subito turbatur, et admiratur insolita non naturalia, non a Deo condita, quae in Deo nulla noverat nisi bona, quam cito contuetur mala ex insperato praecedentia, tumultuoso strepitu pervagantia, fere per omnia cum furore, cum pertinacia, cum blasphemia. Quae sunt ista?' *Ibid.*, III.2, 1316D.

⁷⁷ cf. Hugh, *Dial.*, IV.10-12.

⁷⁸ Hugh, *Mem.*, II.2, 1317A.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 1317B.

be deeply mourned, they are well-nigh through everything in the whole world, and I scarcely discover anything without them.⁸⁰

They are evil not only because of the privation of good, but also the very defect of virtue.

Evil things 'degrade bodies, stain souls, corrupt morals, and blunt minds.'⁸¹

The experiences of a long life and a new schism had awakened in Hugh a strong sense of the presence of evil, one which in the past he had been able to keep contained within the boundaries of a calm, staid theory, but which here threatened to burst all bounds. Evil was well-nigh everywhere, he observed, and nowhere more so than in the minds of angels and men. Angels were created as a sign of the likeness of God and men were created in the image and likeness of God. Both fell from their former state by failing to love God, and set before themselves 'irregular and execrable things in the world.'⁸² A meditation on the Fall led to another powerful statement on the importance of the Church, perhaps having in mind those responsible for schism: 'Outside this unity of the mother Church, no one can do good. He who is able to work good through grace, without grace can do nothing except evil.'⁸³ Christ established this Church and came eating butter and honey, symbolising earthly and spiritual things, to demonstrate to us how to reject evil

⁸⁰ 'Sentio ea unitati contraria, pacem evertentia, pro nequitia sua confundunt omnia, turbant universos, et quod valde dolendum est, fere per ubique sunt ea in toto mundo, sine eis vix invenio aliqua.' Ibid., 1317A.

⁸¹ 'Inhonestant corpora, maculant animas, inficiunt mores, hebetant mentes.' Ibid., 1317B.

⁸² 'Creatura mendax, praevaricatione non natura, talia tam pessima concepit, tam enormia, tam execrabilia in mundo propinavit.' Ibid., III.3, 1317C.

⁸³ 'Extra hanc unitatem matris Ecclesiae nemo potuit bona facere, per gratiam potest quis operari bonum, sine gratia nihil nisi malum.' Ibid., III.5, 1318B.

and choose good.⁸⁴ He who does not follow his judgement will sacrifice his free will, is abandoned by grace, and 'hides with Satan to the north.'⁸⁵

Satan's kingdom, figuratively in the north where he set his throne, was literally a hell on earth, totally devoid of virtue. He was ultimately conquered by Christ's death, but his kingdom still remains for a time, and its evils know no bounds: 'He is the depth of the sea, into which all rivers descend, into which every evil of everything flows.'⁸⁶ He works to taint every good work with pride, and like the behemoth of Job he hopes that just as part of the stars of heaven followed him, so too will the whole Jordan flow into his mouth. For he ranges about like a roaring lion, sifting the apostles and swallowing up Judas, his thief. Yet even so, he loses members of his kingdom to that of Christ, among them the thief upon the cross, one of Hugh's favourite figures.⁸⁷

Hugh stressed the universality of this kingdom of God, which welcomes all: alongside the thief are prostitutes and publicans.⁸⁸ The only prerequisite for their entry is that pride be laid aside and penitence assumed.⁸⁹ Christ himself sought out 'the wicked, villains, criminals, and all enwrapped in filth, discovering none except the bad.'⁹⁰ He

⁸⁴ 'Butyrum de lacte animalis manus industria conficit, mel de rore coelesti apis argumentosa sine fetu integra colligit.' *Ibid.*, III.5, 1318C; Is. 7:14-15.

⁸⁵ 'cum Satana delitescit in lateribus aquilonis.' *Ibid.*, 1318D.

⁸⁶ 'Ipse est profundum maris, in quo omnia flumina descendunt, in quo omnium omnia mala confluunt.' *Ibid.*, III.6, 1319A.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 1319C; Hugh, *Dial.*, V.9, 1201D-02B; *Haer.*, II.10, 1280B; *InHex.*, II.48, pp. 269-70.

⁸⁸ Mt. 19:24.

⁸⁹ Hugh, *Mem.*, III.7, 1319D-20A.

⁹⁰ 'Quaesivit sceleratos, facinorosos, criminosos, quibuslibet sordibus involutos, nullos invenit nisi malos.' *Ibid.*, 1320D.

called Zachaeus and Matthew,⁹¹ and forgave many sins to the woman who anointed his feet.⁹² His kingdom, the Church, exists within the currents of time but sails triumphantly over them:

Behold, Christ, a new man, not a new God, built the new kingdom, the new Church.... he founded it above the seas, and he prepared it above the rivers. It is above the seas, in that it is above the variations and defects of our mutability. It is above the rivers in that it is above the tides of human cupidity, above the vehemence of heretical depravity.⁹³

With the two opposing kingdoms surveyed, he turned to Christ's role as Wisdom, which raises the humble and the saints. Here he embarked upon his last and most lengthy pairing of septenaries, briefly combining all those from his previous works, with the addition of the seven planets:

This wisdom assigned the first seven days in the beginning for sevenfold grace, according to which he made seven days run forth in time, and decorated the harmony of heaven with seven planets. This wisdom erected seven columns in the present Church, which are the seven grades of honour in clerical promotion, through the hand of the bishop. They are ostiaries, lectors, exorcists, acolytes, subdeacons, deacons, and priests. The bishop of Christ, full of wisdom, the vicar of Christ, canonically consecrates them by the imposition of hands, and with prayer he gives the sevenfold Holy Spirit. With these seven columns he strongly exalts the Holy Church. In this Church, the seven prayers, which are called Dominical, are given to the faithful, and when they are humbly sent to the Father, they acquire the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. When these gifts are bountifully poured forth, the seven beatitudes are conferred. In prayers, humility speaks to God. In the gifts, the magnificence of God is dispensed to the humble. In the beatitudes, peace is perpetually confirmed to men of good will with God.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Ibid., 1320D-21A; Mt. 9:12-13.

⁹² Ibid.; Lk. 7:50.

⁹³ 'Ecce novum regnum, novam Ecclesiam aedificavit Christus, novus homo, non novus Deus....Super maria eam fundavit, super flumina praeparavit, super maria, super varietates et defectus nostrae mutabilitatis, super flumina, super aestus humanae cupiditatis, super impetus haereticae pravitatis.' Ibid., 1320C.

⁹⁴ 'Haec sapientia pro septiformi gratia in principio septem dies primarios assignavit, secundum quos in tempore septem dies currere facit, et septem planetis harmoniam coeli decoravit; haec in Ecclesia

As with much else in this work, the preceding list serves memory once more, which contemplates the strange image of the eye of the sevenfold Holy Spirit in the cornerstone, Jesus Christ. This odd representation is not some presentiment of the mystical iconography on the Great Seal of the United States, but rather a reference to a juxtaposition of the verses ‘upon one stone there are seven eyes’⁹⁵ and ‘the stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner.’⁹⁶ A symbol popularised by St. Gregory in his *Moralia*, it indicated that no man except for Christ, the mediator, possesses all the workings of the Holy Spirit in their fullness.⁹⁷

This new kingdom could also be considered a garden, a new paradise to contrast with the old. The cornerstone is part of a wall that encloses the garden of the Church, sealed by the power of the Holy Spirit to keep the serpent from entering it as he did before. Within is a font of water, just as in the ancient garden, only here it is the water of Baptism. Trees bear fruit multiplied by grace, and all is drenched in the wholesome aroma of charity.⁹⁸ The sights and smells are vivid, perhaps intentionally to imprint

praesenti septem columnas erigit, quae sunt septem gradus honoris, per manum pontificis in promotione clericali. Hi sunt ostiarii, lectores, exorcistae, acolythi, subdiaconi, levitae, presbyteri. Hos episcopus Christi sapientia plenus, Christi vicarius, canonicè consecrat manus impositione, cum oratione septiformem Spiritum sanctum donat; his septem columnis Ecclesiam sanctam valenter exaltat. In ea datae sunt fidelibus septem preces, quae Dominicae dicuntur, quibus ad Patrem humiliter missis, septem dona sancti Spiritus acquirunt; quibus donis copiose diffusis, septem beatitudines conferuntur: in precibus humilitas Deo loquitur, in donis magnificentia Dei humilibus prorogatur, in beatitudinibus pax hominibus bonae voluntatis cum Deo perpetua firmatur.’ Ibid., III.9, 1321C-22A.

⁹⁵ Zach. 3:9; cf. Hugh, *Haer.*, I.13, 1270A.

⁹⁶ Mt. 21:42.

⁹⁷ Gregory the Great, XXIX.31.

⁹⁸ Hugh, *Mem.*, III.10, 1322A-B.

equally vivid images upon the memory. And with this he turned to one final point regarding this kingdom and its future hopes: the resurrection of the body.

Hugh could have chosen many subjects regarding the heavenly kingdom, and had in past treatises. Nevertheless, he only focused on this one, perhaps wishing to reassure himself as death drew near. In any case he was quite specific that bodies would rise at the age at which Christ began his ministry:

Human bodies rise again, and to them their spirits are restored, in that quantity and quality which they ought to have received by natural process, without the vice of corruption, according to the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ.⁹⁹

As he had addressed earlier in his life the errors of heretics who did not believe in the resurrection, so here, once again he chastised those who did not believe such things:

They see the bodies of men rent asunder and lost in various ways, blown away on the winds, diffused in water and air. They claim that they are not able to be reassembled. There is not, they say, a resurrection of the dead. They love temporal life; they do not seek eternal life. They do not attend to the Gospels, the prophets, the law, or hagiography. They do not consider the hand of the highest craftsman, which, just as it made all things, so it holds all things, so it assembles everything: that hand is most powerful in all things, most effective in the restoration of bodies.¹⁰⁰

This was but a brief return to the topic he had addressed against the heretics in *Contra haereticos*.¹⁰¹ Once again he emphasised their lack of trust in the unseen and their reliance only on what they could see. He added to the previous remarks only the

⁹⁹ 'Resurgent corpora humana, suis quorum fuerant spiritibus reparanda, in ea quantitate, in ea qualitate, quas absque vitio corruptionis debuerant accepisse processu naturali secundum mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi.' Ibid., III.11, 1322C.

¹⁰⁰ 'Viderunt hominum corpora modis variis scissa et perdita, ventis propellentibus, aquis et aeri perefusa. Dicunt non posse recompaginari ea. Non est, inquit, resurrectio mortuorum; amant vitam temporaneam, non quaerunt aeternam. Non attendunt Evangelia, non prophetias, non legem, non agiographa; non considerant summi manum martificis, quae, sicut fecit omnia, sic tenet singula, sic colligit universa: manus illa in omnibus est potentissima, in reparatione corporum efficacissima.' Ibid., III.12, 1323D-24A.

¹⁰¹ Hugh, *Haer.*, III.3, 1285C-88B. See *supra*, chapter 8, pp. 240-43.

comment that they did not attend to the Scriptures and holy writings. In other words, they did not fill their memories with the holy deeds and words that would give them the assurance that there was more than their earthly life.

These were apt reflections for Hugh, for he had now been alive for nearly eighty years, and soon he expected to be loosed from his earthly existence. His description of the resurrection rings with a certain urgency, an immanence, as if he were in a way already gazing upon it. He finished his final work looking forward, as he did in so many of his writings, to the hope of eternity. There, all would be united as sons of God, there the unity of the Church would be expressed in its fullness. And there, he concluded, all would live happily ever after: *'per infinita sine labe temporum saecula saeculorum feliciter.'*¹⁰²

¹⁰²Hugh, *Mem.*, III.12, 1324A-B.

Epilogue

Not long after setting down his pen from the task of writing *De memoria*, Hugh received the answers to many of his long-discussed questions. A few eulogies by those who survived him attest to the esteem in which he was held. Robert of Torigny, recording Hugh's death on 10 October 1164, recalled his holy life:

Hugh, the venerable Archbishop of Rouen, died on IV Ides October: this man of great letters joyfully taught many things; he was generous to widows and orphans and other poor people. He ruled the church of Rouen honestly and manfully for nearly thirty years.¹

From his own province of Rouen, Hugh's archdeacon, Laurence, wrote to King Louis VII. In his enthusiasm for his former master, he portrayed Hugh as already reposing with the saints in heaven:

The Lord called from the world your friend the archbishop of Rouen, full of faith and good works: whom, so we believe, we trust to be a patron the more efficaciously, the freer his spirit is made from the weight of the flesh.²

¹ 'Obiit Hugo, venerabilis archiepiscopus Rothomagensis, quarto idus Octobris. Hic vir magne literaturae multa jocunde edidit; viduis et orphanis et aliis pauperibus largus exstitit. Rexit autem ecclesiam Rothomagensem honeste et viriliter annis fere triginta.' Torigny, 223. Howlett, in his preface to the *Chronicle*, observed that Robert of Torigny was more reserved in his praise for Hugh than for other contemporaries such as the abbots of Bec or Hugh's successor, Rotrou. *Ibid.*, xix. On the other hand, he has far more to say here than in most of his notices of deaths, which consist simply of an 'obiit' or 'moritur'. And this eulogy is effusive compared to some, such as that of Philip of Bayeux, where Robert mentioned his skill in worldly affairs and then observed, 'sed sapientia hujus mundi stultitia est apud Deum.' *Ibid.*, 217.

² 'Vocavit Dominus de saeculo amicum vestrum Rotomagensem archiepiscopum, fide et bonis operibus plenum: quem, ut credimus, apud Deum pro vobis et amicis suis efficacius confidimus patrocinari, quanto liberior spiritus ejus efficitur pondere carnis.' Laurence, Archdeacon of Rouen, *Epistola Regi Ludovico*, RHF, XVI, 105.

The most moving lines by far issued from Arnulf of Lisieux. He recorded Hugh's death as taking place on the feast of St. Martin (11 November), and because of the specificity of the day and Arnulf's role in archdiocesan affairs, this date is more probable than that given by Robert of Torigny. His epitaph serves a fitting memorial for our archbishop:

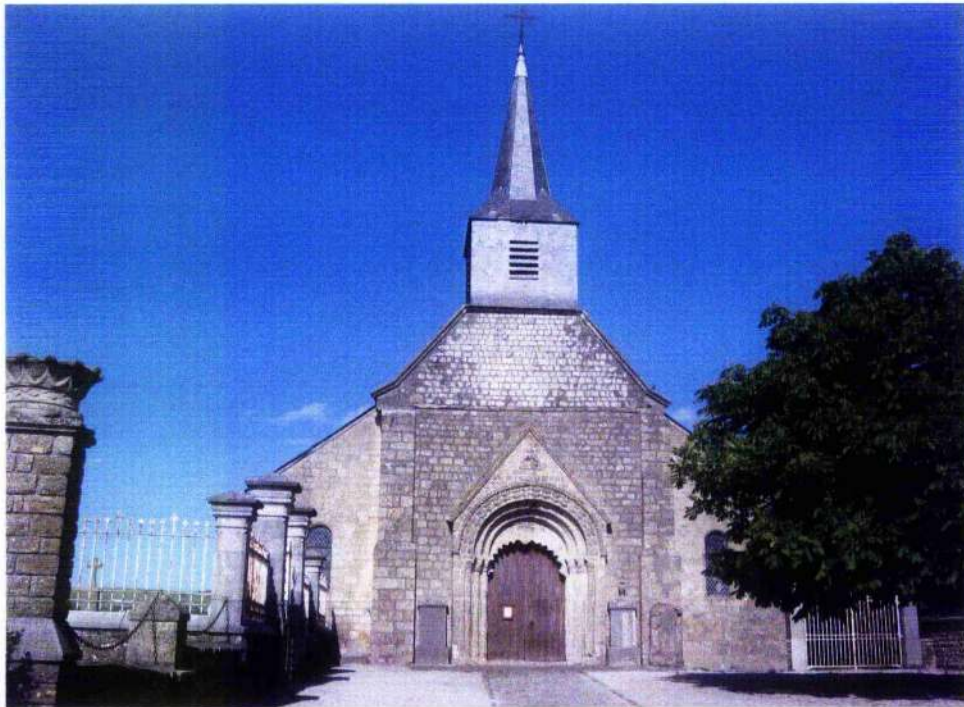
Among bishops deserving of special honour
 Here Hugh lays down the burden of our flesh.
 Consigned to a small sepulchre, his members are enclosed.
 Nevertheless, heaven does not confine the acts of the man.
 Whatever it distributes and provides to all men,
 Grace conferred and bestowed upon this man.
 Prolific with virtue and abounding in fruit,
 He who is both more than man and magnified man made him.
 At length after a happy span of renowned life,
 The doleful hour carried off this worthy old man.
 Like you, Martin, and a future companion,
 The same day he shares by dying together with you.³

All three epitaphs recall Hugh's virtue and his benevolent actions, his faith and the grace bestowed upon him, and his place as a man of letters and a teacher. The above chapters have mainly illuminated this last aspect, and they have shown perhaps a slightly unbalanced picture. Much remains mysterious about Hugh's own life and actions. Apart from his personal reminiscences in the *Vita Adjutoris*, we have only the formulistic charters, privileges, and letters, which grant little insight into his particular personality.

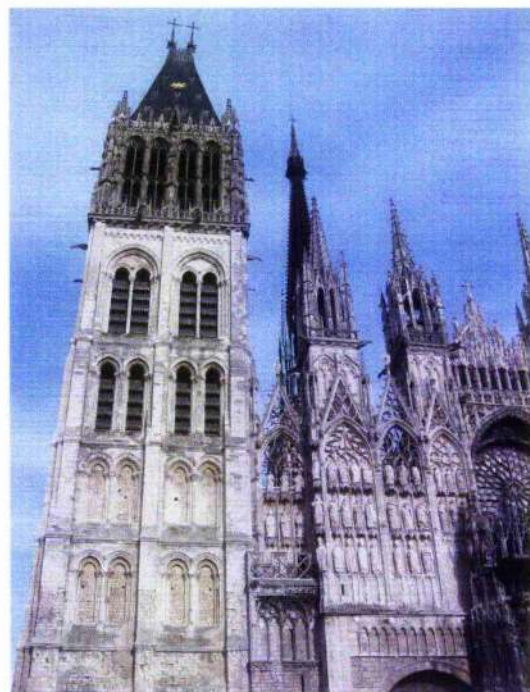
³

'Inter pontifices speciali dignus honore
 Hic nostrae carnis Hugo resignat onus.
 Consignata brevi clauduntur membra sepulcro.
 Non tamen acta viri claudit uterque polus.
 Quidquid dispensat et compartitur in omnes,
 Gratia contulerat, praestiteratque viro.
 Fecundos igitur virtutum copia fructus
 Fecit et ultra hominem et magnificatus homo.
 Tandem post celebris felicia tempora vitae,
 Sustulit emeritum flebilis hora senem.
 Par, Martine, tibi consorsque futurus eamdem
 Sortitus tecum est commoriendo diem.'
 Arnulf of Lisieux, *Epitaphium Hugonis Rothomagensis*, PL 192, 1118C-D.

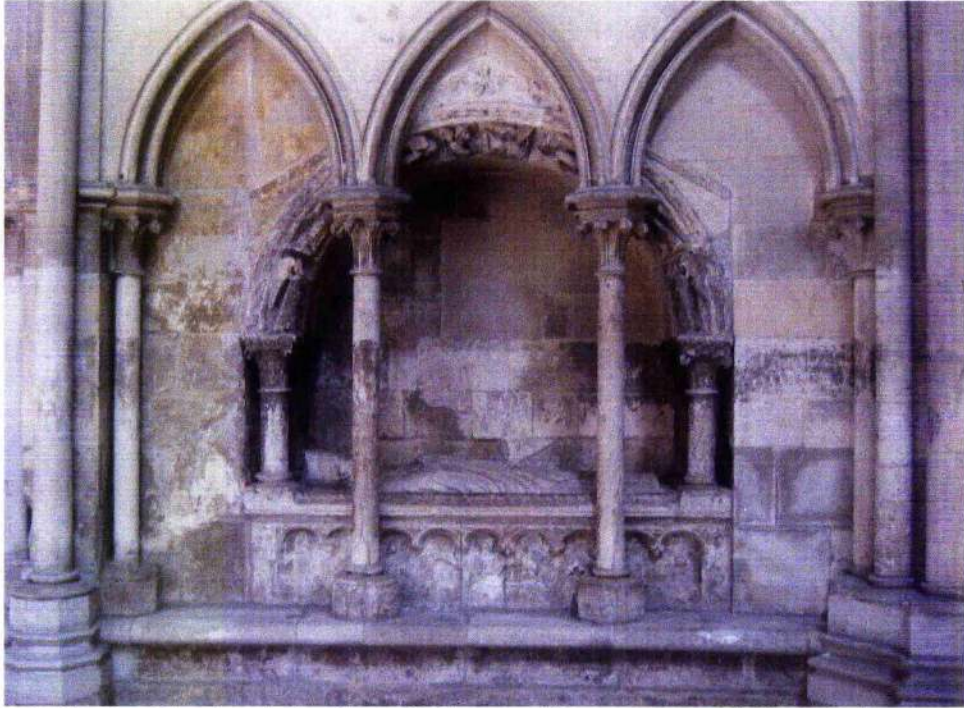
His writings show a focus upon the transcendent, a striving towards the contemplation of God. This is a hidden side to his life that passes beyond the disputes and debates of his day, an aspect of Hugh which his actions cannot convey and at which his writings only hint. Above the tomb where his earthly frame now rests, to the rear of the shadowy ambulatory of Rouen cathedral, is a sculpture which vividly illustrates that ultimate theme of his life. There, with wings unfurled and upward gazes, are two angels, carrying the archbishop's soul aloft to heaven.



1: The church of Saint-Michel, Le Wast (see chapter 5, p. 122).
(Photograph taken by Ryan Freeburn)



2: Tour de Saint-Romain, Notre Dame Cathedral, Rouen,
built during Hugh's episcopate.
(Photograph taken by Ryan Freeburn)



3: Hugh of Amiens' Tomb, ambulatory of Notre Dame Cathedral, Rouen.
(Photograph taken by Ryan Freeburn)



4: Sculpture relief above Hugh of Amiens' Tomb.
(Photograph taken by Ryan Freeburn)

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Appendix 1

Timeline of key dates relating to
Hugh's life and works

- c. 1085 Hugh is born at Ribemont
- c. 1100-1112 Hugh is a cleric in Thérouanne and a student at Laon
Epistola Gravioni
- c. 1100-1114 *Poems*
- 1110 Matthew becomes a monk at Saint-Martin
- 1112 Hugh becomes a monk at Cluny
- 1114 Hugh becomes prior of Saint-Martial, Limoges
- 1120 Hugh becomes prior of St. Pancras, Lewes
- 1122 Peter the Venerable becomes abbot of Cluny
- 1123 Hugh becomes abbot of Reading Abbey
- 1123-26 First edition of the *Dialogues*
- c. 1127 *Letter to Matthew* on excommunicated priests
- c. 1127-28 *Reprehensio*
- 1129 Hugh is summoned to Rome
- 1130 Hugh enthroned as archbishop of Rouen (14 Sep.)
- 1130-4 Second edition of the *Dialogues*
- 1131 Struggle over monastic professions
Council of Reims
- c. 1131 *Vita Adjutoris*
- 1134 Hugh of Saint-Victor's *De sacramentis*
- 1134-5 Hugh's legature in the South of France
- 1135 Council of Pisa (May-Jun.)
Death of Henry I (6 Dec.)
- c. 1142 *In Hexaameron*
- 1144 Rouen falls to Geoffrey of Anjou
- 1145-7 *Contra haereticos*
- 1147 Council of Paris
- 1148 Council of Reims
- 1153 Coronation of Henry II
- 1155-7 Peter Lombard's *Sentences*
- 1155-9 *Super fide*
- 1159 Start of schism between Alexander III and Victor IV
- 1160-4 *De Memoria*
- 1164 Hugh dies (11 Nov.)

Appendix 2

Septenaries

Linked Septenaries in *Super fide*, 1337A-46A and *Contra haereticos*, Book II.

	Prayer	Gift	Beatitude	Holy Order (<i>Contra haereticos</i>)	Creation
1	Hallowed be thy name	Wisdom	The peacemakers	Priests	Light
2	Thy kingdom come	Understanding	The pure of heart	Deacons	Firmament
3	Thy will be done	Counsel	The merciful	Subdeacons	Herbs and Trees
4	Give us this day our daily bread	Fortitude	Those who hunger and thirst for justice	Acolytes	Luminaries of heaven
5	Forgive us our debts	Knowledge	Those who mourn	Exorcists	Reptiles of the water
6	Lead us not into temptation	Piety	The meek	Lectors	Man
7	Deliver us from evil	Fear of the Lord	The poor in spirit	Ostiaries	Day of Rest

Alternative order of septenaries in Augustine, *De sermone Domini*, 1231-4.

	Prayer	Gift	Beatitude
1	Hallowed be thy name	Fear of the Lord	The poor in spirit
2	Thy kingdom come	Piety	The meek
3	Thy will be done	Knowledge	Those who mourn
4	Give us this day...	Fortitude	Those who hunger
5	Forgive us our debts	Counsel	The merciful
6	Lead us not into temptation	Understanding	The pure of heart
7	Deliver us from evil	Wisdom	The peacemakers

Appendix 3

Manuscripts

Epistola ad Gravioni

- Paris, BN ms. lat. 10448, f. 178 v
 Paris, BN ms. n.a. lat. 862, f. 84v
 St. Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 21, ff. 202r-203v
 Oxford, Balliol ms. 175, ff. 130v-132r
 Oxford, Bodleian ms. Lyell 50, ff. 13v-14v
 Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, ms. Memb. II. 136, ff. 64r-66r.
 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm. 2598 (Ald. 68), ff. 35v-36v
 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm. 22307, f. 85
 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm. 23440, ff. 88v-89r
 Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, HB III 34, ff. 22v-23r

In Pentateuchem

- Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 455, ff. 103v-109r
 Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 469, ff. 132r-141r
 Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, ms. Memb. II. 136, ff. 68v-89v

In laudem Sanctae Mariae

- Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, ms. Memb. II. 136, f. 68r-v
 Worcester, Cathedral Library, ms. F. 92, f. 286v

Qui res subiectas

- Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, ms. Memb. II. 136, 66v-67v

Disposuit ut voluit

- Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, ms. Memb. II. 136, 89v-91v

Dialogues

- Paris, BN ms. lat. 529, ff. 12r-29r (Book VII)
 Paris, BN ms. lat. 1787A, ff. 135r-165r. (Books I-VI, Letter to Matthew)
 Paris, BN ms. lat. 2710, ff. 45r-57v (Books I-VI)
 Paris, BN ms. lat. 3437, ff. 1r-48v (Books I-VI, Letter to Matthew)
 Paris, BN ms. lat. 13426, ff. 1r-57v (Books I-VII)
 Vatican ms. Regin. lat. 288, part 2, ff. 10, 12-64 (Books I-VII)
 Chicago, Newberry Library, ms. 12.2 (Ry 24), ff. 103-113 (Book VII)

Vita Sancti Adiutoris

None extant

In Hexaemeron

Paris, BN ms. lat. 13426, f. 58r-87v

Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 423, ff. 91r-126r

Contra haereticos

Paris, BN ms. lat. 13427

Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 1422, ff. 137r-168v

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Phil. 1733, ff. 15r-41r

Super fide

Paris, BN ms. lat. 2935, ff. 64v-82v

Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, ms. lat. 41, ff. 1r-39v

De memoria

Vatican, ms. Regin. lat. 1637, i, ff. 1r-18v.