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JAMIE WILLIAM IRVINE

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Abstract

Around the turn of the twelfth century, Western Europe underwent a profound ideological transformation. With the flourishing of new religious orders, heresies and sects, a new spirit captured the Latin West which glorified the asceticism of the early Church beyond all previous bounds and elevated the life of the poor itinerant preacher as its salvatory ideal. This Herbert Grundmann would call 'the single religious movement of the Middle Ages'. Yet, for all its apparent import and power, history has thus far been unable to illuminate the fundamental causes of how this new ideology might have been generated, focussing instead on how new ideas may have been 'transmitted' into the Latin West from the near East. The aim of this thesis, therefore, is to remedy this gap in our knowledge by uncovering instead the epistemically 'generative' causal mechanisms of just such a 'religious movement of the Middle Ages', by advancing two interconnected hypotheses: that 'ideas' may be assembled by the a posteriori experience and observation of pre-mental 'patterns of life', and that the principal force responsible for the novel monastic 'patterns of life' in this period was a newly aggressive and expansionary Benedictine monasticism best typified by Cluny. In other words, that the origins of the new orders in 'France', and the ideology they espoused, is to be found in the systemic pressure applied by the growing influence of Cluny on the structure of the Church.

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SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF PHD

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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List of Abbreviations and Conventions

B.S.O.C.

Bullarium Sacri Ordinis Cluniacensis

P.L.

Patrologia Latina

N.B. Monasteries are referred to in this thesis in the modern language of their home countries.

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INTRODUCTION

Around the turn of the twelfth century, a reflowering of the contemplative life transformed the coenobitic landscape of the Latin West, birthing a new ideology of Christian asceticism which seemed to capture and propel the very spirit of contemporary civilisation. Most concretely, a profusion of new orders of 'white monks' and 'contemplative canons' appeared in Italy and France, who at first glance seem politically and ideologically opposed – or at least distinct – from long-prevailing forms of monastic life. They included the Grandmontines (est. c.1076), Carthusians (1084), the Arrouaisian Order of Canons (c.1090), Cistercians (1098), the Order of Fontevraud (c.1100), the Savignacs (c.1105), Tironesians (c.1106), Victorine canons (c.1108) and Prémonstratensian canons (c.1120), among others. To these orders could be added other, seemingly related phenomena, such as the Waldensian, Cathar and other heresies of the twelfth century, the various informal religious communities that sprang up in France at the end of the eleventh, and the more mysterious mental transformations of Christendom's collective psyche: the role of Christians in the world, their eschatological place in history and time, and a suite of powerful new cultural imperatives drawing energy from what could broadly be defined as the moral quality of ascetic praxis.

Observing these phenomena, historians have applied a variety of labels in their attempts to describe and explain what exactly it was that had occurred, each varying in scale, extent, and the importance they ascribed to them. The concept of the *vita apostolica* – or 'the apostolic life' – posited that Christendom became possessed by an imperative to return to the moral and praxic quality of the early Church of the apostles, characterised by the 'imitation of the primitive church, poor, simple, and penitential, with interests and activities restricted to the spiritual domain; a passionate

love for souls at home and far afield; and evangelical poverty in common, either predicated on mendicancy or mitigated by the work of one's own hands', in the 1955 words of Ernest W. McDonnell (d.1995).¹ Indeed, in McDonnell's hands, the *vita apostolica* was nothing less than the 'common denominator of most of those multifarious movements and conflicting personalities of what may be conveniently called the Medieval Reformation'.² Other characterisations have been more limited, such as the 'cenobitic crisis' thesis of Germain Morin (1861-1946) and Jean Leclercq (1911-1993), in which the new orders of white and grey monks emerge from a piety vacuum created by dysfunction and crisis in the ranks of the black monks.³ Yet other historians focussed on the eremitic quality of the new religious, such as Henrietta Leyser's (1941-) 'New Monasticism', which comprised 'militant and aggressive' hermit-monks 'concerned primarily with asceticism and austerity'.⁴ Still more supposed that the Investiture Controversy and the Gregorian Reform represented an ideological 'revolution' of civilisational scale and extent, subsuming all contemporary movements within it.⁵

¹ Ernest W. McDonnell, 'The "Vita Apostolica": Diversity or Dissent', *Church History*, 24 (1955), pp. 15-31, 15.

² Ibid., p. 16.

³ Germain Morin, 'Rainaud l'ermite et l'ives de Chartres: un episode de la crise du cenobitisme aux XI-XII siècles', *Revue Bénédictine*, XL (1928), pp. 99-115; Jean Leclercq, 'La crise du monachisme aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il medio evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 70 (Rome, 1958).

⁴ Henrietta Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe 1000-1150* (London, 1984), p. 21.

⁵ The literature on the Gregorian Reform and Investiture Controversy is vast, though currents which presented it as an ideological revolution on the broadest, civilisational scale, are probably best represented by Gerd Tellenbach, who viewed Pope Gregory VII's programme as the summit of long Christian cultural imperatives of 'right order' and 'freedom': Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. by R.F. Bennett (Oxford, 1948), pp. 97, 162. Norman Cantor, writing in the same tradition, called it '...a world revolution... widespread and thoroughgoing revolution in world view (*Weltanschauungsumwandlung*), the emergence of a new ideology that rejects the results of several centuries of development, organized into the prevailing system, and calls for a new right order in the world.': Norman F. Cantor, 'The Crisis of Western Monasticism, 1050-1130', *The American Historical Review*, 66 (1960), p. 55.

Going furthest, however, was Herbert Grundmann (1902-1970). In his 1933 thesis, Grundmann's contribution was to propose the existence of a 'single-' or 'general religious movement' in the Middle Ages, invoking the essence of a concept that has now long since been neglected in historiography of the period: that a singular idea can impart motive force, direction and aesthetic to an entire society, people or civilisation.⁶ He meant to regard the flourishing of the new religious orders, heresies and sects in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries as symptoms of the same cause – as the offspring of a new 'spirit' in the Latin West which glorified the asceticism of the early Church beyond all previous bounds and elevated the life of the poor itinerant preacher as its salvatory ideal.⁷ That is, what the animus of Grundmann's 'single religious movement' embodied was nothing less than the Hegelian *Geist* of the period: a novel ideology which transforms society at the broadest scale.⁸

⁶ 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*, trans. by Steven Rowan (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1995), pp. 3, 4-5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁸ For a definition of Hegel's concept of *Geist*, including its relation to Kant's *Transcendental Ego*, see R.C. Solomon, 'Hegel's Concept of "Geist"', *The Review of Metaphysics*, 23 (1970), pp. 642-61. In brief, however, the commonly-accepted definition of *Geist* is that it 'refers to some sort of *general consciousness, a single "mind" common to all men.*': *Ibid.*, p. 642. Cf. *Weltgeist* as a specific application of *Geist* to history: Michael Inwood, *A Hegel Dictionary* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), p. 275. While *Geist* is perhaps the most well-known concept to express this property, a profusion of thinkers since Hegel are testament to its lasting fascination. Marxism, of course, furnished us with a broad conceptual apparatus intended to capture the intersection of ideology and social structure, ranging from Marx's own 'superstructure' – the top-level ideological baggage of the ruling classes which justifies their power – to 'class consciousness' itself and Gramsci's 'historic bloc' – describing a unity of superstructure and structure which leads to social change. Even more teleological than *Geist*, perhaps, is Pierre Teilhard de Chardin's *noosphere* – the 'sphere of knowledge' encasing the Earth comparable in scale and function to the geosphere and biosphere, and forming a key phase of the evolutionary 'path' according to his eschatological theory. Divorced from such metaphysical excesses, however, are more sober concepts on this theme such as Karl Popper's 'World 3', Foucault's *épistème*, Dawkin's 'Meme-Pool' and even Kuhn's 'paradigm'. The same essential idea is even couched in the precision of Neo-Kantian and analytic philosophy with Wilhelm Dilthey's 'objective mind' (*objektiver Geist*) and its near identical Anglosphere counterpart in John Searle's 'Background', both expressing that realm of knowledge held in common, and thus implying a powerful source of what Searle called 'a certain category of neurophysiological causation': Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, trans. by S.W. Ryazanskaya, (London, 1970); James Joll, *Gramsci* (Glasgow, 1977), p. 32; Pierre

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Clearly, something momentous had occurred in the 'ideological structure' of eleventh and twelfth century Christendom, even if historians could not agree on what exactly that might have been, or what terminology to use for it. Whether *vita apostolica*, 'cenobitic crisis', 'new monasticism', the 'religious movement', renaissance, reform, or whatever else, we are witness to a profusion of concepts each trying to capture part of an epistemic object that is whole and indivisible on the civilisational scale; each trying to trace a categorical boundary around the observed phenomena and thus remove it from the incomprehensible complexity of what the Neo-Kantian philosopher Heinrich Rickert (1863-1936) called the 'heterogeneous continuum' of reality, which 'cannot be conceptually grasped as it is'.⁹

In these acts of categorical concept-formation, however, is the seed of an error which has worked to severely limit our understanding of the proper *causes* of this new ideology. If causal arguments are offered rather than avoided – as is sometimes the case – the category of the imagined explanation is teleologically projected back into history and its causes sought only within the bounds of those categories. The causes of the 'religious movement' are sought in religious discourses, for instance, while the

Teilhard de Chardin, *The Phenomenon of Man*, trans. by B. Wall (London, 1959); Karl R. Popper and John C. Eccles, *The Self and Its Brain: An Argument for Interactionism* (London, 1977), p. 133; Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, trans. by anon. (London, 1970), p. xxii; Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene* (Oxford, 1976), p. 192; Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962), p. 111; Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. VII, (Leipzig, 1914-), p. 208, cited in Charles R. Bambach, *Heidegger, Dilthey, and the Crisis of Historicism* (New York, 1995), p. 163; John R. Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality* (New York, 1995), p. 129. In concise terms, what all of these concepts describe are the macroscopic causal attributes of 'knowledge held in common' or, in other words, the top-level epistemic structure of a given society or civilisation, and how such a structure can impart what Popper referred to as 'downward causation' upon the society itself: Popper and Eccles, *The Self and Its Brain*, p. 19. This thesis is in part an effort to dispel some of the mythology of 'Geist-like' concepts of such 'top level epistemic objects', by focusing on the 'ground-up' causal mechanisms of ideology rather than their 'top-down' or 'downward causation', in Popper's terminology.

⁹ Heinrich Rickert, *Science and History: A Critique of Positivist Epistemology*, trans. by George Reisman (Toronto, 1962), p. 34.

causes of a 'cenobitic crisis' are sought in monastic institutional structures, and the causes of 'hermit monasticism' are sought in the transmission of eremitic traditions.

On the broadest scales, since 'ideology' is taken as the product and final outcome, its causes are sought in 'ideas', drawing from and powered by a much deeper 'phrenocentric' or 'mind-centred' paradigm in which ideas are imagined to be native to minds, originate from minds, and are transferred between minds with the movement of individuals and written works. This has resulted in the dominance of a 'transmissive model' of epistemic origins in which the new ideology of the 'religious movement' is imagined having been brought from the Near East with the example of Greek monastics living in Italy, and then from Italy into France.¹⁰ Tellenbach himself, too, famously opened his most seminal book on the Investiture Controversy with sixty pages of excursus on the classical origins of eleventh-century ideas of world-order, arguing 'They originated in early Christian times and can, like so much of the spiritual side of early medieval civilisation, only be grasped when regarded as a development of late classical and early Christian cultural traditions', going on to emphasise the influence of pseudo-Isidore on the ideas of the Gregorian reform

¹⁰ These positions are dealt with in more detail below, though they are revealed by Grundmann, when he asks 'To what extent are alien influences from outside the West at work, perhaps from the Orient?', by Dom David Knowles: '...there was the movement of monastic reform, which had issued in the birth of new orders in Italy, and which was even now beginning to stir in Cluny's own fatherland.', by Leyser, 'The example of Greek monasticism has been suggested as a less accidental, even as a vital factor in making men hermits... The new hermit movement began in Italy in the late tenth century. It is here associated with Romuald and with Peter Damian...', by J.C. Dickinson, 'some years ago the writer became convinced that these houses [the Italian eremites] were the main source of the great monastic revival of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and was gratified to find the same conclusion reached independently by an eminent Benedictine historian', by Carole Hutchison, 'The roots of what proved to be a very unusual religious order were embedded in the monastic reform movement which originated in Italy in the last quarter of the tenth century and which subsequently swept through France...', and others: Grundmann, *Religious Movements...* p. 210; David Knowles, 'Cistercians and Cluniacs: The Controversy Between St Bernard and Peter the Venerable', in David Knowles, *The Historian and Character, and Other Essays* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 53; Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism...*, pp. 24, 29; J.C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), p. 38. The 'eminent Benedictine historian' Dickinson refers to here is none other than Dom David Knowles. Carole Hutchison, *The Hermit Monks of Grandmont* (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1989), p. 13.

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programme.¹¹ With enough of such ‘transmission’, and the imagination of enough self-constraining ‘disciplinary boundaries’, historians have thus been able to abrogate responsibility for explaining how the idea might have been *formed* or *generated* by pushing back its ‘origins’ to beyond their ‘field’, ‘period’, or self-appointed realm of expertise in an infinite regress of transmission. Consequently, history avoids unlocking perhaps some of its greatest explanatory power in being able to explain how new ideas are generated, and from which forces and influences they may be assembled in the totality of a society at any given time; a breadth which almost no other discipline of the human sciences is able to capture, and yet which is routinely squandered by historians.

The object of this study, therefore, are the *causes* of what for convenience’s sake can be called the ‘new ideology’ of the ‘religious movement of the twelfth century’, to borrow Grundmann’s phrase without strictly endorsing it. In this context, what is meant by ‘ideology’ is a system of ideals and beliefs (both of which are types of ‘ideas’) upheld and maintained by an individual or a group as morally laudable, according broadly with its conventional usage. The ‘*causes*’ of such an object as ideology, then, refer to any antecedent influence in assembling the ideology, if we imagine that ‘ideology’ is composed of multiple discreet ‘ideas’ that function together systematically but which may themselves have separate origins. Implicit in this meaning, and as pointed out by Michael Oakeshott, is that ‘cause’ must necessarily operate within causal frameworks – ‘laws’ or ‘nomothetic principles’; the ways or means by which ‘causes’ are actually effected – which in this study are generally referred to as ‘causal mechanisms’.¹² In general, this means that the thesis functions principally as what we can call ‘aetiology’; that is, as a ‘study of causes’

¹¹ Tellenbach’s use of the ‘transmissive model’: Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society...*, pp. 1, 38, 98-9, 139.

¹² Michael Oakeshott, *On History and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1983), p. 85.

rather than as history in its narrative or descriptive mode. Indeed, Mark Hewitson – in his monograph *History and Causality* – claimed that ‘the identification and evaluation of causes, explaining why one set of events or state of affairs came into being and not another, is a – perhaps *the* – fundamental task of historians’, going on to argue that this centrality has been ‘marginalize[d],’ by the ‘various turns which have taken place within the discipline of history’.¹³

With this being the case, the thesis seeks to construct an alternate causal model of how such a large-scale ‘ideology’ may be assembled by focusing on the potential *generative* mechanisms of how ‘ideas’ may come to be. By investigating the originary circumstances of the new monastic orders, the way they *first adopted* these new ideas and why may offer us a window into the more complete causal origins of the new ideology of the ‘religious movement’ itself.¹⁴ The epistemic ‘transmission’ of ideas is therefore avoided as causal explanation for the sake of an exercise which aims to shine a bright light on those causal mechanisms of ideology which have thus far been avoided in historiography of the period. Note, however, that this does not mean that the ‘transmissive model’ is invalid, only that its claims – and the weight of those claims – will be temporarily ignored for the sake of better ‘prising out’ causal mechanisms which are otherwise hidden or overlooked. In reality, such new causal mechanisms would complement rather than supersede ‘transmissive’ influences.

This is to be achieved by the means of a hypothesis informed by several preliminary observations. First, it serves us to narrow our focus upon three *particular* elements of the ‘new ideology’ of the ‘religious movement’: i) an orientation to the wilderness; ii)

¹³ Mark Hewitson, *History and Causality* (Basingstoke, 2014), pp. 2, 15.

¹⁴ Though the ‘origins of the new monastic orders’ are often in focus in this thesis, they are *not* the object of the thesis. The new monastic orders are simply a lens through which the origins of the ‘new ideology’ might be observed, owing to the type and number of sources that survive for them.

an emphasis on manual labour; iii) the asceticism of poverty and abstinence.¹⁵

Second, we ought to be struck by the fact that each of these elements satisfied not less than *two* separate imperatives for the religious communities that held them: on one hand, they satisfied the demands of a long religious tradition, and on the other, they enabled the real, practical survival of the community within the contemporary political, economic, and social environment of eleventh and twelfth-century monasticism. That is, each element served both a 'religious' and a 'pragmatic' or 'adaptive' function.

In the case of Wilderness Orientation, we might say that there was a long eremitic tradition which had been transmitted directly from the Biblical Temptation of Christ in the wilderness, through the early anchorites, St Jerome's lives of Malchus, Paul, and Hilarion, and so on. However, we must also note with some interest that just such a wilderness orientation allowed new religious communities to establish themselves and survive in a milieu dominated by a newly aggressive and expansionary Benedictine monasticism; where urban and cultivated spaces had been monopolised and saturated with black monks intent on protecting their holdings and possessions with litigation, subjections, and in some cases outright armed force.¹⁶ Such communities may well have been inspired by the anchorites of the early Church, but the wilderness was also in many cases their only survival strategy in a hostile monastic climate.

¹⁵ These three elements were chosen principally because it is they which appear with frequency in the *vita* of the Order of Tiron's founder, Bernard of Tiron, which forms this thesis' central case study in *Part Two: The New Order*. Though this means that there is first an empirical justification for their selection, an argument can be made for their centrality in concepts of the 'new ideology' of the religious movement of the Middle Ages in existing historiography, below.

¹⁶ See *Chapter 2: Resistance to Cluny*, below.

Similarly, it is possible to trace the newly salvatic quality of Manual Labour to a Biblical source; to St Paul's instructions to the Thessalonians:

We ask you, brothers, to respect those who labour among you... And we urge you, brothers, admonish the idle... Now we command you, brothers, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you keep away from any brother who is walking in idleness and not in accord with the tradition that you received from us. For you yourselves know how you ought to imitate us, because we were not idle when we were with you, nor did we eat anyone's bread without paying for it, but with toil and labour we worked night and day, that we might not be a burden to any of you... we would give you this command: If anyone is not willing to work, let him not eat.¹⁷

However, it is also true that many of the new religious communities of the eleventh and twelfth centuries had no recourse *but* to work for their own survival. Cut off from productive, cultivated land, servants, and networks of trade and tradesmen, the 'new monastics' were forced by necessity to either work or die.

The same dichotomy is visible with the asceticism of poverty and abstinence. Here, that a vast Christian tradition of asceticism made its way to the new religious orders is undeniable, but so too is their actual ground reality and experience of poverty. For the same reasons as mentioned above, the 'new monastics' were poor in a way that traditional Benedictines were not.

In each of these three elements of the 'new ideology', therefore, there appears to be both a 'transmissive' and a 'generative' or 'adaptive' cause (*Table 1*). The aim of this study is to investigate the heretofore neglected 'adaptive causes' of the 'new ideology', though it would be an error to presume that this is merely a focus on the *receptivity* and adaptive suitability of environments to new ideas entering from outside. The causal model adopted here is not that of a kind of epistemic

¹⁷ *Bible*, 1 Thessalonians 5:12-14, 2 Thessalonians 3:6-12.
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epidemiology, where 'ideas' enter environments and propagate based on their adaptive suitability, as described in approaches such as Richard Dawkins' (b.1941-) 'memetics' and its disciples, or indeed as also practiced by mainstream intellectual history in its 'transmissive' paradigm.¹⁸ Rather, the causal model explicated here is the epistemically *generative* capacity of *adaptive environments themselves*. That is, the process by which practical circumstances become pre-mental *patterns* that are then experienced and observed *a posteriori* by human beings to become a certain class of 'ideas of praxis' or 'ideologies of praxis', and to which pre-existing ideas are then applied as a justificatory gloss in the most extreme examples, providing a certain aesthetic but without significant causal effect.¹⁹ In most cases, however, there will be a sympathetic interaction between the 'transmissive' and 'generative' causes of ideas, with both providing significant causal influences.

TABLE 1. ELEMENTS OF THE 'NEW IDEOLOGY' AND TWO CATEGORIES OF THEIR CAUSES

IDEA	'Transmissive' Cause	'Generative' or 'Adaptive' Cause
Wilderness Orientation	Jesus in the Wilderness, St Anthony, St Jerome's lives, the anchoritic tradition, &c.	Benedictine monasticism's aggressive monopolisation of urban & cultivated spaces, forcing out communities into the wilderness.
Manual Labour	St Paul's letters to the Thessalonians, &c.	Manual labour as a prerequisite for survival for communities cut off from urban & cultivated spaces, servants, serfs and networks of trade and tradesmen.
Asceticism	Numerous Biblical teachings on the salvific quality of poverty, e.g., Luke 6:20-21.	The experience of real poverty while attempting to survive in isolated wildernesses, &c.

¹⁸ Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene*, p. 192: 'Just as genes propagate themselves in the gene pool by leaping from body to body via sperm or eggs, so memes propagate themselves in the meme pool by leaping from brain to brain via a process which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation'. One disciple of Dawkins' and the nascent field of 'memetics' – Aaron Lynch – would attempt to expand the concept by detailing the ways in which 'memes' could spread, largely by analogy with epidemiological mechanisms, which he labelled explicitly as 'the epidemiology of ideas': Aaron Lynch, *Thought Contagion: How Belief Spreads Through Society* (New York, 1996), p. 9. Another – Alvin Goldman – called it, 'the most elementary and universal social path to knowledge: the transmission of observed information from one person to others': Alvin Goldman, *Knowledge in a Social World* (Oxford, 1999), p. 103. In intellectual history, 'historians of ideas usually make sense of the meanings they have ascribed to works by relating them to their historical antecedents,' which amounts to the same model: Mark Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 174.

¹⁹ Gramsci used the term 'philosophy of praxis' to indicate what was for him the *practical and necessary* essence of Marxism; it was not 'chosen', but its adoption forced by circumstance: Joll, *Gramsci*, p. 76.

Of course, in any complete aetiology of the 'new ideology' of the 'religious movement', the transmission of thought in tradition would unquestionably play a part, but alone produces a severely limited causal explanation. Indeed, it may even be the *least important* causal factor; transmission alone does not explain why the idea was so extraordinarily powerful and *functional* in a particular place and time. The modern world is awash with ideas that have made their way into societies, and yet no one is surprised by the fact that the overwhelming majority of them represent no influence whatsoever. No one wonders why the religion of Bullet Baba's Motorcycle has not overtaken the West despite having been known for many years; why there are not tabernacles of the Holy Four-Stroke on every street corner or, indeed, religious orders devoted to the cult of the 350cc Royal Enfield Bullet RNJ 7773 and the sacred rites of its maintenance. However, more plausible is to imagine several decades hence where the world has degenerated into some Mad Max future dystopia; where motorcycles are intrinsic to the basic survival of whole families and communities; where their value and necessity is far in excess of their real supply. In such a world, the sacralisation or even worship of motorcycles carries a real meaning and power in a way that would appear simply absurd to most today; where Bullet Baba's Motorbike has a plausible chance of growing to the status of world religion because of its newfound *functionality* to real human concerns and problems. However, to impute from this that the *cause* of such a circumstance would be the transmission of knowledge of Bullet Baba's Motorbike into the West sometime after the late 1980s would be to misrepresent historical epistemic causality to an almost ludicrous degree. Yet this is precisely the approach taken by historians of the High Middle Ages who present narratives of epistemic transmission as the sole, singular, or most significant causal explanations for the new ideology of the religious movement.

Rather, in our example here we can see that the status of motorcycles was *already* sacralised by the *patterns of life* adopted by our descendants in their new, Mad Max-esque reality, and Bullet Baba's Motorbike was merely a convenient receptacle, sign, symbol, or focus for an idea of life which causally preceded it. To uncover the 'truer' causes of this scenario, therefore, we would have to investigate the causes of the *pattern of life*, and not the transmission of ideas of Bullet Baba's Motorbike. In other words, we would be investigating the pre-epistemic 'patterns' from which an 'idea' or ideology would be assembled.

While the complete causal web of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is infinitely more complex than this fanciful example, nonetheless it encapsulates the central conceit of this thesis: that the 'new ideology of the religious movement' owes its origins more to the *patterns of life* adopted, by necessity, by the religious communities we observe to exhibit the 'new ideology' than it does to the epistemic transmission of religious tradition. That, therefore, the *causes* of the 'new ideology of the religious movement' are principally located with whatever practical forces necessitated such *patterns of life*, though it remains to be seen if this view is sustained by the evidence.

In substantive terms, furthermore, the hypothesis of this thesis observes and supposes that these *patterns of life* owe their causes to a newly expansionary and aggressive Benedictine monasticism, best typified by Cluny. With aggression, with force, and with speed, the expansionary behaviour of Cluny and congregations like it tore through the monastic world of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The acquisition of ecclesiastical and secular properties, and, above all, the forceful acquisition of churches and monasteries, ultimately exerted a structural pressure on the Church which forced new cultures and new 'ideologies' into being in order to cope. The monastic landscape had changed, and those within it were being squeezed

– the urban and cultivated worlds were becoming saturated and monopolised by monastics with international clout; secular and other ecclesiastical power structures were becoming similarly colonised; wealth poured in for those lucky enough to have made the right monastic profession, and networks of tradesmen and servants associated with urban economies were put at their disposal, allowing for this *new style* of black monk to invest much more in costly liturgical services.

In other words, it was not the white monks that burst onto the scene with ‘fresh and vigorous life’, as Charles Homer Haskins (1870-1937) had it, but it was the *new* black monks which happened *to* them, and in order to survive with their *libertas* intact, only a precisely *oppositional* way of life and ideology would do.²⁰ If the black monks monopolised urban and cultivated spaces, the ‘white’ would find their exile in the wilderness. If the black monks could afford to spend their days in divine service, the poverty of the white would see them put to work. Abstinence may have been a virtue, but it was also a necessity; asceticism not a choice but a burden.

We must again, therefore, allow ourselves to marvel at the curious pragmatic *utility* of the ‘new ideology’ within this new monastic environment. Not only does it satisfy anchoritic impulses long buried within the Christian tradition – sincere beliefs, doubtlessly – but it also solves a suite of real problems newly impressed upon contemporary religious by Cluniac-style Benedictinism. There is thus presented to historians a choice between two ultimate causal origins of the ‘religious movement of the Middle Ages’, each representing fundamentally different axioms in how ideas are imagined to be caused and where they come from, how historians should form concepts, and ultimately the proper extent of what history can actually say. On one hand, a *transmissive* model formed *categorically*, emphasising the conscious belief,

²⁰ C.H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), p. vi.

agency and choices of proactive historical actors. On the other, a *generative* model formed *causally*, emphasising the unconscious reactivity of historical actors and the social, political and economic forces that are applied to them.

Since heretofore only the former model has been emphasised by historians, it is, to reiterate, the object of this thesis to present, uncover, and develop the latter, thereby expanding not only our understanding of the causal origins of the 'single religious movement' itself, but also adding an extra dimension to how the causal origins of ideas are approached more generally within history. To do this, the thesis is structured as a test of this 'generative' hypothesis – in *PART ONE: THE OLD ORDER*, the influence of the monastery of Cluny is explored, focusing on its expansion and the oppressive pressure this applied to the structure of the Church. With Cluny established as foil, *PART TWO: THE NEW ORDER* then considers how the new orders might have the origins of their novel ideas located as a *reaction* to this circumstance. While it would have been preferable to analyse *all* of the 'new orders' monastic and canonical with reference to this causal hypothesis – judging to what extent it applies to them or describes the origins of their ideas – doing so would no doubt either be the work of a lifetime or a work of superficial depth. Instead, the Order of Tiron serves as exemplar, making use of the large and textually dense *vita* of its founder – Bernard of Tiron – and originary circumstances which mark it with an extraordinary level of explicit opposition to Cluny. Finally, the thesis concludes, locating the weight of its hypothesis among other causal models of the 'single religious movement' and advancing a best-fit synthesis to explain the phenomenon.

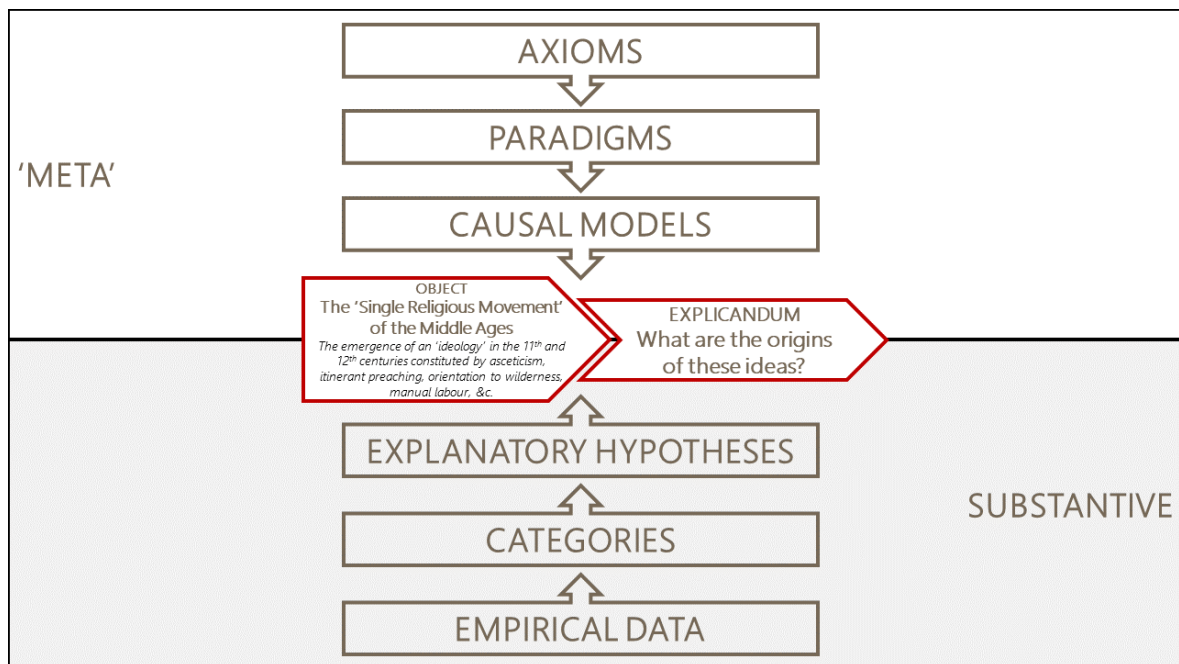
The thesis thus has several ambitions, operating simultaneously and at multiple supervening levels. First, it argues for a new approach to *concept-formation* at the 'disciplinary' level (history). Second, it makes a case for substantially broadening our

understanding of how ideas are ‘caused’ in intellectual history at the ‘discursive’ level (the historiography of the High Middle Ages); and third, it presents a substantive hypothesis concerning the origins of the ideas held by the new monastic orders of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, proceeding directly from the ‘disciplinary’ and ‘discursive’ levels, and altogether forming a coherent ‘concept-focused’ method for approaching history aetiologically. That is, it asserts that for ‘history as aetiology’ to be practiced coherently, it must aim for what we could imagine as a complete ‘vertical integration’ (*Figure 1*) of its method: from a central explicandum, not only must historians look ‘down’ towards the sufficiency of its empirical data and substantive hypotheses, but they must also look ‘up’ towards the sufficiency of their axioms, paradigms, and causal models, as the latter determines the limits of the former.²¹ Since in this case, none of the pre-existing axioms, paradigms, causal models, nor substantive hypotheses are sufficient or complete, the thesis works to provide alternatives to all, disregarding restrictive disciplinary boundaries and counterproductive styles, fashions, and conventions. It is, thereby, a manifesto of sorts: for an end to history’s narrativist malaise and a reassertion of the potential of its full explanatory power, for the rebinding of history with its own philosophy, and, ultimately, for the need of history to take itself seriously as a coherent, whole, and rational body of knowledge.²²

²¹ Indeed, without any such work on the ‘meta’ level of the explicandum, it would be impossible to produce novel explanatory hypotheses on its substantive level, since the axioms, paradigms and causal models of the discourse establish the boundaries of a Foucauldian *épistème*, beyond which it is not possible to conceive of certain explanatory hypotheses in history which may, in fact, be true: Foucault, *The Order of Things...*, pp. xxii, 378.

²² ‘Narrativism’ refers to history’s current paradigm; it’s fascination with history as literature, hermeneutics, and a postmodern rejection of structure, theory and nomothetic concepts, thought to have originated with or alongside Hayden White’s (1928–2018) influential *Metahistory*: Hayden V. White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, 1973). For an introduction, see also Zoltán Boldizsár Simon and Jouni-Matti Kuukkanen, ‘Introduction: Assessing Narrativism’, *History and Theory*, 54 (2015), p. 153.

FIGURE 1. 'VERTICAL INTEGRATION' APPROACH



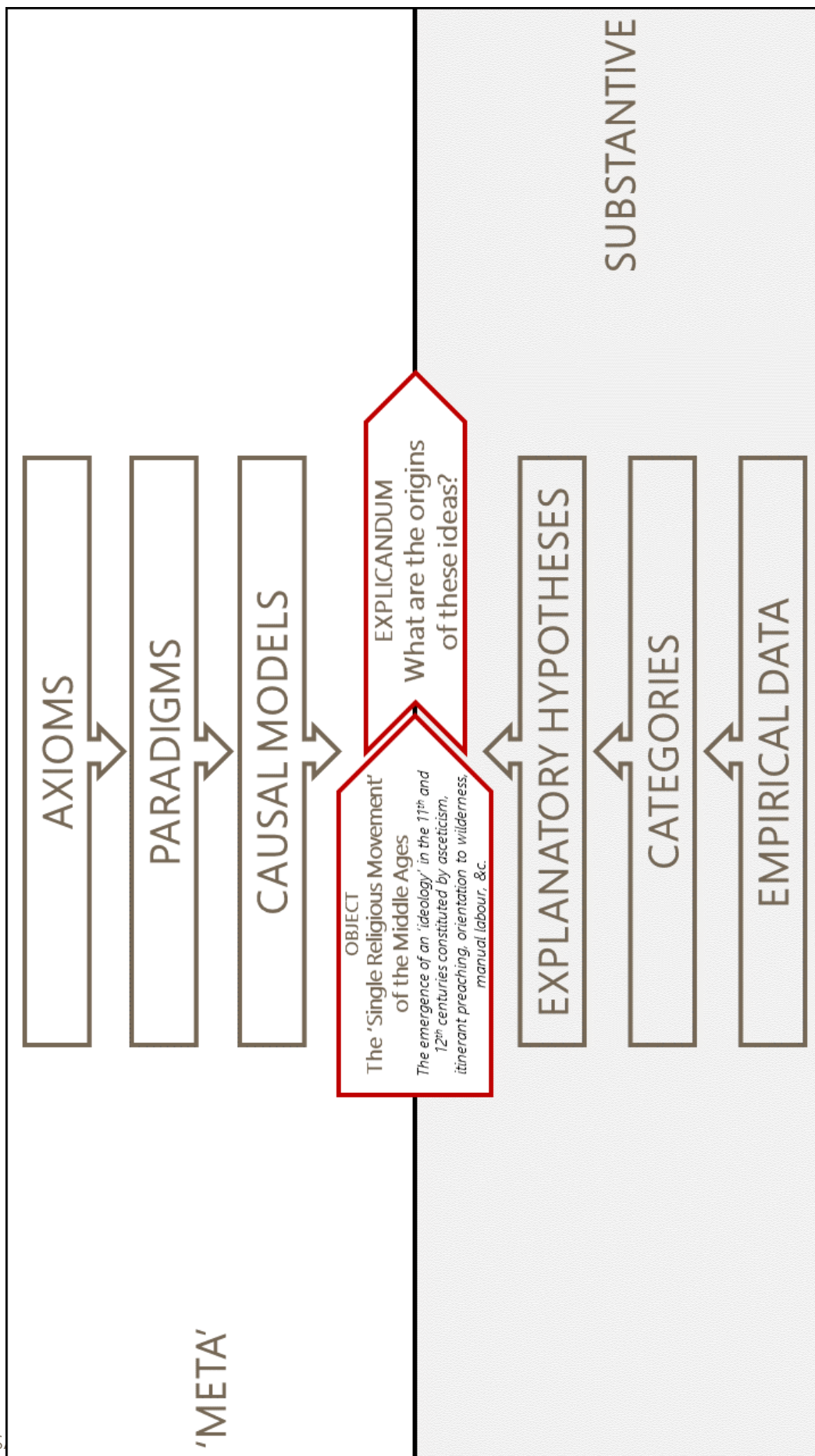
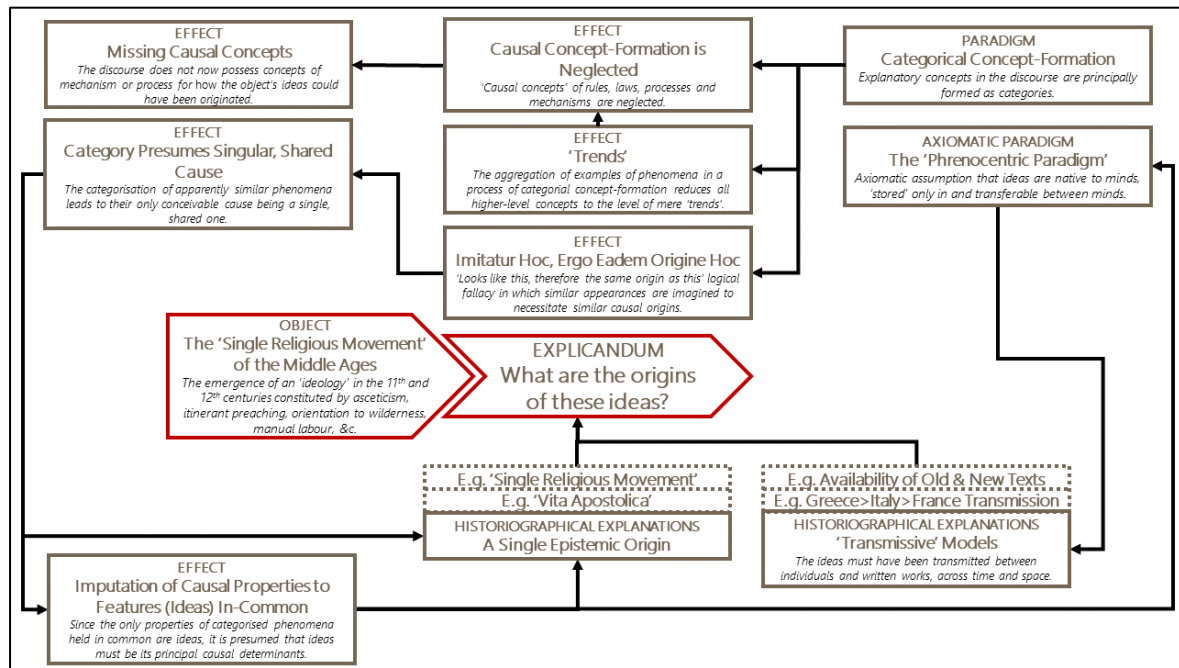
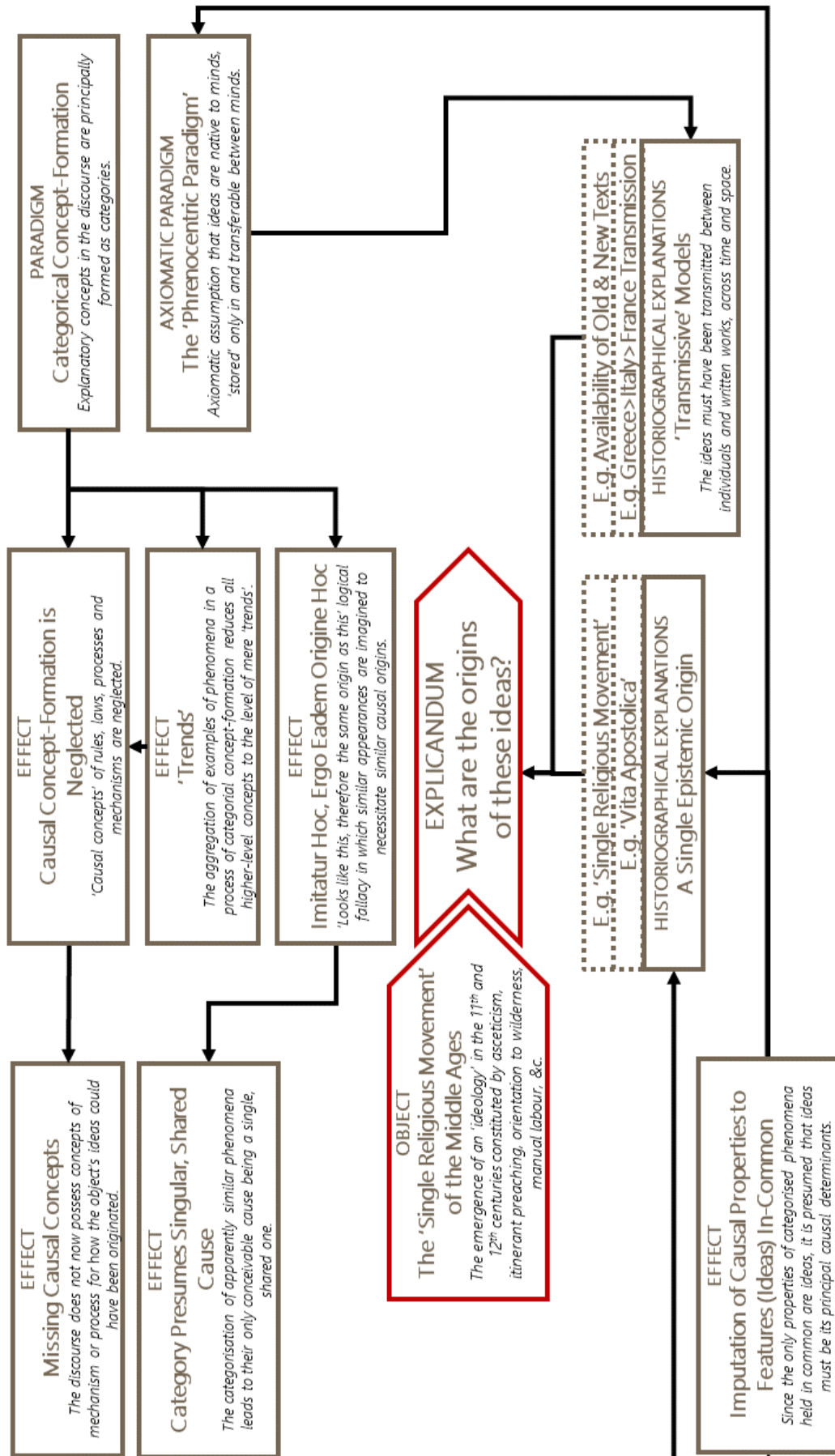


FIGURE 2. HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CRITIQUE



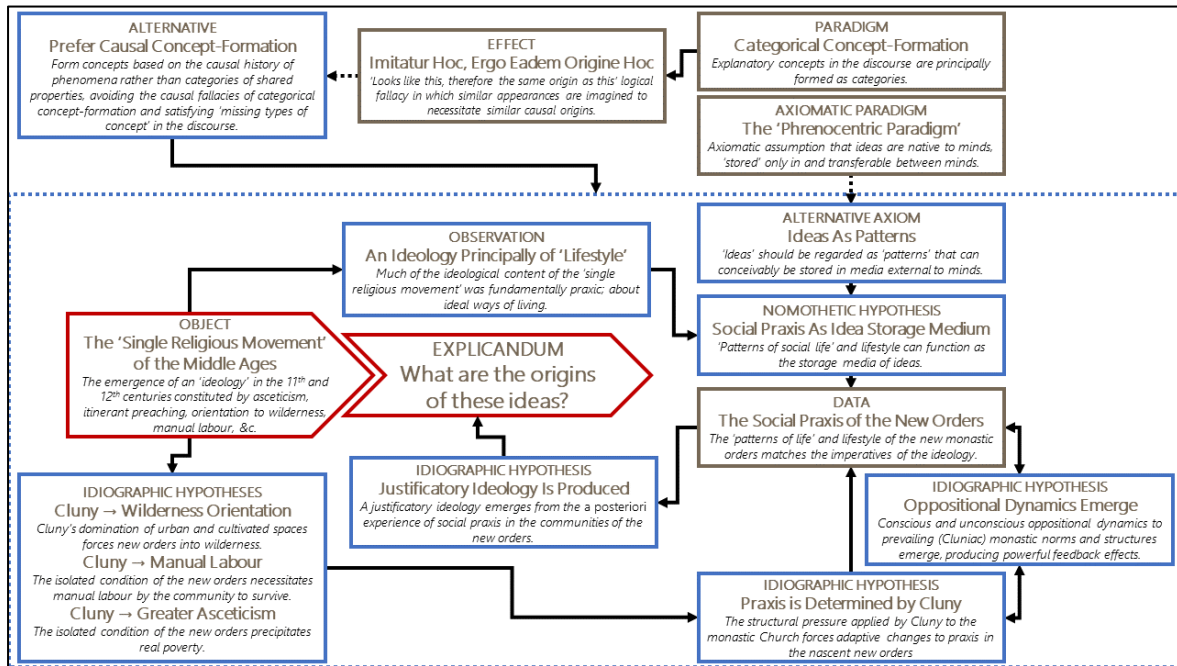


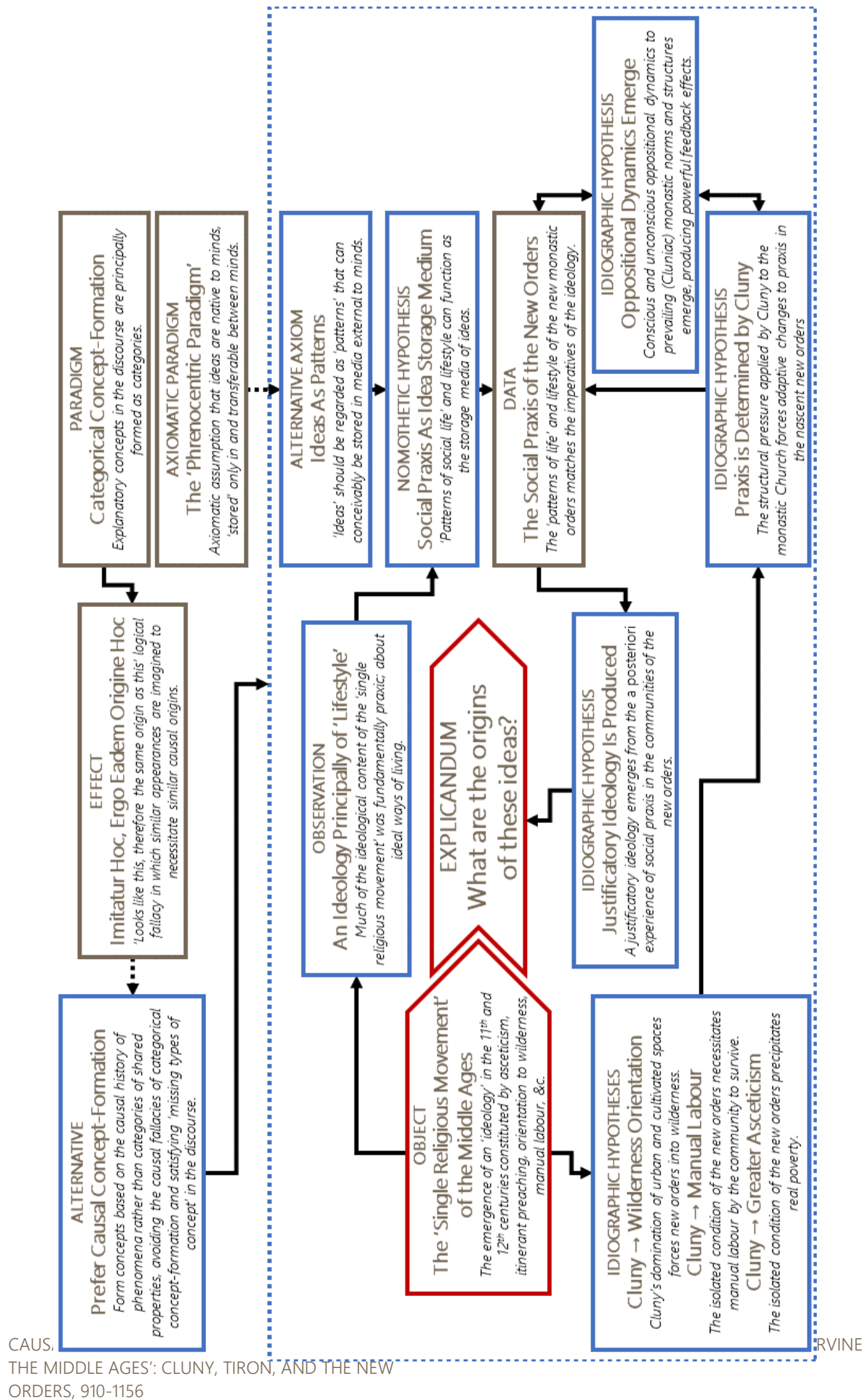
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FIGURE 3. THESIS HYPOTHESES





What follows in this introduction is a critical analysis of current historiography and its methods, explaining the basis of the 'conceptual methodology' and approach taken by this thesis: why and how prevailing approaches are insufficient or erroneous, and what alternatives might be advanced to remedy them. It first aims to locate the thesis in a broader discursive structure – to ask what *concepts* we might *need* in the discourse as a whole, and therefore what concepts are *missing*. In other words, it aims to take history seriously as a producer of useful knowledge about the past. The discussion then concludes with the thesis' central theoretical and substantive causal claim: that ideas or 'pre-ideas' ought to be conceived of as *patterns*, with their causes located in the pre-mental causes of these *patterns*; in this case, the praxic 'patterns of life' adopted, by necessity, by the new monastic orders reacting to the structural pressure of Cluniac monasticism.

Why is methodological reflection necessary in History?

In any historiographical exercise, there exists an uneasy tension between the substantive content of its real data, and the meta-level of *how* this data is to be translated into concepts; that is, into useful *knowledge*. The historian, charged with the almost impossible task of making the past intelligible in a way simultaneously descriptive and explanatory, must choose how to negotiate the balance between the immediate historical subject or subjects of his or her study, and the process of reducing, simplifying, and rendering meaningful this content through the formation of concepts.

Regrettably, this is typically frustrated by the disciplinary boundaries of the age, where in extreme cases historians are encouraged to reject one in favour of the other, or are taught that any methodological or philosophical reflection whatever – however necessary – is beyond the proper scope of the work of ‘history’ completely. While the philosophers of history, sequestered away in the pages of obscure journals, might cry out against this with small voices, they are always like to be shouted down by the boorish insistence of some Oxbridge grandee or other that there is no place for philosophy in the seigneurie of their discipline. Sir Geoffrey Elton, for instance, serves well in this role when he argues that ‘philosophic concern with such problems as the reality of historical knowledge or the nature of historical thought only hinders the practice of history’.²³

To actually read Elton, however, is to dispel at least part of the strawman he is typically cast as, since one cannot fail to be endeared to the man who delights in the ‘engaging savagery’ of J.H. Hexter’s polemic, or is willing to describe Lord Acton as a ‘prince of amateurs’ and his philosophical opponents as ‘lively minds of little knowledge’.²⁴ His defense of practicing historians is spirited and his polemical boldness admirable; he himself would welcome the open debate rather than attempt to stifle it.²⁵ Nonetheless, he does represent a position which still seems to be widespread, even after his ostensibly thorough dismantlement by Quentin Skinner a generation later: that usually referred to as ‘empiricism’ or ‘British empiricism’; the

²³ Geoffrey Elton, *The Practice of History* (London, 1967), p. vii.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 17, 9.

²⁵ For instance, he writes, ‘too universal a sympathy, too ready an acceptance of all treatments of history, would constitute an abdication of the judgement which all historians must, as a duty, preserve. Occasional grumpy disapproval is much to be preferred to that general and tepid approval which pervades, for instance, most professional reviewing of historical books in America.’: *Ibid.*, p. 14.

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notion that it is possible and desirable to do history without ever having to touch upon methodological, philosophical, or theoretical questions at all.²⁶

One such modern proponent of the position is James Cracraft, who, venturing into the wolf's lair of *History and Theory* within the last decade, makes much the same arguments as Elton.²⁷ Armoured only in that aegis of stubbornness which, for all appearances seems to grow on eminent empiricists like the silvered backs of mature alpha gorillas, Cracraft produced a defense of 'practicing historians' grounded in the notion that doing history produces its own 'philosophy'; what he called a 'personal philosophy' of 'historical thinking'.²⁸ Consisting of such features as the habit of contextualization, 'cautious... down-to-earth... *rational* storytelling', and a 'sensitivity to the play of the contingent', this 'personal philosophy' emerges quite naturally without any requirement for self-conscious reflection.²⁹ 'We historians, however unwittingly, derive a set of loosely related ideas about life from our ongoing practice of history', we are told.³⁰

While Cracraft intends for this to serve as 'a kind of firewall', which 'stands in the way' between practicing historians and the 'sirens of theory who would lure them to their airy abodes', his elucidation of 'personal philosophy' amounts instead to a rather clumsy admission that empiricist historians do indeed make use of a theoretical framework to underpin their approach and conclusions, albeit one that has been built

²⁶ Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics, vol 1, Regarding Method* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 8-26.

²⁷ James Cracraft, 'History as Philosophy', *History and Theory*, 54 (2015), pp. 45-68. The closeness of Cracraft's position to Elton's is in places suspiciously similar, as when Cracraft describes practicing historians' 'disposition in favour of multiple causality' in much the same way as Elton explaining their understanding of 'the importance of multiplicity where they [social scientists] look for single-purpose schemes': Cracraft, 'History as Philosophy'..., p. 62; Elton, *The Practice of History...*, p. 38.

²⁸ Cracraft, 'History as Philosophy'..., pp. 67, 63.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 53, 62.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

upon the unconscious foundations of uncritical instinct and intuition.³¹ That is, 'philosophy' is not being 'avoided', as is sometimes claimed, but rather that there exists an implicit model already in place which seems to serve the function of theoretical structure well enough to be without need of replacement and apparently immune from critique. As William Walsh argues, however,

But though this protects them from a number of mistaken inferences, it seems to me that they deceive themselves if they think that, in following this procedure, they are keeping closer to reality than their bolder colleagues who are not afraid to generalize, for their procedure amounts to offering an interpretation even if it does not make the organizing concept explicit.³²

It must be asserted, therefore, that wherever such an 'organizing concept' is deployed, it is possible to be in error, ought thus to be subject to critique, and should, if possible, be improved, whether that 'organising concept' or 'theoretical framework' is explicit or not. It is always present, there exists no conceivable way for it to be 'absent', and it is responsible for a great deal of the historical errors, misconceptions, and, particularly, causal misascriptions that are inferred from it.

Here a distinction must be made, however; between a type of 'philosophy of history' which considers the appropriateness of its foundational axioms, paradigms and theoretical frameworks for the sake of disciplinary rigour and efficacy, and that type of 'philosophy of history' which uses the discipline to make more general philosophical claims about fundamental ontology. This latter type, which one suspects is the true *bête noire* of its empiricist critics, is lampooned by the literary scholars Francis-Noël Thomas and Mark Turner when they write:

³¹ Ibid., p. 67.

³² W.H. Walsh, 'Colligatory Concepts in History', in Patrick Gardiner, ed., *The Philosophy of History* (Oxford, 1974), p. 138. Mary Fulbrook makes the same argument: 'Nor can those who see themselves primarily as empirical historians with little or no interest in "theory" escape the issues quite as easily as they might like': Mary Fulbrook, *Historical Theory* (London, 2002), p. 33.

When we open a cookbook, we completely put aside – and expect the author to put aside – the kind of question that leads to the heart of certain philosophic and religious traditions. Is it possible to talk about cooking? Do eggs really exist? Is food something about which knowledge is possible? Can anyone else ever tell us anything true about cooking? These questions may lead to enlightenment or satori; they do not lead to satisfying dinners.³³

What will be discussed here is not that; is not the self-conscious ‘concern to escape being convicted of philosophical naïveté’ which drives much of the ‘philosophical’ reflection in academic writing.³⁴ Rather, it must be argued that it is the proper place of any historian engaged in an aetiological exercise to make clear the grounds upon which their causal inferences are being made, especially if these are substantially different from prevailing norms or are otherwise counterintuitive in some other important way. It is best regarded as a *technical* rather than strictly ‘philosophical’ exercise.

It is not to suggest, either, that the unconscious methods of what Elton and Cracraft called ‘practicing historians’ ought to be discarded in their entirety or even in their majority. Indeed, it seems to be much the case that any system of human thought – however valid or invalid its original grounding – will over time agglomerate an encrustation of ‘truth’ by way of experience; manifested in caveats, exceptions, and intuitive heuristics. In a rare moment of lucidity, Slavoj Žižek has referred to this process as ‘Ptolemization’ (similar in many ways to Karl Popper’s notion of a theory’s falsification-defying ‘auxiliary hypotheses’), noting how the mathematics of Ptolemy’s geocentric model of the universe ultimately came to possess an excellent capacity to

³³ Francis-Noël Thomas and Mark Turner, *Clear and Simple as the Truth: Writing Classic Prose* (Princeton, 2011), pp. 73–4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

actually predict the positions of the planets, despite being completely false in its underlying axioms.³⁵

One might say that historiographical ‘empiricism’ is a system of thought built almost completely upon a similar process of ‘Ptolemization’, grounded as it is only upon a thin foundation of something we are told is ‘common sense’. As such, it may possess the capacity to arrive at *true conclusions*; to correctly identify ‘what’; but what it cannot do, however, is correctly identify *how* or *why*, except in the vaguest terms. This is perhaps unproblematic if the historian making use of such a framework confines himself or herself to the ‘what’ (which, as will see in *Chapter 1*, was the position taken explicitly by Giles Constable), and simply abrogates their responsibility for the ‘how’ or ‘why’, but in circumstances where these latter concerns are the principal objects of study, as in the case of an aetiology or ‘study of causes’, the model is clearly insufficient.³⁶ The empiricist model derives its validity from its degree of Ptolemization, *not* from the soundness of its axioms, which are the very stuff of causal explanations. While it may be able to correctly identify ranges of possible causes and effects, the processes and mechanisms of how these relate are obscured to it.

Since a highly critical feature of this study concerns the way in which causes are imagined to translate into effects – that is, how and why material and epistemic influences became the actions and ideas of the new orders – it should be clear, therefore, that this is something almost impossible to relate with theoretical implicitness in the idioms of traditional empiricism. As such, it is appropriate here to simply ignore the stultifying gatekeeping of an Elton or a Cracraft, and instead adopt the mantra of

³⁵ Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London, 2008), p. vi; Karl Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (London, 1959), p. 62.

³⁶ Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 296.

Jacques Le Goff: '[t]he historian should be free to choose his method as necessary to grasp the nature of the object of inquiry'.³⁷

What follows in this introduction, therefore, is an effort to demonstrate several of the ways in which this 'unconscious theory' of the empiricist paradigm has led to distortions of understanding in the causal history of the High Middle Ages, and why this might have come to pass, particularly in its effects upon how the discipline *forms concepts*. From these critiques is then adduced an alternate methodology for how history ought to relate to its 'concepts' – how it ought to create them and adjudicate between them – and thereafter how we ought to approach epistemic causality more specifically.

Causal vs Categorical Concept-Formation

Since the professionalisation of history in the late nineteenth century, a complex, multicausal process has worked to constrain, delimit and restrict the means and methods by which history forms concepts. Through the taxonomies of philosophers of science, explanatory contests in the twentieth century with other sciences, and the discipline's own contentious insistence of what it is, and, more deleteriously, what it is not, history in the present day is the unfortunate victim of inheriting an axiomatic structure symptomised by the widespread production of causal inference errors. Since tracing the process of how this occurred would be a great undertaking in its own right, and much exceeding the scope of the present work, instead, this problem will be explained in terms which are sometimes more abstract than is typically encountered in modern historical narratives. While it may indeed be preferable to

³⁷ Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1988), p. 12.

treat with issues of method in plain language on the level of the immediate field of study, and thereby preserve the single-subject focus of what has been called the 'classic style' of written composition, here unfortunately the rot does not confine itself to the surface.³⁸ As is often the case, if one wishes to plant a flowerbed, tearing the leaves from the weeds accomplishes nothing; they must instead be pulled up from the roots.

The 'Kenosthetic Method' and concept-formation in history

If we take the period of the 'High Middle Ages' (c.1000-1250a.d.) to constitute an *explicandum* (a thing to be explained) in itself, and historiography on the period to constitute a discourse notionally capable of being understood synthetically, then part of the process of discourse synthesis becomes an attempt to adjudicate between concepts which claim to a level of explanation across the whole field.³⁹ Such concepts are ideas which seem to give substance, context and understanding to the period as a whole; that is, they function as *explicantia* at the highest level of abstraction for the entire discourse.

It is possible to do this using a simple tool of conceptual analysis I refer to as the 'Kenosthetic Method'. This method, which for brevity's sake will only be given a synoptic outline here, asserts that there are discrete *types* of ways we can know about something, and that knowledge about that thing can only be considered synthetically

³⁸ Thomas and Turner, *Clear and Simple as the Truth...*

³⁹ In the subfield of philosophy known as 'social epistemology', the way an academic or intellectual discipline as a whole collates, orders and structures its disparate knowledge is sometimes referred to as 'discourse synthesis'. The modern term is traceable to a 1996 paper by Raymond McInnis in the journal *Social Epistemology*, and before that to the educationalist Nancy Nelson Spivey, who claims to have coined it: R.G. McInnis, 'Introduction: Defining Discourse Synthesis', *Social Epistemology: A Journal of Knowledge, Culture and Policy*, 10 (1996), p. 1; N.N. Spivey, *Discourse Synthesis: Constructing Texts in Reading and Writing* (Newark, 1984); N.N. Spivey, *The Constructivist Metaphor: Reading, Writing, and the Making of Meaning* (London, 1997), ch. 6.

'complete' when all such 'types of concept' are known. While it takes its cues from the Neo-Kantian projects of the late nineteenth century to classify the sciences by their conceptual output and methodologies, it can also be described as a reformulation or addition to Hegel's 'dialectic method' of attaining synthetic knowledge: '(1) a beginning proposition called a thesis, (2) a negation of that thesis called the antithesis, and (3) a synthesis whereby the two conflicting ideas are reconciled to form a new proposition'.⁴⁰ Here, instead of synthetic knowledge resulting from the unity of thesis and antithesis, what is sought are the *missing* but complementary *types of concept*, which we might refer to as 'kenostheses', from the Greek *κενός* (*kenós*), meaning 'void' and therefore in my usage 'the missing type/s of concept'. Since such concepts are conceived of as forming a hierarchy wherein it is only possible to move from one type of concept to another in the level of the hierarchy immediately adjacent to it, this would mean that any 'missing concept' therefore prevents access to more complex or advanced concepts beyond itself. Hence, under this formulation, synthesis is attained with the resolution of 'theses' (the types of concept we possess) with 'kenostheses' (the types of concept we do not possess), and for this reason I refer to it as the 'Kenosthetic Method'. This view of what 'synthesis' constitutes follows the basic axiom that:

Our knowledge about something is complete when we have concepts about it of every type of concept we know to exist.

Following this, therefore, the sense of 'completeness' is added to the notion of what 'synthesis' constitutes, in addition to the sense of propositional validity described by the 'dialectic method'. Thus, this concept of 'truth' comprises both validity and completeness, or in other words its qualitative and quantitative dimensions.

⁴⁰ For the best monograph on the Neo-Kantian project to transform philosophy into the *scientia scientiarum* ('science of the sciences'), tracing the work of Wilhelm Windelband, Heinrich Rickert, and Wilhelm Dilthey, see Bambach, *Heidegger, Dilthey, and the Crisis of Historicism...*, chs 1-4.

Crucial to the method, therefore, is a complete (as much as can be managed) epistemic typology – a classification of the *types of concept* we are able to have about something – and thus the aim of the method is not to try to identify ‘*what* we don’t know’, but rather ‘*how* we don’t know’ (i.e. what ‘*ways* of knowing’ about something do we not currently possess?). Though Gadamer once disparagingly referred to thinking of this type as ‘the aimless and fruitless attempt to construe... the world as a universal system of conceptual relationships’ for good reason, nonetheless that is what is sought, less the aimless and the fruitless: ‘to grasp the totality of the world in a system of categories’.⁴¹

The typology presented here (*Table 2*) can be considered simply one possible iteration, though I have aimed as much as possible for an exhaustive rational symmetry:

⁴¹ Hans-Georg Gadamer, ‘Hegel and the Dialectic of the Ancient Philosophers’, in Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Hegel's Dialectic: Five Hermeneutical Studies*, trans. by P. Christopher Smith (New Haven, 1976), p. 10.

TABLE 2. EPISTEMIC TYPOLOGY OF FOUR AXES⁴²

	CAUSALS 'Doings' <i>Things which happen</i>	OBJECTS 'Beings' <i>Things that are</i>
UNIVERSAL 'General'	<u>PRAECEPTA</u> 'Rulesets' 'Laws'	<u>CLASSES</u> 'Categories of Things'
PARTICULAR 'Specific'	<u>PROCESSES</u> 'Events' 'Causal Processes'	<u>SPECIFIC OBJECTS</u> 'Things' 'Names'

This typology proceeds from a basically dualist ontological proposition about the knowable substances of reality: that there are things that 'are' – which I call '*Objects*' – and things that 'happen' – which I call '*Causals*'. The dichotomy of '*Objects* and '*Causals*' is synonymous with 'space and time', 'beings and doings', and 'matter and energy', among others. To this 'material' axis is compared an axis of what might be called 'abstraction', contrasting '*Particular*' and '*Universal*' types of concept. Here the dichotomy is most comparable to Wilhelm Windelband's 'idiographic' and 'nomothetic', with the exception that my sense of 'Universal' describes only a type of concept formation and not the sense of 'universally inhering' (e.g. a 'universal causal' – i.e. a scientific law – may only apply *once* in the history of the universe, but the *concept* has still been formed as a Platonic universal).⁴³

⁴² Note that the curved arrow in this diagram illustrates the conceptual hierarchy of this typology; that it seems to be the case that, in order to move from one type of concept to another, this can only be completed in a particular order. It is, for instance, impossible to 'form *classes*' if there are no '*specific objects*' from which to form them; if there are simply no 'data' from which *classes* can be compiled. Similarly, '*praecepta*', or 'causal rulesets', seems to demand the pre-existence of such '*classes*' if they are to be meaningful at all, whereas it is simply impossible to fully explain a causal '*process*' without reference to the 'rulesets' (*praecepta*) which govern and determine its process and outcome. Thus, any 'missing concept' or 'kenosthesis' prevents the creation of the concepts above it in the conceptual hierarchy.

⁴³ In his contemporarily well-known 1894 Rectorial Address at Strasbourg, Wilhelm Windelband coined the terms 'nomothetic' and 'idiographic', referring on one hand to sciences which 'seek the general in the form of the law of nature' (i.e. the natural sciences), and on the other to disciplines which seek 'the particular in the form of the historically defined structure' (i.e. history) respectively: Wilhelm Windelband, 'Rectorial Address, Strasbourg, 1894', *History and Theory*, 19 (Feb., 1980), pp. 169-185.

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The intersections of these two axes produce what is necessarily an exhaustive list of the types of concept that we are able to have about a given *explicandum* (that which is to be explained), and thus it ought then to be a relatively simple process of diagnosing which of these types of concept are missing as *explicantia* (the explanations of that which is to be explained); diagnosing which are the 'kenostheses' in the jargon given here. This procedure represents a formal tool of what we might call *proactive* discourse synthesis: if 'discourse synthesis' as traditionally conceived describes the process by which the knowledge of a scientific discipline is integrated, *reactively*, there must be a comparable process of how disciplines attempt to expand their discourse, *proactively*; how they '*identify* that which is missing' or in common parlance, how they identify research gaps. The 'Kenosthetic Method' presented here is an example of a formal instrument of just such a process, functioning in the role of a 'philosophy of the in-between' or a 'science in-between the sciences' serving to identify '*conceptual* research gaps', complimenting the much more mature means by which the discipline identifies 'empirical research gaps'. In that spirit it must be noted that the principal motivations of this research, and the way it has been constructed methodologically, are grounded in this mode of thinking about the discourse as a whole: about which concepts are satisfactory, about which kinds of concepts we seem to be lacking, and about how the discourse itself integrates them into a coherent unity. For a field which has to contend with large and complex interactions, history generally – and the historiography of the High Middle Ages specifically – *ought* to require such conceptual discourse synthesis, and yet this kind of work is neglected at best, shunned at worst.

In this sense, it must be noted that the *types of concept* now routinely employed by empiricist historians of the period are restricted to 'classes' formed categorically. In the words of William Walsh:

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We may notice first that many professional historians would be inclined to say that there are no circumstances in which any such move [to use interpretive concepts which are intelligible to us, but not contemporaries] could be legitimate. The aim of history being to arrive at truth about the past for its own sake, historians must in their view confine themselves to describing what happened in terms which would have made sense to those alive at the time. Otherwise they fall victim to the vice of anachronism and, like journalists, distort the facts for the sake of producing something interesting. Historians who take this line are inclined to be suspicious of generalization of any kind, even summative generalization, and in consequence prefer to avoid the explicit identification and labelling of trends and movements wherever they can, substituting juxtaposition of facts for the open use of an interpretative concept. On the face of things their history consists in nothing but the recital of fairly low-level facts.⁴⁴

Here Walsh explains how the fetishization of 'low-level facts' by the purely 'empirical' type of historian undermines the apparent reliability of 'higher-level' or (in his terminology) 'colligatory' concepts. To them it appears that *only* those concepts which have the character of the *specific object* (Table 2) can in any way be regarded as 'factual', and thus they prefer to default to this level of understanding when anything more abstract appears to challenge their 'empirical' worldview. Of course, features of this position are easily dismissed as patently absurd, such as the notion that, in Walsh's words, 'historians must in their view confine themselves to describing what happened in terms which would have made sense to those alive at the time', which is like expecting physicists to restrict themselves to using concepts which are intelligible to elementary particles.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, the scholarly caution motivating this kind of 'empiricism' still retains the respectable lustre of professional competence, meaning that even concepts which are significantly colligated, general or abstract risk being deliberately truncated to the level of such 'facts', their explanatory power thus being rendered impotent in the same degree that their theoretical or structural content is stripped away.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 137.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 137.

One example of this process is perhaps Thomas Bisson's concept of 'lordship'.⁴⁶ At once the child of hyperspecialisation, the discrediting of Historical Materialism with the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the abandonment of structural theories of society in the 'narrativist' paradigm of philosophy of history, Bissonian 'lordship' is feudalism recast at a lower conceptual level, having been stripped away of much of its causal-structural content by the timid hand of empiricism.⁴⁷

His analysis of power in the eleventh and twelfth centuries revealed the growing predominance of behaviours he referred to collectively under the label of 'lordship', adducing an image of the period marked by arbitrary rule, violence, and the semi-chaos of a situation wherein power was 'effluent in expression, affective in impact'; that is, *personal* and ultimately *emotional*.⁴⁸

While Bisson should certainly not be regarded as an unsophisticated writer, it is the case that most of his concepts rest in the epistemological ground comfortable to purely empirical historians: they are, almost without exception, *classes* formed *categorically* by classifying real particular objects by their common properties, thus seeming to be more firmly grounded in the real data of our discourse; principally, the charters. This categorical tendency is apparent when he writes:

The reality was not simply that power, stress, and violence were *experienced* personally, palpably, physically. They were *thought* likewise in the doing of things. Power meant lordship and nobility, the precedence of one or (very exceptionally) a few, in the twelfth century. It was realized in submission,

⁴⁶ Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton, 2009).

⁴⁷ Dominique Barthélemy complained of the reign of a generation of cartulary-obsessed 'hyperspecialists': Dominique Barthélemy, *The Serf, the Knight, & the Historian*, trans. by Graham Robert Edwards (New York, 2009), p. 8.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

alliance, paternity, friendship, and ceremony; in petition, oath, or witness; in one's lord's presence, in his castles, his districts (our very word evokes the *distringere* of seigneurial constraint). It was felt mysteriously in the priested rituals of promise, bonding, festivity, consecration, ordeal and rejection. It was felt as violence: seizure, rape, intimidation, extortion, arson, murder; felt painfully, that is, in the prevailing weakness of protection and justice. Power was *not* felt, nor was it habitually imagined, as government.⁴⁹

The construction of a Bissonian concept like 'affective lordship', therefore, consists in the aggregation of lower-level behaviours, categorised and rendered as 'trends' on the broader scale. Indeed, this seems to be why one aspect of his definition of 'lordship' – arbitrary violence – was challenged on *empirical* and hermeneutical grounds in the famous debate held in the pages of *Past & Present* between 1994 and 1997. Here the argument degenerated into a dispute over terms like *violentia* and if the sources actually reflected the violent reality they purported to – if not, then this would mean that his concept of 'lordship' – being a *category* subsuming such behaviours – was a phantom class.⁵⁰

Again, this is not to suggest that Bisson's work is without value; in fact, his theses are convincing and his categories very likely to be more appropriate and accurate than those used by an earlier generation of medievalists. Rather, a problem lies where this 'categorical' mode of concept-formation is imagined to substitute for truly 'causal' concepts, representing a kind of empirical fetishism of aggregate *trends* (and we must note that a 'trend' is simply a class or category with causal properties imputed to it without basis; an ersatz causal concept encoding no explanatory power whatsoever). Bisson's almost total capture of the discourse has resulted in this

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

⁵⁰ Dominique Barthélemy and Stephen D. White, 'Debate: The "Feudal Revolution"', *Past and Present*, 152 (1996), pp. 196-223; Timothy Reuter and Chris Wickham, 'Debate: The "Feudal Revolution"', *Past & Present*, 155 (1997), pp. 177-208.

regression to an empirical baseline, thus decapitating the conceptual power of older modes of concept-formation by withdrawing it from its more advanced dimensions.⁵¹

Wherever now we see macroscopic concepts in the discourse, they all seem to tend towards this character: a fetishism and confidence in the reliability of the categorical over the causal-structural mode of concept-formation. For instance, another prominent explanatory concept in the discourse – R.I. Moore’s ‘persecuting society’ – has exactly this character.⁵² Instances of ‘persecution’ are ‘counted-up’ and aggregated on a larger scale of analysis before being pronounced as a general ‘trend’.⁵³ Despite being theoretically sensitive at least in appearance, its aims were ‘to qualify, not to supersede... characterisations of the period as a whole’, despite seeming to make big claims about the *causal determination* of medieval society at the broadest scales of analysis.⁵⁴

Even Haskins’ famous ‘renaissance of the twelfth century’ was subjected to this process of conceptual castration, being reduced to nothing more than a series of vignettes by the time it arrived in the custodianship of Christopher Brooke and his

⁵¹ My reference to ‘Bisson’s almost total capture of the discourse’ is revealed in, for instance, an exhaustive review of the publication of articles in the medieval history journal *Speculum* (up to 2019), though of course this is largely determined by their editorial policies. In *Speculum*, Bisson is the only author to directly address ‘feudalism’ in the direct macroscopic sense, since the 1970s, in both his 1978 and 1995 articles. Both Steven Vanderputten’s 2009 article and Charles West’s from 2017 are written *within* this ‘Bissonian paradigm’. Thomas N. Bisson, ‘The Problem of Feudal Monarchy: Aragon, Catalonia, and France’, *Speculum*, 53 (1978), pp. 460-78; Thomas N. Bisson, ‘Medieval Lordship’, *Speculum*, 70 (1995), pp. 743-59; Steven Vanderputten, ‘Monks, Knights, and the Enactment of Competing Social Realities in Eleventh and Twelfth-Century Flanders’, *Speculum*, 84 (2009), pp. 582-612; Charles West, ‘Monks, Aristocrats, and Justice: Twelfth-Century Monastic Advocacy in a European Perspective’, *Speculum*, 92 (2017), pp. 374-404.

⁵² R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250* (Oxford, 1987).

⁵³ For a summary of Moore’s thesis, see *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5, 153. For a discussion of the impact of ‘the persecuting society’ on the discourse, see John H. Arnold, ‘Persecution and Power in Medieval Europe’, *The American Historical Review*, 123 (2018), pp. 165-74.

⁵⁴ Moore, *...Persecuting Society...*, pp. vii-viii.

The Twelfth Century Renaissance.⁵⁵ In it he instructs us that 'it is vain to search for a definition' while warning against the risks of '*Geistesgeschichte*, a form of study to which has the tendency to urge us to believe that the outlook of our forefathers was far more uniform and monolithic than the evidence suggests'.⁵⁶ 'Renaissance' was thus too dragged into the constraints of categorical concept-formation, from which it has subsequently failed to escape, now standing merely to colligate examples of certain arbitrary 'progressive' behaviours, indicating practically nothing about how it as a process could have causally structured society.

While most of these authors are sophisticated historians who do not shy away from presenting causal narratives, they fall short of constructing *explicitly causal concepts* or making equally explicit claims about *how* this or that came to be. They instead present such speculations only tentatively, functioning in a mode described well by William Walsh:

Admittedly they can, if sufficiently gifted, avoid using labels in this connection: by skilful selection and juxtaposition they can show the form of the facts without explicitly naming it. But though this protects them from a number of mistaken inferences, it seems to me that they deceive themselves if they think that, in following this procedure, they are keeping closer to reality than their bolder colleagues who are not afraid to generalize, for their procedure amounts to offering an interpretation even if it does not make the organizing concept explicit.⁵⁷

Ironically, however, this avoidance of causal concept-formation risks the very inference errors that a reliance on the seemingly safer categorical mode attempts to

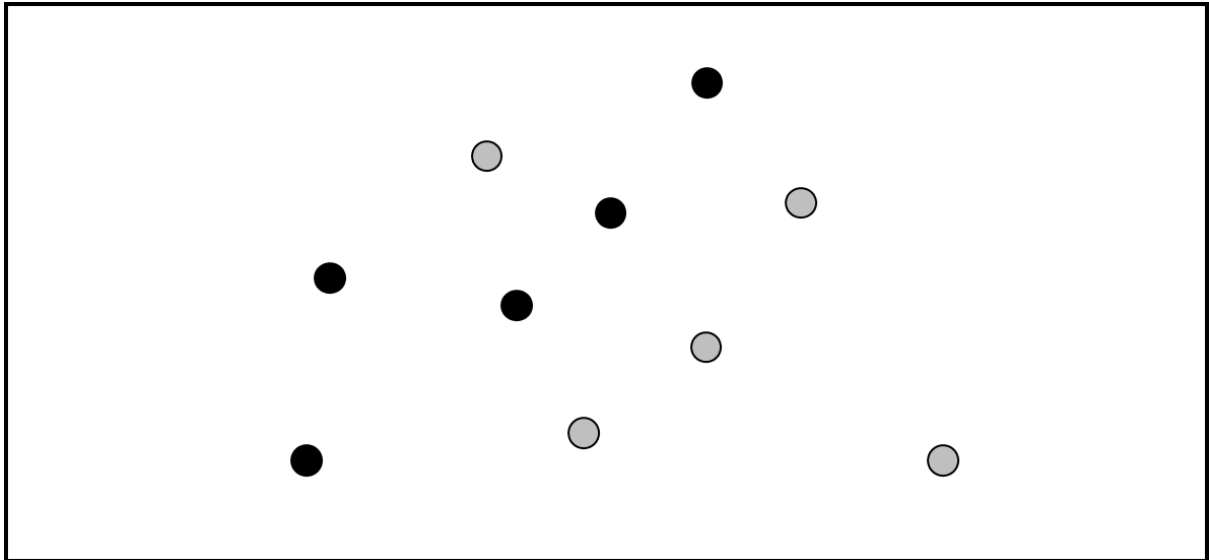
⁵⁵ Haskins, *...Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*; Christopher Brooke, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance* (London, 1969). One must be careful about imagining Haskins' concept of 'renaissance' in the twelfth century to be a serious one, however, so tied up it is with his rhetorical objective of disputing the exceptionalism of Burckhardt's fifteenth century 'Renaissance' as part of the 'revolt of the medievalists'.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 175.

⁵⁷ Walsh, 'Colligatory Concepts...', p. 138.

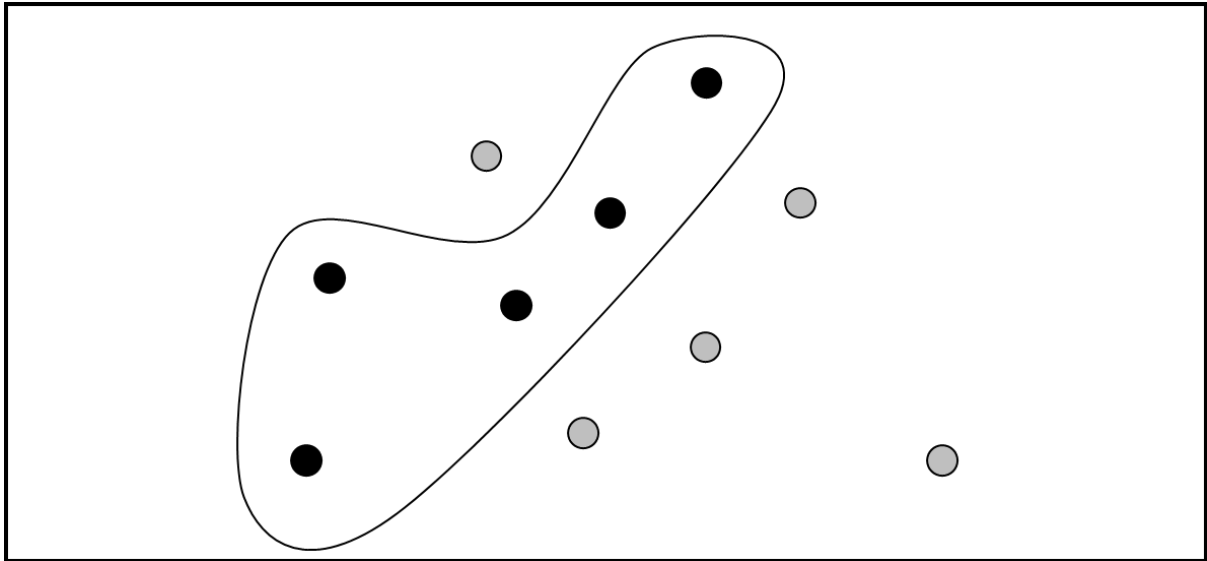
avoid. To see how this is sometimes the case, let us take an abstract example: suppose that a historian is confronted with the raw data below (*Figure 4*); a mass of *specific objects* of which they have to make sense:

FIGURE 4. CONCEPT-FORMATION EXAMPLE ONE



Here it seems that there are two *classes* of object, based upon an analysis of their common characteristics: black circles, and grey circles. Therefore, the historian might choose to form a categorical concept by grouping similar *specific objects* by their shared characteristics under a single label, like this (*Figure 5*):

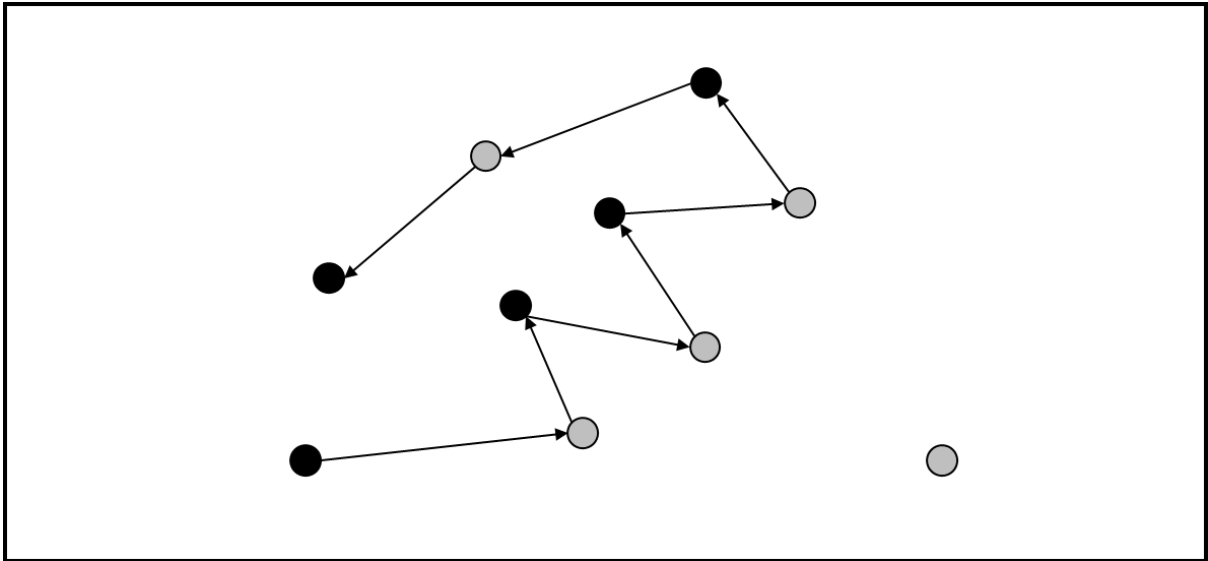
FIGURE 5. CONCEPT-FORMATION EXAMPLE TWO



In the state of the discourse as it stands, this is where the *explicit* concept-formation would end. We might imagine that the *class* of black circles here could represent ‘examples of lordship’, ‘instances of persecution’ or even ‘evidence of Renaissance’. Problematically, it is from this position that causal relationships are then *inferred* or ‘assumed’, leading to circumstances in which we are left to guess at what monumental process could possibly have led to the rise of such a class. Perhaps the ‘grey circles’ are too thought to constitute a separate ‘class’ understood by a second procedure of ‘categorical concept formation’.

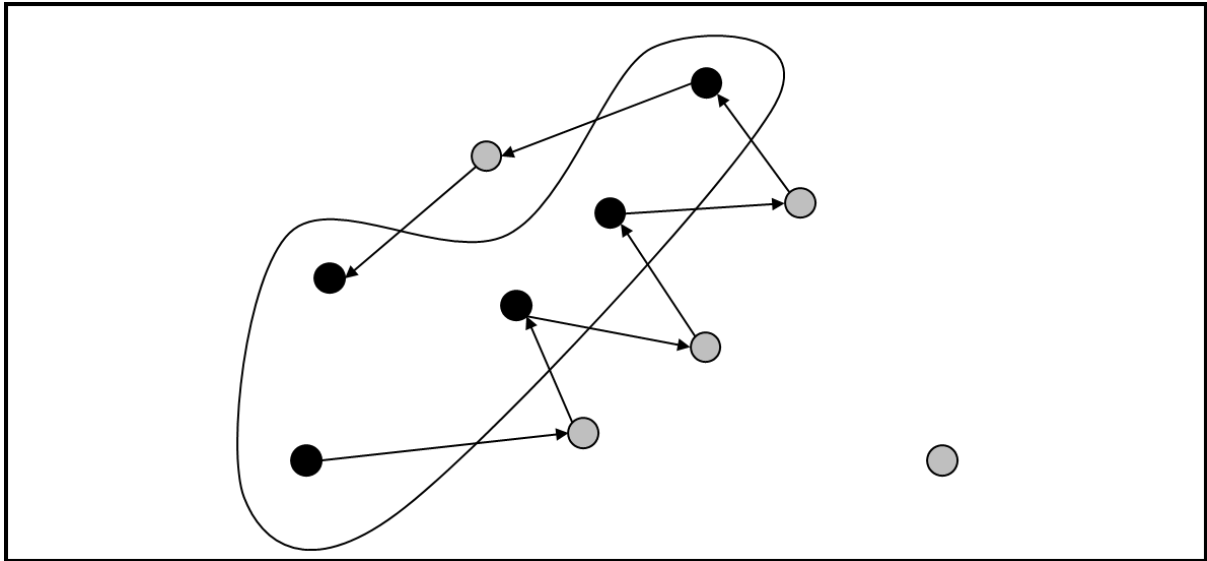
However, suppose now that the historian conducts an explicit causal analysis of their data, and reveals relationships which look like this (*Figure 6*):

FIGURE 6. CONCEPT-FORMATION EXAMPLE THREE



Here we are able to perceive a single *causal process* which seems to disagree with the categorical *class* of 'black circles' in *Figure 5*. What's more, we might also be able to perceive the 'rules' (*praecepta*) which govern such a process: a black circle produces a grey circle, and a grey circle produces a black circle, thus alternating colours at each step in the causal chain. Clearly, there is some disagreement between the two types of concept-formation applied to these data, visualised here (*Figure 7*):

FIGURE 7. CONCEPT-FORMATION EXAMPLE FOUR



If the categorical concept is privileged in this case, and the causal origins of 'black circles' only inferred, we would have missed something fundamental about the process which gave rise to both colours of circle. This would constitute what the philosopher Gilbert Ryle called a 'category-mistake': 'the presentation of facts belonging to one category in the idioms appropriate to another'.⁵⁸

Ironically, then, the very caution by which the empiricist paradigm has privileged the categorical mode of concept-formation in our discourse risks committing the same inference errors which it hopes to avoid, precisely *because* of the deliberate neglect of causal modes of concept-formation.

In all three of the prominent explanatory concepts in our discourse presented here – Bissonian lordship, the persecuting society, and renaissance – we are only left to wonder at what monumental 'causes' could have brought them about, since their

⁵⁸ Gilbert Ryle, *The Concept of Mind* (Middlesex, 1949), p. 10.
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authors refuse to address the problem directly, or only obliquely in the form of narrative.

While this does not mean that categorical concept-formation is itself illegitimate – indeed it is absolutely indispensable for any kind of understanding of anything whatever – it is to point out that the habit of substituting the categorical *for* the causal is an error which ought to be excised. The sharing of common properties between phenomena as imagined by the historian does not necessitate a shared or similar causal history, and yet this is repeatedly the position adopted by the discipline; an informal logical fallacy we might call *'assimilatur huic, ergo ab eadem causa quam hoc'* ('likened to this, therefore from the same cause as this'), by way of analogy with the other *'propter hoc'* fallacies. For example, while it is of course acceptable to refer to both the United Kingdom and South Korea as 'industrial economies', it would be erroneous to infer from this shared property that they industrialised for the same reasons; that their causal history of becoming industrialised is comparable. Rather, in reality we understand in this case that the same outcomes can be produced by either a broadly 'organic path' of development from a pre-industrial economy in a world where 'industrialisation' is unknown to it (in the case of the United Kingdom's 'industrial revolution' of the eighteenth century) or by a broadly 'imitative path' (in the case of South Korea) towards industrialisation; their common properties, that is, do not necessitate common causes. In other words, the error is therefore in believing that the process of causality in these objects is a nomological property of the objects themselves, rather than the historical instance to which they belong; an inappropriate 'reification' of such objects leading to the implicit invocation of certain imagined causal properties.

In the historiographies of the 'new monastic orders' and the broadly defined 'new ideology' of the 'religious movement of the Middle Ages', this error has been repeated time and again; common properties or appearances are assumed to entail common causes, resulting in a muddled understanding of the orders' or ideas' causal origins, riddled with fallacy, and confounded in modern times by what appears to be a blanket refusal to treat the subject explicitly. If the causal processes which brought about the new orders and their ideas really are as universal as the new orders themselves – if they operate at the same civilisational scale as 'lordship', 'persecution' and 'renaissance' and deserve to be considered a foundational 'revolution in worldview' as Norman Cantor claimed, then parsing the fallacies from the truth here is of critical importance to the discourse as a whole.⁵⁹

Herbert Grundmann and the 'Assimilatur Huic' Fallacy

As one of the few efforts to make an explicitly causal case for why the new monastic orders came to be, Herbert Grundmann's *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages* deserves a special attention.⁶⁰ Despite its originality and influence, however, it represents perhaps the most pervasive example of the inference of causal origins from a categorical concept in the discourse.

In attempting to explain *why* the new religious orders and heretical sects of the twelfth century came to be, Grundmann took as his starting point a categorisation of what appeared to him to be their common properties. Under his schema, 'twelfth century heretical movements burgeoned and were formed chiefly by the idea of evangelical poverty and apostolic preaching', apparently uniting them with the same ideological currents which brought about the new monastic orders.⁶¹ '[T]wo concepts,

⁵⁹ Cantor, 'The Crisis of Western Monasticism...', p. 55.

⁶⁰ Grundmann, *Religious Movements...*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

the demand for Christian, evangelical poverty, as well as for apostolic life and work,' Grundmann argues, 'became the foci of a new conception of the essence of Christianity, criticizing the Church order and doctrine which had obtained up to that time, supplying a new standard for evaluating the truly Christian life'.⁶²

This Grundmann called the 'single-' or 'general religious movement', taking it as the task of historians to 'show this common heritage, this emergence from a single religious movement in which religious forces and ideas originally operated in a similar manner, before forming into various orders and sects'.⁶³ That is, Grundmann's categorical concept of the 'general religious movement' – a class formed by the colligation of similar properties among the 'orders and sects' – is then turned backwards into the past to illuminate what is therefore presumed to be a similarly shared causal origin; in other words, the categorical concept substitutes for a causal concept in a broadly teleological process of inductive inference. So sure is he of this causal origin, in fact, that he claims 'there was *obviously* [my emphasis] a common motivation behind these contemporary episodes: the model of the apostles had become an ideal, expressing itself in a demand for evangelical itinerant preaching and voluntary Christian poverty', something which, 'with the turn of the eleventh to the twelfth century', had 'emerged simultaneously in widely separated places,' and proceeded to 'determine the course of the religious movement'.⁶⁴

Of course, as a starting point for research, it is acceptable to 'start in the middle' in this way; to follow what Georg Anton Friedrich Ast called the 'hunch' (*Ahndung*) as the impetus for uncovering the causes of historical features. Historians are well within their rights to notice similarities between historical phenomena, group them

⁶² Ibid., p. 8.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 3.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 9, 8.

accordingly, and pursue their origins. What Grundmann does, however, is submit so much confidence in his categorical concept of the 'general religious movement' that he can see no possible alternative than the causal origin he has extrapolated from it, claiming:

The rise of these new orders and sects cannot be adequately explained in terms of the personal initiative and intent of their individual "founders" alone, as extraordinary and effective as they might be. Despite all differences, their themes, ideas, and efforts were unmistakably interrelated in so many ways that they *cannot* [my emphasis] have emerged entirely independently of one another, only happening to appear at the same time. Both the new orders recognized by the Church and the condemned and persecuted sects had elements in common and have some common ties. As different as their paths were, their origins and destinies are still part of the self-contradictory image of the single religious movement which stimulated all of them.⁶⁵

Here we see Grundmann committing the '*assimilatur huic*' fallacy outlined above: the assumption that a common outcome necessitates common origins, which is not the case. Entirely separate causal processes are well-capable of leading to convergent outcomes in form and appearance. For instance, of critical importance to this study is the practical and ideological alignment to the wilderness exhibited by many of the 'new orders', and the curious fact that this solves two *entirely separate* problems (and indeed perhaps many more): in religious terms, satisfying anchoritic impulses present in the Christian tradition for centuries before the eleventh, and in practical terms in ensuring that the foundational houses of the 'new orders' would be sited away from the interests and litigation of traditional Benedictine establishments like those of Cluny. That is, it is easily plausible that separate causal processes may lead to similar or the same outcomes; that the form of historical phenomena not only diverges from single origins, but also converges from separate ones.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 209.

Henrietta Leyser, in another of the remarkably rare attempts at addressing the ‘new orders’ at the broadest scales – her monograph *Hermits and the New Monasticism* – commits herself to the same conceptual leap.⁶⁶ In establishing a categorical concept of what she calls ‘hermits’, characterised by the broad properties of being ‘militant and aggressive’ and ‘concerned primarily with asceticism and austerity’, Leyser first groups together an eclectic mix of ‘new orders’ under these criteria – including not only the ‘new orders’ mentioned in this thesis, but also otherwise unrelated establishments like Bec – and then presumes a shared causal origin for all of them.⁶⁷

Predictably, this categorical teleology forces her to entertain only a causal history which is able to conform to it, leading her down the path of arguing that the ‘new orders’ owe their existence principally to a *new idea*, which she traces to its apparent antecedents in the eremitic orders of Italy, and before that to ‘Greek monasticism’.⁶⁸ ‘The new hermit movement began in Italy in the late tenth century’, she declares, despite going on to admit that ‘known connections between Italian and French hermits are rare’.⁶⁹

Just as Grundmann focused on only two ultimate causal origins for his ‘single religious movement’ – what we might call the ‘epistemically generative’ mechanism of it having ‘grow[n] from the soil of Western Christendom on its own’, or the ‘epistemically transmissive’ mechanism of an ‘alien body invading from outside’ – so Leyser emphasises only the transmissive cause, invoking a chain of epistemic transmission from Greece to Italy and on to France.⁷⁰ It is an explanation common amongst the field, shared by such luminaries as David Knowles and John Compton

⁶⁶ Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism*....

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 21, 15, ix.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 29, 24.

⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 29, 33.

⁷⁰ Grundmann, *Religious Movements*..., p. 210; Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism*..., pp. 29-34.

Dickinson, with the former relating his opinion with about as much certainty as would Leyser, stating simply '[t]he new monastic movement, considered as a historical phenomenon, had its origins in Italy a little before the year 1000'.⁷¹

Of course, it is apt to point out that the earliest instances of named phenomena are not the same as the *origins* proper of phenomena, and therefore that we should consider such 'antecedents' as bearing the same relation as that between Chinese woodblock printing and Gutenberg's movable type, or between Roman steam-powered toys and eighteenth-century steam engines. Chronology may suggest plausible causal connections between *invented categorical concepts*, but it does not necessitate them, and yet historians like Henrietta Leyser and David Knowles have no qualms in writing of 'origins' and 'beginnings' when tracing the earliest instances of what they imagine to be similar phenomena.

As such, this particular symptom of categorical-concept teleology (and if in error, the '*assimilatur huic*' fallacy) informs how the causal narrative of this thesis is to be constructed. If it should be the case that the various 'new orders' arose from qualitatively very different causal circumstances, then these should be 'discolligated' or 'untied' from the more general concepts of the 'single religious movement' or 'New Monasticism'. That is, causal modes of concept-formation are to be privileged rather than merely inferred from final outcomes or shared appearances. Indeed, we should be convinced of the notion that 'causal concepts' are inherently more suitable for historical study than the simply 'categorical' since they encode the very *history* of the signified by their nature. In substantive terms, this might mean that, for instance, the new orders of north-west France (the 'Strong Square' of Fontevraud, Tiron,

⁷¹ 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* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 192; see also Knowles, 'Cistercians and Cluniacs...', p. 39. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons...*, p. 38.

Savigny, Saint-Sulpice, and others) would be considered a *qualitatively different* movement from that of Grandmont; one arising from a resistance to Cluniac norms, the other from the direct inspiration of Italian hermits. On the other hand, if it should be the case that certain of the new orders *share* causal histories, then the higher-level concepts invented to refer to them ought to encode this same causality, as in formulations like 'the Counter-Cluniac Movement' (a causal concept which, at a glance, explains the causal origins of said movement, as an oppositional response to 'Cluny' as an institution) or 'the Counter-Cluniacism Movement' (a similar causal concept, though this time emphasising a response to the ideology and norms of 'Cluny'). While these would be in preference to *causally misleading* concepts like 'the New Hermit Movement' (a *categorical* concept formed by categorisation by common properties – in this case, 'eremitic behaviours' – thus *implying*, incorrectly, a shared causal history determined by 'eremitism' in the use of the term 'movement'), the more general objective is to wield our higher-level concepts with a little more precision and discursive *intent* than is usually the case; that is, to think explicitly about how they 'fit' within the discourse as a whole and which 'conceptual research gaps' or kenostheses they are intended to fulfil.

Categorical-concept teleology, however, expresses a much more far-reaching symptom, in that the conceptual scale at which it operates forces only the consideration of causes which are sustainable on this same scale. In this case, since the 'categorical concept' of the 'new ideology' of the 'religious movement of the Middle Ages' finds only 'ideas' as properties held in common at the point of concept-formation, it is then presumed that 'ideas' *are* its principal causal determinants. The phenomenon is thus considered to be purely 'epistemic' in its causal origins, and

therefore that only the development of some kind of civilisation-wide 'ideology' is able to account for it. This, combined with deeply-entrenched axioms in intellectual history and social epistemology more generally, has resulted in the dominance of an explanatory paradigm which can only conceive of 'ideas' as being the product of 'minds', and therefore that the causal origins of ideas are to be found in the transmission and modification of 'thought' between individual minds. This paradigm I refer to as 'phrenocentric', or 'mind-centred', and its remedy forms the basis of the causal model applied in this thesis.⁷²

Ideas as Patterns

The central methodological claim of this thesis is that if the historian wishes to investigate the causal origins of an idea – or indeed, the complex of ideas called an 'ideology' – then they must first divest themselves of the axiom that 'ideas' are necessarily exclusive and native to human minds. Instead, they must adopt the view that an 'idea' is simply a kind of 'pattern', the form of which can be sought in media as diverse from a mind as can be imagined. Furthermore, that such 'patterns' do not need to be assembled within human minds, and that, therefore, the precursor patterns of ideas proper can be found fully or partially formed outside of minds.

This methodology represents a fundamental extension of the way in which the 'causal origins of ideas' have traditionally been sought ('phrenocentrically') in intellectual history: by tracing similar antecedent ideas through the representations of human minds; in written works, oral tradition, conversations, letters, and so on. Instead, it

⁷² The 'phrenocentric paradigm' is discussed in detail in *Appendix 1: Heinrich Rickert and the 'Phrenocentric Paradigm'*, consisting of a philosophical excursus on the work of Heinrich Rickert and how 'phrenocentrism' became axiomatic.

'broadens the search' to include patterns of life, the form of geography and nature, and other non-mental ways in which such 'patterns' can be represented.

Indeed, it is apt to point out that our medieval forebears themselves were perhaps ahead of us in this understanding. To them, Providence itself could teach – knowledge and understanding could be imparted by the way in which God arranged the courses of human lives. As Duncan Robertson has described of Cassian:

Cassian's vocabulary must be interpreted with care and in context. He develops terms for subjectivity: *experientia*, "experience, lived understanding," and – especially difficult for the translator – *affectus*, "disposition, feeling." An *affectus* is "received" by the heart; it is the way we are psychologically "affected" or "moved" by something, positively or negatively. *Affectus* leads the will to act. Knowledge (*notio*, *notitia*) and understanding (*intellectus*) are conceived in the mind, but what we "take in" from experience is something deeper: it is the power (*virtus*) of that knowledge, felt even before we receive it intellectually (Conf 10.11.5: *prius dictorum virtutem quam notitiam colligentes*).⁷³

And of Saint Augustine:

Unless the thing is known beforehand, the word that refers to it can have no meaning. "We learn the meaning of the word, that is, the signification which is hidden in the sound, when the thing itself which it signifies has been cognized; [we do not] perceive the thing through such signification."⁷⁴

In seeking the causal origins of the 'new ideology' of the 'religious movement', therefore, 'social praxis' or 'patterns of life' are proposed here as one such 'non-mental' storage medium of a 'pattern' that became an ideology. That, without anyone having conceived of it, a religious community can be induced by forces beyond its control to adopt a lifestyle that would later migrate into the comprehension of minds as an ideology; as an ideal of living. That too, perhaps, we

⁷³ Duncan Robertson, *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading* (Trappist, Ky., 2011), pp. 86-7.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

need not seek the ‘transmission’ of ideas in written works if, in actuality, we can discern them as having grown ‘from the soil’ in such ways.

While this means that a very particular causal mechanism is investigated in this thesis, and a case made for its influence, this must not create the impression that it is the only or dominant one. Rather, it must be asserted that, in reality, it would operate alongside other causal mechanisms in a dynamic interaction, including traditional transmissive models of the spread of ideas. In other words, what is being attempted is the exclusive description of a heretofore unknown causal origin of the ‘new ideology’ of the ‘religious movement’, rather than a general investigation of its origins as such. Its major questions are, therefore, ‘does this causal mechanism exist and what is the evidence for it?’, ‘how does this causal mechanism work?’, and finally, in the synthesis of the *CONCLUSION*, ‘how much weight should we give this causal mechanism in a general description of the new ideology’s causal origins?’.

What we might call the ‘conceptual methodology’ of this thesis, then, has been constructed with several explicit aims in mind. First, to arrive at a *causal concept* of the new ideology of the religious movement’s origins which describes its causal history without reproducing the causal inference errors described here under the labels of the ‘*assimilatur huic*’ fallacy and others, while at the same time producing a contribution to the discourse which satisfies what has been diagnosed as its ‘conceptual research gaps’ or ‘kenostheses’ – causal concepts of ‘mechanism’ and ‘process’ (or ‘*praecepta*’ and ‘*process*’ in the jargon above). That is, there is an explicit focus on the causal *mechanisms* of *how* certain conditions produced the outcome of the ‘new ideology’ held by the new monastic orders. And here, the presumption that

their 'ideas' must necessarily originate in theirs or in others 'minds' has been removed in favour of pursuing the much more interesting possibility that their first cause is not epistemic at all, but rather something else; something assembled from unconscious reactions to real ground conditions and manifested as *social praxis*.

As our attention turns in *Chapter 1* to an analysis of Cluny's impact on the structure of the monastic Church, this approach ought to be held firmly in mind, and in particular in the form of a single question: did the new orders adopt their 'form' and their 'ideology' from sincere religious motivations or any other purely 'epistemic' source, or did they arise more from their only possible means of existing and surviving within a pragmatic structure imposed by the transformation of the Benedictine order into something much more aggressive and expansionary? In other words, was the 'new ideology of the religious movement of the Middle Ages' in fact derived from a *social praxis* determined by immediate practical conditions irrelevant to their human 'thought', 'intent', or, indeed, imagined 'religious needs'?

PART ONE: THE OLD ORDER

Chapter 1: Cluny

Introduction

While the importance of Cluny to the history of eleventh-century Europe has long been acknowledged, its own causal influence on the development of the new monastic orders has been overlooked to the point of neglect. Indeed, as Giles Constable reminded us, 'Cluniac' was practically synonymous with 'Benedictine' in the eleventh century, and yet for all its obvious power the great monastery and its network of dependents have faced the peculiar indignity of being treated by historians almost exclusively as symptoms or products of contemporary causal forces rather than as engines of these forces in their own right.⁷⁵ What *PART ONE: THE OLD ORDER* aims to accomplish, therefore, is a reversal of this state of affairs by investigating how Cluny and its customary modes of operation may have created or contributed to the *necessary* conditions which brought about the rise of the new monastic orders and gave force, foil and impetus to the 'religious movement' more generally. That is, it will be argued how the existence of Cluny might have been a necessary precondition to the emergence of the new orders and their ideological makeup, and perhaps that without it, no comparable 'religious movement' would have developed in Western Europe at all.

In contradistinction to this view, the customary approach of monastic historians has been to regard both Cluniac monasticism and the new orders as symptoms of independent causes, in particular following the formula that any form of monastic living was an experimental solution to the 'religious needs' of the age, each

⁷⁵ Giles Constable, 'From Cluny to Cîteaux', *Georges Duby. L'écriture de l'Histoire*, ed. by Claudie Duhamel-Amado and Guy Lobrichon (Brussels, 1996), p. 317; Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 13.

experiencing greater or lesser success in satisfying these needs. As is often the case, Dom David Knowles provides the most readable example of the position:

It is characteristic of such times of religious ferment – the sixteenth century affords a remarkable parallel – that the new life of the spirit breaks out in every direction at once, like a new and abounding and irresistible source of water, and no observer can predict which of the channels will be the stream-bed in a future age. As we watch the rise of saints and orders between 1040 and 1140 – Vallombrosa, Camaldoli, the Chartreuse, Bec, Tiron, Savigny, Cîteaux, Prémontré, and the rest – we cannot help feeling that as with a vine the very fecundity of the new shoots may be a source of weakness, that many a monastery was starved by extrinsic, not intrinsic causes, and that many of the new ventures failed to survive, not because they did not satisfy the essential demands of religion, but because they failed to satisfy as completely as did some other house which came into being a decade later. In any case, whatever the fate of new plants, at such a time the old establishments suffer, justly or unjustly. The Cistercians and their cousins outbid the black monks, just as a century later monks both black and white were outbidden by the friars, and as in the sixteenth century both friars and monks failed to satisfy their age as completely as the Jesuits.⁷⁶

Despite the tendency to merely imply his theoretical apparatus, here Knowles adopts a familiar causal model: what can be characterised as a Darwinian selective process, where, by analogy with evolution by natural selection, ‘organisms’ (‘black monks’, ‘white monks’, ‘friars’, ‘Jesuits’) compete for the best fit to their contemporary ‘environments’ (‘essential demands of religion’; ‘their age’). To Knowles, particular forms of religious expression are simply better suited to the needs of their age, and thus go on to outcompete older or otherwise less suitable forms.

In adopting this model Knowles is certainly not alone, however, with most historians of the phenomenon of the broadly defined ‘religious movement’ labouring under its strictures. In Jean Leclercq’s foundational essay ‘La crise du monachisme aux XIe et XIIe siècles’, the position is evident: ‘But taking into account all that is revealed by

⁷⁶ David Knowles, ‘Cistercians and Cluniacs: The Controversy Between St Bernard and Peter the Venerable’, *The Historian and Character, and Other Essays* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 55–6.

monastic history of the eleventh century, one cannot help seeing that monasticism in traditional Benedictine form, however thriving, austere and beneficent it may have been, no longer satisfied the ascetic aspirations of countless generous souls'.⁷⁷

Cowdrey is even clearer when he writes '[w]hat the religion of the Cistercians was to the twelfth century and that of the Mendicants was to the thirteenth, that of the Cluniacs was to the eleventh', while both Norman Cantor and John Van Engen, among others, presented similar views in their contributions to the debate on the 'crisis of cenobitism'.⁷⁸

Of course, there is nothing inherently wrong with adopting a selective or evolutionary model to explain the rise and fall of religious institutions in the Middle Ages, and indeed there is a strong case to be made for such a model to provide a synthetic theoretical framework across the entirety of the social sciences and humanities, for which Alex Mesoudi has made it his life's work to argue under the label of 'cultural evolution'.⁷⁹ However, what is perhaps mistaken in the execution of Knowles *et al* is an inappropriately static conception of the environment upon which the religious institutions compete – or rather, *for* – effected by the invocation of an extraordinarily powerful concept referred to variously as 'the essential demands of religion', 'the ascetic aspirations of countless generous souls', or, more often, 'religious needs'.

⁷⁷ Jean Leclercq, 'The Monastic Crisis of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', Noreen Hunt, ed., *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages* (London, 1971), p. 219. This version of Leclercq's article is an English translation of the original: Jean Leclercq, 'La crise du monachisme aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il medio evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 70 (Rome, 1958).

⁷⁸ H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970), p. 127; John Van Engen, 'The "Crisis of Cenobitism" Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050-1150', *Speculum*, 61 (1986), p. 274: 'Thus Cluny may appear at the end of one chapter in the vanguard of reform overcoming Carolingian decadence, only to be dismissed at the opening of the next, on the Cistercians, as quite moribund.'; Norman F. Cantor, 'The Crisis of Western Monasticism, 1050-1130', *The American Historical Review*, 66 (1960), p. 51: 'In the mid-eleventh century they produced the feeling, among the zealous Italian monks, that the prevailing Benedictine life, now inspired and typified by Cluny and her satellites and allies, fell short of the monastic idea'.

⁷⁹ For a short introduction, see especially Alex Mesoudi, 'Evolutionary Synthesis in the Social Sciences and Humanities', *Journal of Cultural Science*, 3 (2010), pp. 1-13.

What the concept of 'religious needs' represents is the thing for which contemporary religious institutions are thought to compete; analogous to economic markets over which products compete, or food for which organisms compete in other examples of the selective model in action. Once these categories are adopted, however, the mechanics of how they interact become restricted by the inherent logic of the model. In this case, the dynamism is restricted to an interplay between religious institutions, while 'religious needs' are regarded as a somewhat static canvas; there is nowhere the sense that the institutions are having much of an impact upon the 'religious needs' themselves, and in fact any change to them is typically attributed to external, macroscopic factors. In the twelfth-century context of 'renaissance', for instance, historians are able to point to a variety of large-scale changes affecting broader society in order to account for whatever transformation in 'religious needs' they discern. Marcus Bull provides an example of this when he writes:

The reasons for this remarkable expansion of religious life are many and complex. On one level it was the result of economic growth that created greater amounts of surplus to provide for more professed religious. In part, too, the proliferation of new orders was a consequence of a heightened historical consciousness that found expression in appeals to the original way of life that was supposed to have been followed by the early Church, the *vita apostolica*.⁸⁰

The most influential example of this causal model in action, however, comes from Herbert Grundmann himself.⁸¹ In his famous invocation to 'take religion seriously',

⁸⁰ Marcus Bull, 'The Church', Marcus Bull, ed., *France in the Central Middle Ages 900-1200* (Oxford, 2002), p. 152.

⁸¹ Note that some historiographical positions have been established by the analysis of older scholarship. Much like the general approach of the thesis, this has been done with an express concern with origins. By focussing on the origins of seminal positions, it is possible to provide a fuller and clearer account of ideas which often later dissolve into consensus or merely the periphery of work with other foci. Much as historians prefer to rely on the primary sources, the same principles apply when attempting to treat with historiography. In the specific case of the 'religious movement of the middle ages', there seems to be a genuine lacuna in modern scholarship in addressing the problem at the CAUSAL ORIGINS OF THE 'RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES': CLUNY, TIRON, AND THE NEW ORDERS, 910-1156

Grundmann conceived of a 'single religious movement' with common motivations: 'the model of the apostle had become an ideal, expressing itself in a demand for evangelical itinerant preaching and voluntary Christian poverty'.⁸² To him, these motivations both pre-existed and stimulated the religious orders and heresies by which they found expression, and there is nowhere the sense in *Religious Movements of the Middle Ages* that the orders, heresies or other religious institutions had any causal influence in generating or modifying these 'motivations' themselves.⁸³ Indeed, Grundmann only considered the origins of these motivations in later editions of *Religious Movements* in the form of questions intended to stimulate further research; in particular:

1. What conditions and changes, motives and tendencies brought forth the religious movement of the twelfth century, a movement which led to a variety of new religious communities both inside and outside the Church which was disquieting and confusing even to contemporaries?...
3. To what extent are alien influences from outside the West at work, perhaps from the Orient? Is heresy in particular only to be explained in terms of an alien body invading from the outside, or did it grow from the soil of Western Christendom on its own?⁸⁴

To Grundmann, there was something deep and sincere about the motivations that generated his religious movement, and if they ultimately came 'from the Orient' or grew 'from the soil of Western Christendom', the religious institutions which expressed or harnessed them had a negligible part in their formation. The orders and

appropriate (broad) scale: more modern work tends to focus on singular monastic orders, and where the broader religious movement is given any attention, this is often very cursory (consisting of single paragraphs), and in any case tends to repeat the arguments of original seminal scholarship. Hence, this thesis focuses on the originators of positions where appropriate, and where 'more modern scholarship' addresses it, this can be found in the footnotes.

⁸² 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 Centuries, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism*, trans. By Steven Rowan (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1995), pp. 11, 9.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 1.

⁸⁴ Herbert Grundmann, 'New Contributions to the History of Religious Movements in the Middle Ages', in Grundmann, *Religious Movements...*, pp. 209-10.

heresies are conceived of as mere symptoms of something broader, 'deeper' and more mysterious, competing to yoke this causally isolated, somewhat static 'religious need'.

Indeed, when considering eleventh-century heresy in an appendix which takes in Champagne in 1000, Orléans in 1022 and Châlons in the 1040s, Grundmann notes that 'suddenly, at mid-century, all evidence of any further thriving of heresy ceases', concluding that 'the monastic reform which originated with Cluny, the hierarchical reform by Gregory VII and the rise of theological thought since Anselm of Canterbury would at first feed on those powers which had been falling to heresy in the first half of the century'.⁸⁵ In other words, he is able to claim that the same nascent religious energies which represent the animus of both the heresies of the early eleventh century, and the 'religious movement' of the twelfth and thirteenth was *also* harnessed by Benedictine monasticism in the late eleventh, only ended because Cluniac monasticism 'did not prevail in a struggle against other religious ideas'.⁸⁶ The same argument is reproduced (without attribution) decades later in R.I. Moore's seminal *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* when he writes:

The currents of heresy were therefore swept up in the far broader and faster streams of reform which from the middle of the century turned the church and half of Europe upside down... Heresy did not disappear in those years, as is sometimes said: the goals of the "heretics" became those of the church.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Grundmann, *Religious Movements...*, pp. 203-4, 205.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁸⁷ R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950-1250* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 17-18. Henrietta Leyser reproduces the same argument: 'What is remarkable is that the hermits could combine this popular appeal with orthodoxy, that they defended and propagated new teaching without turning it into heresy. Not only that, they even, by their example and inspiration, for a time made heresy unnecessary.': Henrietta Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe 1000-1150* (London, 1984), p. 76.

Giles Constable perhaps revealed something of the paradigmatic foundation of this approach when he recently wrote that 'the application of psychology to history has also helped to deepen our understanding of the religious needs of contemplatives...'.⁸⁸ That is, there seems to have been the adoption of a certain notion of 'universal human nature' from the discipline of psychology and into that of history; the infiltration of a nomothetic paradigm of human psychological functioning which casts 'religious needs' as a perennial, unchanging constant as concrete as hunger.

All of this is to say that, in Grundmann, Knowles, and the rest, the concept of 'religious needs' effects a causal separation between these 'needs' and the institutions which compete over them. 'Religious needs', which in Grundmann represent the very causal origin of the entire 'religious movement' itself, are conceived of as strangely independent of the influence of more immediate, contingent and idiographic factors, not the least of which may be the impact of enormously powerful institutions like Cluny.

In existing historiography, these 'religious needs' thus exist in an inappropriate causal isolation, representing an unfortunate abrogation of explanatory responsibility; an abrogation rendered explicit by Giles Constable:

The purpose of this final chapter is to relate the movement of religious reform to other aspects of the history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, not to explain its causes, which were buried too deeply in the hearts of contemporaries for even themselves, let alone later scholars, to understand.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Giles Constable, 'From church history to religious culture: the study of medieval religious life and spirituality', in Miri Rubin, ed., *European Religious Cultures: Essays offered to Christopher Brooke on the occasion of his eightieth birthday* (London, 2020), p. 12.

⁸⁹ Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, p. 296.

What *PART ONE: THE OLD ORDER* aims to do, therefore, is readmit the potentially *constructive, generative* influence of contemporary institutions like Cluny on the development of the sentiments and motivations which characterise the 'religious movement', and thus to advance a more open causal model of its origins with the aim of making its generative mechanisms more explicit.

This is to be achieved by advancing the following hypothesis (more completely outlined in the *INTRODUCTION*): that the power of Cluny and prevailing monastic norms left only a limited ideological and practical space within which any alternate, independent monastic practices could flourish, and that this same power and its repressive effect provided its stimulus. In other words, that the origins of the new orders in 'France', and the ideology they espoused, is to be found in the systemic pressure applied by the growing influence of Cluny on the structure of the Church.

The Rise of Cluny

Witnessing Cluny's phenomenal rise to power and influence during the course of the eleventh century, it was once the vogue among some historians to claim that the venerable monastery had expansionist designs or practiced a kind of monastic imperialism. Kassius Hallinger could not avoid speaking of 'the Cluniac reform movement', André Chagny wrote of *Cluny and her Empire*, while others diagnosed an almost Nietzschean 'will to conquer' in describing her behaviour.⁹⁰ The idea even appeared in a 1920 lecture on the subject of imperialism by the Austrian philosopher Rudolf Steiner, where he described Cluny as having practiced 'a kind of spiritual

⁹⁰ Kassius Hallinger, 'Le climat spirituel des premiers temps de Cluny', *Revue Mabillon*, 46 (1956), p. 119; André Chagny, *Cluny et son Empire* (Lyon, 1949).

imperialism, as for example in the 11th century when the Monks of Cluny really ruled over Europe more than is thought'.⁹¹

Are we really to believe that the Cluniacs 'ruled over Europe', however? That they practiced 'a kind of spiritual imperialism'? Only one glance at a certain online biography of Steiner, which mentions him as an 'esotericist, and claimed clairvoyant', is necessary to establish his credibility.⁹² His concept of an imperialist Cluny has fared little better, with the balance of opinion instead favouring that of Cluny's arch-apologist in English, Noreen Hunt, who could find no evidence 'that her abbots desired the expansion of Cluny', and that she was 'wholly passive in the matter of her own development'; a position which followed the line of German historiography developed since Hallinger's insistence that Cluny's influence was not as pervasive as previously thought (as was seen in the work of scholars like Ernst Sackur), and that it was only one of multiple centres of monastic reform.⁹³ That is, Hunt could discern no *intent* in the way that Cluny expanded, instead arguing that Cluny 'had greatness thrust upon her', and painting the monastery as a kind of aging caretaker of Western monasticism at a time when it most needed simple stability and order.⁹⁴

Since then, this view of Cluny as powerful but sterile, dominant but impotent, has prevailed among historians; emasculated in the face of apparently more vigorous and seminal spiritual forces. Of course, this reputation is not helped by the later controversies stoked by the twelfth century's most effective firebrand – Bernard of

⁹¹ Rudolf Steiner, 'The History and Actuality of Imperialism', trans. by Frank Thomas Smith (Dornach, Switzerland, February 22, 1920).

⁹² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rudolf_Steiner [accessed 13 February 2020].

⁹³ Noreen Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh 1049-1109* (London, 1967), pp. 150, 151; Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny; Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter* (Rome, 1950-1); Ernst Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeineschichtlichen Wirksamkeit bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts* (1892).

⁹⁴ Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh...*, p. 207.

Clairvaux – where Cluny was depicted as seriously out of step with what he defined as the ‘religious needs’ of the age.⁹⁵ Nor is it helped by evidence levelled in favour of the idea that some monastic institutions welcomed Cluniac intervention, or that Cluny was simply the largest example of a fairly widespread trend of monastic expansion:

To see Cluny as the conscious inheritor of a mission to incorporate all monasteries into one system is to isolate Cluny in contemporary monasticism, to ignore the size of the non-Cluniac world, and to disregard the fact that from one point of view Cluny was no more than the largest example of a phenomenon common to contemporary monasticism. Many instances of smaller groups or congregations of a similar type could be cited, among them Lérins, Chaise-Dieu; Marmoutier; Molesme; St Victor; Marseilles; Bec; Fleury and Dijon – both of which had been strongly influenced by Cluny, but remained independent centres of their own congregations; and, finally, three notable reform centres: Gorze, Brogne and Verdun.⁹⁶

However, all of this seems rather to miss the point, for two reasons: i) Cluny’s *intent* is less important than what her power and influence *felt like* to contemporaries and ii) that Cluniac ‘imperialism’ or ‘repression’ only needed to be experienced by a minority of these contemporaries for it to have had a significant causal effect (in this case, on the development of the new orders and the ‘religious movement’ more generally). Resistance to ‘imperial’ institutions is rarely experienced simultaneously across the whole of their domains; instead, rebellions and discontent sparks and fizzles at the periphery of expansion, generating movements whose origin is often founded in the smallest and most idiosyncratic of revolts.

⁹⁵ The most famous of Bernard’s invectives against Cluny was his *Apologia*, on the subject of Benedictine excesses in art: Bernardus Claraevallensis, ‘S. Bernardi Abbatis Apologia Ad Guillelmum Sancti-Theoderici Abbatem’, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 182, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), cols. 0893-0918A.

⁹⁶ Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh...*, pp. 156, 159-60.

Cluny in the Papal Agenda

While it might be true, therefore, that Cluny only ever comprised a minority of the Church or its business, this does not mean that its influence was not widespread or locally intense. If the extant papal letters and privileges collated in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* provide any indication of the contemporary 'papal agenda', for example, we can see that Cluny and her affairs typically comprised between five and ten per-cent of this 'agenda' in the Gregorian age, by counting direct references to the monastery (Figure 8; Table 3).⁹⁷ However, a closer examination of these data casts a light upon the truer extent of Cluniac influence.

⁹⁷ Sergius III, 'Sergii Papae III Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 131, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0971-0982D; Anastasius III, 'Anastasii Papae Iii Privilegia Duo', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 131, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 1183-1186B; Joannes X, 'Joannis Papae X Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 132, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0799-0814B; Leo VI, 'Leonis Papae VI Epistola Ad Episcopos Dalmatiae. (Anno 928, 29.) Forminum Jaderensem et Gregorium Nonensem caeterosque Dalmatiae episcopos hortatur ut Joanni archiepiscopo Spalatino, pallium adepto, pareant. Jubet finibus suis quemque episcopum, nominatimque Absorem, Arbensem, Ragusanum, contentum esse, Gregoriumque Croatorum episcopum in administranda ecclesia Scardonitana acquiescere', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 132, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0813-0816B; Stephanus VII, 'Stephani Papae VII Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 132, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 1051-1056A; Joannes XI, 'Joannis Papae XI Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 132, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 1055-1062D; Leo VII, 'Leonis Papae VII Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 132, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 1065-1088C; Stephanus VIII, 'Stephani Papae VIII Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 132, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 1089-1092C; Marinus II, 'Marini Papae II. Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 133, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0863-0880A; Agapetus II, 'Agapeti Papae II Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 133, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0889-0932A; Joannes XII, 'Joannis Papae XII Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 133, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 1013-1044B; Leo VIII, 'Leonis VIII Antipapae Privilegia Et Constitutiones', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 134, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0989-1000B; Joannes XIII, 'Joannis XIII Papae Epistolae Et Decreta', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 135, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0951-1000B; Benedictus VI, 'Benedicti VI Papae Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 135, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 1081-1092A; Benedictus VII, 'Benedicti Papae VII Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 137, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0315-0358A; Joannes XIV, 'Joannis Papae XIV Epistola Ad Alonem Beneventanum Archiepiscopum', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 137, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0357-0360C; Joannes XV, 'Joannis XV Papae Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 137, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0827-0852A; Gregorius V, 'Gregorii Papae V Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 137, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0901-0938D; Sylvester II, 'Epistolae Et Decreta Pontificia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 139, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0269-0286D; Joannes XVIII, 'Joannis XVIII Papae Epistolae Et Diplomata', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 139, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 1477-1494A; Sergius IV, 'Sergii IV Papae Epistolae Et Diplomata', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 139, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 1499-1528D; Benedictus VIII, 'Benedicti VIII Papae Epistolae Et Decreta', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 139, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 1579-1638C; Joannes XIX, 'Joannis XIX Papae Epistolae Et Diplomata', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 141, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 1115-1156D; Benedictus IX, 'Benedicti IX Papae Epistolae Et

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Diplomata', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 141, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 1343-1370B; Gregorius VI, 'Gregorii Papae VI Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 142, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0573-0578; Clemens II, 'Clementis Papae II. Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 142, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0577-0590C; Leo IX, 'Sancti Leonis IX Romani Pontificis Epistolae Et Decreta Pontificia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 143, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0591-0794B; Victor II, 'Victoris II Papae Epistolae Et Diplomata Pontificia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 143, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0803-0838C; Nicolaus II, 'Nicolai II Papae Epistolae Et Diplomata', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 143, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 1301-1362C; Alexander II, 'Alexandri II Pontificis Romani Epistolae Et Diplomata', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 146, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 1279-1430C; Gregorius VII, 'Sancti Gregorii VII Pontificis Romani Operum Pars Prima.---Registrum', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 148, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0283-0734B; Victor III, 'Victoris III Papae Epistolae', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 149, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0961-0964B; Urbanus II, 'Beati Urbani II Pontificis Romani Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 151, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0283-0552C; Paschalis II, 'Paschalis II Romani Pontificis Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 163, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), cols. 0031-0446B; Gelasius II, 'Gelasii II Pontificis Romani Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 163, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), cols. 0487-0514A; Calixtus II, 'Calixti II Pontificis Romani Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 163, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), cols. 1093-1338A; Honorius II, 'Honorii II Pontificis Romani Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 166, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), cols. 1217-1316B; Innocentius II, 'Innocentii II Pontificis Romani Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 179, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1855), cols. 0053-0658A; Coelestinus II, 'Coelestini II Pontificis Romani Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 179, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1855), cols. 0765-0820A; Lucius II, 'Lucii II Papae Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 179, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1855), cols. 0823-0936A; Eugenius III, 'Eugenii III Pontificis Romani Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 180, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1855), cols. 1013-1614; Anastasius IV, 'Anastasii IV Romani Pontificis Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 188, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1855), cols. 0989-1088B; Adrianus IV, 'Adriani IV Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 188, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1855), cols. 1361-1640D.

FIGURE 8. PAPAL LETTERS & PRIVILEGES PER NORMALISED YEAR, 904-1159

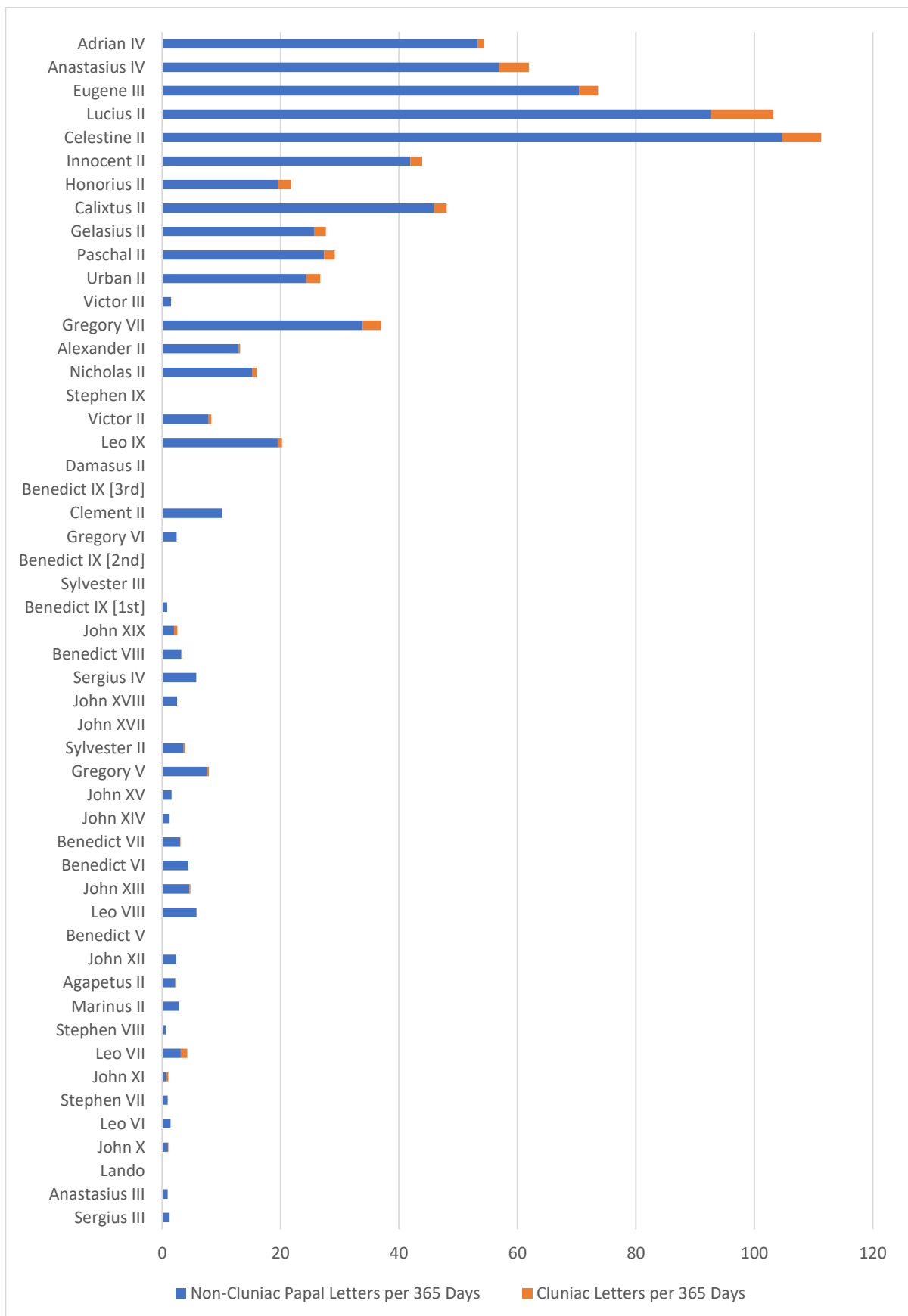


TABLE 3. EXTANT PAPAL LETTERS & PRIVILEGES, 904-1159

Papacy	Total Letters & Privileges	Cluniac Letters	Per-cent Cluniac
Sergius III (r. 904-11)	9	0	0.00%
Anastasius III (r. 911-13)	2	0	0.00%
Lando (r. 913-14)			N/A
John X (r. 914-28)	15	1	6.67%
Leo VI (r. 928-9)	1	0	0.00%
Stephen VII (r. 929-31)	2	0	0.00%
John XI (r. 931-5)	5	2	40.00%
Leo VII (r. 936-9)	15	4	26.67%
Stephen VIII (r. 939-42)	2	0	0.00%
Marinus II (r. 942-6)	10	0	0.00%
Agapetus II (r. 946-55)	22	1	4.55%
John XII (r. 955-64)	20	0	0.00%
Benedict V (r. 964)			N/A
Leo VIII (r. 964-5)	4	0	0.00%
John XIII (r. 965-72)	33	1	3.03%
Benedict VI (r. 973-4)	6	0	0.00%
Benedict VII (r. 974-83)	28	1	3.57%
John XIV (r. 983-4)	1	0	0.00%
John XV (r. 985-96)	17	0	0.00%
Gregory V (r. 996-9)	22	1	4.55%
Sylvester II (r. 999-1003)	16	1	6.25%
John XVII (r. 1003)			N/A
John XVIII (r. 1004-9)	14	0	0.00%
Sergius IV (r. 1009-12)	16	0	0.00%
Benedict VIII (r. 1012-24)	40	2	5.00%
John XIX (r. 1024-32)	22	5	22.73%
Benedict IX [1st] (r. 1032-44)	10	0	0.00%
Sylvester III (r. 1045)			N/A
Benedict IX [2nd] (r. 1045)			N/A
Gregory VI (r. 1045-6)	4	0	0.00%
Clement II (r. 1046-7)	8	0	0.00%
Benedict IX [3rd] (r. 1047-8)			N/A
Damasus II (r. 1048)			N/A
Leo IX (r. 1049-54)	105	4	3.81%
Victor II (r. 1055-7)	19	1	5.26%
Stephen IX (r. 1057-8)			N/A
Nicholas II (r. 1059-61)	40	2	5.00%
Alexander II (r. 1061-73)	152	2	1.32%
Gregory VII (r. 1073-85)	447	37	8.28%
Victor III (r. 1086-7)	2	0	0.00%
Urban II (r. 1088-99)	304	27	8.88%
Paschal II (r. 1099-1118)	538	33	6.13%
Gelasius II (r. 1118-9)	28	2	7.14%

Papacy	Total Letters & Privileges	Cluniac Letters	Per-cent Cluniac
Calixtus II (r. 1119-24)	282	13	4.61%
Honorius II (r. 1124-30)	112	11	9.82%
Innocent II (r. 1130-43)	598	27	4.52%
Celestine II (r. 1143-4)	50	3	6.00%
Lucius II (r. 1144-5)	97	10	10.31%
Eugene III (r. 1145-53)	618	27	4.37%
Anastasius IV (r. 1153-4)	87	7	8.05%
Adrian IV (r. 1154-9)	258	5	1.94%

Taking the proportional high-water mark of direct references to Cluny in this data set – the letters and privileges of Pope Lucius II (r. 9 March 1144 to 15 February 1145) – and analysing them in-detail, Cluny’s shadow begins to loom much larger.⁹⁸ Of the ninety-seven extant letters and privileges issued by Lucius II in his year upon the papal throne, ten address Cluny directly, amounting to just over ten per-cent of the ‘papal agenda’ as measured by these letters.⁹⁹ However, a further six letters are addressed to Cluniac dependencies without mentioning Cluny directly – Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre, Abbaye Ste-Marie-Madeleine de Vézelay, ‘Sanctae Mariae de Castellione’, and the Priory of Saint Pancras, Southover near Lewes – while another four address houses with some previous Cluniac association.¹⁰⁰ The Stift Admont was reformed with Cluniac customs by its second abbot, Giselbert, while the Abbaye Saint-Bertin de Saint-Omer had long pulled against its Cluniac bridle before finally regaining its independence.¹⁰¹ Both Odo and Odilo of Cluny had reformed the famed Abbazia di Farfa, and the Abbaye Saint-Taurin d'Évreux was a dependant of the Abbaye de la Trinité de Fécamp which had itself been reformed by the Cluniac monk William of Volpiano (962-1031) at the turn of the eleventh century under the customs of the Burgundian house.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Lucius II, ‘Lucii II Papae Epistolae Et Privilegia’..., cols. 0823-0936A.

⁹⁹ Ibid., nos. XL, XLVIII, XLIX, L, LXIV, LXXIV, LXXXVI, LXXXIX, XCI, XCII.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., nos. XI, XIX, XXX, XLVII, LXVIII, XCIV.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., nos. VIII, LI.

¹⁰² Ibid., nos. LIII, LXV.

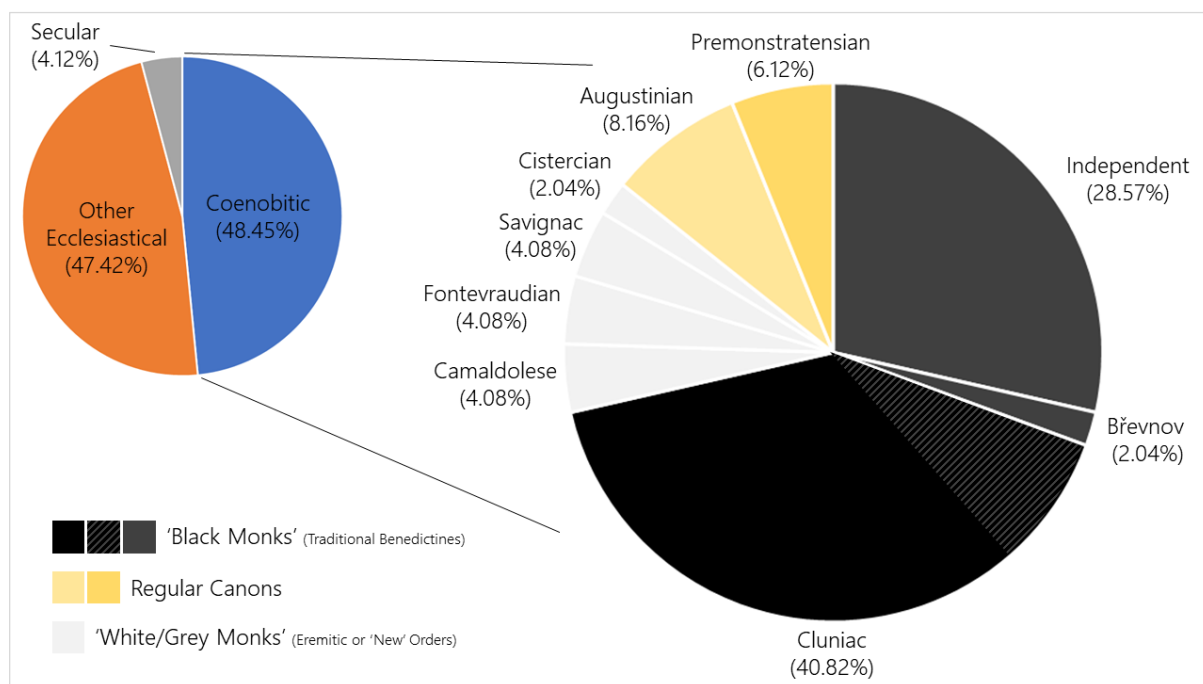
So far this would mean that almost twenty-one per-cent of Lucius II's papal letters address monastic houses with some direct Cluniac association, though even this number does not capture the full extent of Cluny's influence. If letters addressed to bishops, churches, secular canons and secular rulers – that is, the non-coenobitic world – are removed from this reckoning, of which there are fifty, then Cluny accounts for almost forty-one per-cent of coenobitic papal business. If the letters addressed to regular canons are removed (of which there are seven), then the proportion rises yet further to fifty per-cent of the entire monastic papal agenda.

Even here, however, the remainder of letters addressing monastic concerns conceal a secondary Cluniac influence, since five of them were sent to 'new orders' with an explicit historical opposition to Cluny: Fontevraud, Savigny, and Cîteaux.¹⁰³ Only forty per-cent of addressees seemed to be free of Cluniac influence entirely, therefore, except in the most general sense. These were two Camaldolese foundations (of which the Monastero di Sant'Apollinare in Classe was once Cluniac, having been reformed by Abbot Majolus of Cluny in 972, and which the Camaldolese founder himself – St Romuald, had left), a Moravian priory of Břevnov – the Klášter Rajhrad – and twelve independent houses, of which only St. Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury received more than one letter.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Ibid., nos. XXXI, LXXIX, LXXIII, LXXV, LVIII.

¹⁰⁴ The Camaldolese foundations were the Monastero della Santa Croce di Fonte Avellana and the Monastero di Sant'Apollinare in Classe: Ibid., nos. XXII, LXX; Klášter Rajhrad is addressed in letter no. LXXXVII; the independent monasteries addressed were the Abbazia di San Colombano di Bobbio (no. I), San Pietro di Perugia (no. III), Héloïse's famed Abbaye du Paraclet (no. IV), the Abbazia di San Giovanni di Parma (no. VI), Abbaye Saint-Victor de Marseilles (no. XII), Kloster St Trudpert (no. XVII), Kloster Isen (no. XVIII), Abbaye de Pontlevoy (no. XX), Abbaye Saint-Philibert de Tournus (no. LIV *bis.*), Principauté abbatiale de Stavelot-Malmedy (no. LXVII), Monastero di Ognissanti di Bari (no. LXIX), and St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury (nos. LXXX, LXXXI, LXXXII).

FIGURE 9. ADDRESSEE CATEGORIES OF THE PAPAL LETTERS & PRIVILEGES OF LUCIUS II (1144-5)



As the letters and privileges of Lucius II seem to affirm, no other monastery, monastic congregation or order received the level of papal attention or focus as did Cluny in this period, even permitting that the papacy itself had an especial interest in the monastery as 'the Papacy's own peculiar possession', in the memorable words of Cowdrey.¹⁰⁵ While the effort of counting the addressee categories of all four-thousand-and-eighty-one extant papal letters and privileges in this period (between the papacies of Sergius III and Adrian IV, 904-1159) would provide a more comprehensive picture doubtless different in some important degree to this one, it can hardly be considered sustainable, as Noreen Hunt did, that 'Cluny was not singled out more than any other monastery for papal patronage'.¹⁰⁶ Nor do the other 'centres of reform' emphasised by Hallinger and Hunt – Brogne, Verdun and Gorze (though the twelfth century was well past Gorze's prime) – appear with anywhere

¹⁰⁵ Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, p. 39.

¹⁰⁶ Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh...*, p. 135.

near the frequency as one might expect if this kind of revisionism is to be believed. The large congregations of the twelfth century, like that of the Chaise-Dieu, are similarly under-represented. Instead, what we find are vigorous defences of Cluniac interests, and at a singularly 'global' scale. Lucius pens letters to 'all the bishops of France', for instance, instructing them to refrain from building churches and chapels in Cluniac parishes.¹⁰⁷ Not for nothing was 'Cluniac' synonymous with 'Benedictine' in this period, and when Andreas of Fontevraud had his biographical subject Robert of Arbrissel list Cluny among the holiest sites in Christendom with Bethlehem, Jerusalem and Rome, he was being satirical rather than frivolous.¹⁰⁸ In localities with strong Cluniac representation – Burgundy, most of France, Lombardy, and northern Spain – the impression of this dominance would have been multiplied.

It is telling, therefore, that historians who explore cases of resistance to Cluniac expansion are much more willing to use the label 'Cluniac imperialism'. Jane Katherine Beitscher, for example, uses exactly this phrase in her investigation of reform attempts at the monastery of Beaulieu between 1031 and 1095.¹⁰⁹ Following its takeover from a lay abbot by Cluny in 1076, Beaulieu then resisted attempts to impugn its freedom by the imposition of a Cluniac abbot, barring the doors and telling him to go away when he arrived.¹¹⁰ A lay abbot then resumed control until 1095, marking out Beaulieu as a rebellious house, albeit one which Cluny doesn't

¹⁰⁷ 'ad episcopos Galliarum...': Lucius II, 'Lucii II Papae Epistolae Et Privilegia'..., no. L.

¹⁰⁸ "'So I make it known to you, dearest Father, that I do not want to lie in Bethlehem, where God deigned to be born of a virgin, nor in Jerusalem at the Holy Sepulcher. Nor do I want to be buried in Rome among the holy martyrs, nor at the monastery of Cluny, where gorgeous processions take place...": Andreas of Fontevraud, 'Second Life of Robert of Arbrissel (ca. 1120)', in Bruce L. Venarde, ed., *Robert of Arbrissel: A Medieval Religious Life* (Washington, D.C., 2003), p. 44; Andreas Fontis Ebraldi, 'Vita Altera B. Roberti De Arbrissello Sive Extrema Conversatio Et Transitus Ejus', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 162, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), col. 1073B: 'Notum igitur, charissime Pater, tibi facio, quod nolo jacere in Bethleem, ubi Deus de Virgine nasci dignatus est, nec etiam Jerosolymis in sancto sepulcro; nolo etiam in Roma sepeliri inter sanctos martyres, nec in Cluniaco monasterio, ubi fiunt pulchrae processions...'.
¹⁰⁹ Jane Katherine Beitscher, 'Monastic Reform at Beaulieu, 1031-1095', *Viator*, 5 (1974), pp. 199-210.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

seem to have strained overmuch to regain. In this case, the episode can be read as an example of the tenacity of lay investiture and the often halting progress of the Gregorian reform, though it must be noted that, however gentle Cluniac expansion may have been elsewhere, at least at Beaulieu its influence was regarded as an imposition; at least here Cluny's 'imperialism' was resisted.

Of course, while the form of resistance at Beaulieu was mild (though elsewhere the order faced fire, violence and ultimately spiritual innovation to check its advance, examples of which are explored in *Chapter 2* and *Chapter 3*), this point is worth bearing in mind: that 'resistance' only need be encountered in a limited number of places for it to have had a significant causal effect; that Cluny's 'imperialism' only needed to manifest in the minds and experiences of a few for it to be something 'real' and worth resisting. The monumental expansion of Cluny, then, must be considered in light of this context.

Cluny's Expansion

For this study, a general survey of papal bulls relating to Cluny from its foundation in 910 to the end of Peter the Venerable's (c.1092-1156) abbacy in 1156 was conducted, with the aim of establishing the form, pattern and extent of its expansion (see *Appendix 2: List of Cluniac Monasteries from Papal Sources* for a list of Cluniac monasteries from this dataset). Though in total one-hundred-and-thirty-seven *bullae* were consulted, only sixty-six over this period are concerned with Cluniac properties directly, issued by a total of thirty-two popes or their representatives (*Table 4*).¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Data collected from: Johannes XI, 'Convenit apostolico moderamini', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 1, col. 1; Johannes XI, 'Convenit apostolico moderamini [2]', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 2, col. 1; Leo VII, 'Desiderium quod religioso', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 2, col. 2 no. 2; Leo VII, 'Desiderium quod religioso [2]', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 2, col. 3; Agapit II, 'Convenit apostolico moderamini', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 4, col. 2; Benedict VII, 'Quia monasterium Cluniacense', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 6, col. 1, n. 1; Gregor V, 'Desiderium quod religiosorum', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 10, col. 1; Leo IX, 'Quoniam postulasti a nobis', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 11, col. 1. CAUSAL ORIGINS OF THE 'RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES': CLUNY, TIRON, AND THE NEW ORDERS, 910-1156 JAMIE WILLIAM IRVINE

12, col. 2 (extr.); Leo IX, 'Pervenit ad aures nostras', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 13, col. 1., n.1; Victor II, 'Desiderium quod religiosorum', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 13, col. 1., n. 2; Stephan IX, 'Ad hoc Deo auctore', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 15, col. 1; Gregor VII, 'Iusta sanctaeque religioni', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 20, col. 2; Gregor VII, 'Supernae miserationis', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 18, col. 2; Gregor VII, 'Suscepti nos officii', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 18, col. 1; Urban II, 'Cum omnibus sanctae', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 22, col. 2; Urban II, 'Cum omnibus sanctae [2]', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 23, col. 2; Urban II, 'Quoniam supernae dispositionis', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 29, col. 2; Urban II, 'Sicut irrationabilia', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 26, col. 1; Urban II, 'Ad hoc nos disponente', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 22, col. 1; Urban II, 'Et religionem augere', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 25, col. 2; Urban II, 'Ad sollicitudinem ac', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 27, col. 1; Urban II, 'Apostolicae sedis sollicitudo', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 28, col. 2; Urban II, 'Piae postulatio voluntatis', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 29, col. 1; Urban II, 'Iustis precibus ministerium', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 28, col. 2, n. 2; Urban II, 'In Nemausensi concilio', *B.S.O.C.*, p. 24, col. 2, n. 2; Paschalis II, 'Ad hoc nos disponente', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 31, col. 1; Paschalis II, 'Ea religionis praerogativa', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 32, col. 1; Paschalis II, 'Quia documentis apostolicis', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 33, col. 1, n. 2; Paschalis II, 'Sancti spiritus per', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 211, col. 1; Paschalis II, 'Religioni vestrae per', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 34, col. 2; Paschalis II, 'Desiderium quod ad religionis', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 35, col. 2; Paschalis II, 'Et religio Cluniacensis', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 36, col. 2, n. 2; Paschalis II, 'Apostolicae sedis auctoritate', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 37, col. 2; Gelasius II, 'Ignem semper in', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 38, col. 1, no. 2; Calixt II, 'Sicut iniusta poscentibus', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 39, col. 2; Willelmus eps. Petragoricensis, 'Sapientium auctoritate', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 59, col. 2, n. 2; Calixt II, 'Religionis monasticae modernis', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 41, col. 1, n. 1; Honorius II, 'Incomprehensibilis et ineffabilis', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 42, col. 1, n. 2; Honorius II, 'Ad hoc universalis', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 42, col. 1, n. 1; Honorius II, 'Pax ecclesiae fratrum', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 41, col. 2, n. 2; Honorius II, 'Pax ecclesiae fratrum', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 41, col. 2, n. 3; Innocenz II, 'Desiderium quod ad religionis', *MPL* 179 col. 67; Innocenz II, 'Ex apostolicae sedis', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 45, col. 1; Innocenz II, 'Quae ad pacem spectant', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 45, col. 2; Innocenz II, 'Canonum praecepta nos', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 47, col. 2; Innocenz II, 'Dispensatrix et provida', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 48, col. 1, no. 1; Innocenz II, 'Ignem venit Dominus', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 48, col. 2; Innocenz II, 'Quae a fratribus nostris', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 50, col. 1, no. 2; Innocenz II, 'Bonus et diligens', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 49, col. 2; Innocenz II, 'Bonus et diligens [2]', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 49, col. 1; Innocenz II, 'Pro pace et tranquillitate', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 48, col. 1, no. 2; Innocenz II, 'Quos omnipotens Dominus', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 50, col. 2; Innocenz II, 'Ad hoc in Apostolicae', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 51, col. 1; Celestin II, 'Cum ex iniuncto nobis', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 52, col. 1, n. 1; Lucius II, 'Quoniam sine verae', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 52, col. 1, n. 2; Lucius II, 'Religionis monasticae modernis', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 52, col. 2; Lucius II, 'Privilegiis quae a sede', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 54, col. 2; Lucius II, 'Etsi ecclesiarum omnium', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 55, col. 1; Lucius II, 'Meminisse debet tua', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 55, col. 2, n. 2; Eugen III, 'Cum omnibus sanctae', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 56, col. 1; Eugen III, 'Apostolicae sedis auctoritate', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 62, col. 1, n. 1; Eugen III, 'Quam proprie et specialiter', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 57, col. 2, n. 1; Eugen III, 'Quae ab ecclesiae Dei', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 58, col. 2; Eugen III, 'Iustis Religiosorum desideriis', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 62, col. 2; Anastasius IV, 'Religiosis desideriis dignum', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 64, col. 1, n. 2; Hadrian IV, 'Gloriosa et admirabilis', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 67, col. 1.

TABLE 4. PAPAL BULLS ISSUED FOR CLUNY, 910-1156

No.	Pope/Representative	Number of (Cluniac) Bulls Issued
1	John X (r.914-28)	1
2	John XI (r.931-5)	2
3	Leo VII (r.936-9)	4
4	Agapetus II (r.946-55)	1
5	John XIII (r.965-72)	1
6	Benedict VII (r.974-83)	1
7	Gregory V (r.996-9)	1
8	Sylvester II (r.999-1003)	1
9	Benedict VIII (r.1012-24)	2
10	John XIX (r.1024-32)	5
11	Clement II (r.1046-7)	1
12	Leo IX (r.1049-54)	3
13	Victor II (r.1055-7)	1
14	Stephen IX (r.1057-8)	2
15	Alexander II (r.1061-73)	1
16	Peter Damian, as Legate (c.998-1072/3)	2
17	Peter of Albano, as Legate (d.1089)	1
18	Gregory VII (r.1073-85)	7
19	Urban II (r.1088-99)	17
20	Paschal II (r.1099-1118)	14
21	Gelasius II (r.1118-9)	2
22	William II 'd'Auberoche', Bishop of Périgueux (r.1102-29)	1
23	Callixtus II (r.1119-24)	7
24	Honorius II (r.1124-30)	6
25	Innocent II (r.1130-43)	16
26	Celestine II (r.1143-4)	2
27	Lucius II (r.1144-5)	7
28	Gerald...	1
29	Iterius...	1
30	Eugene III (r.1145-53)	16
31	Anastasius IV (r.1153-4)	7
32	Adrian IV (r.1154-9)	3

In terms of the accuracy of any such survey, it must be noted that papal bulls suffer from several limitations. This series of bulls invariably does not include every property over which Cluny either formally or informally exerted control, meaning that the data presented here should be regarded as constituting the very lower bounds of Cluniac property, and indeed in some cases historians have estimated possessions an order

of magnitude higher than the numbers here would indicate.¹¹² There also seems to be a variable lag between the time an institution is taken over and when it is mentioned in a papal confirmation, generally on the order of less than five years, but sometimes in the case of glaring oversights, as was true of Sauxillanges Priory, numbering up to seventy years.¹¹³ Furthermore, the difficulty of identifying individual locations across the range of bulls introduces an element of uncertainty to the resultant numbers, though I have in general counted conservatively and attempted to limit repeat-counting as much as possible. For example, the 'Prieuré Saint-Martin de Layrac' appears variously as 'Lairacum', 'Alairacum', and 'Alayrac' between 1075 and 1125, differences which would divide many other items as separate establishments, such as Gigny's 'Gigniaci' and Gignat's 'Ginniacus'.¹¹⁴ Many more egregious examples exist, such as the transformation of the *villa* 'Petronniacum' in 998 to 'Paronam' seventy-six years later, the identification of which as the same place is only possible thanks to its appearance in similar list positions.¹¹⁵ Similarly, I have been conservative in counting indications of multiple properties using plural forms as one, as in the case of 'Illas etiam Ecclesias & terras, quas Theotardus Clericus contulit jamdicto Cluniacensi Coenobio' in a confirmation of Stephen IX, which, while indicating multiple churches and lands, I have counted as a single church and single claim of

¹¹² Hunt herself notes that 'One of the biggest gaps in our knowledge of Cluny is the absence of a complete list of affiliated houses. It is not known how many monasteries were dependent on Cluny though numbers ranging between 200 and 2000 have been quoted with a confidence that has no historical basis.' Noreen Hunt, 'Cluniac Monasticism', in Noreen Hunt, ed., *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages* (London, 1971), p. 2.

¹¹³ The 'Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Paul de Sauxillanges' was founded in 927, but only first mentioned in a papal bull in 998 as 'Celsinianense'. It appears a further three times in this series, in 1055, 1058, and 1075: Gregor V, 'Desiderium quod religiosorum [998]', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 10, col. 1; Victor II, 'Desiderium quod religiosorum [1055]', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 13, col. 1, n. 2; Gregor VII, 'Supernae miserationis [1075]', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 18, col. 2.

¹¹⁴ Gregor VII, 'Supernae miserationis [1075]', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 18, col. 2; Paschalis II, 'Et religio Cluniacensis [1109]', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 36, col. 2, n. 2; Honorius II, 'Incomprehensibilis et ineffabilis [1125]', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 42, col. 1, n. 2.

¹¹⁵ Gregor V, 'Desiderium quod religiosorum [998]', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 10, col. 1; Gregor VII, 'Supernae miserationis [1075]', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 18, col. 2.

land.¹¹⁶ As such, the data presented here should be thought reliable only to the extent that it helps deduce broader patterns and provides a guide to the general shape of Cluniac expansion. Indeed, compiling a complete account of Cluniac properties would be the work of several lifetimes, as many previous historians have mentioned, though the University of Münster's 'Projekt Cluny' is in the process of preparing an index of approximately seventeen-thousand place-names relating to Cluny at the time of writing.¹¹⁷

In general, papal bulls are an imperfect and imprecise source of information about the absolute extent of monastic domains, though they do benefit from a degree of certainty about the items listed. Rather, the greater utility of such a series tracks much closer to their original, contemporary purpose: that, since papal confirmations or privileges were principally assertions of rights rather than a system of accounting, they can therefore substitute as a measure of *applied power*. They are political instruments which represent the spatial application of legitimate legal authority, and as such tell us more about the scale and frequency of the use of such authority than they can about the absolute numbers and dates of possessions.

In support of this approach, the work of Brigitte Meijns offers a tantalising glimpse into how papal authority was received through the instrument of bulls. In her microhistory of the reception of Gregory VII's 'Protection Bulls' in the dioceses of Liège and Thérouanne between 1074 and 1077, she describes the 'stormy' and 'tumultuous reception' of two bulls conferring papal protection upon the Benedictine abbey of Saint Hubert in Liège (1074) and the newly founded priory of regular canons

¹¹⁶ Stephan IX, 'Ad hoc Deo auctore', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 15, col. 1.

¹¹⁷ <https://www.uni-muenster.de/Fruehmittelalter/Projekte/Cluny/Welcome-e.html> [accessed 13 February 2020].

in Watten in Thérouanne (1077).¹¹⁸ In a gripping narrative from chronicle and hagiographical sources, Meijns relates how both bulls were read at ‘solemn gatherings of the diocesan clergy presided over by the local ordinaries’, provoking what can only be described as a panicked and vicious struggle between the houses and their erstwhile episcopal authorities.¹¹⁹ Ultimately both houses held fast to their papal privileges, but not after a period of rumour among the clergy and even local laypeople, conflict with diocesan authorities, and the sparking of intense debates about clerical hierarchy and procedure. While the ardour of the whole episode was undoubtedly fuelled by the tensions of the early reform era, nonetheless it reveals just how seriously papal bulls were received: these were no dry administrative documents, but instruments and symbols of a Roman power treated with earnest solemnity, as objects of intrigue, and occasionally as loci of resistance.

In this sense, then, the data presented here is best viewed as a reflection of the level and force of papal authority which Cluny *was*, or *was able to*, draw upon at any given time, ultimately according well in its implications with Cowdrey’s influential thesis that the Cluniac Reforms and the Gregorian Reform were intimately bound together.¹²⁰

For ease of interpretation, properties have been categorised into one of eight (*Table 5*):

¹¹⁸ Brigitte Meijns, ‘Papal Bulls as Instruments of Reform: The Reception of the Protection Bulls of Gregory VII in the Dioceses of Liège and Thérouanne (1047-1077)’, *Church History*, 87 (2018), pp. 399-423; 399, 400, 401.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 408, 409.

¹²⁰ Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

TABLE 5. CATEGORISATION OF CLUNIAN PROPERTIES IN PAPAL BULLS, 910-1156

ECCLESIASTICAL					SECULAR		
Monastic		Nonmonastic					
Monasteries	Cells	Churches	Chapels	Other Ecc.	Lordships	Lands	Other Secular
<u>Monastery</u> <i>Monasterium</i> (931) <i>Monasterio</i> (936/7) <i>Cœnobiij</i> (954) <i>Monasteriolu</i> (998) <i>Monasterij</i> (1073-85)	<u>Cell</u> <i>Cellam</i> (998) <i>Cellis</i> (998) <i>Cellâ</i> (998) <i>Cellula</i> (998) <i>Cellam</i> (998) <i>Cellæ</i> (1050) <i>Cella</i> (1058)	<u>Church</u> <i>Ecclesiis</i> (936/7) <i>Ecclesia</i> (954) <i>Ecclesiâ</i> (998) <i>Ecclesias</i> (998) <i>Ecclesia</i> (1050) <i>Ecclesiæ</i> (1075)	<u>Chapel</u> <i>Capella</i> (931) <i>Capellâ</i> (998) <i>Capellas</i> (1095) <i>Capellis</i> (1102)	<u>Tithes</u> <i>Decima</i> (1095) <i>Decimis</i> (1095) <i>Decimam</i> (1119) <i>Decimum</i> (1119) <u>Cemetery</u> <i>Cœmeteriis</i> (1095) <i>Cimeterium</i> (1096) <i>Monasterii</i> (1096) <i>Cœmeteriu</i> (1139) <u>Altar</u> <i>Altare</i> (1119) <u>Aticum</u> <i>Aticum</i> (1119) <i>Atico</i> (1119) <u>Atrium</u> <i>Atrium</i> (1119) <i>Atrio</i> (1119) <u>Parish</u> <i>Parochia</i> (1119) <i>Parochialis</i> (1154) <i>Parochiæ</i> (1154) <u>Oratory</u> <i>Oratorium</i> (1139)	<u>Estate</u> <i>Curtibus</i> (936/7) <i>Curtem</i> (936/7) <i>Curte</i> (998) <i>Currem</i> (1055) <u>Villa</u> <i>Villas</i> (954) <i>Villis</i> (998) <i>Villam</i> (998) <i>Villa</i> (998) <i>Villæ</i> (1095) <u>Allod</u> <i>Alodo</i> (954) <i>Alodum</i> (954) <i>Allodium</i> (1119) <u>Castle</u> <i>Castro</i> (998) <i>Castrum</i> (998) <i>Castellum</i> (1095) <u>Farm</u> <u>Estate</u> <i>Prædio</i> (1050) <i>Prædium</i> (1050) <u>Territory</u> <i>Territoriu</i> (1095) <u>Manor</u> <u>(Eng.)</u>	<u>Land</u> <i>Terris</i> (936/7) <i>Terras</i> (998) <i>Terra</i> (1095) <i>Terram</i> (1095) <i>Terris cultis</i> & <i>incultis</i> (1050) <u>Field</u> <i>Campis</i> (936/7) <u>Pasture</u> <i>Pascuis</i> (936/7) <u>Grove</u> <i>Salictis</i> (936/7) <u>Fruit Tree</u> <i>Arboribus</i> (936/7) <u>Spring</u> <i>Fontibus</i> (936/7) <u>Stream</u> <i>Rivis</i> (936/7) <u>Meadow</u> <i>Pratis</i> (936/7) <i>Prata</i> (1154) <i>Prati</i> (1095) <i>agripennis</i> (1095) <u>Lake/Pond</u> <i>Aquis</i> (1050) <u>River/Stream</u>	<u>Well</u> <i>Puteis</i> (936/7) <u>Serfs</u> <i>Residentibus</i> (936/7) <i>Servis</i> (1050) <i>Servorum</i> (1095) <u>Guest House</u> <i>Mansiones</i> (998) <i>Hospites</i> (1119) <i>Hospitibus</i> (1119) <u>Maid</u> <i>Ancillis</i> (1050) <u>Customary Rights</u> <i>Omnibus</i> (1050) <i>usuariibus</i> (1050) <i>'Saltus consuetudinari i tam ad usus Ecclesiæ'</i> (Forest) (1095) <u>Mill</u> <i>Molendinum</i> (1095) <i>Molendina</i> (1095) <u>Fish (rights to)</u> <i>Piscaria</i> (1095) <i>Aquarias piscium</i> (1119) <i>Piscatione</i> (1154) <i>Piscationibus</i> (1154) <u>Forest Pasture (for pigs)</u> <i>'In omnibus saltibus</i>

ECCLESIASTICAL					SECULAR		
Monastic		Nonmonastic					
Monasteries	Cells	Churches	Chapels	Other Ecc.	Lordships	Lands	Other Secular
					<i>Manerii</i> (1142) <i>Manerium</i> (1144)	<i>Aquarumque decursibus</i> (1050) <u>Plough of Land (unit)</u> <i>Mansos</i> (1095) <i>Aratri</i> (1095) <u>Forest</u> <i>Sylvis</i> (1095) <i>Sylva</i> (1095) <i>Sylvam</i> (1119) <i>Silvam</i> (1154) <i>Silvæ</i> (1154) <i>Nemus</i> (1154) <u>Vineyard</u> <i>Vineæ</i> (1095) <i>Vineas</i> (1119) <i>Vineam</i> (1130) <u>Island</u> <i>Insulam</i> (1146) <u>Enclosure</u> <i>Clausum</i> (1154)	<i>pascua porcorum'</i> (1095) <u>Fixed Rent</u> <i>Census</i> (1119) <i>Censum</i> (1119) <i>Terram censualem</i> (1119) <u>Siccum</u> <i>Siccum</i> (1119) <u>Wine Press</u> <i>Torcular</i> (1119) <i>Torcularia</i> (1119) <u>House</u> <i>Domum</i> (1119) <u>Salt (revenues)</u> <i>Redditus salis</i> (1119) <u>Bakery/Oven</u> <i>Furnum</i> (1119) <u>Wool</u> <i>Lana</i> (1154) <u>Ewe Lamb</u> <i>Agnis</i> (1154) <u>Pig</u> <i>Porcis</i> (1154) <u>Revenues</u> <i>Redituum</i> (1154) <u>(Probable debt or obligation owed by burghers to the monastery)</u> <i>Burgenses</i> (1155)

This table (*Table 5*) lists items exactly as they appear in the texts of the papal bulls, chronologically and without regard for case or plurality, given alongside their translation or equivalents in English (in singular number), intended to aid in the searchability of digital databases.

Terms are also given alongside the date of their first appearance in the series (any dating errors being mine), which, while textual analysis of this sort has not been a principal focus, may help to reveal something of the evolution of how possessions were understood. For instance, in this series of papal bulls (those papal bulls relating to Cluny, in which is listed at least one item of their property), the term ‘Prioratus’ (‘priory’) only enters the lexicon of papal confirmations and privileges in 1095 (December 7th), as ‘Prioratus Marciniacensis’ (‘Prieuré de la Sainte-Trinité de Marcigny’), in a bull confirming the properties of the convent of Marcigny.¹²¹ Before then, Marcigny is only indicated as a ‘monastery’. It first appears in a list of ‘Monasterium’ and ‘Monasterio’ as ‘Marciniacum’ in a 1055 privilege of Pope Victor II not long after her foundation, and subsequently as ‘Monasterium etiam Marciniacum’ (1075), and ‘Monasterium... S. Trinitatis in Marciniaco’ (1088).¹²² While of course the history of Cluny’s priory system does not begin in 1095, it is perhaps notable that it is in 1095 that the terminology is adopted in papal privileges, in the pontificate of the ‘Cluniac Pope’ Urban II no less. The story of the appearance of ‘*obedientia/am*’ (‘obedience’, i.e. an obedientiary priory) paints a similar picture, and in terms of this ‘micro-*Begriffsgeschichte*’ (‘conceptual-history’), speaks to the growing sense of how ‘Cluniac authority’ was developing around the turn of the twelfth-century. That is, it

¹²¹ Urban II, ‘Ad hoc nos disponente [1095]’, *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 22, col. 1.

¹²² Victor II, ‘Desiderium quod religiosorum [1055]’, *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 13, col. 1., n. 2; Gregor VII, ‘Supernae miserationis [1075]’, *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 18, col. 2; Urban II, ‘Cum omnibus sanctae [1088]’, *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 22, col. 2.

must be borne in mind that these data reveal not only the growth of Cluniac 'possessions' in a single axis – of number (and perhaps extent) – but also in terms of its qualitative authority; the way in which it is able to generate and expend papal favour in the service of an ever-greater sense of the superiority, majesty, and lordship of Cluny.

Indeed, under this categorical schema, the apparent peak of this 'majesty' is evident, with 1095 revealed as exceptionally conspicuous. The table below (*Table 6*) lists the absolute number of properties in each bull, followed by a number in parentheses referring to the number of *new* properties in that bull (i.e. properties that were not mentioned in previous bulls):

TABLE 6. ABSOLUTE AND NEW CLUNIAC PROPERTIES IN PAPAL BULLS 910-1156

BULL	ECCLESIASTICAL					SECULAR			TOTAL ITEMS
	Monastic		Nonmonastic						
	Monasteries	Cells	Churches	Chapels	Other Ecclesiastical	Lordships	Lands	Other Secular	
931 (John XI)	1 (+1)			1 (+1)					2 (+2)
932 (John XI)	1 (+1)								1 (+1)
936/7 (Leo VII)						2 (+2)			2 (+2)
936/7 (Leo VII) [2]			1 (+1)			1 (+1)	9 (+9)	2 (+2)	13 (+13)
954 (Agapetus II)	3 (+2)		3 (+3)			17 (+14)			23 (+19)
978 (Benedict VII)	2 (+2)								2 (+2)

BULL	ECCLESIASTICAL					SECULAR			TOTAL ITEMS
	Monastic		Nonmonastic						
	Monasteries	Cells	Churches	Chapels	Other Ecclesiastical	Lordships	Lands	Other Secular	
998 (Gregory V) ¹²³	15 (+13-2=+11))	27 (+27)	24 (+23-1=+22))	2 (+2)		36 (+26-1=+25))	8 (+6)	2 (+2)	114 (+95)
1050 (Leo IX)		1 (+1)	1 (+1)			1 (+1)	7 (+7)	3 (+3)	13 (+13)
1049-54 (Leo IX) ¹²⁴	1 (+1)								1 (+1)
1055 (Victor II)	19 (+4)	29 (+4)	28 (+5)			39 (+3)	7 (+0)	1 (+0)	123 (+16)
1058 (Stephen IX)	26 (+8)	36 (+7)	26 (+1)			38 (+0)	6 (+0)	1 (+0)	133 (+16)
1075 (Gregory VII)	1 (+1)								1 (+1)
1075 (Gregory VII) [2]	58 (+35)	31 (+2)	41 (+18)			42 (+7)	7 (+2)	1 (+0)	180 (+64)
1073-85 (Gregory VII)	1 (+1)								1 (+1)
1088 (Urban II)	14 (+10)								14 (+10)
1095 (Urban II)	132 (+126)								132 (+126)
1095 (Urban II) [2]	10 (+9)		47 (+47)	18 (+18)					75 (+74)
1095 (Urban II) [3]	1 (+0)		51 (+49)		5 (+5)	3 (+3)	14 (+14)	6 (+6)	80 (+77)
1095 (Urban II) [4]	1 (+0)		29 (+28)	1 (+1)	5 (+5)	8 (+8)	2 (+2)		46 (+44)
1096 (Urban II)	1 (+1)								1 (+1)
1096 (Urban II) [2]	13 (+12)		39 (+39)	7 (+7)		1 (+1)			60 (+59)
1096 (Urban II) [3]	1 (+0)								1 (+0)

¹²³ The unusual calculation of '+' and '-' numbers here refers to items switching categories. For example, an 'abbey' being downgraded to a 'cell' (perhaps as it falls below the minimum number of 12 monks), or vice-versa. This almost certainly happens in other bulls.

¹²⁴ I believe that this bull must have been written in or prior to 1049, because it addresses 'Raimundo Archiepiscopo Ausciensi', who was archbishop 1036-49. Of course, the letter may have been delivered after his death, but a 1049 dating seems more reasonable on a balance of probabilities: Leo IX, 'Pervenit ad aures nostras [1049]', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 13, col. 1., n.1.

BULL	ECCLESIASTICAL					SECULAR			TOTAL ITEMS
	Monastic		Nonmonastic						
	Monasteries	Cells	Churches	Chapels	Other Ecclesiastical	Lordships	Lands	Other Secular	
1096 (Urban II) [4]	1 (+0)		17 (+17)			15 (+15)			33 (+32)
1088-99 (Urban II)	1 (+1)								1 (+1)
1097-99 (Urban II)	1 (+1)								1 (+1)
1100 (Paschal II)	2 (+1)		2 (+1)	3 (+3)					7 (+5)
1100 (Paschal II) [2]	47 (+10)								47 (+10)
1102 (Paschal II)	1 (+0)		40 (+36)	1 (+1)		4 (+4)			46 (+41)
1105 (Paschal II)	3 (+2)		3 (+3)			2 (+2)			8 (+7)
1107 (Paschal II)	4 (+2)		28 (+28)						32 (+30)
1107 (Paschal II) [2]	2 (+2)								2 (+2)
1109 (Paschal II)	84 (+15)	1 (+1)							85 (+16)
1114 (Paschal II)	3 (+1)		5 (+5)						8 (+6)
1118 (Gelasius II)	18 (+3)								18 (+3)
1119 (Calixtus II)	3 (+2)		34 (+29)	3 (+3)	38 (+38)	27 (+20)	20 (+20)	33 (+33)	158 (+145)
1120 (William of Périgueux, Bishop)			1 (+1)						1 (+1)
1120 (Calixtus II)			1 (+0)						1 (+0)
1125 (Honorius II)	131 (+41)		10 (+4)						141 (+45)
1125 (Honorius II) [2]	1 (+0)								1 (+0)
1125 (Honorius II) [3]	1 (+0)								1 (+0)
1125 (Honorius II) [4]	1 (+0)								1 (+0)
1130 (Innocent II)	1 (+0)	1 (+1)	5 (+4)		4 (+4)	6 (+6)	1 (+1)		18 (+16)
1131 (Innocent II)			1 (+0)						1 (+0)

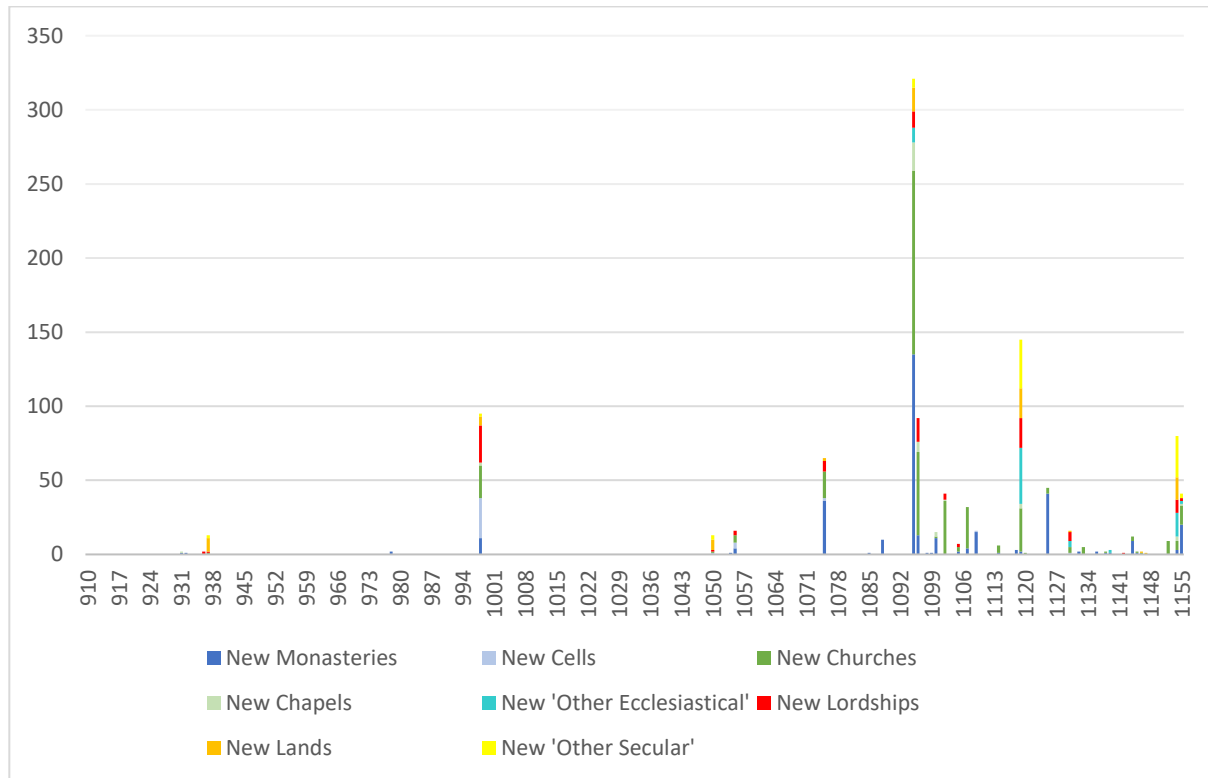
BULL	ECCLESIASTICAL					SECULAR			TOTAL ITEMS
	Monastic		Nonmonastic						
	Monasteries	Cells	Churches	Chapels	Other Ecclesiastical	Lordships	Lands	Other Secular	
1132 (Innocent II)	2 (+1)								2 (+1)
1132 (Innocent II) [2] ¹²⁵	1 (-1)								1 (-1)
1132 (Innocent II) [3]	1 (+0)								1 (+0)
1132 (Innocent II) [4]	1 (+1)								1 (+1)
1133 (Innocent II)			6 (+5)						6 (+5)
1136 (Innocent II)	1 (+1)								1 (+1)
1136 (Innocent II) [2]	1 (+1)								1 (+1)
1138 (Innocent II)	1 (+1)		1 (+1)						2 (+2)
1139 (Innocent II)	2 (+1)				2 (+2)				4 (+3)
1142 (Innocent II)						1 (+1)			1 (+1)
1144 (Celestine II)	1 (+1)								1 (+1)
1144 (Lucius II)						1 (+0)			1 (+0)
1144 (Lucius II) [2]	35 (+8)		6 (+3)						41 (+11)
1145 (Lucius II)	1 (+0)								1 (+0)
1145 (Lucius II) [2]	1 (+1)								1 (+1)
1144-5 (Lucius II)			1 (+1)						1 (+1)
1146 (Eugene III)	35 (+0)		6 (+0)				1 (+1)		42 (+1)
1146 (Eugene III) [2]	1 (+0)		1 (+1)						2 (+1)
1147 (Eugene III)	1 (+0)								1 (+0)

¹²⁵ The '-' number here represents the effective emancipation of 'Abbaye Saint-Bertin de Saint-Omer' from Cluniac control: Innocenz II, 'Canonum praecepta nos [1132]', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 47, col. 2.

BULL	ECCLESIASTICAL					SECULAR			TOTAL ITEMS
	Monastic		Nonmonastic						
	Monasteries	Cells	Churches	Chapels	Other Ecclesiastical	Lordships	Lands	Other Secular	
1147 (Eugene III) [2]							1 (+1)		1 (+1)
1152 (Eugene III)	11 (+0)		55 (+9)	18 (+0)					84 (+9)
1154 (Anastasius IV)	5 (+3)		6 (+6)	3 (+3)	16 (+16)	9 (+9)	15 (+15)	28 (+28)	82 (+80)
1155 (Adrian IV)	21 (+20)		13 (+13)	1 (+1)	2 (+2)	2 (+2)		3 (+3)	42 (+41)

Figure 10, below, represents visually the same data:

FIGURE 10. NEW CLUNIAN PROPERTIES IN PAPAL BULLS, 910-1156



Here again (*Figure 10*), 1095 can be seen to loom large, though a cumulative count of Cluniac properties appearing in papal bulls (*Table 7*) completes the picture.¹²⁶

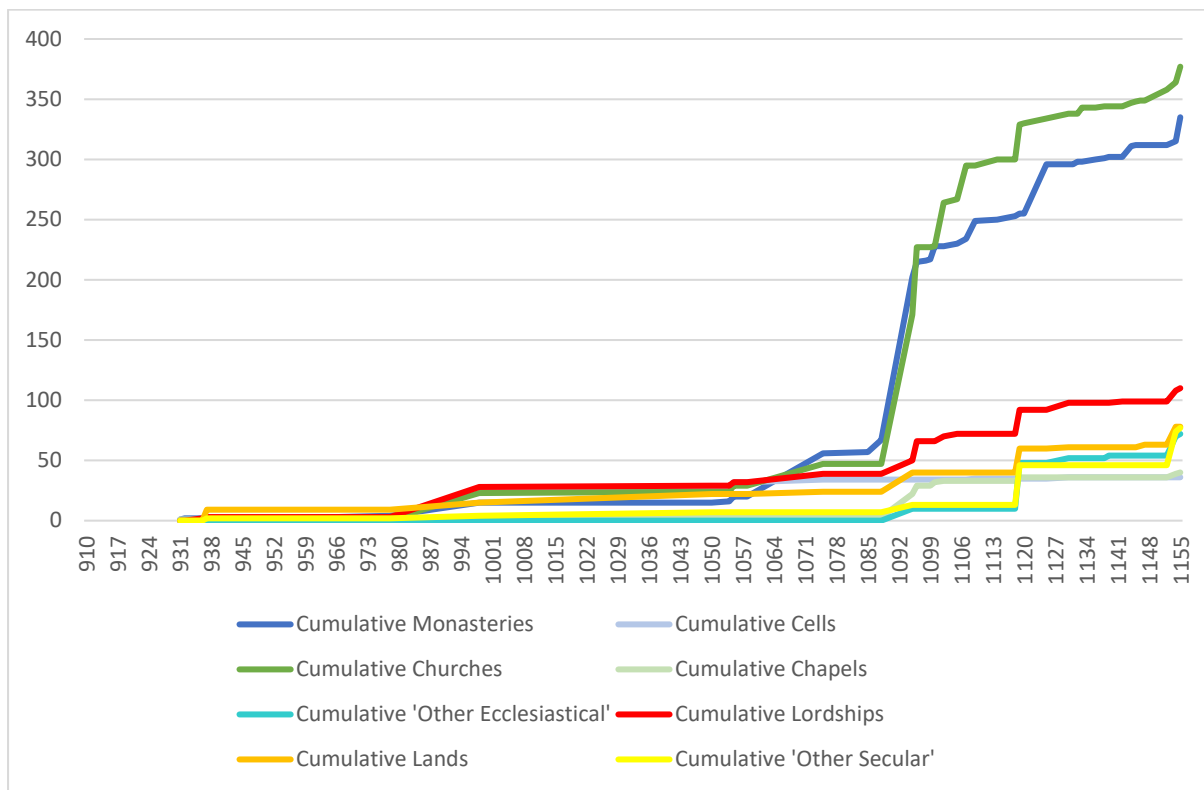
¹²⁶ Note that this 'cumulative counting' is justified by popes also confirming those properties that their predecessors had confirmed, without mentioning the properties by name, as in the case of Urban II, 'Cum omnibus sanctae', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 22, col. 2: 'Quidquid igitur libertatis, quidquid immunitatis, quidquid auctoritatis tibi, tuisque successoribus, tuoque Cœnobio, per Antecessorum nostrorum Privilegia concessum fuisse constat, nos quoque hujus nostri Decreti pagina conferimus, tradimus, confirmamus'. By comparison, the incidence of Cluny losing control of property is comparatively rare, though it does add to the uncertainty of the data presented here.

TABLE 7. CUMULATIVE CLUNIAC PROPERTIES IN PAPAL BULLS, 910-1156

BULL	ECCLESIASTICAL					SECULAR			TOTAL PROPERTY
	Monastic		Nonmonastic						
	Monasteries	Cells	Churches	Chapels	Other Ecclesiastical	Lordships	Lands	Other Secular	
931 (John XI)	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
932 (John XI)	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
936/7 (Leo VII)	2	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	5
936/7 (Leo VII) [2]	2	0	1	1	0	3	9	2	18
954 (Agapetus II)	4	0	4	1	0	17	9	2	37
978 (Benedict VII)	6	0	4	1	0	17	9	2	39
998 (Gregory V)	17	27	26	3	0	42	15	4	134
1050 (Leo IX)	17	28	27	3	0	43	22	7	147
1049-54 (Leo IX)	18	28	27	3	0	43	22	7	148
1055 (Victor II)	22	32	32	3	0	46	22	7	164
1058 (Stephen IX)	30	39	33	3	0	46	22	7	180
1075 (Gregory VII)	31	39	33	3	0	46	22	7	181
1075 (Gregory VII) [2]	66	41	51	3	0	53	24	7	245
1073-85 (Gregory VII)	67	41	51	3	0	53	24	7	246
1088 (Urban II)	77	41	51	3	0	53	24	7	256
1095 (Urban II)	203	41	51	3	0	53	24	7	382
1095 (Urban II) [2]	212	41	98	21	0	53	24	7	456
1095 (Urban II) [3]	212	41	147	21	5	56	38	13	533
1095 (Urban II) [4]	212	41	175	22	10	64	40	13	577
1096 (Urban II)	213	41	175	22	10	64	40	13	578
1096 (Urban II) [2]	225	41	214	29	10	65	40	13	637
1096 (Urban II) [3]	225	41	214	29	10	65	40	13	637
1096 (Urban II) [4]	225	41	231	29	10	80	40	13	669
1088-99 (Urban II)	226	41	231	29	10	80	40	13	670
1097-99 (Urban II)	227	41	231	29	10	80	40	13	671
1100 (Paschal II)	228	41	232	32	10	80	40	13	676
1100 (Paschal II) [2]	238	41	232	32	10	80	40	13	686
1102 (Paschal II)	238	41	268	33	10	84	40	13	727
1105 (Paschal II)	240	41	271	33	10	86	40	13	734
1107 (Paschal II)	242	41	299	33	10	86	40	13	764
1107 (Paschal II) [2]	244	41	299	33	10	86	40	13	766
1109 (Paschal II)	259	42	299	33	10	86	40	13	782
1114 (Paschal II)	260	42	304	33	10	86	40	13	788
1118 (Gelasius II)	263	42	304	33	10	86	40	13	791
1119 (Calixtus II)	265	42	333	36	48	106	60	46	936
1120 (William of Périgueux, Bishop)	265	42	334	36	48	106	60	46	937
1120 (Calixtus II)	265	42	334	36	48	106	60	46	937

BULL	ECCLESIASTICAL					SECULAR			TOTAL PROPERTY
	Monastic		Nonmonastic						
	Monasteries	Cells	Churches	Chapels	Other Ecclesiastical	Lordships	Lands	Other Secular	
1125 (Honorius II)	306	42	338	36	48	106	60	46	982
1125 (Honorius II) [2]	306	42	338	36	48	106	60	46	982
1125 (Honorius II) [3]	306	42	338	36	48	106	60	46	982
1125 (Honorius II) [4]	306	42	338	36	48	106	60	46	982
1130 (Innocent II)	306	43	342	36	52	112	61	46	998
1131 (Innocent II)	306	43	342	36	52	112	61	46	998
1132 (Innocent II)	307	43	342	36	52	112	61	46	999
1132 (Innocent II) [2]	306	43	342	36	52	112	61	46	998
1132 (Innocent II) [3]	306	43	342	36	52	112	61	46	998
1132 (Innocent II) [4]	307	43	342	36	52	112	61	46	999
1133 (Innocent II)	307	43	347	36	52	112	61	46	1004
1136 (Innocent II)	308	43	347	36	52	112	61	46	1005
1136 (Innocent II) [2]	309	43	347	36	52	112	61	46	1006
1138 (Innocent II)	310	43	348	36	52	112	61	46	1008
1139 (Innocent II)	311	43	348	36	54	112	61	46	1011
1142 (Innocent II)	311	43	348	36	54	113	61	46	1012
1144 (Celestine II)	312	43	348	36	54	113	61	46	1013
1144 (Lucius II)	312	43	348	36	54	113	61	46	1013
1144 (Lucius II) [2]	320	43	351	36	54	113	61	46	1024
1145 (Lucius II)	320	43	351	36	54	113	61	46	1024
1145 (Lucius II) [2]	321	43	351	36	54	113	61	46	1025
1144-5 (Lucius II)	321	43	352	36	54	113	61	46	1026
1146 (Eugene III)	321	43	352	36	54	113	62	46	1027
1146 (Eugene III) [2]	321	43	353	36	54	113	62	46	1028
1147 (Eugene III)	321	43	353	36	54	113	62	46	1028
1147 (Eugene III) [2]	321	43	353	36	54	113	63	46	1029
1152 (Eugene III)	321	43	362	36	54	113	63	46	1038
1154 (Anastasius IV)	324	43	368	39	70	122	78	74	1118
1155 (Adrian IV)	344	43	381	40	72	124	78	77	1159

FIGURE 11. CUMULATIVE CLUNIAN PROPERTIES FROM PAPAL BULLS, 910-1156



Here (*Table 7; Figure 11*) a steady or marginal rate of acquisition up until the mid-eleventh century can be seen, whereupon the rate of acquisition particularly of monasteries and churches accelerates dramatically, reaching a minimum of six-hundred-and-seventy-one named properties of all types by the end of the century (and Urban II's pontificate), and one-thousand-one-hundred-and-fifty-nine by the end of Peter the Venerable's abbacy in 1156.

While one may be tempted to interpret these data merely as the result of imperfect and halting accounting practices on behalf of the papacy, with confirmations and privileges lurching between more and less competent pontifical administrations, nonetheless it must be reasserted that such papal interventions represent applications of authority, orthodox power, and legal domination. A papal confirmation of property following a dispute resolved in Cluny's favour, perhaps

reinforced by a conciliar pronouncement or reading, clearly *means* more, and *signals* more, than any impression of dry accounting we might have.

Indeed, we might be able to gain a clearer sense of the *meaning* inherent in the instrument of the papal bull by looking closely at the events and context of what was the most dramatic year not only of Cluny's expansion (as indicated by these data), but perhaps of papal power itself – 1095. In particular, a close analysis of the Council of Clermont and its circumstances paints a vivid picture of the contemporary church and Cluny's place within it.

The Council of Clermont

Perhaps ranking as the most well-known Church synod of the High Middle Ages, the Council of Clermont is principally remembered today for launching the First Crusade on the final day of its proceedings in a sermon delivered by Pope Urban II. However, even disregarding this, Clermont would still occupy a preeminent position in the story of the Latin Church in the eleventh- and twelfth-centuries on the basis of the scale of the gathering and the legacy of its canons and *acta*.

Taking place over the course of nine or ten days according to Robert Somerville, in what is still the most digestible synthesis of events, contemporary estimates of the number of prelates in attendance ranged from eighty to four-hundred bishops, though the likely figure is probably closer to twelve archbishops, eighty or eighty-two bishops, and ninety abbots.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Robert Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont (1095), and Latin Christian Society', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 12 (1974), pp. 61, 62, 77. The chronicler Fulcher of Chartres, for instance, reported an

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JAMIE WILLIAM IRVINE

Whatever the case may be, it is clear that Clermont was an enormous gathering for the time, and indeed the style of the summons issued by Urban reveals something of its significance and the manner in which papal authority was reproduced and experienced. In a convocational letter to Reims, as Somerville relates, Urban threatened that 'absentees would be in danger of losing their ecclesiastical status, and would arouse papal wrath'.¹²⁸ Of course, this would be a serious consequence for any bishop, revealing something of the gravity and authority with which Urban established the terms of the council, and how he operated more generally – obedience was demanded, and the threat of harsh punitive discipline never far away.

With this as the disciplinary backdrop, it might be unsurprising that, of the approximately thirty-two known conciliar decisions made at Clermont, no less than ten concerned Cluny, and none went against the interests of the presiding Pope's mother house.¹²⁹

Alongside the four conciliar acts that we know of dealing with Cluniac properties, and the inclusion of the establishment of a prayer fraternity (representing a level of association between monasteries below that of belonging to a congregation) involving a Cluniac house (Saint-Cyprien), two concern the condemnation of seculars acting against Cluniac interests – one against the oppressions of Archimbaud V de Bourbon against the priory of Souvigny, and the other excommunicating Bernard Girlandi and his sons for seizing the church of St. Martin at Chaudes Aigues, which

estimated three-hundred-and-ten bishops and abbots: August C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eye-Witnesses and Participants* (Princeton, 1921), p. 26.

¹²⁸ Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont...', p. 66.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-90.

belonged to the Cluniac priory of St Flour.¹³⁰ Of course, beyond adding to the frequency of Cluniac mentions, these conciliar acts reveal little of the congregation's influence compared to other powers within the Church, since we would expect a reforming papacy to defend its interests against any secular encroachments.

Perhaps more instructive, therefore, are those acts which reveal Cluny's favour in the resolution of disputes *between* monastic houses or congregations. The mildest of these resolved at Clermont survives from an extant letter between Ermengard the Abbot of la Chiusa (near Torino/Turin) and Asculf the Abbot of St. Jean d'Angély, concerning the Church of Orlac in the diocese of Saintes (near St. Jean d'Angély), resolved in the Cluniac house's favour.¹³¹

In the same vein, we hear of a dispute arbitrated by Bernard, Archbishop of Toledo, between his cousin, Abbot Bertrand of Mas-Garnier, and Abbot Seguin of Lézat (Cluniac), both in the Languedoc.¹³² The issue was raised by Seguin and resolved in his favour, despite the familial bonds between his opponent and their arbitrator, prompting Bertrand to flee in embarrassment from the synod. In this case, we may

¹³⁰ There was likely a general confirmation of Cluniac possessions at Clermont: Ibid., p. 85, on the basis of S. Loewenfeld, '882-1198', in P. Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* (Leipzig, 1885-8), letters 5845, 15574, 5849, 5583 and 5551. The council affirmed the concession of the church of St. Pierre at Migné to the Cluniac abbey of Montierneuf through the efforts of Bishop Peter of Poitiers and Pope Urban II: Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont...', p. 86; W. Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich 6* (Berlin, 1911), pp. 27-8. The donation of the abbey of St. Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou to Cluny was also confirmed at Clermont: Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont...', p. 86 citing Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum...*, letter 5594. The grant of a privilege to the Cluniac abbey of St. Bertin may have also figured in the synodal proceedings: Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont...', p. 89, citing Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum...*, letter 5600a. For the prayer fraternity established at Clermont involving St. Cyprien, see Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont...', p. 88. For the oppressions of Archimbaud V, see Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont...', p. 86; L. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés* (Mâcon, 1939), p. 3073; J. Mabillon, *Annales ordinis s. Benedicti* (Paris, 1703-39), p. 5, 65ff. For the excommunication of Bernard Girlandi, see Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont...', p.88; Mabillon, *Annales...*, p. 698.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 366; Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont...', p. 88.

¹³² Ibid., pp. 83, 88; *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 15 (Paris, 1869-1904), 49B-C.

wonder if the archbishop's Cluniac loyalties (Bernard of Sédirac made his profession at Cluny and served as abbot of Cluniac Sahagún before being raised to the archiepiscopate) trumped his familial ones, or if he was following that precept laid out in chapter sixty-nine of the *Rule of Saint Benedict* that,

...no monk venture on any ground to defend another monk in the monastery, or as it were to take him under his protection, even though they be connected by some tie of kinship. Let not the monks venture to do this in any way whatsoever, because it may give rise to most serious scandals. But if anyone break this rule, let him be punished very severely.¹³³

Indeed, perhaps both of these pressures would have been mounted against him, deliberately or otherwise, ensuring that the 'right decision' was ultimately made.

Most notably, however, was the settlement of a jurisdictional dispute between Cluny herself and the Chaise-Dieu, the latter of which may have been the second-largest monastic congregation in the Church at the time, numbering some ten abbeys and three-hundred priories at her peak in the twelfth and thirteenth-centuries according to an estimate by Alain Erlande-Brandenberg.¹³⁴ The matter was deemed important enough that at least two archbishops (Hugh of Lyon and Audebert of Bourges) were appointed to arbitrate in addition to 'many other religious men' ('aliorumque multorum religioforum virorum').¹³⁵

Unsurprisingly, the settlement skewed heavily in favour of Cluny, with the Chaise-Dieu being forced to concede a priory ('Boortense monasterium'), seven churches

¹³³ Saint Benedict of Nursia, *The Rule of Saint Benedict, in Latin and English*, ed. and trans. by Justin McCann (London, 1952), p. 156: 'Praecavendum est ne quavis occasione praesumat alter alium defendere monachum in monasterio aut quasi tueri, etiamsi qualivis consanguinitatis propinquitae jungantur. Nec quolibet modo id a monachis praesumatur, quia exinde gravissima occasio scandalorum oriri potest. Quod si quid haec transgressus fuerit, acrius coerceatur'.

¹³⁴ Alain Erlande-Brandenberg, 'L'abbatiale de la Chaise-Dieu', *Congrès archéologique (Velay)*, 133 (1975), pp. 720-55.

¹³⁵ J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 20 (Florence-Venice, 1759-98), cols. 911-2. Somerville misquotes or abridges this as 'aliorum...'.
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('Ecclesiam de Amberto... sancti Stephani de Castello... Digneio... Cosantia... Vongejo... Priscejo... Snirejaco') and part of the tithes of two other churches ('partem decimae de Ecclesia Consiaci... Ecclesia de Judaeis') to Cluny, with Cluny conceding what appears to be an obedientiary priory ('obedientiam de Castellione juxta castrum Corziacum') and a church ('Ecclesiam de Casa Mediana') in return.¹³⁶ The priory listed first among Chaise-Dieu's concessions here can be identified as the 'Prieuré Notre-Dame de Bort', which first appears in a Cluniac bull of mid-March 1095 as 'Monasterium quod dicitur Boort', some months before the late November settlement at Clermont.¹³⁷ By contrast, 'obedientiam de Castellione' is more difficult to identify owing to its commonplace name, though a church of the diocese of Bourges by the name of 'Castellione' does appear in a Cluniac bull, as a dependant of Souvigny, dated November 13 1095, just days before the Council of Clermont assembled on the 18th.¹³⁸

As such, it may be the case that the dispute was precipitated by Cluniac claims to these houses promulgated in papal bulls, but whatever its causes, we might be entitled to read this episode as a clash between two of the greatest monastic congregations of the day; between an upstart Chaise-Dieu and ancient Cluny at the apogee of its power, backed by a pope of its order and a network of bishops sympathetic to it, who would rule in its favour ten times out of ten in one of the

¹³⁶ Ibid., col. 911: 'Sciendum est itaque quia Domnus Abbas Pontius & fratres Casae Dei concesserunt Domno Hugoni Abbati & fratribus Cluniacensibus Boortense monasterium & Ecclesiam de Amberto, Ecclesiam quoque sancti Stephani de Castello, & Ecclesiam Digneio, atque Ecclesiam de Cosantia, Ecclesiamque de Vongejo, & Ecclesiam de Priscejo, atque Ecclesiam de Snirejaco, cum omnibus earum appendiciis, tam in terris & possessionibus, quam in decimis caeterisque redditibus, & partem decimae de Ecclesia Consiaci, partem quoque decimae quam habebant in Ecclesia de Judaeis, ut habeant deinceps haec omnia in perpetuum. E converso Domnus Abbas Cluniacensis & fratres ejus concesserunt Domno Abbati Casae Dei & fratribus ejus obedientiam de Castellione juxta castrum Corziacum & Ecclesiam de Casa Mediana cum omnibus ad eas pertinentibus ut possideant ea omnia in perpetuum...'. The episode is also mentioned briefly in *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 4 (Paris 1715-1865), col. 102E, focusing on Bort.

¹³⁷ Urban II, 'Cum omnibus sanctae [2]', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 23, col. 2.

¹³⁸ Urban II, 'Quoniam supernae dispositionis', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 29, col. 2.

largest papal synods of the age, speaking to the enormous influence wielded by the Burgundian house at the time.

In fact, this narrative may not be too far from the truth, since we know that Urban II did stay at Cluny in the October before the council, and it would be more than reasonable to assume that some strategizing might have taken place between the old prior of Cluny and his abbot, Hugh the Great, especially in the context of his having certainly interceded to secure the church of St. Pierre at Migné for Cluny in the same council.¹³⁹ For her part, Joan Evans regarded Urban's remarkably Cluniac-centric itinerary prior to the gathering at Clermont to have been a signal that 'the Sovereign Pontiff still regarded himself as a member of the Order of Cluny', showing 'how closely he was preoccupied with Cluniac interests'.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, since a familiarity with the Cluniac monastic network's *importance* to Cluny herself would reveal that the very heart of the congregation was centred on *Clermont*, and not in fact, say, Mâcon (*Figure 17*), one could argue quite persuasively that the Council of Clermont could be regarded as *the* 'Cluniac Council' of the 1090s.

In any case, the favour showed to Cluny at Clermont seems to be quite clear, resting as they were at the apex of a network of influence built over the course of the previous two centuries. No less than a third of the recorded conciliar acts concerned their interests, and no decisions went against them. The pope was Cluniac, many bishops were Cluniac, and the synod was packed with Cluniac abbots and priors from across the Latin world. From papal bulls we are witness to both the staggering multiplication of its holdings, and how the building momentum of its authority

¹³⁹ Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont...', p. 85.

¹⁴⁰ Joan Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny, 910-1157* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 36, 35. Evans takes her itinerary of Urban from Cte. de Montalembert, *The Monks of the West, from St. Benedict to St. Bernard*, vol. vi (London, 1896), p. 117.

deepened the sense of its lordship and majesty. In this process we see a broader reflection in the Church itself and the papacy more particularly – the hierarchical reform initiated by Gregory VII was reaching its maturity just as the transition to a ‘papal monarchy’ was completing.¹⁴¹ Even in the instrument of papal synods themselves this change can be seen; their development from deliberative and judicial bodies, to simple ratifiers of papal pronouncements is evidenced over this period, as observed and argued by Ian Robinson.¹⁴² In some of the more perceptive words of Thomas Bisson, in short, ‘never had there been – in some sense as much qualitative as quantitative – so *much* lordship’, and the hierarchical reform of the Church was no exception to this.¹⁴³ Cluny, for her part it has hopefully been demonstrated, was absolutely central to this process and its major beneficiary in the monastic world. Perhaps inevitably, predictably, the result of this monumental transformation was resistance and counter-movement.

The Rise of Cluny and the New Orders

We might tentatively imagine that Cluny’s expansion in the latter half of the eleventh-century was the result or symptom of a much broader transformation affecting practically all of Western European society at the time. At the highest scales of analysis, it is a trend captured by the most prominent macroscopic theories of the period. Thomas Bisson’s description of the advancement of ‘lordship’ and the deepening of secular power accords with Robert Moore’s concept of a developing ‘persecuting society’ just as it bolsters Charles Homer Haskin’s identification of a

¹⁴¹ Rosenstock-Huessy famously referred to this process as ‘Papal Revolution’: Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *Out of Revolution: Autobiography of Western Man* (New York, 1938), Part II.

¹⁴² I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 121-145, especially p. 126.

¹⁴³ Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton, 2009), p. 69.

'renaissance' in the twelfth century.¹⁴⁴ They all describe the effects of a systemic deepening and extension of *power* and *authority* across the period, with greater or lesser focus, amounting to the identification of a civilisational change of monumental scale. Norman Cantor, writing about the Gregorian reform, evangelises its importance well:

...the Gregorian reform and the investiture controversy constituted nothing less than a world revolution similar in many ways to the world revolutions of modern Western history – the Protestant revolution of the sixteenth century, the liberal revolution of the eighteenth century, and the Communist revolution of the twentieth century. By a world revolution I mean a widespread and thoroughgoing revolution in world view (*Weltanschauungsumwandlung*), the emergence of a new ideology that rejects the results of several centuries of development, organized into the prevailing system, and calls for a new right order in the world.¹⁴⁵

Thrust into this context – of a revolution in power – we might say that the 'religious movement of the Middle Ages' and the establishment of the new monastic orders represents its spiritual and material rejection; their origin, in other words, as the Jungian shadow, conscience, and counter-movement to the currents of power and authority that were transforming contemporary Europe. Though this may be the ultimate origin, its direct instrument and expression was to many in the monastic world the overbearing dominance of Cluny and institutions like it.

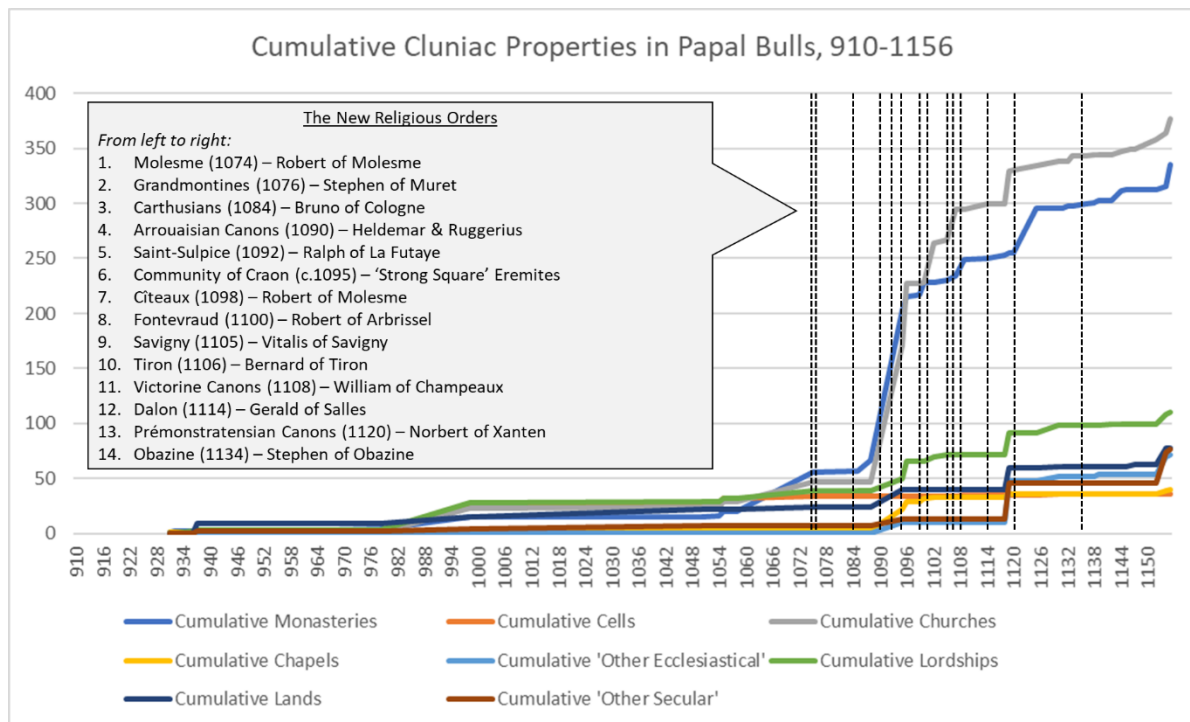
For the purposes of this thesis, therefore, what is notable about Cluny's pattern of acquisitions is that its exponential expansion in the latter half of the eleventh century correlates strongly with the rise of the new orders (*Figure 12*). A generation of

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.; Robert I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950-1250* (Oxford, 1987); Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927).

¹⁴⁵ Norman F. Cantor, 'The Crisis of Western Monasticism, 1050-1130', *The American Historical Review*, 66 (1960), p. 55.

founders came of age in the abbacy of Hugh the Great, experiencing the apogee of Cluny's power in their adulthood. Robert of Molesme (1028-1111) was entering his twenties as Hugh began his (deliberate or otherwise) program of acquisitions, founding Molesme in 1074 at around the same time as Gregory's bull revealed the enormous growth of Cluniac monastic control. Two years later came Stephen of Muret's (1045-1124) foundation at Muret in 1076 (which would later become the Grandmontine order), and twelve years after that Bruno of Cologne (c.1030-1101) had taken Robert's advice to found La Grande Chartreuse in 1084. After these foundations in or near the heartlands of Cluny's power, the majority of 'new orders' have their origins during the peak of Cluny's expansionary drive (after which it – and the founding of new orders – falls off) – the two decades which bracket the turn of the century, but most prominently in the 1090s as Cluniac influence fully penetrated other regions of France. In 1090 Haldemar & Ruggerius founded the Arrouaisian order of canons, and in 1092 Ralph of La Futaye (d.1129) settled a community at Saint-Sulpice. Around 1095 the important hermit community in the forest of Craon was active, which took in many later founders of the new orders, some of whom were explicitly fleeing Cluniac repression. In 1098 Robert of Molesme founded Cîteaux, followed by Robert of Arbrissel's (c.1045-1116) Fontevraud in 1100. Vitalis of Savigny (c.1060-1122) followed not soon after with his foundation of 'grey monks' at Savigny in 1105, and Bernard of Tiron (1046-1117) did the same at Tiron in 1106. In 1108 William of Champeaux (c.1070-1121) established the Victorine canons, and their even more ascetic counterparts at Prémontré were settled in 1120 by Norbert of Xanten (c.1075-1134). Meanwhile, another alumnus of Craon – Gerald of Salles (c.1055/70-1120) – established Dalon in 1114, followed by Stephen of Obazine's (1085-1154) Obazine in 1134. All in all, the 'average year' of all of these foundations – while noting the selection bias inherent in such a grouping – is 1099, close to Cluny's greatest rate of expansion and coincidentally only a year after the foundation of the most successful of the new orders – 1098's Cîteaux.

FIGURE 12. CORRELATION OF CLUNIAC EXPANSION AND 'NEW ORDER' FOUNDATIONS



That the pattern of these foundations tracks closely to the peaks in Cluny's expansionary activity is demonstrated clearly (*Figure 12*), so the critical question here, therefore, is if this is causally coincidental or not; and if not, why? It certainly raises questions about the sequentialism of Grundmann's 'religious movement' thesis and others, and the 'coenobitic crisis' debate following Morin and LeClerq. If to Grundmann Cluniac monasticism briefly harnessed the powers of the 'religious movement', only to pass them over to its white monk inheritors, then why do we see the foundations of so many new orders at the *peak* of Cluniac expansion; at the very height of its power? The same question can be levelled at 'coenobitic crisis', where it is claimed that a 'crisis' in Benedictine monasticism is at least partly responsible for the rise of the new orders – that the white monks took over religious leadership from the black *because* the latter were failing. As John Van Engen pointed out in a 1986 article, however, 'a new vision of religious perfection need not require the decadence

of another; two or more may well flourish in the same era', going on to argue that 'the same pattern emerges time and again: the Benedictines held steadily or grew appreciably in new foundations and total numbers throughout the period of supposed crisis (1050-1150)'.¹⁴⁶ Nonetheless, this insight is passed over by the modern standard-bearer of interest in the 'crisis of cenobitism', Steven Vanderputten, who argues instead that traditional Benedictine institutions faced multivariate 'structural' crises and that we should instead replace the term with 'crises of cenobitism' to acknowledge the idiosyncrasies of troubles in individual houses.¹⁴⁷

Though Vanderputten should be applauded for almost single-handedly keeping research into the 'cenobitic crisis' alive, his insistence upon regionalism does little to solve the contradictions within the Morin-Leclercq thesis that he revives. In Vanderputten, our attention is returned to the concept of 'crisis', and we are made to again imagine that it is the *weakness* of Benedictine monasticism that is of significance rather than its demonstrable *strength*. In other words, Vanderputten takes us back to the idea that religious institutions competed over the same 'religious needs', and only a kind of piety vacuum caused by crisis (or crises) in the ranks of the Black Monks allowed the White to rise; to step into the *same* space of religious leadership.

This, however, would be a fundamental misunderstanding of the causal dynamics which brought about the new orders. The position advanced here (though as yet unproven) is that the White and Black were not locked into a zero-sum game competing for the *same* religious space, where the 'winner' was whoever was most observant and most effective at appropriating traditional monastic credibility, but

¹⁴⁶ Van Engen, 'The "Crisis of Cenobitism" Reconsidered...', pp. 274, 277.

¹⁴⁷ Steven Vanderputten, 'Crises of Cenobitism: Abbatial Leadership and Monastic Competition in Late-Eleventh-Century Flanders', *English Historical Review*, 127 (2012), pp. 264, 284.

that the norms and the power of the Black created the White *oppositionally*. That the White Monks were forced to create a *different* religious space as a reaction to Benedictine monopolies over existing spaces – that they were not playing the zero-sum game for ‘religious needs’ as conceived by Grundmann, Morin, Leclercq, Vanderputten and the rest, but rather that they were created or generated by their particular ‘polar’ orientation to traditional Benedictine norms and power. If the Black Monks monopolised the towns, cities, and cultivated land, then the White would have to be aligned with the wilderness; if the Black laboured with liturgical voices, then the White would labour with working hands.

This process of binary ideological formation is a complex one, and will be explored in later chapters, though the second pillar of this hypothesis is much simpler to establish despite being no-less critical: that Cluniac power and influence was repressive *enough*, and in *enough places*, to create the necessity for this binary ideological formation in the first place. In this case, its repression can be demonstrated with examples of resistance to it. While resistance in the form of religious alternatives (as those pursued by the new orders) is the subject of *PART TWO: THE NEW ORDER*, it was not the only avenue pursued by monks disgruntled with the overbearing power of Cluny.

Chapter 2: Resistance to Cluny

Almost from the start of its operations, resistance to Cluny's reforming mandate appears in the sources. While the history of Cluny is long, passing through eras animated by quite different imperatives and contexts, nonetheless it is possible to discern certain patterns and recurrences by analysing the recorded cases of resistance to it, especially in the abbacy of Hugh the Great. What is revealed, and what this chapter aims to relate through a series of case studies, is how Cluny developed a customary form and pattern of monastic subjection with a concomitantly consistent class of opponents. Through the control of abbatial appointments, noble and episcopal alliances, and the imposition of physical and legal authority thereby against communities of normal brothers, Cluny's activities represented the application of a political and social pressure which became *structural* in form and scale.

Fleury Abbey

During the abbacy of Saint Odo (r.927-942), for instance, John of Salerno informs us of an incident where the second abbot faced considerable opposition from the monks of Fleury Abbey after he had been called in to reform their house (in about 930). Approaching the monastery on one occasion, the brothers decided instead to arm themselves with swords and shields, and took to the rooves with stones, pledging to die rather than suffer the abbot of another community to enter or submit to his order.¹⁴⁸ By the time of Saint Odilo (r.994-1049), the fifth abbot was being

¹⁴⁸ Joanne monacho, 'Vita Sancti Odonis Abbatis Cluniacensis Secundi', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 133, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1841-55), col. 0081A: 'Per illud tempus vir Elisiardus, qui tunc erat comes illustris, nunc vero in monastico degit habitu, audiens infamiam horum monachorum, praedictam abbatiam a Rodulfo rege Francorum petiit et accepit, acceptamque patri nostro tradidit. Deinde sumptis secum duobus comitibus, itidemque praesulibus, simul cum patre nostro Odone profecti sunt. Quorum

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satirised by Bishop Adalbero of Laon as 'rex Oydelo Cluniacensis' in a poem which criticised the extensive power and influence of the monastery, quipping 'I am not a monk, but so commanded I am a soldier of the king. For my lord is King Odilo of Cluny'.¹⁴⁹

While it could be said that the monks of Fleury were simply defending the independence of their house, and indeed that having *any* outsider enter to reform it would have been an intolerable affront to their monastic autonomy, it is clear that by Adalbero's 1030 poem this reputation was very firmly attached to *Cluny* itself, and particularly in the person of its perambulating abbot. That is, in the space of at least a century, resistance to the inherently violent act of reforming a monastic establishment had become resistance to the *reputation* of Cluny itself.

Goudargues

An example of this resistance to reputation rather than to direct acts can be found at Goudargues, which was gifted to Saint-Saturnin on the condition that it remain under the control of the prior there rather than the Abbot of Cluny, 'they may be, furthermore, always under the protection and rule of the priors of Saint-Saturnin'.¹⁵⁰

adventu fratres cognito, sumptis gladiis alii ascenderunt aedificiorum tecta, quasi hostes suos lapidibus et missilibus coelorum jaculaturi. Alii muniti clypeis, accinctis ensibus monasterii observabant aditum, prius se mori fatentes quam eos introire sinerent, aut abbatem alterius ordinis susciperent.'

¹⁴⁹ Adalberonis Carmen, 'Ad Robertum Regem Francorum', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 141, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1841-55), col. 0775: 'Non ego sum monachus, jussu sed milito regis. Nam dominus meus est rex Oydelo Cluniacensis'.

¹⁵⁰ Raimundus comes, 'Charta qua Raimundus comes [Sancti Ægidii] monasterio Cluniacensi abbatiam Gordiniacensem subjicit', *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, vol. IV, ed. by Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel (Paris, 1876-1903), no. 3404, pp. 507-10: 'sit etiam semper sub tutamine et sub regimine prepositi Sancti Saturnini'.

Saint-Cybard, Saint-Jean d'Angély, Saint-Cyprien, Maillezais, Saint-Germain d'Auxerre

Similarly, Saint-Cybard was given by Count Fulk of Angoulême between 1075 and 1087 to Saint-Jean d'Angély on the condition that it remain under the direct control of the latter rather than succumbing to the influence of Cluny.¹⁵¹ Here Abbot Hugh of Cluny had given his 'will and consent' ('volente et annuente') to an arrangement whereby the abbot of Saint-Jean d'Angély would appoint the abbot of Saint-Cybard in what appears to be some kind of compromise designed to mollify its monks, who were only forced to acquiesce in 1099.¹⁵² However, perhaps as an indication of Hugh's strategic mind at work, Cluny bypassed the compromise when in 1104 a contested abbatial election at Saint-Jean d'Angély herself resulted in the instalment of Henry, the Prior of Cluny, as its superior, meaning that elections at Saint-Cybard were now directly under the control of Hugh through his former prior.¹⁵³

In other houses, Hugh could be more direct in ensuring his control of abbatial elections. For instance, in 1101 Bishop Peter II of Poitiers was reprimanded by Pope Paschal II for consecrating the election of new abbots at Saint-Cyprien and Maillezais without first consulting Saint Hugh.¹⁵⁴ The language used in the papal letter sent to Bishop Peter was fairly strong, if somewhat typical for the time, threatening that he 'may suffer the indignation of the apostolic see' if papal commands were not complied with, and making sure he understood that privileges of the Roman Church had been contravened, rather than merely Cluniac.¹⁵⁵ The abbacy of Saint-Germain d'Auxerre was confirmed for Cluny in a similarly blunt way, after a dispute had broken

¹⁵¹ Georges Musset, ed., 'Cartulaire de Saint-Jean d'Angély', tome 1, *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, 30 (Paris, 1901), pp. 394-6.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 395.

¹⁵³ Ibid., pp. 398-9.

¹⁵⁴ Paschalis II, 'LX. P[etro] episcopo Pictaviensi praecipit ut monasterio Cluniacensi satisfaciat de abbate S. Cypriani consecrato; eidemque monasterio satisfieri ab abbate Malleacensi jubet', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 163, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1841-55), cols. 0081C-D.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., cols. 0081C-D: '...sedis apostolicae indignationem experiaris...'; '...adversus Romanae Ecclesiae privilegia...'.

out with its abbot in the 1090s: Pope Urban II interceded on Cluny's behalf, and with the help of comital patrons Count Stephen-Henry of Blois and his wife, Adela, the incalcitrant abbot Robert was replaced in favour of Hughes de Montaigu, the nephew of Abbot Hugh of Cluny through his father Dalmas de Semur, Hugh's younger brother, in a classic case of nepotism.¹⁵⁶ That is, by hook or by crook – in what appears to be the most appropriate expression – Hugh the Great of Cluny would do his utmost to secure and maintain the critical privilege of interference in abbatial elections, if that meant a direct application of papal force or by opportunistic political manoeuvring.

In the case of Saint-Cybard, while Noreen Hunt suggested that 'donors were anxious to limit Cluny's power in favour of the dependencies to which they wished to submit their monasteries', it seems equally as likely that the compromise measures were adopted by a coalition of Count Fulk and Abbot Hugh working in concert to placate the resident monks in order to complete the transfer, a pattern which would be repeated in many other instances.¹⁵⁷ That is, it is usually the case that the Abbot of Cluny and secular donors colluded against resistant monks in subjected houses, otherwise there seems to be no real reason why such donors would gift monasteries to the Congregation of Cluny at all. Indeed, the sequence of events at Saint-Cybard and Saint-Jean d'Angély suggests a level of intent in the *modus operandi* of Hugh the Great that is not acknowledged in Hunt's 'accidental greatness' thesis. Rather, what appears to have happened is a deliberate transfer of power from an

¹⁵⁶ Urbanus II, 'Beati Urbani II Pontificis Romani Epistolae Et Privilegia: CCLXXXVI. Urbani epistola ad Hugonem, Cluniacensem abbatem.---Illi significat «in Romana nuper synodo» se decrevisse ut monasterium S. Germani Antissiodorensis, ab abbate in concilio Nemausensi sibi «refutatum,» ei committeretur. (Intra an. 1097-1098.)', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 151, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), cols. 0538D-0539B; 'Charta qua Stephanus comes et uxor ejus Ad[ela] monasterium Sancti Germani Autissiodorensis monachis Cluniacensibus committunt', *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, vol. V, ed. by Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel (Paris, 1876-1903), no. 3717, pp. 63-4.

¹⁵⁷ Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh...*, p. 165

autonomous monastic institution to a network of interdependent secular and ecclesiastical lordships; an *evolution* of power to a higher hierarchical level under the more direct control of the higher nobility as a bloc.

Saint-Martial de Limoges

Indeed, this same pattern of behaviour was alleged by a monk of Saint-Martial in Limoges, writing to bolster his community's opposition to its takeover by Cluny. Given to Cluny in 1063 by the *vicomte* of Limoges, Adhemar II (c.1023-1090), ostensibly to counter laxity and simony, the transfer was opposed by its monks from the beginning. The contemporary papal legate Peter Damian (c.1007-1072/3), writing from a papal and Cluniac perspective, described the extent of their resistance:

In the famous city of Limoges, the most devoted and richest monastery in honour of Saint Martial had newly acquired a Cluniac abbot. But because the monks of that place were not obedient, the greatest discord of the time was going around. Regarding this, since the acquisition (and the same hated abbot) was observed, they wandered like seculars, and monks retreating from the monastery captured cells in which to lodge. And like an enemy they were attacking the monastery, and were constantly thirsting after the blood of the Cluniac monks who had already been installed there. So much insanity of mind had broken out in the audacious monks themselves that they might burn up the whole district in which the monastery is sited; indeed, around the monastery they had done this, [setting] fires that might devastate.¹⁵⁸

According to Peter Damian, the monks of Saint Martial preferred violence and arson over accepting their new Cluniac abbot and brothers, just as the monks of Fleury had

¹⁵⁸ Peter Damian, 'De Gallica Petri Damiani profectio et eius ultramontano itinere (BHL-6708)', ed. by G. Schwartz and A. Hofmeister, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (1926-34), p. 1043: 'In Lemovicensi namque civitate celebre, devotissimum atque ditissimum in honore sancti Martialis quoddam est monasterium, quod Cluniacensis abbas noviter adquisierat. Sed quia illius loci monachi sibi non obtemperabant, maxima in eo tunc temporis Discordia versabatur. Huius namque acquisitionis intuit et eiusdem abbatis odio, prout errant seculars, monachi a monasterio recedentes per eius cellulas hospitari ceperunt. Et monasterium hostiliter inpugnabant et monachorum, quos ibi de Cluniaco posuerat, sanguinem sitiabant. Ad tantam quoque vesanae mentis audaciam monachi ipsi proruperant, ut Burgum, in quo monasterium positum est, concremarent et cuncta, quae circa monasterium fuerant, ignibus devastarent'. Translations are my own.

done a century-and-a-half before. In this case, however, the reputation of Cluny and Hugh had preceded them, since their own written explanations of *why* they opposed the subjection allege a program of corruption, bribery and plotting. A late twelfth century (c.1181) account of Geoffrey of Vigeois summarises the intrigue:

On the ninth of August the Cluniacs invaded [*inuaferunt*] Saint Martial through the fraud [*per fraudem*] of Adhemar son of Gui, *vicomte* of Limoges, and Peter the *excausarius* [a collector of dues], who for this reason they gave them the *vicomte's* finest horse, who they named Millescus.¹⁵⁹

It is notable that Geoffrey, Prior of Vigeois (r.1170-84) but trained at Saint Martial, accepted this account of the transfer, despite approving of the changes wrought by Cluny in the same chronicle entry.¹⁶⁰ It is likely that he consulted materials stored in the well-stocked library of Saint Martial, and followed the account of a monk contemporary to the subjection, indicating either that Geoffrey still harboured a partisan preference for his *alma mater*, or that by that time the reputation of Cluny was such that behaviour like this (by the canonised abbot of the entire congregation, no less) was entirely believable.

The aforementioned monk's story is faithfully repeated in English by H.E. John Cowdrey, working from an earlier study by Robert de Lasteyrie:

The monk maintained that the Cluniacs had wrongfully invaded his monastery: its full independence, he said, was guaranteed by a grant of immunity by King Louis the Pious and its liberty had been confirmed by Pope Leo XI. He further complained that Abbot Hugh had for a long time been intriguing with the *vicomte* to secure Saint-Martial for Cluny. He had been working upon him through his friend, Peter, a knight of Limoges, who was *excausarius* of Saint-Martial. Adhemar [the *vicomte*] had refrained from acting on Cluny's behalf

¹⁵⁹ Geoffrey of Vigeois, 'Chronica Gaufredi coenobitae monasterii D. martialis Lemovicensis, ac Prioris Vosiensis coenobii', *Novae bibliothecae manuscriptorum librorum tomus secundus: Rerum Aquitanicarum praesertim bituricensium uberrima collectio*, ed. by Philippi Labbe (Paris, 1657), p. 287: 'Nonas Auguſti inuaferunt locum S. Martialis Cluniacenſes per fraudem Ademari filij Guidonis Vicecomitis Lemouicenſis, & Petri Eſcausarij, qui pro hoc dedit eidem Vicecomiti equum optimum, qui appellabatur Millescus'.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 287-8.

until the death, in 1062, of Abbot Mainard. But then, primed, or so the monk alleged, by Abbot Hugh's gifts to him of a fine horse, called Miliscut, and of much gold, he acceded to Peter's promptings on Cluny's behalf. When the monks tried to elect a new abbot of their own, the *vicomte* resisted them so violently that they were forced to flee. With the armed support of the *vicomte* and his knights Abbot Hugh, who had himself hastened to Limoges, took possession and intruded his own monks.¹⁶¹

Since Cowdrey notes that there is no record of a confirmation by Leo IX, and the diploma of Louis the Pious which de Lasteyrie produces is spurious, there is some doubt as to the accuracy of the monk's story, at least in the authorities that he attempted to claim.¹⁶² In fact, this would not be inconsistent with the reputation Saint-Martial and 'Limoges the Mother of Lies' had for forgery more generally.¹⁶³ Even so, his efforts seem to be indicative of the helplessness of an abbey which is suddenly declared to be lax and in need of reform, and of the impunity with which Cluny could and did operate.

Indeed, that this could happen to the Abbey of Saint Martial is itself illuminating. As Urban II's confirmation of 1096 (*incipit* 'Ad sollicitudinem ac') reveals, Saint-Martial was itself the head of a substantial congregation comprising twelve monasteries (including another abbey, Saint-Pierre du Vigeois), thirty-nine churches, eight chapels, and a castle.¹⁶⁴ Of course, it was also the site of the Shrine of St Martial, the third pilgrimage site known to us in the tenth century after Rome and Tours.¹⁶⁵ The

¹⁶¹ H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970), p. 91. Documents and a study can be found in C. de Lasteyrie, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges* (Paris, 1901); the story of the monk pp. 426-9.

¹⁶² I also cannot find any record of the confirmation by Leo IX, and in fact it does not even appear in the known *spuria* of his letters and privileges: Leonis IX Papae, 'Epistolae et Decreta', *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 143, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1841-55), cols. 0591-0794B.

¹⁶³ For an account of Saint-Martial's history of forgery in the eleventh-century, see in particular Richard Landes, 'The Absence of St. Martial of Limoges from the Pilgrim's Guide: A Note Based on Work in Progress', *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James*, ed. by John Williams and Alison Stones (Tübingen, 1992), pp. 231-7.

¹⁶⁴ Urban II, 'Ad sollicitudinem ac', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 27, co. 1.

¹⁶⁵ Charles Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (Yale, 2011), p. 94.

indignity of such an institution being placed 'sub disciplina et dispositione Cluniacensium Abbatum' (under the discipline and management of the Abbot of Cluny'), therefore, perhaps renders the reaction of its monks to their subjection in the early 1060s somewhat understandable.¹⁶⁶ While we are entitled to read this event, as Noreen Hunt might, as an example of Cluny's 'accidental greatness', we might also consider, with equal weight, that this represents a considered and strategic westwards move by a pragmatic abbot aiming to maximise the power and income of his congregation.

While there may be some doubt as to the level of intent or plotting on Hugh's part in these cases – with the monk of Limoges being both an unreliable source and his political enemy, and the triangulation of Saint-Cybard through Saint-Jean d'Angely seemingly so cunning as to have escaped the notice of historians entirely – we are fortunate in that this *modus operandi*, there implicit, is more than explicit in the subjection of Saint-Bertin.

Saint-Bertin

Here, the great Flanders monastery was transferred to Cluny's formal control in 1099 by the secret collusion of its abbot – Lambert – and the Countess Clementia – both against the knowledge of its monks and while her husband the count was away fighting the First Crusade. Ultimately, while a consensus of modern historians agree that the move proved disastrous, with local secular and ecclesiastical elites realising that the level of control they had invited would become intolerable, nonetheless the whole episode serves to illustrate the mechanisms of power and alliance involved in bringing about a Cluniac subjection, and the *affective* fallout that these actions would have for involved parties.

¹⁶⁶ Urban II, 'Ad sollicitudinem ac', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 27, co. 1.

The aforementioned 'consensus' owes its genesis largely to a seminal 1930 essay by Etienne Sabbe, who brought to light that 'the appearance of Cluniac customs... was not due to a direct initiative of Cluny', but to a comital party won over by the 'viewpoints of the Burgundian abbey'.¹⁶⁷ That is, the introduction of Cluniac customs in Flanders was an initiative of local elites who merely utilised the pretence of reform for their own purposes rather than it being part of the designs of Cluny herself.

More recently, Steven Vanderputten has developed this thesis by a close regional analysis of the networks of interaction between the higher nobility, monasteries, and the lower aristocracy, concluding:

Over the course of the eleventh century, the counts of Flanders abandoned direct ownership of ecclesiastical institutions and acknowledged this redistribution of power by appointing local aristocrats as lay officers. When it became clear that obligations of vassalage were being fragmented and that the local aristocracy were managing and distributing its estates at its own discretion, the count attempted to regain his grasp on the social network by reestablishing direct links between himself and local communities. The Cluniac reform movement of the final years of the eleventh century offered the ideal opportunity to disentangle and rearrange the complicated social networks around some of the largest and richest institutions of his county. By the early twelfth century, both the count and monastic reformers deployed a strategy that combined a genuine interest in the spirit of the Cluniac movement with an active policy of restoring some of the feudal associations that lay at the basis of the links between the monasteries, the lower nobility and the count.¹⁶⁸

While his case is well-argued, and students of the period and region have been furnished with a wealth of detail and analysis owing to his prodigious output,

¹⁶⁷ Etienne Sabbe, 'La réforme clunisienne en Flandre au début du XIIe siècle', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 9 (1930), p. 121: 'L'apparition des consuetudines cluniacenses, dans cette principauté, ne fut pas due à l'initiative directe de Cluny, mais à la formation dans le comté même d'un parti gagné aux conceptions de l'abbaye bourguignonne, qui introduisit la réforme dans les abbayes flamandes'.

¹⁶⁸ Steven Vanderputten, 'Fulcard's Pigsty: Cluniac Reformers, Dispute Settlement, and the Lower Aristocracy in Early Twelfth Century Flanders', *Viator*, 38 (2007), pp. 91-115.

Vanderputten goes on to dismiss the broader patterns of Cluny's collusion with such noble schemes, finishing with 'as socio-political interventions, the Cluniac reforms in Flanders were essentially local by nature and should be studied as such'.¹⁶⁹ Needless to say, while the events surrounding the subjection of Saint-Bertin to Cluny accords well with Vanderputten's thesis, it will be shown that this process was not isolated to Flanders, and that the notion of Cluny's agenda being secondary is unsustainable in the context of its broader activities and the pattern we are able to perceive overall.

Indeed, this use of 'reform' as an instrument of a 'rearrangement' of local power structures as they intersected with monastic institutions was being utilised by the abbots of Saint-Bertin long before Lambert ever made his monastic profession. Emerging from a period of decline and calamity, Abbot Bovo (1042-65) had made a bid for his house's renewal under the pretence of the 1050 discovery of the body of Saint Bertin himself, which he had translated in 1052.

In an extensive account of the preceding context, discovery, and translation ritual of the saint's body, Bovo relates how his monastery had suffered a series of setbacks including losing eleven monks and its church to epidemic and fire.¹⁷⁰ In a rather masterful rhetorical turn, Bovo then explains how these calamities were not simply divine retribution, but divine *correction* for the community having been made a 'den of thieves', 'spurred on by their own evil', positioning the iniquity of his house in the recent past as a source of their subsequent spiritual authority – claiming that their sins had been scourged by God – *proof of his fatherly, corrective attention*; and thus

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 115.

¹⁷⁰ Bovo Sancti Bertini, 'Relatio de inventione et elevatione Sancti Bertini (1033-52) (BHL-1296)', ed. by O. Holder-Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica SS 15, 1* (Hanover, 1887), pp. 525-34.

their grace – only for him to bestow renewal upon them through the deliverance of the relics of Saint Bertin.¹⁷¹

For instance, he argues that the number of monks lost to disease – eleven – is a divine sign of their sin, and impending correction:

That the number eleven [*undenarius*] may pertain to the sin, the Sacred authority of Scripture proves enough, because just as the Decalogue of ten [*decalogus denarii*] is the highest completion [*summa completur*], thus the eleven transcends it.

Therefore, through observing the Decalogue in this manner is the reward attained, in the same way through the eleven of sin transgression is fashioned.¹⁷²

Here Bovo makes use of the symbology of the *denarius* – the ancient Roman coin composed of ten parts – to indicate the heavenly reward of following the Decalogue (the Ten Commandments), contrasting this with the imperfection and hubris of the number eleven, or things composed of eleven parts (*undenarius*), which thereby represent an ignorance and disobedience of divine law by exceeding the perfection of ‘ten’ by one.

Thus while Bovo is able to paint a wretched picture of a monastery supplicating itself before God’s judgement, and appropriating all of the contemporary symbolic cache of penitent humility as a result, he is at the same time attempting to demonstrate that this indicates divine attention and correction, quoting Hebrews 12:6 and 12:11 to buttress his case: ‘the Lord flogs all the sons He receives’, and ‘Every branch which

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 526: ‘...malis nostris urgentibus, speluncam latronum factam...’.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 527: ‘Quod undenarius numerus ad peccatum pertineat, Sacrae auctoritas Scripturae satis demonstrat, quia, sicut decalogus denarii summa completur, sic undenarii incremento transcenditur. Quare, quemadmodum per denarium decalogi observatio, eodem modo per undenarium peccati figuratur transgressio’.

bears fruit, I [the Lord] purge, that it yields more fruit'.¹⁷³ The passage of Hebrews 12 ends with 'for our God is a consuming fire', mirrored by the allusions Bovo makes to the conflagration of his church throughout the text as the same 'consuming fire', '...igni miserabiliter ad devorandum...'.¹⁷⁴

While there must surely be no question that Bovo has had enough of these tribulations – his church keeps burning down while his brothers perish to disease, his community shrinks and revenues fall – at one point crying out for God's correction 'oh if only He may desire it!', at the same time his announcement of this *de facto* 'reform' heralded by the translation of Saint Bertin represents a regional bid for prominence and influence; that the sin of his house and the calamities they had endured gave them just enough pretence to take on a politically expedient reforming energy.¹⁷⁵

For Bovo, this would be a revitalisation patterned on the reforms of his contemporary Richard of Saint-Vanne (970-1046), characterised by a focus on relics, the cult of saints and the traffic of pilgrims; and connections to powerful comital patrons who would mutually benefit by gaining lay offices and strategic position against their noble enemies – the often troublesome *advocati* of the lower aristocracy. The translation ceremony of Saint Bertin, described at length in the same text, was as much an appeal to the comital family in attendance as it was an advertisement of a new attraction to the pious, the attention of both of whom had declined in recent decades. That is, in that ineffable medieval combination of spiritual sincerity and strategic pragmatism, 'reform' was as much an instrument of power as it was of

¹⁷³ 'Flagellat Dominus omnem filium quem recipit'; 'Omnem palmitem qui fert fructum, purgabit eum, ut fructum plus afferat': Ibid., p. 526.

¹⁷⁴ Hebrews 12:29; Bovo, 'Relatio de inventione...', p. 526, 526.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 531, 526.

observance; simultaneously a cleaning of spiritual slates and a strategic manoeuvre designed to reposition an ailing monastery among both the networks of power and influence as well as within the more reliable streams of pilgrim revenue.

In the event, Bovo's ploy does not seem to have worked, with reception to the relics among his erstwhile patrons being lukewarm.¹⁷⁶ Local people were sceptical of the finds, since the monastery was already supposed to be in possession of some of the saint's relics, prompting a two-year long episcopal investigation before the body could be translated.¹⁷⁷ When it was, the count did not even attend, sending his wife, the Countess Adala, in his place.¹⁷⁸ Cartulary evidence also reveals that the episode did not promote any increase in donations, and there seems to be some indication that the brothers themselves did not think that the new relics were even necessary for the house's revitalisation, according to an extensive treatment by Karine Ugé.¹⁷⁹ As such, Bovo's plan was probably doomed from the start, hamstrung by the essential contradiction of somehow having to generate a reforming spirit and facade organically, from within his own house, and at the same time contrive a narrative whereby Saint-Bertin's own sins could become the source of its spiritual authority. What the effort reveals, however, are the often material concerns inspiring 'reform' efforts in the eleventh century, promoted by a solipsistic abbot placing himself at the centre stage of renewal and divine grace, and against the approval of the community under his charge. Here, then, the counterfactual artifice of this example must be exposed, to ask: if Bovo had access to Cluny to give weight to his 'reform', would he have appealed to them, just as his successor Lambert would do half a century later? That is, do we witness here the existence of a more perennial force of elite-driven

¹⁷⁶ The reception of Bovo's efforts with the body of Saint-Bertin is discussed at length in Karine Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders* (York and Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 80-7.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 86.

material renewal that Cluny was only able to harness *and support* after its enormous expansion beginning in the 1070s? And if so, to which of these factors must we attribute causal primacy? In either case, it must be noted, the lines of opposition are clear: an abbot and his personal ambition in concert with local episcopal and secular authorities, against the normal brothers of his own community.

Of course, in the 1050s Cluny was not in any position to materially support a reform so far from its heartlands, though the long tendrils of its influence were never so distant. Odilo of Cluny, for instance, had urged Richard of Saint-Vanne to stay in his monastery rather than leave it for its laxity, thus contributing to the reform which Bovo would later attempt to emulate.¹⁸⁰ By Lambert's time, however, Cluny had already made herself into the omnipresent force we are familiar with in today's historical memory.

While Steven Vanderputten wished to downplay Cluny's direct will in the subjection of Saint-Bertin in favour of the machinations of its local elites, it must be noted that a key pillar of Etienne Sabbe's thesis was the contention that Abbot Lambert had acquired the idea from his friend Anselm of Canterbury. Sabbe believed that important conversations must have been had during the five days Saint Anselm had spent at Saint-Bertin while enduring his first exile from England in 1097, sparking a friendship which would see Anselm returning to Saint-Bertin on multiple occasions afterwards on his travels along the *Via Francigena* linking Canterbury to Rome.¹⁸¹ Sabbe notes how Anselm had hesitated between Cluny and Bec when taking his own orders, choosing Bec only to benefit from his friend and supporter Abbot Lanfranc.¹⁸² He goes on to relate how Saint Anselm maintained a friendly correspondence with

¹⁸⁰ Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in The Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 65-6.

¹⁸¹ Sabbe, 'La réforme...', pp. 122-3.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 123.

Hugh of Cluny, and had protected and promoted the passage of the latter's monks in England by his request, going on, of course, to defend Gregorian ideals in the kingdom and earning both the ire of King William Rufus and the enduring support of Saint Hugh by doing so.¹⁸³ He argues, 'therefore, it is not impossible that this fervent follower of Cluny', made 'active propaganda in favour of the ascetic ideas of Cluny' to Saint-Bertin, going on to point out that Anselm stayed at Cluny to coincide with Lambert's negotiations there with Hugh.¹⁸⁴

The involvement of Saint Anselm here is curious, perhaps revealing a glimpse into the structure and function of alliance networks within the Church of the 1090s. Anselm's movement along the *Via Francigena* coincides exactly with the development of Cluniac presence along that same route (*Figure 25*), and may indicate some strategic direction or focus in the way Hugh was planning the expansion of his congregation. Is it possible to believe in this context, that Anselm was aware of what would be of 'strategic benefit' (if we allow ourselves to use such a term) to Saint Hugh, and used the opportunity of Lambert's situation at Saint-Bertin to at once bolster the monastery, repay Cluny for its support of him, and win the lasting alliance of Saint Hugh himself, not to mention the crucial figure then occupying the papal throne? We might also remember, with growing suspicion perhaps, that the monk of Limoges had alleged exactly this use of 'agents' friendly to Cluny in the scheme which had brought his own monastery under their control in the 1060s, complaining (as paraphrased by Cowdrey) that 'Abbot Hugh had for a long time been intriguing with the *vicomte* to secure Saint-Martial for Cluny. He had been working upon him through his friend, Peter, a knight of Limoges, who was *excausarius* of Saint-

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 124.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 125: 'Dès lors, il n'est pas impossible que ce fervent adepte de Cluny ait fait, auprès de l'abbé de St-Bertin, une propagande active en faveur de la conception ascétique de Cluny'.

Martial'.¹⁸⁵ One only has to replace 'vicomte' with 'Abbot Lambert', 'Peter' with 'Saint Anselm', and 'Saint-Martial' with 'Saint-Bertin' for the suspicion to become that much more plausible. Indeed, Anselm appears notably in a Cluny-aligned social network, connected to and helping Countess Adela of Blois and taking refuge with Abbot Hugh against King William (see *Chapter 5*: below). However, since it would be difficult to convince Anselm scholars of Sabbe's suspicion here, this point must remain just that: a curious speculation, but nothing more.

Whatever the case may be, there are clearly questions to be asked of Steven Vanderputten's assertion that the subjection was none of Cluny's doing, since Hugh was only too happy to collude with Clementia and Lambert's complot, procuring a papal bull to complete the intrigue and furnish himself with the customary arms of his usually masterful litigation as he did so.¹⁸⁶ Again, a counterfactual exercise comparing 1099 with 1052 might highlight the relative influence of Cluny herself in the two reforms: to what extent are we to ascribe causal influence to the activity of *de facto* 'Cluniac agents' like Saint Anselm (supposing that Sabbe was right)? Are we apt to perceive the mutually beneficial, reciprocal action of Cluny's alliance network in this case as an example of its influence driving itself; of the fruits of Saint Hugh's distribution of favour being reaped in a way that his allies know he would have liked; that having his fingers in all pies everywhere was paying off in such ways? If nothing else, this narrative accords well with the ways in which 'affective lordship' is described as functioning by Thomas Bisson and his disciples; that this is simply behaviour highly characteristic of a particular social class in this period, regardless of any ecclesiastical exceptionalism we might imagine.

¹⁸⁵ Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, p. 91. Documents and a study can be found in de Lasteyrie, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Martial...*; the story of the monk pp. 426-9.

¹⁸⁶ Urban II, 'Iustis precibus ministerium', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 28, col. 2, n. 2.
CAUSAL ORIGINS OF THE 'RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES': CLUNY, TIRON, AND THE NEW ORDERS, 910-1156
JAMIE WILLIAM IRVINE

For his part, and as ably described by Steven Vanderputten in a later article, Lambert had found himself with the cure of an abbey facing much the same structural and material problems as had his predecessor Abbot Bovo fifty years earlier.¹⁸⁷ As in many other regional Benedictine institutions, comital support had dried up, replaced only by the periodic reaffirmation of their privileges as high advocates.¹⁸⁸ The long-emblematic church-building project at Saint-Bertin faced another calamity in 1079 when the building burned down yet again, and a decade previously the monastery had lost its privileged position in the affairs of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc when the latter house elected an abbot from its own number for the first time, rather than one supplied from Saint-Bertin.¹⁸⁹ During these intervening decades, Saint-Bertin had not only witnessed the emancipation of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc from its control, but also their rise as a regional competitor for pilgrim traffic and noble patronage, contributing to a further decline in the monastery's prestige.¹⁹⁰ In a similar way, Saint-Bertin's exercise of an iron grip over the subordinate Saint-Sylvin is perhaps indicative of its precarity in this period, which included denying the eponymous house the relics of Saint Sylvin himself so as not to promote the formation of any cultic identity that might be of threat to Saint-Bertin's competitive position.¹⁹¹ And to all of this the superior of Saint-Bertin had to contend with a lack of internal discipline in his house, reporting that the brothers had too much personal property and servants, a legacy of his predecessor.¹⁹² However, one must exercise at least a modicum of doubt about these claims of internal ill-discipline, if 'reform' was so institutionally and personally rewarding for an abbot. It is not uncommon, for instance, to see modern institutional leaders sacrificing the people under their charge to appropriate external validation. In

¹⁸⁷ Steven Vanderputten, 'Crises of Cenobitism: Abbatial Leadership and Monastic Competition in Late Eleventh-Century Flanders', *The English Historical Review*, 127 (2012), pp. 259-284.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 270-1.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 274, 276.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 271-3.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-8.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 283; Simon Sithiensis abbas, 'Gesta abbatum Sancti Bertini Sithiensium (1021-1145)', ed. by O. Holder-Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica SS 13* (1881), pp. 648-9.

the same way, perhaps there is a whole history of 'bogus reforms' to be written here, obscured only by the perspectives through which our sources tend to come to us; a narrative of ambitious and solipsistic monastic superiors throwing their communities under the proverbial bus for the sake of their own position and legacy. Bovo might certainly be guilty of this, though Lambert's case seems less clear even if we see his actions propelled by the same structural forces and personal motivations.

Whatever the case may be, the Saint-Bertin of the 1090s was certainly poised to take advantage of any opportunity that might come to her, locked as she was in a precarious regional position relative to her competitors and facing recurring internal problems. When Bergues-Saint-Winnoc entered a period of decline, that opportunity seemed to be upon them.¹⁹³ There, in 1078, Abbot Ermenger was found guilty of simony and removed from his position. His successor Manasses also proved disastrous, dividing the monastery and leading to some monks leaving the house. Eventually the brothers who opposed him were able to have him ejected from the abbatial see by appealing to Bishop Hubert of Thérouanne, Hugh of Die the papal legate, and Count Robert, who appointed Ingelbert in his place. Ingelbert, however, who confessed on his deathbed to being the defamer of Abbot Ermenger, presided over a period of both internal incoherence and external weakness. In such a position, Saint-Bertin had now enough credibility to pursue a regional reforming mandate.

Nonetheless, even if the time seemed ripe for Saint-Bertin to take centre stage in a sweep of regional reform, an essential fact must be borne in mind: that this was an *elite* agenda, carried out against the will and knowledge of the community itself. What we suspect was the case at Limoges and Saint-Cybard, and we saw attempted

¹⁹³ Vanderputten, 'Crises of Cenobitism...', pp. 281-2.
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by Bovo in his own right, comes to us as a certainty in that of Saint-Bertin at the turn of the twelfth-century.

As is emphasised in Sabbe's still-authoritative narrative, the sheer level of secrecy practiced by Abbot Lambert and Countess Clementia attests to their very real fear that there would be a rebellion by the monks if they knew just what was being planned.¹⁹⁴ Of course, this secrecy did not extend to the secular or ecclesiastical elites they negotiated with early on, such as the bishops of Thérouanne and Arras; Robert de Béthune, the abbey's lawyer, or Baudouin, the lord of St-Omer, not to mention the Cluniac party itself.¹⁹⁵ With this veil of secrecy still in effect, Clementia sought the approval of the Holy See after having secured the support of the bishops (who needed to be assured that their own jurisdiction over monastic affairs would not be compromised by the introduction of a Cluny-style *libertas romanum* from episcopal control), who at the time was the 'Cluniac pope' Urban II.¹⁹⁶ As Sabbe intuitively, Clementia sent Abbot Lambert himself to deliver her plea to the pope, under the pretence of having her nomination for the Bishop of Thérouanne confirmed by the pope – this he did, of course, and Lambert's monks could rest easy under the belief that this was the only mission of their superior in Rome, though Simon of Ghent informs us that the monks themselves did not believe the pretence, because '...they, knowing that what he [Lambert] claimed was nothing, tumultuously forbade him to go'.¹⁹⁷ For his part, Urban also acceded to the transfer of Saint-Bertin to the *ecclesia Cluniacensis*, sending a letter of his support for the project to his former abbot, Hugh

¹⁹⁴ Sabbe, 'La réforme...', p. 126. Sabbe largely followed Simon of Ghent's account of the subjection in his chronicle: Simon Sithiensis abbas, 'Gesta... Sancti Bertini...', c.50-68, pp. 645-9. On secrecy: Ibid., c. 64, 65, p. 648.

¹⁹⁵ Sabbe, 'La réforme...', p. 126.

¹⁹⁶ Sabbe, 'La réforme...', p. 127; Simon Sithiensis..., 'Gesta... Sancti Bertini...', c. 65, p. 648.

¹⁹⁷ Sabbe, 'La réforme...', p. 127; Simon Sithiensis..., 'Gesta... Sancti Bertini...', c. 65, p. 648: 'Sed illi scientes nil esse quod pretendebat, interdixerunt ei tumultuose, ne iret.'

the Great, which Sabbe believed must have been received at the monastery while Saint Anselm was there, in the Spring of 1099.¹⁹⁸

At Cluny, Saint Hugh took some time to deliberate, leading Sabbe to conclude that Hugh was concerned to accept only that agreement which maintained the spirit and dignity of his order.¹⁹⁹ Here again, however, Vanderputten diverges from his predecessor, arguing that this same 'hesitation' reveals how the impetus to acquire Saint-Bertin was driven almost completely by the comital party of Flanders; in other words that, as Noreen Hunt would say, '[Cluny was] wholly passive in the matter of her own development'.²⁰⁰ In Vanderputten's case, such 'passivity' augments his arguments that 'reform' was driven principally by regional concerns and political dynamics, that we ought to view Leclercq's 'crisis of cenobitism' as one of many (i.e. local) crises, and that the regional scale of analysis is the superior means of approaching these questions.²⁰¹

Ironically, what happened next would be entirely in-keeping with the pattern of Cluniac subjections of resistant houses witnessed across the previous half-century, quite apart from anything that we would have to regard as uniquely 'regional'. Just as at Limoges, armed force would be key in subduing the house, and the reforming party of Abbot Lambert, Countess Clementia and their allies waited until the return of the Count in 1101 to secure it.²⁰² Learning of the negotiations, the monks of Saint-Bertin urged their abbot not to proceed with the reform and sent one of their number with him on his next sojourn to 'Rome' in the company of another of his co-

¹⁹⁸ Sabbe, 'La réforme...', p. 127.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 128.

²⁰⁰ Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh...*, p. 151.

²⁰¹ Vanderputten, 'Fulcard's Pigsty...', p. 115; Vanderputten, 'Crises of Cenobitism...', p. 284.

²⁰² Sabbe, 'La réforme...', p. 130.

conspirators, Bishop John II of Thérouanne.²⁰³ Instead, Lambert took the road to Cluny after ordering the monk sent to spy on him to a cell and made his profession at the great Burgundian house. When the bishop returned to Flanders, and the monks of Saint-Bertin found out where their abbot had actually gone, the brothers sent a delegation to Cluny to demand the return of their abbot and an explanation of his visit.²⁰⁴ Some of this delegation would threaten to no longer recognise Lambert as their abbot if he did not tell them the truth, though Lambert himself resolved to end such insubordination, summoning his militias and relocating these rebellious monks to different monasteries by force: 'But he, stealing himself out of sight, having secretly summoned his soldiers with swords, came upon them unexpectedly, captured the rebels, and confined them scattered in different churches'.²⁰⁵ Soon after, Lambert fully implemented the Cluniac reform he had long-planned at Saint-Bertin. Cluniac monks were introduced, in addition to other brothers from unreformed houses and 'even militias', as Simon informs us and Sabbe marvels at, swelling the number of monks there to an unprecedented one-hundred-and-twenty and forcing some of the original community to take the path of voluntary exile.²⁰⁶ While Saint-Bertin then became the centre of a regional reform, thus also began its long struggle to free itself from Cluniac control, accelerated after the death of Abbot Lambert himself in 1125.

The whole episode of Saint-Bertin's subjection to Cluny may be remarkable in its own right and driven to a large degree by the complex local concerns elucidated by Vanderputten, though we ought also to marvel at the parallels between the events of the turn of the century in Flanders and those at Saint-Martial de Limoges in the

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 130; Simon Sithiensis..., 'Gesta... Sancti Bertini...', c. 65, p. 648.

²⁰⁴ Sabbe, 'La réforme...', p. 131; Simon Sithiensis..., 'Gesta... Sancti Bertini...', c. 66, p. 648.

²⁰⁵ Sabbe, 'La réforme...', p. 132; Simon Sithiensis..., 'Gesta... Sancti Bertini...', c. 66, p. 648: 'Ille autem ab aspectibus se subripiens, clam convocatis militibus suis cum gladiis, illis ex improviso supervenit, rebelles cepit et in diversis aecclesiis dispersos inclusit'.

²⁰⁶ Sabbe, 'La réforme...', p. 132; Simon Sithiensis..., 'Gesta... Sancti Bertini...', c. 68, p. 649.

1060s. In both cases there is an extended period of secret intrigue – alleged at Limoges, fact at Saint-Bertin – carried out under the noses of a resistant community. In both cases there is the shadowy involvement of Cluniac ‘agents’; friends of Saint Hugh working upon key decision-makers: at Limoges we are made aware of Peter the *excausarius* whispering into the ear of the *vicomte*; at Saint-Bertin we perhaps find Saint Anselm (according to Sabbe) seeding the idea to Abbot Lambert; in both cases the evidence is only circumstantial, but nonetheless present. In both subjections the recent securing of Cluniac-friendly bishops also appears to be key, indicating a remarkable level of coordination. After the deals have been made, what we witness next is the deployment of force; knights and militias expelling a rebellious community and replacing them with Cluniac monks. At Limoges the response of the ejected was insurgency; at Saint-Bertin, exile.

Even if such a comparison gives at least some credence to the idea that the shape and methods of Cluny’s expansion were deliberate and ‘planned’ in the truest sense of the word, nonetheless there remains considerable doubt owing to both the partisanship and incompleteness of our sources. In every case, however, the lines of division are notably identical: an interdependent class of higher nobility acting against monastic communities, who were in turn acting in defence of their institutional autonomy. Real or imagined, we can observe that the ‘pressure’ of Cluny, of an imminent subjection, certainly forced an often panicked and desperate response from the monks who were actually to suffer it.

Saint-Gilles

The idea certainly seems to have given the monks of Saint-Gilles some pause, who had to be mollified with a 1076 papal letter from Gregory VII assuring them that they

could appeal to the Holy See if Hugh acted too drastically.²⁰⁷ There seems to have persisted a state of tension between Saint-Gilles and Cluny ever since the former's donation to the latter in 1066 by Countess Almodis of Toulouse and her son, Count Raymond of Rodez and Nîmes, held in check by Saint-Gilles' understanding that their period of subjection was temporary for the purpose of reform, and that their ultimate autonomy was guaranteed by Rome. Here a kind of parallel reality took hold, where *bullae* and letters issued to Saint-Gilles made no reference to Cluny, while Cluny always listed the abbey among her properties. A 1096 privilege, for instance, asserts that Saint-Gilles is always free by the liberty of Rome, 'Romanae semper libertatis gratia perfruatur', making no mention of Cluny.²⁰⁸ By around 1108, however, Pope Paschal II was writing to the monks of Saint-Gilles urging them to be more obedient to Cluny and to their rule, a state of dissention only resolved in 1132 when Pope Innocent II clarified the relationship in a letter addressing the 'controversy' between them, ruling that Cluny retained the right to intervene if reform was necessary, but otherwise that Saint-Gilles was guaranteed complete autonomy in its affairs, including the election of its abbot.²⁰⁹ Notably, Saint-Bertin would achieve its effective emancipation from Cluny in the same month of the same year (March 8th for Saint-Gilles, March 30th for Saint-Bertin).²¹⁰ These two emancipations within such short notice clearly indicate that Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny was busy managing the decline of Cluny's fortunes at the time, though a March 8th bull issued for Cluny in reference to Saint-Gilles compensating Cluny for the dispute (the obedience of 'Limantium' being the price – possibly at Limans, Alpes-de-Haute-Provence) may hint

²⁰⁷ Leo Santifaller, *Quellen und Forschungen zum Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen Papst Gregors VII., 1. teil* (Vatican City, 1957), no. 110, pp. 104-5.

²⁰⁸ Urbanus II, 'CCIV. Privilegium pro monasterio S. Aegidii. (Anno 1096.)', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 151, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1841-55), cols. 0478A-D.

²⁰⁹ Paschalis II, 'Epistola Paschalis papæ II, qua mandat monachis Sancti Egidii ut Cluniacensis ordinis distractionem efficacius teneant.', *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, vol. 5, ed. by Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel (Paris, 1876-1903), BB3871, pp. 223-4; Innocentius II, 'XC. Ad Petrum Venerabilem Cluniacensem abbatem.---Controversia inter Cluniacum et abbat. S. Aegidii composita. (Anno 1132, Mart. 8.)', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 179, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1841-55), cols. 0128C-0129C.

²¹⁰ Innocenz II, 'Canonum praecepta nos', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 47, col. 2.

at other causes for the agreements, such as a state of financial insolvency at Cluny itself.²¹¹ Even so, it seems likely that the managed state of tension between Saint-Gilles and Cluny, which seems to have persisted for a period of sixty-six years, was only kept in check by the careful balancing of Saint-Gilles' inherent desire for institutional autonomy against Cluny's overlordship. We might imagine that, had Cluny been more heavy-handed – as at Limoges and Saint-Bertin – there would have been a more serious rebellion of the community, threatening its privileges to a house resting on the lucrative Arles route of the Camino de Santiago.

Vézelay, Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou, La Daurade

Not all communities were as successful at resisting Cluny as Saint-Gilles, of course, with the Provençal monastery belonging to a privileged group of large, rich abbeys who were able to struggle free of Cluniac control; a number which included not only Saint-Bertin and Saint-Gilles, but also ultimately even the fabulously wealthy and longstanding Cluniac pillar of Vézelay in 1162, who had resorted to occasional monastic disobedience against Cluny since at least the time of Calixtus II's papacy, as letters attest.²¹² Many more instead followed the pattern of Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou, whose monks were simply alienated from the house after their seigneurial lord, Count Geoffrey IV, took offense to Abbot Hubert and replaced them by Cluniacs in 1082.²¹³ The same happened when, in 1077, Bishop Isarn of Toulouse donated the church of La Daurade to Cluny by forcibly expelling the clergy that were there and replacing them with monks from the nearby Abbey of Moissac.²¹⁴ Most of the time,

²¹¹ Innocenz II, 'Quae ad pacem spectant', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 45, col. 2.

²¹² Alexander III, 'LXXIX. Monasterium Vizeliacense ab Ecclesiae Cluniacensis potestate liberat. (Ap. Montempessulanum.)', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 200, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1841-55), cols. 0153B-0154B. For Vézelay's disobedience against Cluny, and papal correction, see Calixt II, 'Carissimi filii nostri', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 41, col. 1, no. 2.

²¹³ *Histoire et cartulaire de Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou*, ed. by C. Métais (Vannes, 1895), no. cxvii, pp. 238-40.

²¹⁴ 'Ecclesia B. Mariæ Deauratæ traditur Hugoni abbati Cluniacenfi ab Ifarno epifcopo', *Gallia Christiana, in Provincias Ecclesiasticas*, vol. XIII (Paris, 1785), Instrumenta no. IX, cols. 9-10.

rebels and the disfavoured were simply ejected, contributing to a stratum of vagrant monastics symptomatic of a Cluniac authority in its most punitive expression.

In all of these cases of resistance, however varied or idiosyncratic they may have been, the authority of Cluny and her allies acted consistently against the same social stratum: the ordinary brothers and their chosen leaders. Placed in such a position, there were a relatively limited number of responses a community might take. They could simply submit, as a rebellious element at Mozac was said to do in Gilo and Hildebert's *Vitae* of Saint Hugh; they could complain to the bishops or pope, as at Saint-Bertin, Saint-Gilles and Vézelay; they could flee into exile, as some elected to do at Saint-Bertin, and as some were forced to do at Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou and Saint-Cybard; or they even might attempt to pit their liberty against secular swords and mount some kind of insurgency as was witnessed at Fleury and Saint-Martial.²¹⁵

To this 'reactive resistance' are also added those 'proactive' measures taken by some houses against Cluniac domination, which included the insistence of subjection to more mediate institutions within the Cluniac hierarchy rather than to Cluny herself, as attempted by Goudargues and Saint-Cybard, or indeed any of the number of methods intended to prevent subjection entirely (such as by producing spurious diplomas of liberty in the case of Saint-Martial, or by simply begging a superior not to go through with a transfer as at Saint-Bertin).

²¹⁵ Gilonis, 'De Vita Sancti Hugonis Cluniacensis Abbatis', Albert L'Huillier, *Vie de Saint Hughes, Abbe de Cluny, 1024-1109* (Solesmes, 1888), p. 603; Hildebertus Cenomanensis, 'Vita Sancti Hugonis', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 159, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1841-55), no. 31, cols. 0879C-0880B.

In whatever way the resistance was mounted, however, the object of that defence was universal: monastic *libertas* expressed as institutional autonomy and sovereignty. A feature of Benedictinism from the very beginning of the order, this formulation of liberty was subjected to a sustained assault in the days of the Gregorian and Cluniac reforms, forcing a series of adaptive responses both reactive and proactive from those communities under real or perceived threat.

While not all of these responses were effective, one in particular seemed to address every facet of this 'threat' almost perfectly: the foundation of new orders so distinct from prevailing Cluniac or pseudo-Cluniac norms that there was practically no way their liberty could be impugned under any pretence of 'reform'. Such 'new orders' were also major beneficiaries of another of the downstream effects of this same assault against 'monastic *libertas*', in that they could capture for their nascent communities the new constituency of monastic (or, more generally, *ecclesiastical*) exiles and fugitives created in the wake of its repression. Indeed, if the Council of Rouen's timely 1072 ruling against runaway monks is any indication, this was a problem widespread enough for the Church to take direct legislative action to prevent it.²¹⁶

In short, that is, what the 'Cluniac reforms' and processes like it presented to the structure of the Church was nothing less than the application of a sustained and widespread systemic pressure, the outcomes of which included, but were not limited to, a host of possible causes precipitating the rise of the 'new orders'. While the evidence presented here for 'non-new order' responses to this pressure may be

²¹⁶ Summarised in B.K. Lackner, *The Eleventh-Century Background of Cîteaux* (Washington, D.C., 1972), p. 122.

considered circumstantial or anomalous in the most sceptical view, and the 'new orders' themselves are the subject of subsequent chapters in this thesis, the spatial evidence of Cluniac activity on a macroscopic scale powerfully suggests the progress of this 'pressure' itself.

Chapter 3: Patterns of Cluniac Expansion

Historiographical opposition to the notion of Cluniac 'imperialism' or 'expansionism' has often rested on the argument that there is no *direct* evidence of planning or strategy on the part of the abbots of Cluny or their allies. In Noreen Hunt's refutation of the idea of 'Cluniac expansionism', she relies upon the few extant letters of Hugh the Great collated in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, and volume 159 of the *Patrologia Latina*, to conclude that they were 'obviously written by a man of decision with a firm grasp of affairs', and yet submits to the view that 'the heroic image of Hugh seems genuine in the face of the balance and integrity he preserved in a long life of arduous, sustained and widespread activity', going on to argue for his 'immense inner reserves not only of personality but of real holiness,' which 'comprises a remarkable integrity, order and balance'.²¹⁷ This impression of Hugh allows her to subsequently advocate for the position that 'it may honestly be said that there is no evidence that her abbots desired the expansion of Cluny', and 'Cluny was wholly passive in the matter of her own development'.²¹⁸ Armin Kohnle came to a similar view in his 1993 study of Saint Hugh, *Abt Hugo von Cluny 1049–1109*, which was notably opposed in an otherwise complimentary review of the book by H.E. John Cowdrey himself, who cited Andreas Sohn's study of Saint-Martial as a point of contrast, again seeming to reinforce the sense that there is a remarkable echo of medieval alliances in the historiographical discourse; between modern historians of Cluny and Hugh, like Hunt and Kohnle, and those of the establishments facing their subjection and authority, as in the case of Beitscher, Sohn, and others.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh...*, pp. 14, 28.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 151.

²¹⁹ Armin Kohnle, *Abt Hugo von Cluny 1049–1109* (Sigmaringen, 1993); H.E.J. Cowdrey [review], 'Armin Kohnle, *Abt Hugo von Cluny 1049–1109* (Sigmaringen, 1993)', *The English Historical Review*, 111 (1996), pp. 414–5; Andreas Sohn, *Der Abbatat Ademars von Saint-Martial de Limoges (1063–1114). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des cluniacensischen Klösterverbandes* (Münster, 1989).

While it would be unfair to conclude from this that the school of Kohnle and Hunt is thus the victim of some kind of Stockholm Syndrome for their historical subject, nonetheless a reliance on direct evidence of Cluny's abbots 'desir[ing] the expansion of Cluny' is problematic in the face of widespread indications of secrecy and plotting in the activities of Hugh and his allies (see *Chapter 2*: above). That this would not have found itself into the pages of official communiques is unsurprising – both religious propriety and political expediency would have made any such thing impossible. On the other hand, alleging some kind of conspiracy, however, is perhaps as equally problematic as relying on the *prima facie* writings of Hugh himself. Instead, and with its own dose of confounding bias, what we often have to rely upon are the complaints, critiques and invectives of Cluny's opponents. Just like the satire of Bishop Adalbero or the accusations of the monk of Limoges cited above, most pertinent in this context are the words of someone like Andreas of Fontevraud, writer of a *vita* of Robert of Arbrissel around 1120 who had his biographical subject say, with scarifying sarcasm, that 'Finally, what truly wise person would dare to slight the supreme monastery, Cluny, where every day there is such good service by God's grace?', or similarly how Geoffrey Grossus, biographer of Bernard of Tiron, related of his subject that 'he dreaded opposing the authority of the Cluniacs, who constantly said they were in the right' in a passage alleging a general programme of monastic subjection (in this case directed at Saint-Cyprien).²²⁰ Of course, while in the causal context of the rise of the new orders (in this case of Fontevraud and Tiron), their perceptions of Cluny themselves are certainly more significant, even here some scholars have argued that invectives like these 'anachronistically projects onto Hugo's leadership the uncompromising views and actions of his successor Pontius and his

²²⁰ Andreas of Fontevraud, 'Second Life of Robert of Arbrissel', in Bruce L. Venarde, ed., *Robert of Arbrissel: A Medieval Religious Life* (Washington, 2003), p. 44; Geoffrey Grossus, *The Life of Blessed Bernard of Tiron*, trans. Ruth Harwood Cline (Washington, D.C., 2009), p. 55.

associates', since Abbot Pontius or 'Pons' of Melgueil (abbot 1109-1122), famous for demanding (and receiving) episcopal regalia from Pope Paschal II among other more infamous excesses, was contemporary to the writing of such *vitae*.²²¹ In other words, there is both little evidence on the part of the Cluniacs themselves for a deliberate programme of expansion, and where it is alleged by other sources we are forced to contend with the less-than-objective perspectives and contemporary political aims of Cluny's avowed opponents, leaving the current state of the discourse on this question in somewhat of a hermeneutical tangle.

Of course, while it may indeed be *de rigueur* to attempt to contribute yet further to this hermeneutical cycle of doubt and counter-doubt, it seems clear that there is little possibility of the sources available to us resolving the question by yet more interpretation on the usual scales of analysis. As a consequence, the failure to settle this question satisfactorily has tended to function as another reason for removing the activities of Cluny from causal contention in explaining the rise of the 'new orders', and thus the explanatory ground has been ceded almost completely to 'sincere religious motivations' in the manner of Herbert Grundmann and those who follow in his wake.

Rather, a spatial analysis of Cluny's pattern of development – conducted at appropriate scale – may be more capable of redressing this balance by potentially revealing the *focus* of the great monastery in correlation with other features. This is

²²¹ Steven Vanderputten, "'I would be rather pleased if the world were to be rid of monks.'" Resistance to Cluniac integration in late eleventh- and early twelfth-century France', *Journal of Medieval History*, 47 (2021), p. 12; Kohnle, *Abt Hugo von Cluny...*, p. 209; Dietrich Poeck, *Cluniacensis ecclesia. Der cluniacensische Klosterverband (10.–12. Jahrhundert)* (Munich, 1998), pp. 84-91. Paschal II's letter granting Pons episcopal regalia can be found in Paschalis II, 'Cum differentia donationum', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 37, col. 1.

not terribly original on its own, however; Hunt herself notes, and then dismisses, the correlations previous historians have made with Cluniac houses and 'main routes':

Some who have not attributed imperialist motives to Cluny have sought patterns in her development which could indicate expansionist designs. A favourite deduction is that made from the number of houses situated on main routes: whereas this may have been coincidence, some historians see a more positive element.²²²

While she does not name them, here she alludes to the arguments of scholars like Joseph Bédier, who, in his monumental four-volume work on the origins of the *chansons de geste* – *Les légendes épiques* – argued that the principal written itinerary of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela – the *Codex Calixtinus* – had a Cluniac origin on the basis of Cluniac sites appearing with notable frequency on the main routes therein described.²²³ Joan Evans, in many ways a spiritual predecessor of Noreen Hunt in the field of Cluniac studies, was unimpressed by this, pointing out that many Cluniac sites were omitted from the *Codex* in favour of other, non-Cluniac, sites: 'At Toulouse... Saint-Sernin and not [Cluniac] La Daurade is commended to the attention of the traveller; at Limoges Saint-Léonard and not [Cluniac] Saint-Martial is mentioned; and at Poitiers Saint-Hilaire and not [Cluniac] Monstierneuf'.²²⁴ In this regard, Hunt follows Evans in casting doubt upon a 'main route' hypothesis on the basis of a lack of evidence, and though she does not expand upon her critique, there are indeed valid reasons for her having made it. For example, such a correlation between Cluniac houses and 'main routes' may simply be a causal misascription (depending on what is argued) if the real pattern of their growth is more influenced by simple population density (though this would be a useful point of evidence in itself), or some other factor.

²²² Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh...*, p. 150.

²²³ Joseph Bédier, *Les légendes épiques: recherches sur la formation des chansons de geste*, vol. III (Paris, 1914-21), p. 89.

²²⁴ Joan Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny, 910-1157* (Oxford, 1931), p. 30.

In this context, the series of Cluniac papal bulls presented in this thesis possesses a number of advantages key to triangulating its 'meaning' when compared to a simple list of Cluniac houses, helping to resolve the underdetermination of causal ascriptions to the spatial pattern of Cluniac holdings.

The first of these is the consistent use of a single source – papal bulls – which allows us to limit the 'meaning' of these sources and their resultant dataset to something which is much more tightly defined. Much of this has already been discussed above, but in short there is ample reason to regard a papal bull as an instrument of *applied power*, representing a monastery mobilising the orthodox judicial authority of the papacy to exert its will upon less advantaged houses in particular and upon the monastic landscape more generally. Since bulls (in the form of privileges) were typically applied for *by* such monasteries, this also represents a measure of *intent*; that is, we can be sure that what we observe in the use of papal privileges is the *will of Cluny* as mediated through the pope, rather than the direct will of the pope himself. In other words, what we would be observing is a proxy signal for the *deliberate application* of Cluniac *authority* over the landscape.

Secondly, with such a consistent *meaning* established, the dataset of papal bulls then allows for the unlocking of a second dimension of this spatial-visual measure of *applied power*; namely, *intensity*. Since Cluny had some monasteries confirmed more than once in papal bulls, this produces a metric of *attention, focus or importance* – more important locations were confirmed more in papal bulls, less important ones less. There is also a reflexive element to this dimension of intensity, since we can observe that monasteries which attempted to escape Cluny's control tended to be confirmed *more*, adding to a greater confidence in the supposition that these sources do indeed measure *applied power*. In the case of a monastery attempting to secure

its liberty, Cluny would apply for a papal privilege confirming it in order to secure the legal precedent for any future litigation – in the case of particularly energetic struggles, as was the case with Saint-Bertin, these confirmations could become very numerous very quickly, allowing us to perceive visually, therefore, the uneven application of Cluny's litigative authority and *focus* across the landscape.

This property of *intensity* also has its meaning triangulated with a third metric in which cases of resistance to Cluny (described above) are plotted alongside the dataset of papal bulls in order to, i) correlate with, and therefore reinforce, the measures of *intensity* and ii) correlate with other pertinent spatial features.

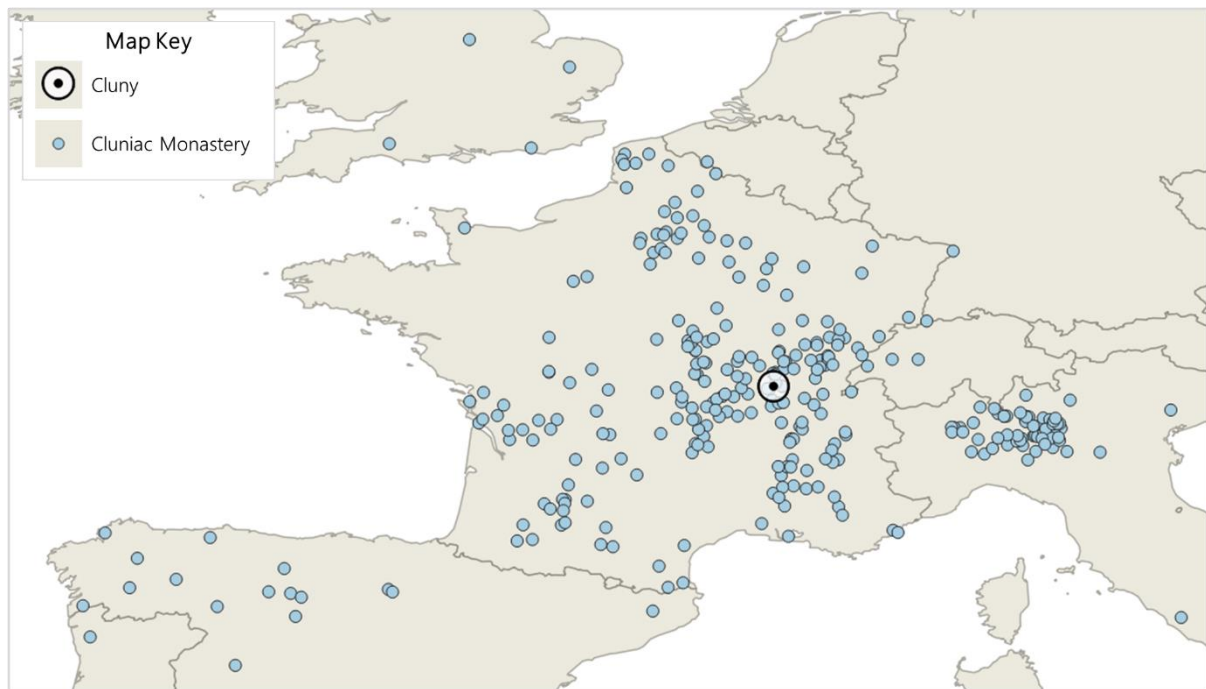
What is produced, thereby, is something we might properly regard as an *attention-focus map*, or a *power-application map*. Here, such maps will be referred to as '*attention maps*', by analogy with the same term used in other fields to represent the attention of human eyes across an image, measured with eye-tracking software, or the relative importance of features in a spatial field for the purposes of AI or photography. In this case what is being measured is 'political attention', in a rather unique fashion, akin to the Eye of Sauron sweeping across the land; revealing, with something of an empirical clarity, *where Cluny was looking* at any given time.²²⁵

²²⁵ The 'Eye of Sauron' is a reference to J.R.R. Tolkien's mythopoeic epic *The Lord of The Rings*, where the arch-evil of the world surveys his holdings as a great infernal eye perched atop the dark tower of Barad-dûr. Such an analogy, however, ought not to be taken as an insinuation that the author holds any such view of Cluny as a comparable 'evil'. Readers, however, are welcome to! J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Lord of the Rings* (London, 1966).

Mapping the Political Attention of Cluny

By the end of Peter the Venerable's abbacy in 1156, papal confirmations of Cluniac properties concur with the traditional understanding of the shape of Cluny's monastic network.

FIGURE 13. CLUNIAC MONASTIC NETWORK FROM PAPAL SOURCES, c.910-1156



N.B.: Shown with modern political borders.

Of the three-hundred-and-forty-six monasteries mentioned in papal privileges and confirmations for Cluny between 910 and 1156 (*Appendix 2: List of Cluniac Monasteries from Papal Sources*), three-hundred-and-eighteen are plotted here (*Figure 13*), leaving twenty-eight sites which I have been unable to identify.²²⁶

²²⁶ The 28 unidentified monastic sites mentioned in papal bulls between 910 and 1156 are as follows: i) *S. Pauli in valle olei* (1088); ii) *in Episcopatu Lugdunensi Ecclesia S. Justi* (1095 [1]); iii) *In Augustudinesi... de Crupellis* (1095 [1]); iv) *In Lingonensi... de Arcu* (1095 [1]); v) *In Cabilonensi, Ecclesia de Viniules* (1095 [1]), though this was mapped with a placeholder in Chalon-sur-Saône (46°46'50"N 4°51'14"E); vi) *In Arvernensi... de Canariis* (1095 [1]); vii) *In Gratianopolitano... de Teies* (1095 [1]); viii) *In Diensi... de Arun* (1095 [1]); ix) *In Diensi... de Calciun* (1095 [1]); x) *In Diensi... de Castello-novo* (1095 [1]); xi) *sancti Mayoli de Castemolâ* (1095 [1]); xii) *In Longobardiâ... Ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ de Lacu* (1095 [1]); xiii) *In Vercellensi*

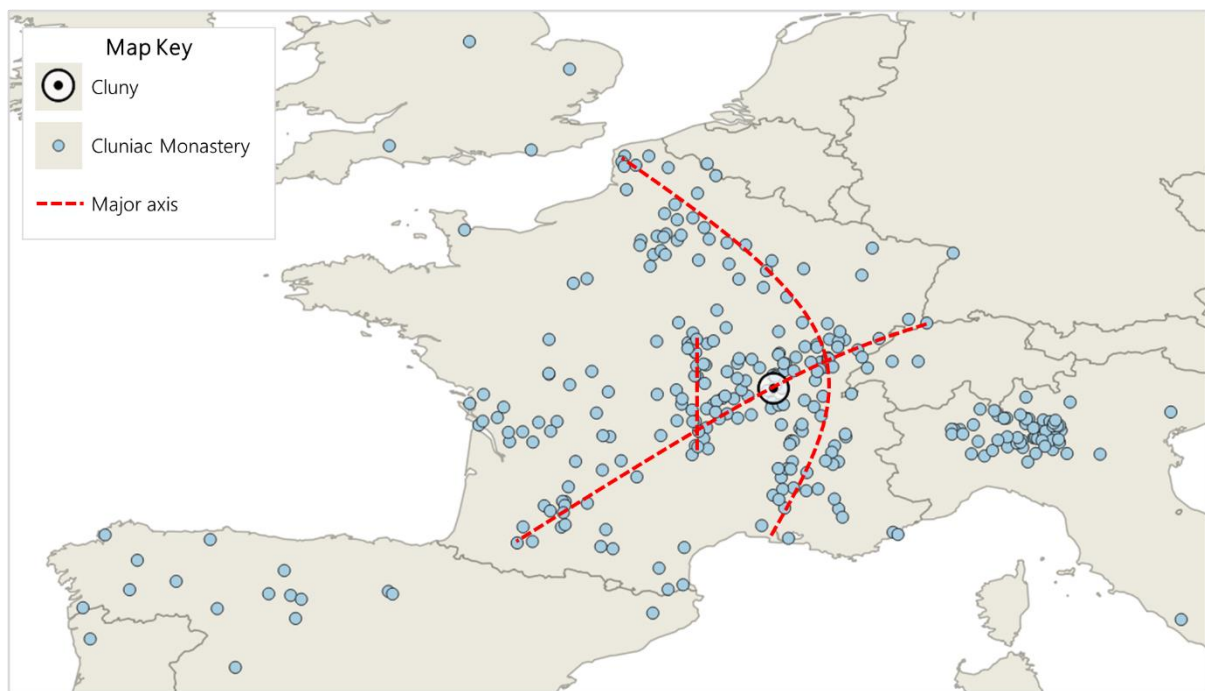
CAUSAL ORIGINS OF THE 'RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES': CLUNY, TIRON, AND THE NEW ORDERS, 910-1156

JAMIE WILLIAM IRVINE

In general, the distribution of Cluniac sites across Western Europe can be characterised as clustering along three axes crossing through the territories of contemporary France and Burgundy, with substantial additional contributions in Lombardy, the diocese of Saintes, and Northern Spain (*Figure 14*). The first of these axes takes the form of a path beginning in Basel, passing through Cluny and Clermont, and on towards Moissac. The second axis begins in Flanders, arcs through Cluny, and terminates at the Provençal coast near Arles, while a smaller third axis seems to follow a north-south road between Nevers, through Clermont and on to Saint-Flour.

Episcopatu... Ecclesia de Parione (1095 [1]); xiv) *In Pergamensi... Trigulis* (1095 [1]); xv) *de Valcolomano* (1095 [2]), *In Episcopatu Nivernensi... de Valcolomano* (1152); xvi) *de Adiacio* (1095 [2]), *de Adiacio* (1152); xvii) *S. Valerici* (1096 [2]); xviii) *Tyernus* (1100 [2]); xix) *Virgeius* (1100 [2]), *Vergiaci* (1109), *Vergiacum* (1125 [1]); xx) *Cabolium* (1109); xxi) *Chaberos* (1109); xxii) *obedientia de Astura* (1125 [1]); xxiii) *Vigilium* (1125 [1]); xxiv) *obedientia de Megis* (1125 [1]); xv) *Limantium* (1132 [1]); xvi) *In Provincia Monasterium juxta montem Pessulanum* (1144 [3]), *In Provincia Monasterium juxta Montempessulanum* (1146 [1]); xvii) *obedientiam de Molummis* (1154); xviii) *obedientiam de valle Dosia* (1154). A full list of monasteries identified and unidentified may be found in the appendices.

FIGURE 14. MAJOR AXES OF THE CLUNIAC MONASTIC NETWORK



In more substantive terms, it is difficult not to see a positive correlation between the sites Cluny had confirmed by the pope, and the major pilgrimage routes of the Camino de Santiago or 'Way of St James' to Santiago de Compostela.

Of course, a correlation in a single dimension like this might be unsatisfying to a historian like Hunt, who would be predisposed to label such a thing as a 'coincidence'.²²⁷ More compelling then, perhaps, is when it is noted that almost all of the resistance to Cluny (from within the *ecclesia Cluniacensis*) detailed above took place at sites either on or near the major routes of the Camino de Santiago, and that there is a marked lack of resistance outside of a zone delimited by these routes (Figure 15).²²⁸ Saint-Pierre de Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne, for instance, grew its wealth

²²⁷ Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh...*, p. 150.

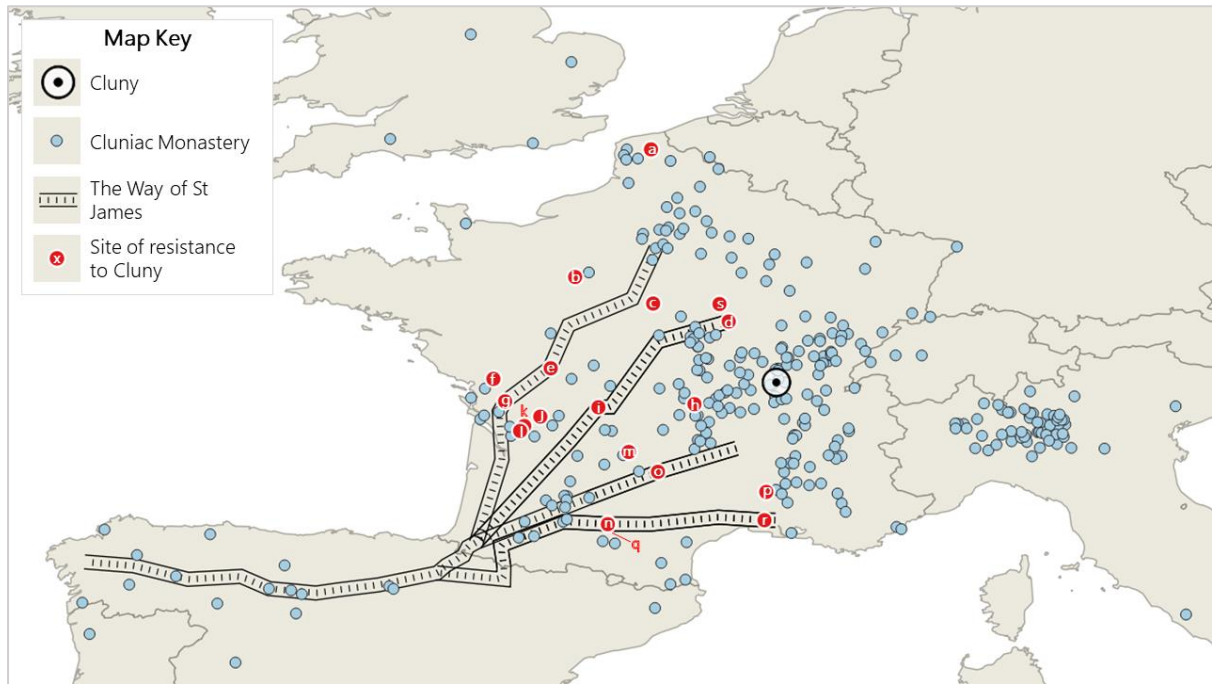
²²⁸ Note that this is also a correlation with the 'borders' of the contemporary French kingdom; resistance to Cluny – at least in extant records – is a uniquely *French* phenomenon. While the correlation to the *Camino Frances* has been argued as more significant here, there is of course the chance that this represents a *cum hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy, therefore.

thanks to its position as a necessary stopping point between the Vézelay and Le Puy routes, while Mozac rests on a road parallel to the same route. Fleury itself is just east of the Paris and Tours route near Orléans (though its own episode of resistance to Cluny places it well before the pilgrimage's heyday if not of the overlapping trade route of the *Via Regia* itself), while Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou mirrors it just west of the same route. In the south, the Arles way does not escape resistance to Cluny, with Saint-Gilles comprising a major early leg of any decent itinerary, with her nearby northern neighbour Goudargues benefitting from through-traffic from Turin, and La Daurade receiving them along the route to the West in Toulouse. Only Saint-Bertin seems to be an outlier in this correlation, until one realises that the Flanders monastery represented a major stopping-off point for English pilgrims being funnelled into both the Paris Route of the Camino de Santiago and the *Via Francigena* between Canterbury and Rome. More concretely, Vézelay herself, of course, lends her name to the eponymous Vézelay Route through central France, with Saint-Germain d'Auxerre just to its north, which route also passes through turbulent Limoges and into a region which records perhaps the greatest single concentration of resistant houses. In a rough pentagon drawn between vertices at Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Poitiers, Limoges and Périgueux can be found the resistant or once-resistant houses of Saint-Cyprien de Poitiers and Saint-Jean d'Angély, both directly on the Paris Route. Maillezais is sited just north of Saint-Jean, while to her south-east resides Saint-Cybard.

Indeed, even extending the category of resistant houses to those only within the vague Cluniac '*nebula*', one finds both Barbezieux and Baignes in very close proximity, too. Barbezieux had been donated to Cluny when the lord of Barbezieux, Audoin, died at the Burgundian house following a conversion, which was challenged

by the canons of Saint-Seurin de Bordeaux, who owned the land upon which it was built, though perhaps reflecting a more widespread local resistance.²²⁹

FIGURE 15. THE CLUNIAN NETWORK AND THE WAY OF ST JAMES



a. Abbaye Saint-Bertin de Saint-Omer; b. Abbaye Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou; c. Abbaye de Fleury; d. Abbaye Ste-Marie-Madeleine de Vézelay; e. Abbaye Saint-Cyprien de Poitiers; f. Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Maillezais; g. Abbaye St-Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Jean-d'Angély; h. Abbaye St-Pierre-St-Caprais de Mozac; i. Abbaye Saint-Martial de Limoges; j. Abbaye Saint-Cybard d'Angoulême; k. Abbaye de Barbezieux; l. Abbaye de Baignes; m. Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne; n. Basilique Saint-Sernin de Toulouse; o. Abbatiale Sainte-Foy de Conques; p. Abbatiale Notre-Dame-et-Saint-Michel de Goudargues; q. Prieuré Notre-Dame de la Daurade; r. Abbaye de Saint-Gilles; s. Saint-Germain d'Auxerre.

Baigne had faced a much more serious attempt to subject her to Cluniac authority between 1097 and 1112, however, leading even Steven Vanderputten to characterise it as part of an 'intentional process' by Saint Hugh to transform 'his personal lordship of abbeys into an institutional federation of houses subjected to his main institution' in a

²²⁹ *Cartulaire de l'église cathédrale Saint-Seurin de Bordeaux*, ed. by J.-A. Brutalis (Bordeaux, 1897), no. xii, pp. 13, 14-15.

very recent article.²³⁰ Perhaps predictably, when Vanderputten looks outside Flanders towards other examples of resistance to Cluny, we find him describing all the familiar *Cluniac* tactics described above, no longer casting them as mere fellow-travellers to those 'local forces' he once argued were truly responsible. For instance, he describes the use of 'local representatives' by Cluny and, citing the testimony of a monk of Baigne, the 'bribe[ry] by Arbert, a monk from the [Cluniac] priory of Saint-Eutrope, to donate (*concessere*) Baigne to Cluny', with the entire affair being conducted in secret and against the will of the brothers, echoing Saint-Martial and Saint-Bertin.²³¹

Perhaps we ought to be unsurprised, therefore, to find these sites of resistance appearing with remarkable frequency in the itineraries of the 12th century 'guidebook' to the pilgrimage, the *Codex Calixtinus*:

One road goes through Saint-Gilles du Gard, Montpellier, Toulouse and the Somport Pass [the Arles Route]. The next is through St Mary of Le Puy, Saint Foy of Conques and St Peter of Moissac [the Le Puy Route]. The third road is via St Mary Magdalene of Vézelay, St Leonard of Limousin and the town of Périgueux [the Vézelay Route]. The last is by St Martin of Tours, St Hilary of Poitiers, Saint-Jean-d'Angely, St Eutropius of Saintes and the city of Bordeaux [The Paris Route]. These roads through St Foy, St Leonard and St Martin meet at Ostabat and cross the Pass of Cize.²³²

Indeed, of the twenty-four sites (hosting thirty-eight relics) mentioned as essential visiting in the *Codex Calixtinus*, seven of them were directly Cluniac, with Cluniac interests in the vicinity of most of the rest.²³³ The entry for Saint-Gilles, in fact, is the

²³⁰ Vanderputten, '...Resistance to Cluniac Integration...', p. 12.

²³¹ Ibid., p. 13; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Étienne de Baigne, en Saintonge*, ed. by Paul François Cholet (1868), no. 3, pp. 4-8.

²³² *Le Codex de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle*, ed. by Le P.F. Fita and Julien Vinson (Paris, 1882), pp. 2-3. The translation used here is that of Denis Murphy, with some modifications: 'Pilgrim's Guide', <https://sites.google.com/site/caminodesantiagoproject/home> [accessed 3 March 2020]

²³³ The itinerary of relics and their shrines listed in the *Codex Calixtinus* are as follows: 1) at Arles, the bodies of Saints Trophimus, Caesarius, Honoratus, and Genesius; 2) at Trinquetaille near Arles, a column memorialising St Genesius' martyrdom; 3) The cemetery of Aliscamps near Arles; 4) at the Abbey of Saint-Gilles, the body of St Gilles; 5) at the Abbey of Gellone, the body of William the Confessor; 6) at the Abbey of Saint-Thibéry in Hérault, the bodies of Saints Tiberius, Modestus and

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lengthiest in the entire chapter, and includes a vigorous defence of the relics in possession of the monks there against opposing claims from a monastery in Hungary, the monks of Chamalières, canons of Saint-Seine and monks of Coutances.²³⁴ In a similar vein, 'the most holy body of the blessed Mary Magdalene [at Vézelay] is *above all* [my emphasis] to be venerated', an exhortation given to no other relic in the text.²³⁵

While the strong representation for Cluniac interests in the *Codex Calixtinus* does not necessarily indicate any especial favour for the monastery on the authors' parts, it nonetheless reveals at least Cluny's embeddedness within the pilgrimage itself. If this means that the abbots of Cluny planned some general and deliberate conquest of the routes, modern monastic historians have typically been too reticent to suggest. Architectural and art historians, however, have been bolder in their assertions.

Owing to the remarkably tenacious idea that the Romanesque architecture of churches along the Camino de Santiago was the responsibility of Cluniac influence, Cluny's stake in the pilgrimage went almost unquestioned among art historians even after 'the extravagance of some claims for Cluniac hegemony was recognized and the extent of its real authority was called into question', according to Thomas Lyman

Florence; 7) the body of Saint Saturninus in Toulouse; 8) at Conques, the relics of Sainte Foy; 9) at Vézelay, the body of Mary Magdalene; 10) at Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat, the body of Saint Leonard; 11) at Périgueux, the body of St Front; 12) at Orléans, the wood of the True Cross and the body of St Evurtius; 13) at the Church of Saint-Samson, a paten (plate used for holding Eucharistic bread) used at the Last Supper; 14) at Tours, the body of St Martin; 15) at Poitiers, the body of St Hilary; 16) at Saint-Jean-d'Angély, the head of St John the Baptist; 17) at the Priory of Saint-Eutrope of Saintes, the body of St Eutrope; 18) at Blaye, the basilica of Romanus and the body of Roland; 19) at Bordeaux, the body of St Seurin and the horn of Roland; 20) at Belin, the bodies of Oliver, Gondebaud, Ogier, Arastain and Garin, companions of Charlemagne; 21) at Santo Domingo de la Calzada, the body of St Domingo; 22) at Sahagún, the bodies of Saints Facundus and Primitivus; 23) at Léon, the body of St Isidore; 24) at Compostella, the body of St James: *The Pilgrim's Guide: A 12th Century Guide for the Pilgrim to Saint James of Compostella*, trans. James Hogarth (London, 1992), pp. 27-57.

²³⁴ Ibid., pp. 29-34.

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 37.

(citing Noreen Hunt and P. Hofmeister).²³⁶ Lyman himself challenged the view, however, though his argument was on architectural grounds: that the typical 'pilgrimage church' – with its ambulatory designed for the easy viewing of relics – does not seem to be either an innovation of Cluny or the direct imitation of Cluny III, since examples exist which predate the Cluniac designs usually cited as seminal.²³⁷ By contrast, Lyman was certain of Cluny's political and economic intent, stating that 'it does not take a cynic to see in Cluniac policies the belated recognition that pilgrimages were taking on a new [more lucrative] character...'.²³⁸

Others were more certain still. Otto Werckmeister, for instance, advanced the position that there was a 'Cluniac takeover attempt on the pilgrimage roads', arguing:

In the years from 1082 to 1096, while Abbot Hugh had to deal with the uncertainties and ultimate cessation of gold contributions by King Alfonso VI of León and Castile to the abbey budget, he embarked on an effort to increase the international scope of money contributions by expanding the abbey's connections with the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. Cluny acquired the abbey of Saint-Martial at Limoges in 1063. Since 1082 Abbot Hugh pursued a protracted legal and political campaign to take control of Saint-Sernin at Toulouse and Sainte-Foy at Conques.²³⁹

For Werckmeister, Cluny's uncertain income – in particular its reliance on the financial contributions of the kings of León and Castile – forced Abbot Hugh to invest in an alternative hedging strategy to secure the financial future of his abbey; namely, by capturing the revenues to be gleaned from itinerant, money-bearing pilgrims concentrated mainly along the roads to Santiago de Compostela.

²³⁶ Thomas W. Lyman, 'The Politics of Selective Eclecticism: Monastic Architecture, Pilgrimage Churches, and "Resistance to Cluny"', *Gesta*, 27 (1988), p. 83.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, esp. p. 85.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

²³⁹ O.K. Werckmeister, 'Cluny III and the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela', *Gesta*, 27 (1988), p. 103.

Supporting this view, the building of the great, mass-audience abbey-church of Cluny III indicated in concrete terms a switch of focus for the abbey, a 'programmatic shift'; that it was 'designed with a different audience in mind, as an alternative to the political risks which this remote [royal] patronage entailed'.²⁴⁰ Werckmeister's elucidation of what we might call Cluny's 'Santiago Strategy' rested also on her attempts to seize control of three key sites on the pilgrimage: Saint-Martial de Limoges in 1063, and the extended political campaigns to acquire Saint-Sernin at Toulouse and Sainte-Foy at Conques, both of which ultimately failed by 1096, though nonetheless still bear the hallmarks of a Saint Hugh subjection.²⁴¹

Saint-Sernin, the nineteenth site mentioned in the *Codex Calixtinus* and a prototype of the large, relic-focused (in this case, the body of St Sernin) mass-audience church, was subjected to Abbot Hunaldus of [Cluniac] Moissac by Bishop Isarn of Toulouse (perhaps following in the footsteps of his Cluniac predecessor as bishop, Durand) in 1082, in league with Count Guilhem IV and Hugh, despite the community of Saint-Sernin having adopted the Augustinian Rule in 1073 to protect against such advances.²⁴² The canons were expelled and replaced with Cluniac monks, though by 1083 the count backtracked, and after a handful of reversals later, the attempt was finally quashed at the 1096 Council of Nîmes, where Pope Urban II confirmed Saint-Sernin's independence. Though here Isarn had failed, it is worth bearing in mind that he had been successful with precisely the same strategy in 1077 when he ejected the clergy of La Daurade (another Toulousain establishment) and gave the church to Cluny, installing monks from nearby Moissac in their stead.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 110, 106.

²⁴¹ Ibid., p. 106.

²⁴² Ibid., p. 108.

²⁴³ *Gallia Christiana...*, vol XIII, Instrumenta no. IX, cols. 9-10.

The attempt on Sainte-Foy of Conques – the eighth site mentioned in the *Codex Calixtinus* and another of the great pilgrimage churches – progressed similarly, though this time conducted through nearby Figeac rather than Moissac. In this case, Cluny almost succeeded, since their claim was based upon a 1084 bull of Gregory VII which ruled that the last surviving abbot of Conques and Figeac should rule over both, hoping to settle the ancient unification of the two houses. Abbot Ayrard of Figeac had become the last man standing upon the death of Abbot Stephen of Conques, but in the event, Conques refused to recognise Ayrard, electing their own candidate – Begon II – in his place. Ayrard appealed to Pope Urban and Abbot Hugh at the Council of Clermont in 1095, and Begon was duly deposed. However, with the support of his monks, he refused to step down, and again by the Council of Nîmes, Urban was forced to acknowledge the permanent separation of Conques from Figeac.²⁴⁴

In relating these failed attempts at subjection, Werckmeister's case for a 'Santiago Strategy' is compelling, not least because independent lines of investigation (see *Chapter 2*) seem to confirm its claims. While we see the same tactics being employed at Saint-Sernin and Conques as we see in the other contentious Cluniac subjections, it is also notable that following failure here in 1096, Cluny then moves against Baigne in 1097, failing again, and ultimately to Saint-Bertin on the same route in 1099.

If a 'programmatic shift' did occur in Cluny's overall strategy beginning around 1082, as Werckmeister contends, then this is certainly supported by the pattern we see in Cluny's acquisition of properties. As can be observed in *Figure 11* above, the dramatic acceleration in the acquisition of monasteries and churches begins 1085-88 (lasting until 1125), whereas before then, growth in these categories was largely comparable

²⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 108.

to that of secular categories, indicating perhaps that a *deliberate decision* was made to capture monasteries and churches *in particular*. In counterfactual terms, if the growth of Cluny was indeed 'accidental' and merely 'coincidental', as Hunt and her disciples maintain, then we might instead expect to see proportional growth across all categories of property. While this disproportionate growth in monasteries and churches may indeed be attributable to other factors, there is nonetheless an undeniable consilience between evidence at all scales of analysis which points to the existence of a deliberate strategy.

In this case, one might attribute Werckmeister's boldness to the survival of a certain kind of speculative license in his own discipline of art history, owing to the fragmentary and indirect evidence they must customarily make use of. By contrast, the 'charterisation' of the historiography proper of the High Middle Ages – or a subscription to 'the cult of the fact', as Quentin Skinner put it – has resulted in the elimination of this same speculative license in the face of our access to an archive with which we are able to draw more literal and direct conclusions.²⁴⁵ As Brian Stock argued in *The Implications of Literacy*, the locus of transition from a principally oral culture to a principally 'textual' one occurred in Europe over the course of the eleventh-century (an idea buttressed even by the growing volume of papal letters in the eleventh century measured in *Table 3*), although it seems that modern historians of the period can still find themselves torn between two hermeneutical paradigms appropriate only to one or the other: between a more 'archaeological' mode which allows for the speculative interpolation of intent and structure between fragmentary sources of evidence, and a more dominant literalist or hyper-empiricist mode which demands direct documentary support for the making of any such claims.²⁴⁶ For some

²⁴⁵ Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics: I, Regarding Method* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 8-26.

²⁴⁶ Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983).

historians, an unquestioning subscription to the latter mode precludes any historical perception short of that which is directly revealed to us by our subjects, as if we must have expected Saint Hugh to simply declare his strategy outright in a letter to some prelate or other, or perhaps in an extended treatise entitled 'How I Intend to Subject All Your Churches'.

Of course, as even Steven Vanderputten has very recently argued, this approach 'may be taking the case in [Hugh's] favour too far'.²⁴⁷ At the very least, it seems to ignore every indication that comes to us of a 'secret Cluny' of backroom deals and political pressure, be it from the monk of Saint-Martial; at Saint-Bertin; from the monk of Baigne, or anywhere else.

Perhaps more egregious is the singular denial of any kind of 'strategic' layer of operation on Cluny's part whatsoever; amounting to *positive* argumentation for the haphazard and accidental development of her network. It must be through fresh eyes, therefore, that the broader patterns in Cluny's expansion ought to be assessed.

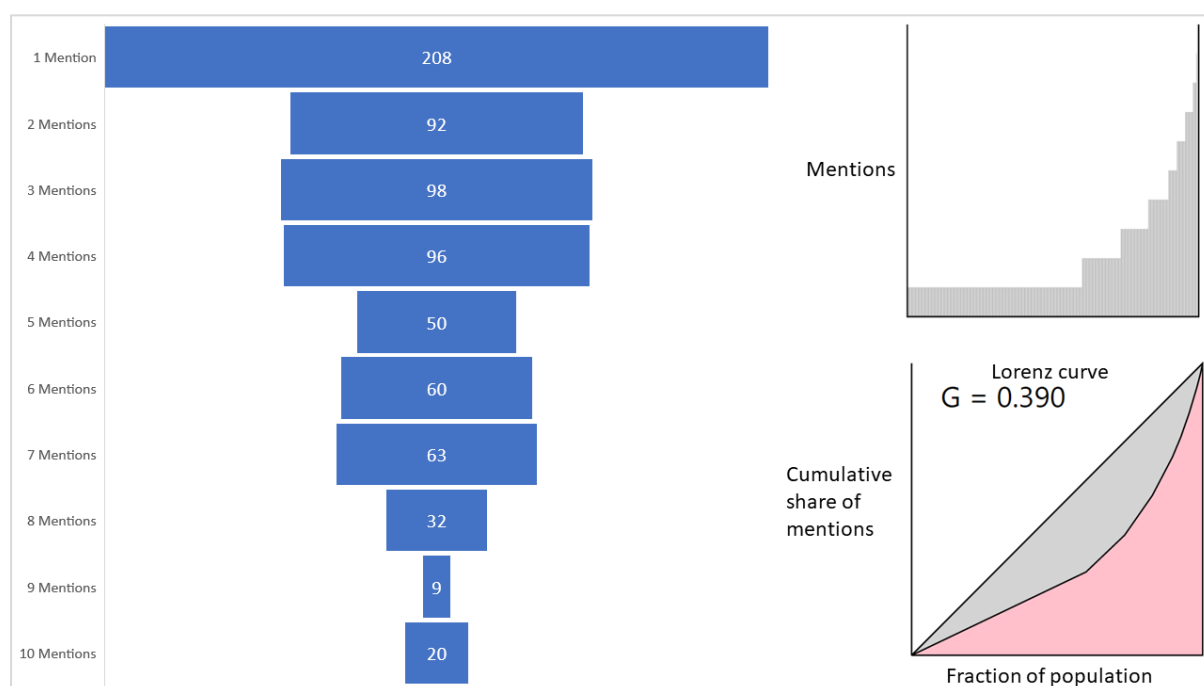
In this context, it must be asserted that mapping Cluny's 'political attention' (as introduced above) certainly reveals more 'pattern' than it does of happenstance.

Across the whole period, there were seven-hundred-and-twenty-eight mentions of three-hundred-and-forty-six Cluniac monasteries. The majority of sites – two-hundred-and-eight – only ever received a single confirmation, with the rest of that attention being given to more important sites (*Figure 16*). In general, this means that the distribution of Cluniac 'attention' according to this metric could be said to have

²⁴⁷ Vanderputten, '...Resistance to Cluniac integration...', p. 12.

been rather unequal, but not terribly so. In fact, the 'Gini coefficient' – a widely used formula for calculating inequality, typically wealth inequality – of such 'attention' within the Cluniac network can be calculated as 0.39, with '0' being perfect equality, and '1' perfect inequality. For the sake of attempting to frame an intuitive comparison in this regard, comparing the apples of monastic papal attention to the oranges of modern wealth distribution would place the *ecclesia Cluniacensis* as more unequal in attention than the United Kingdom was in wealth in 2017 (with a Gini coefficient of 0.351), less unequal than the United States in 2018 (0.414) and comparable to Israel (0.39) in 2016.²⁴⁸

FIGURE 16. PAPAL BULL 'ATTENTION INEQUALITY' IN THE CLUNIAC MONASTIC NETWORK

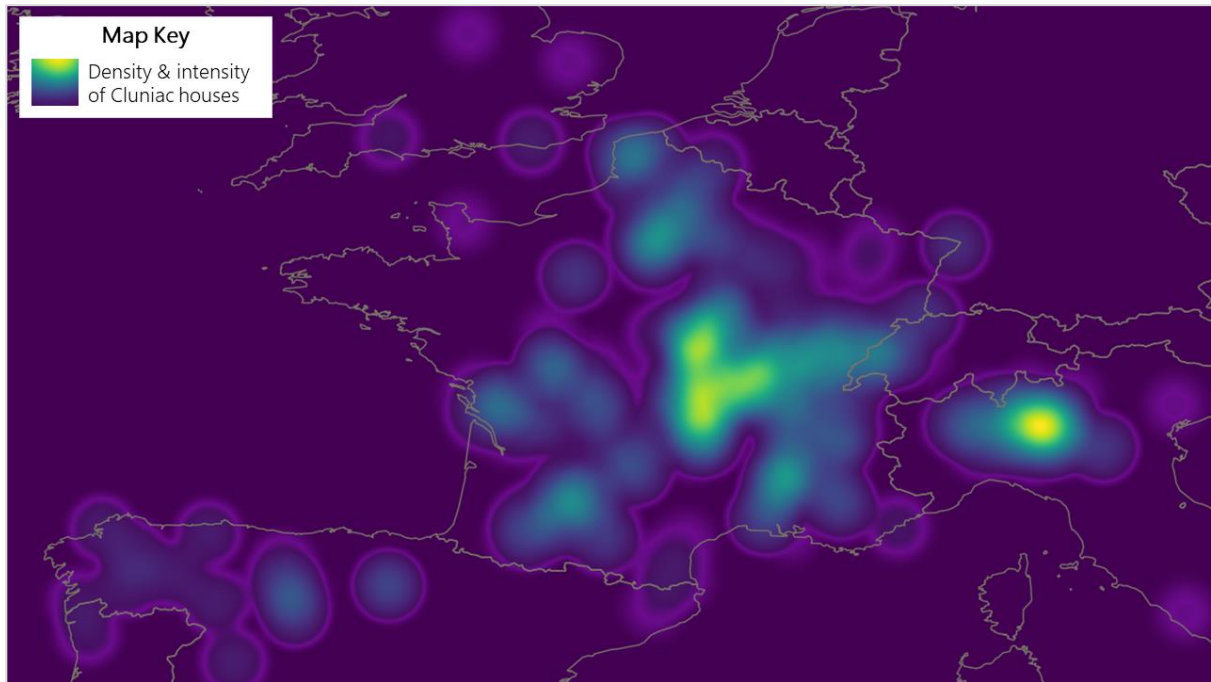


In spatial terms, this unequal distribution of papal confirmations and privileges can be visualised as a heat map with brightness representing a combination of the

²⁴⁸ Gini index (World Bank estimate), https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI/?most_recent_value_desc=false [accessed May 2021].
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density of sites and the 'intensity' of focus upon them (the number of mentions each site receives) (*Figure 17*). For example, a single site with four mentions will appear just as bright as four sites in close proximity with a single mention each.

FIGURE 17. 'ATTENTION MAP' OF THE CLUNIAC MONASTIC NETWORK, 910-1156



To take one example of the utility of this approach, it is possible to see in it that Cluny expresses a certain bias towards securing the *western* part of her heartland; that sites to the immediate west of Cluny are more important to her than those to her immediate east. By contrast, a map plotting the simple location of sites (e.g. *Figure 13*) reveals no such focus and no discernible difference in density (in fact, without the dimension of 'intensity' of focus measured through mentions, there is a slight *eastern* bias instead).

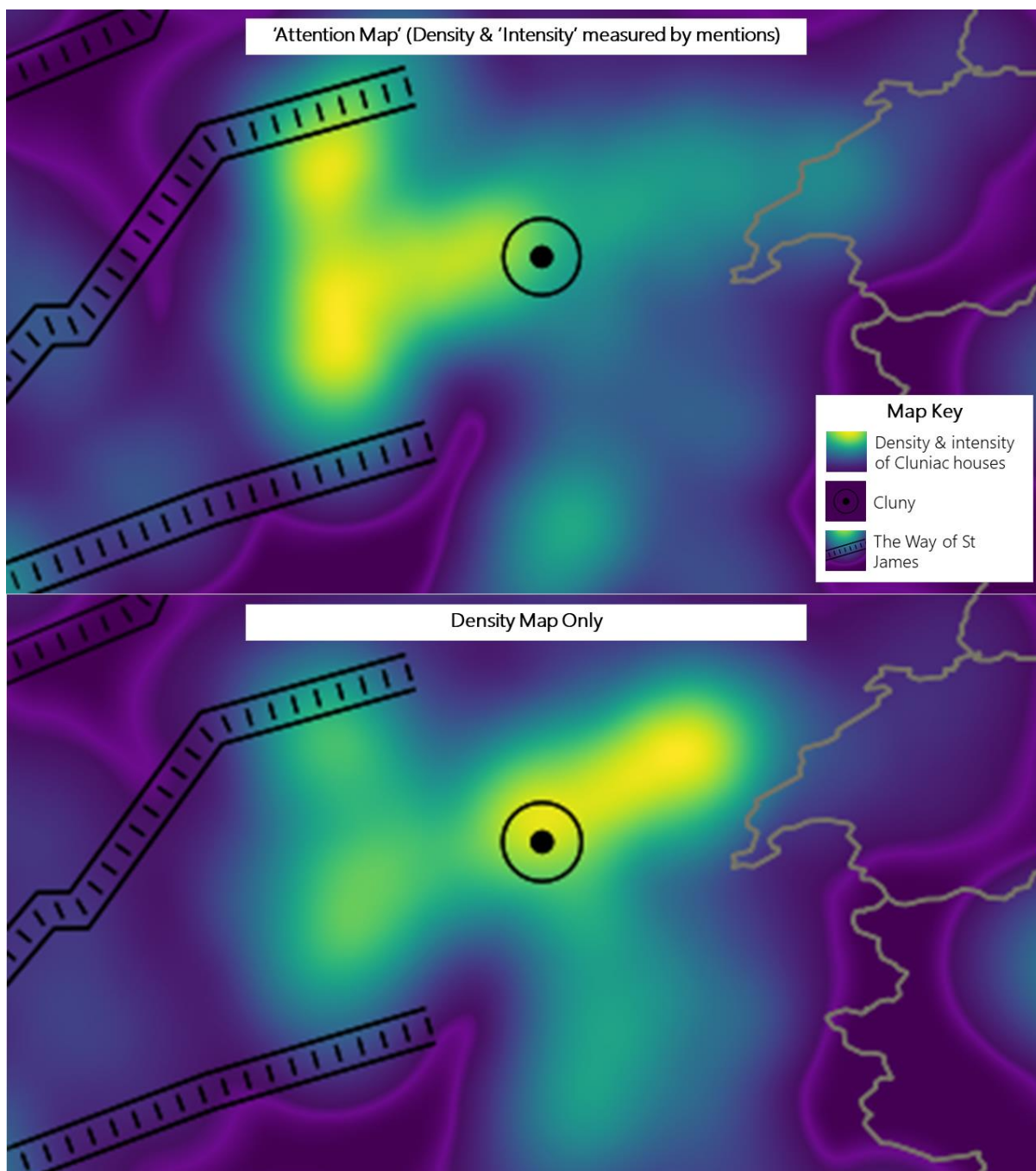
Furthermore, with such an observation, it becomes possible to give much greater credence to the idea that Cluny was attempting to position itself as a starting

sanctuary of the Le Puy route of the Camino de Santiago (*Figure 18*), with its attention focused on the forking roads from Cluny itself to the starts of the routes to its immediate North (the Vézelay route) and South (the Le Puy Route). Werckmeister makes the same observation by taking the design of Cluny III as his principal evidence, writing 'if Hugh did plan to make his new abbey church the starting sanctuary for the *Via Podiensis* [the Le Puy Road], rites of send-off for the pilgrimage could have been performed here on a grand scale'.²⁴⁹ Indeed, the *Codex Calixtinus* gives us exactly this indication when it makes clear just exactly *who* used the Le Puy route: 'Those Burgundians and Germans who go to St James by the Le Puy road should venerate the relics of the blessed Faith [Foy, at Conques]'.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ Werckmeister, 'Cluny III and the Pilgrimage to Santiago...', p. 110.

²⁵⁰ *The Pilgrim's Guide*, trans. Hogarth, p. 36.

FIGURE 18. COMPARISON OF 'ATTENTION MAP' AND DENSITY MAP OF THE CLUNIAN HEARTLAND



In this case, the greater certainty of meaning afforded by a dataset like that of the confirmations and privileges in papal bulls allows for a concomitantly greater certitude in interpreting what spatial correlations may *mean*. Here (*Figure 18*), it is clear that where a simple density map of Clunian sites may lead us astray (*Figure 18*,

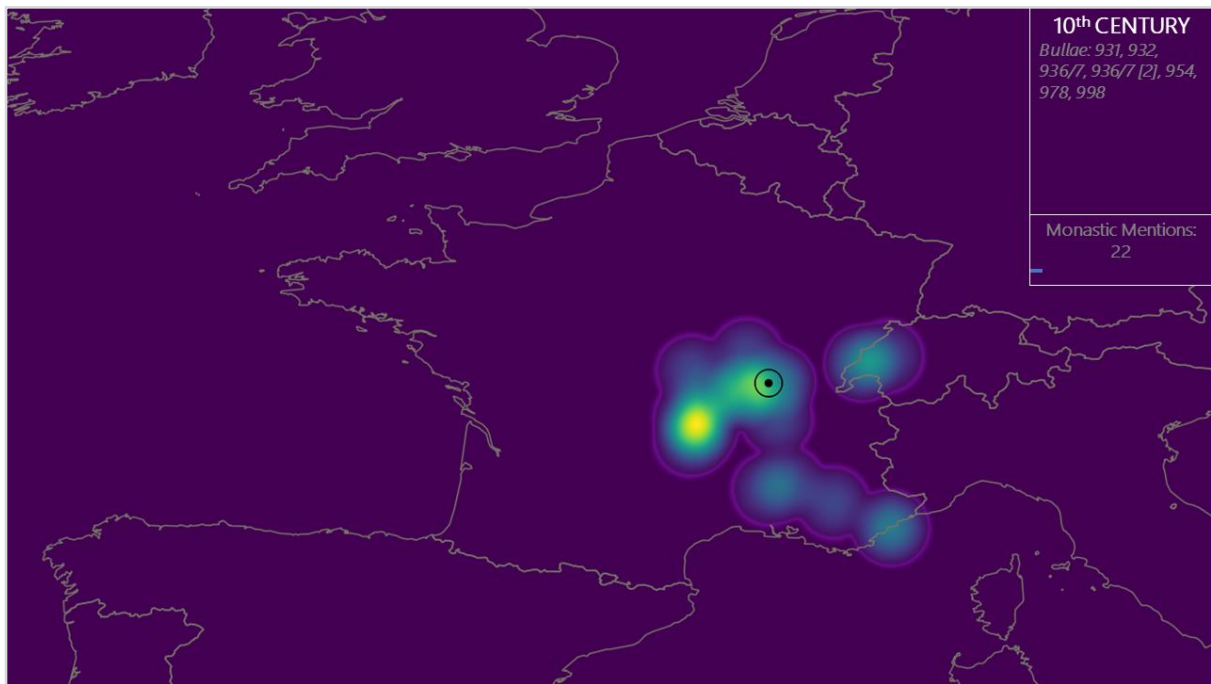
below), or provide only a weak correlative signal, controlling for the dimension of 'intensity' is able to reveal, in a very real sense, what Cluny *cared about* (Figure 18, above). In applying repeatedly for papal bulls to secure the same sites, Cluny's *spatial intent* becomes intelligible. As it pertains to the Cluniac 'heartland', it seems likely that her priority was in securing a forked road from Cluny to Clermont, which branched north from there to Nevers, linking with the *Via Lemovicensis* (the Limoges Road of the Camino de Santiago, also referred to as the 'Vézelay route'), and south to Saint-Flour, where it joined with the *Via Podiensis* (the Le Puy Road), *designed* to transmit pilgrims and other lucrative traffic originating from the Empire (more specifically, via a road from Basel). Indeed, it is even possible to see the lacuna in Cluny's control of the Le Puy route centred on Conques (Figure 18), which, as we have seen, she struggled so hard to acquire.

The Development of Cluny's Political Attention Over Time

On a broader scale, this approach is able to elucidate a narrative of Cluny's development *in power* which would otherwise remain obscured by the simple tracking of the growth of her monastic network over time.

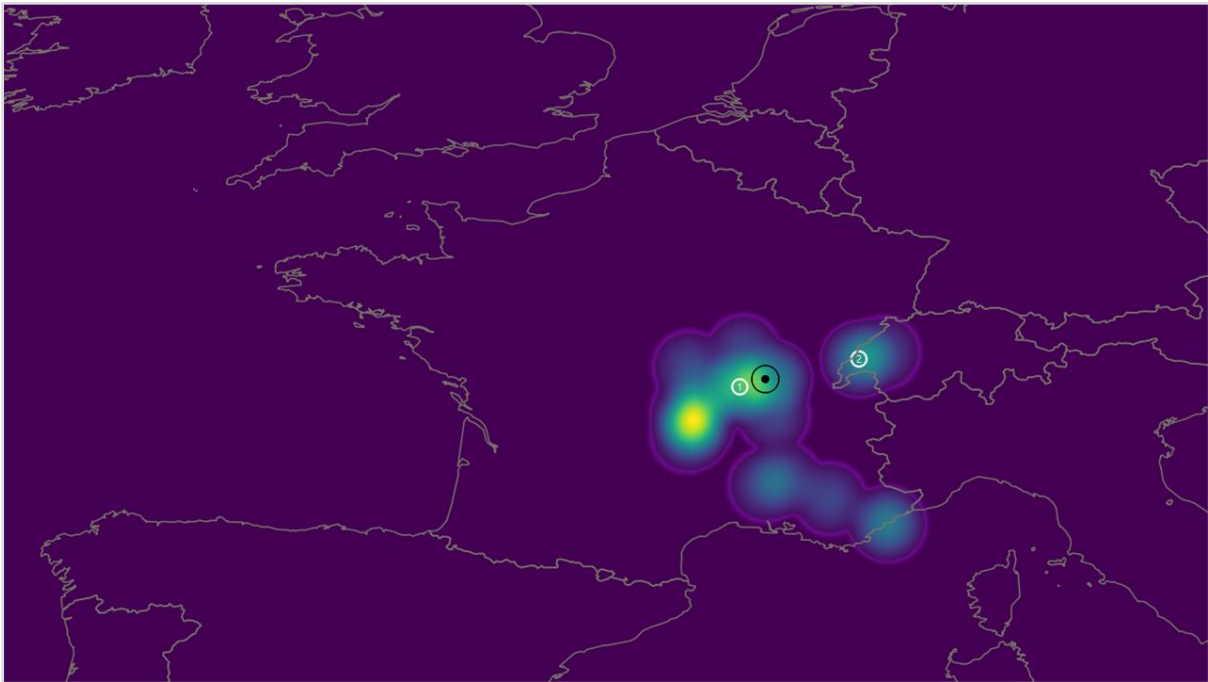
To wit, the bulls of the tenth century reflect a Cluny which achieved a strong growth in her formal monastic holdings, but nonetheless remained geographically confined to Burgundy (or rather, the 'Kingdom of Arles', as it is known to historians, until its 1032 incorporation into the Holy Roman Empire) and the east-central fringes of France.

FIGURE 19. CLUNIAN 'ATTENTION MAP' - 10TH CENTURY



Only Charlieu and Romainmôtier are confirmed with any frequency in this period, accruing three and two mentions respectively (*Figure 20*), speaking to the rather more informal networks of influence Cluny cultivated in the tenth century, largely through the reforming activities of its abbots in what many historians have called the 'multi-abbacy'.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ On the 'multi-abbacy', see for example Steven Vanderputten, *Medieval Monasticisms: Forms and Experiences of the Monastic Life in the Latin West* (Munich, 2020), p. 74.

FIGURE 20. CLUNIAN 'ATTENTION MAP' (PROMINENT SITES) - 10TH CENTURY²⁵²

The long lacuna in papal bulls issued for Cluny between the end of the tenth century and 1050 tends more to represent turmoil in the papacy itself than it does any halting of progress in the spread of the Clunian network itself. The order grew appreciably in these years, despite not enjoying the patronage of effective popes.

By the time of Pope Leo IX, however, and the entry of the papacy into its 'reforming era' proper, the instrument of papal bulls begins to reveal how Cluny deployed this qualitatively new form of legal authority to secure its domains and interests. While such bulls were not issued frequently enough to reveal developments at a temporal scale any more granular than that at about every two-decades, at this scale at least can her focus be discerned.

²⁵² 1) Prieuré Saint-Fortunat de Charlieu (3 mentions); 2) Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Romainmôtier (2 mentions).

In the 1050s and 1060s, we see a Cluny branching out to the West under the new leadership of Abbot Hugh, confirming the important abbeys of St-Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, Saint-Cyprien de Poitiers, and most especially Saint-Pierre de Moissac and Ste-Marie-Madeleine de Vézelay (*Figure 21*). Her focus, however, remained on populating and securing a lucrative heartland, especially the region between Clermont and Le Puy (*Figure 22*).

FIGURE 21. CLUNIAC 'ATTENTION MAP' - 1050s & 60s

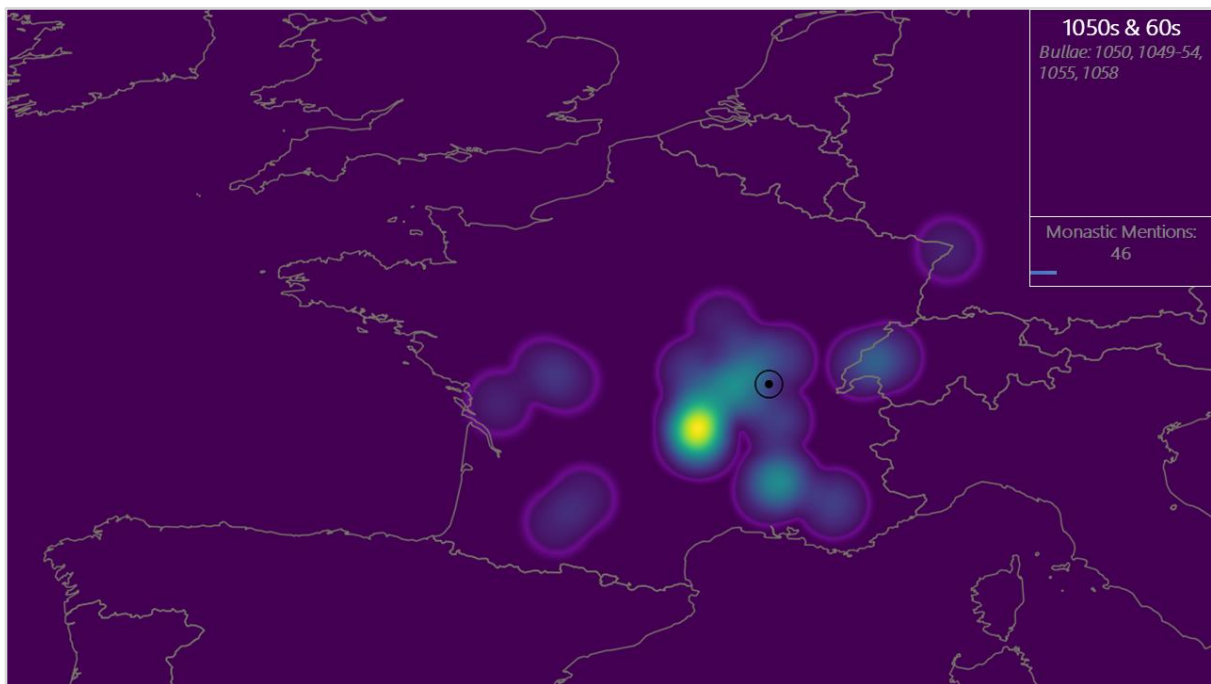
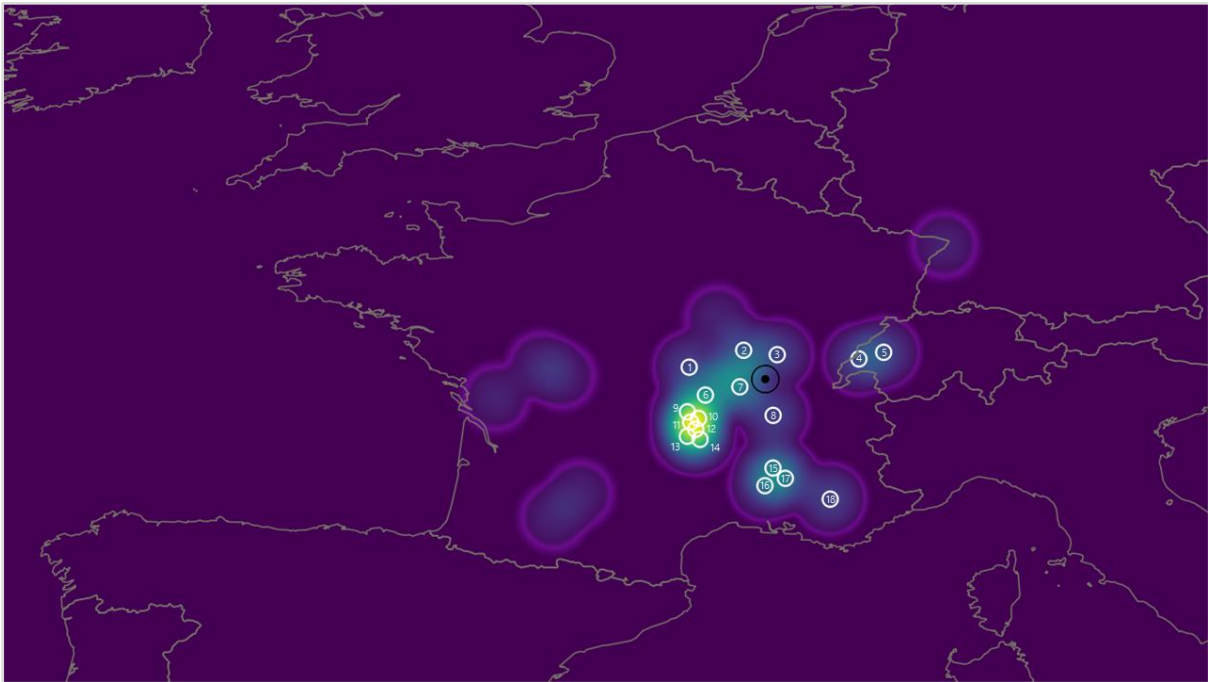


FIGURE 22. CLUNIAN 'ATTENTION MAP' (PROMINENT SITES) - 1050s & 60s²⁵³

In the 1070s and 1080s, however, it is clear that Cluny finds a new gear, confirming for the first time sites in Spain and Lombardy and focusing its attention on the enormously influential Moissac (*Figure 23; Figure 24*). It is in this period that Werckmeister contends that the 'Santiago Strategy' (though he does not use this phrase) was launched – a conquest of the pilgrimage routes intended as a hedge against the increasing uncertainty of the monetary 'census' provided by the kings of León.

²⁵³ 1) Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Paul de Souvigny (2 mentions); 2) Prieuré Saint-Martin de Mesvres (2 mentions); 3) Prieuré Saint-Marcel de Saint-Marcel (2 mentions); 4) Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Romainmôtier (2 mentions); 5) Prieuré Notre-Dame de Payerne (2 mentions); 6) Prieuré Notre-Dame de Ris (2 mentions); 7) Prieuré Saint-Fortunat de Charlieu (2 mentions); 8) Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Mayeul de Ternay (2 mentions); 9) Prieuré Saint-Hilaire de Monton (2 mentions); 10) Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Paul de Sauxillanges (2 mentions); 11) Prieuré Saint-Julien de Gignat (2 mentions); 12) Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Bournoncle (2 mentions); 13) Prieuré Saint-Maurice de Bonnac (2 mentions); 14) Prieuré Sainte-Croix de Lavoûte-Chilhac (2 mentions); 15) Prieuré de Saint-Marcel-lès-Sauzet (2 mentions); 16) Prieuré St-Pierre de Saint-Saturnin-du-Port (2 mentions); 17) Prieuré de Saint-Pantaléon (2 mentions); 18) Prieuré Notre-Dame de Ganagobie (2 mentions).

While Fernando I of León granted an annual stipendium of 1000 Muslim coins (which he himself had received as tribute) to Cluny around 1063 – the same year in which Saint-Martial de Limoges was subjected – his son Alfonso VI did not recognise the obligation.²⁵⁴ However, after crediting his release from prison to ‘Cluniac prayers’, he awarded four Leonese monasteries to Cluny between 1073 and 1077, and in July 1077 agreed to pay double his father’s rate of 1000 gold coins per annum (that is, 2000 coins calculated at 240 ounces of gold in total).²⁵⁵ John Williams asserted that ‘there are grounds for thinking that this census was paid for eight years’, with Alfonso defaulting on his commitment between 1085 and 1088, coinciding with military pressures experienced at the hands of the invading Muslim Almoravids.²⁵⁶ Alfonso would later promise to relieve his debt to Cluny in a letter, which may have occurred in 1088. The monumental construction of Cluny III would almost certainly not have been possible without it.

However, it is not at all obvious that Cluny’s ‘conquest’ of the pilgrimage routes was in fact the result of some kind of ‘hedging strategy’, as Werckmeister contended. It may simply be the case that Cluny wished to capitalise on the opening up of the Spanish kingdoms to merchant and pilgrim traffic from the rest of Europe, and to solidify their patronage with its kings as they did so. That is, there is some mutuality and reflexivity between Cluny’s focus on the pilgrimage roads and the interests of the Leonese kingdom; that it was something complementary rather than deliberately alternative. It is notable, for instance, that a sizable number of relics mentioned in the pilgrimage itineraries of the *Codex Calixtinus* are in fact those of the remains of Christian military heroes who were martyred fighting the Saracens. Among the relics

²⁵⁴ John Williams, ‘Cluny and Spain’, *Gesta*, 27 (1988), p. 94.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 94. Tellenbach recalled how there was a legend of the efficacy of Cluniac prayers ‘according to which more souls were freed from purgatory by the Masses celebrated at Cluny than by any other kind of good works...’: Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. by R.F. Bennett (Oxford, 1948), p. 78.

²⁵⁶ Williams, ‘Cluny and Spain’, p. 94.

of the first bishops of France and the Christian martyrs of the third to sixth centuries, the third-largest category of relics are comprised of these 'counter-Saracen' Christian knights: William 'the Confessor' of Gellone, who most famously defeated a Muslim invasion which had penetrated as far as Narbonne in 793; the body of Roland at Blaye and his horn at Bordeaux, semi-mythical marcher lord killed at the Battle of Roncevaux Pass against Basques believed by Charlemagne to have been allied with the Moors; and the bodies of Oliver, Gondebaud, Ogier, Arastain and Garin at Belin, all considered paladins of Charlemagne and themselves legendary figures of the *chansons de geste*.²⁵⁷ In other words, it must be emphasised that the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela was much more than a simple matter of the Church, but rather reflected the cultural consciousness of a Christendom in the process of defining itself, where the Spanish kingdoms were sacralised by association with their spiritual Carolingian forebears, both engaged in the holy business of resisting Muslim advances.²⁵⁸ Calixtus II's 1123 declaration of the Reconquista as a Crusade, on the heels of similar though less conclusive sentiments by Urban II and Paschal II – as argued by R.A. Fletcher in several places – seem to confirm the connection.²⁵⁹ Whatever the case may be, it is clear that Cluny had more than enough reason to focus upon its presence on the pilgrimage roads in this period without necessitating

²⁵⁷ While the portrayal of Charlemagne's Iberian campaigns as religious wars was common from the late eleventh century, Samuel Ottewill-Soulsby has argued that this was also a contemporary gloss: Samuel Ottewill-Soulsby, "'Those same cursed Saracens': Charlemagne's campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula as religious warfare', *Journal of Medieval History*, 42 (2016), pp. 405-28.

²⁵⁸ For example, the mid-twelfth century *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* employed Charlemagne's wars to encourage crusade in Spain and participation in the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela: see G.M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1995), pp. 55-98. The thesis of a 'a Christendom in the process of defining itself' is that of Dominique Iogna-Prat and others, who imagined that the function of 'othering' was key to Christian identity-formation in this period: Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Order & Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam (1000-1150)*, trans. Graham Robert Edwards (New York, 2002), pp. 22-3, 279, 323, 359, 361-2, 364-5.

²⁵⁹ R.A. Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain c.1050-1150', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 37 (1987), pp. 42-3; R.A. Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 297-8.

a precipitating cause like the default of the Leonese kings on their obligations; though, of course, this is a factor that ought not to be discounted.

Much of this might be to project later developments onto the situation in the 1070s and 80s, however, though it is worth noting the contemporaneity of the *Song of Roland's* growing popularity with Cluniac moves into Spain. In more concrete terms, Moissac certainly seems to have been used as a staging post for Spanish initiatives, providing a number of bishops from its community (including most famously Jerome of Périgord, a companion of El Cid) and exerting a powerful presence on a region within which two of the pilgrimage roads ran in close parallel – the roads of Le Puy and Arles around Toulouse. Cluny's focus in papal bulls certainly confirms this, with Moissac and La Daurade (in Toulouse) gaining more mentions than any other monastery alongside La Charité-sur-Loire and the influential convent of Marcigny (Figure 24).

FIGURE 23. CLUNIAC 'ATTENTION MAP' - 1070s & 80s

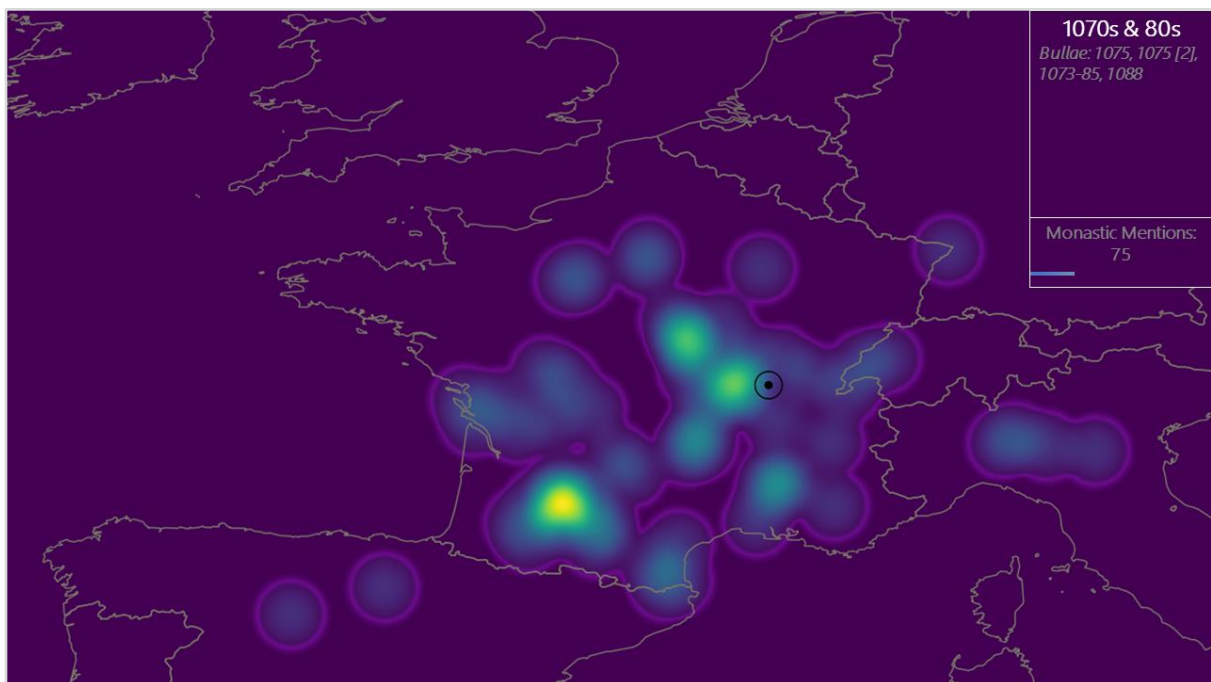
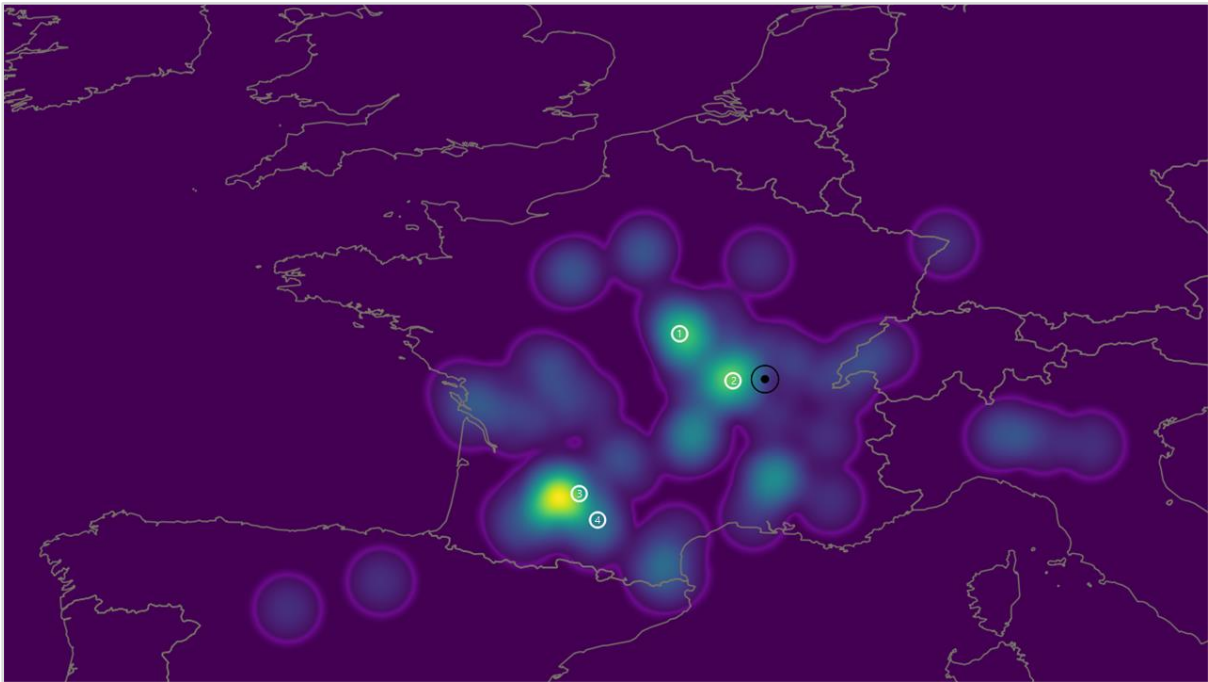


FIGURE 24. CLUNIAN 'ATTENTION MAP' (PROMINENT SITES) - 1070s & 80s²⁶⁰

In the 1090s and the first decade of the 1100s, Cluny seems to attain the apogee of its power, achieving both its greatest rate of expansion and deploying more papal legal authority in the form of confirmations and privileges than it had before or would ever do again. In fact, almost half of the mentions in the entire period (910-1156) – three-hundred-and-five of seven-hundred-and-twenty-eight total, or nearly forty-two per cent – occur in these two decades alone.

The pattern of its attention, however, is broad rather than being particularly focused on any one region or another (*Figure 25*), though this must not be mistaken for an impression that their attention was thin or sparse. Rather, Cluny managed to maintain

²⁶⁰ 1) Prieuré Notre-Dame de La Charité-sur-Loire (2 mentions); 2) Prieuré de la Sainte-Trinité de Marcigny (2 mentions); 3) Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Moissac (2 mentions); 4) Prieuré Notre-Dame de la Daurade (2 mentions).

an intense focus across the breadth of its domains (*Figure 26*), taking full advantage of a series of popes unusually friendly to it, most prominently Urban II.

Even so, the enormous density of sites confirmed in Lombardy is hard to ignore, centred on the crossroads between routes originating further south in Italy (particularly Rome), and a longer one traversing east-west between Hungary and Burgundy. The Lombard economy experienced a significant boom in the 11th century and was largely insulated from the brigandage suffered by travellers through more southern Italian regions; a combination of factors making the region particularly appealing to monastics. This territorial security may account not only for Cluny's presence in places like Lombardy, but also its absence in less stable border regions like those of the old Marches of Neustria in North-West France.

FIGURE 25. CLUNIAC 'ATTENTION MAP' - 1090s & 1100s

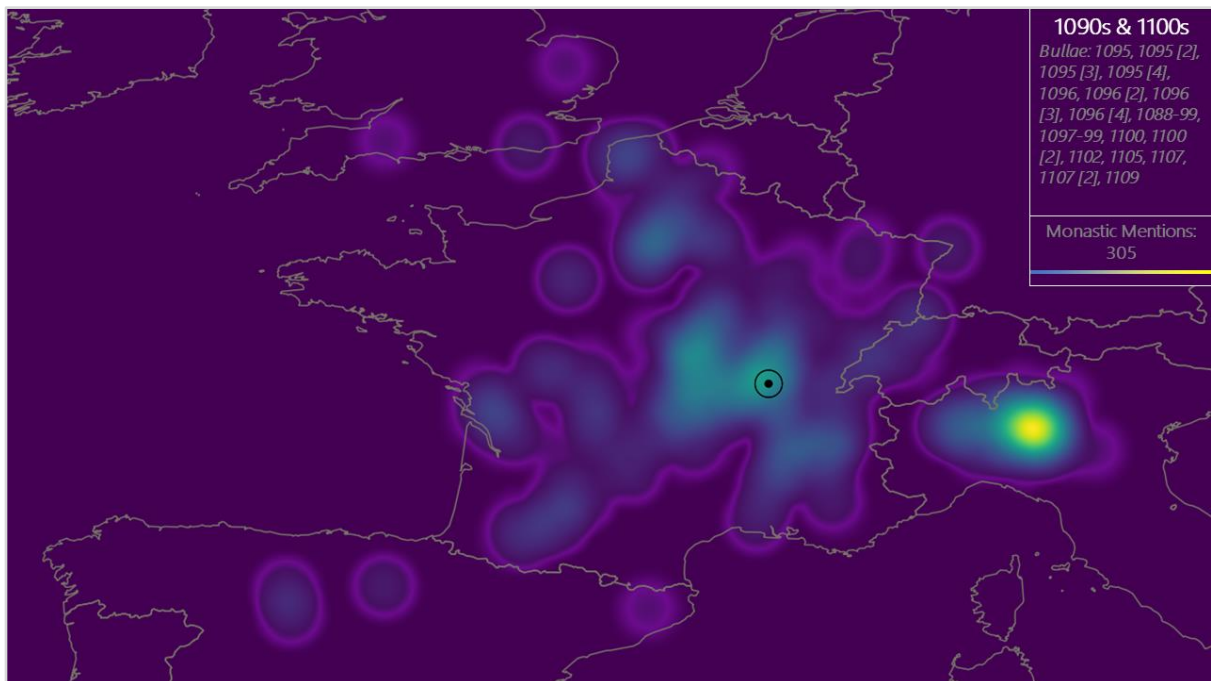
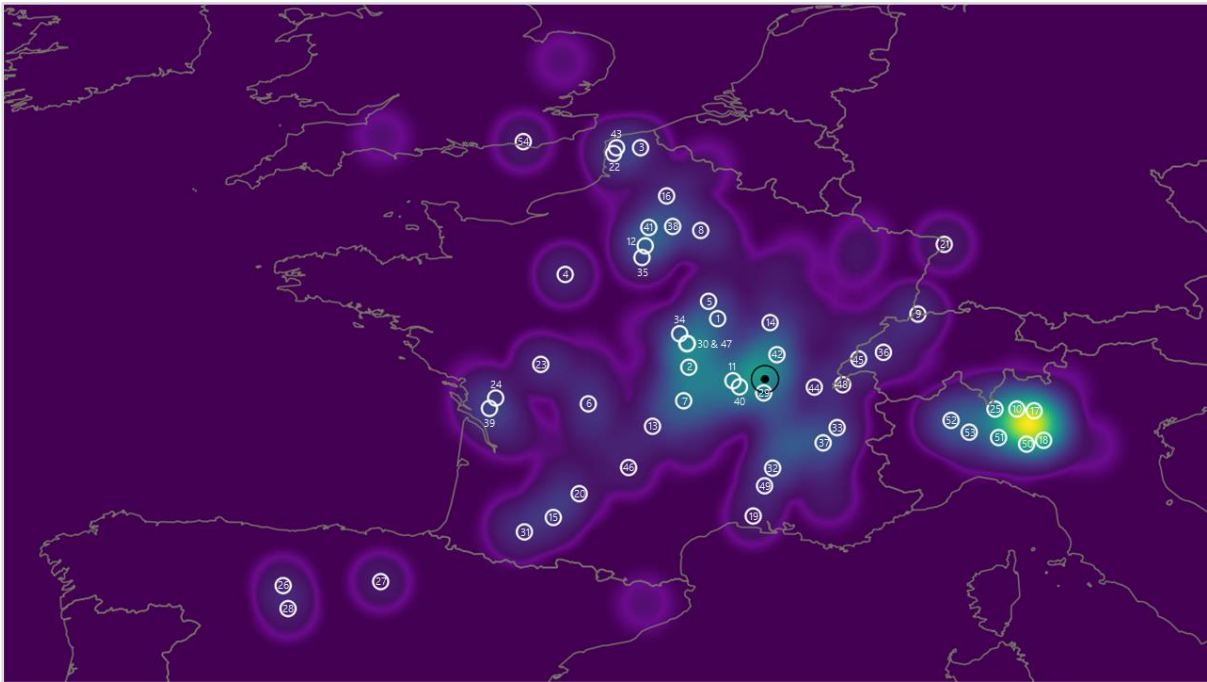


FIGURE 26. CLUNIAC 'ATTENTION MAP' (PROMINENT SITES) - 1090s & 1100s²⁶¹

²⁶¹ 1) Abbaye Ste-Marie-Madeleine de Vézelay (4 mentions); 2) Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Paul de Souvigny (4 mentions); 3) Abbaye Saint-Bertin de Saint-Omer (3 mentions); 4) Abbaye Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou (3 mentions); 5) Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre (3 mentions); 6) Abbaye Saint-Martial de Limoges (3 mentions); 7) Abbaye St-Pierre-St-Caprais de Mozac (3 mentions); 8) Abbaye St-Pierre-St-Paul de Coigny (3 mentions); 9) Kloster St. Alban (Basel) (3 mentions); 10) L'abbazia di Pontida/monastero di San Giacomo Maggiore (3 mentions); 11) Prieuré de la Sainte-Trinité de Marcigny (3 mentions); 12) Prieuré de Saint-Martin-des-Champs (3 mentions); 13) Prieuré Notre-Dame de Bort (3 mentions); 14) Prieuré Saint-Eutrope de Trouhaut (3 mentions); 15) Prieuré Saint-Orens d'Auch (3 mentions); 16) Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Paul de Lihons (3 mentions); 17) Priorato dei Santi Pietro e Paolo d'Argon (3 mentions); 18) Priorato di San Gabriele di Cremona (3 mentions); 19) Abbaye de Saint-Gilles (2 mentions); 20) Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Moissac (2 mentions); 21) Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Seltz (2 mentions); 22) Abbaye Saint-Wulmer de Samer-aux-Bois (2 mentions); 23) Abbaye St-Jean de Montierneuf (Poitiers) (2 mentions); 24) Abbaye St-Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Jean-d'Angély (2 mentions); 25) Abbazia di San Giovanni (Vertemate con Minoprio) (2 mentions); 26) Monasterio de San Zoilo / Prieuré Saint-Zoilo de Carrión de los Condes (2 mentions); 27) Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Nájera (2 mentions); 28) Possibly Prieuré Saint-Isidore de Dueñas (2 mentions); 29) Possibly Prieuré Saint-Martin de Salles (2 mentions); 30) Prieuré de Saint-Étienne de Nevers (2 mentions); 31) Prieuré de Saint-Lézer (2 mentions); 32) Prieuré de Saint-Marcel-lès-Sauzet (2 mentions); 33) Prieuré de Saint-Pierre-d'Allevard (2 mentions); 34) Prieuré Notre-Dame de La Charité-sur-Loire (2 mentions); 35) Prieuré Notre-Dame de Longpont-sur-Orge (2 mentions); 36) Prieuré Notre-Dame de Payerne (2 mentions); 37) Prieuré Notre-Dame de Vizille (2 mentions); 38) Prieuré Saint-Arnould-de-Crépy (2 mentions); 39) Prieuré Saint-Eutrope de Saintes (2 mentions); 40) Prieuré Saint-Fortunat de Charlieu (2 mentions); 41) Prieuré Saint-Leu de Saint-Leu-d'Esserent (2 mentions); 42) Prieuré Saint-Marcel de Saint-Marcel (2 mentions); 43) Prieuré Saint-Michel du Wast (2 mentions); 44) Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Nantua (2 mentions); 45) Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Romainmôtier (2 mentions); 46) Prieuré Saint-Sauveur de Figeac (2 mentions); 47) Prieuré Saint-Sauveur de Nevers (2 mentions); 48) Prieuré Saint-Victor de Genève (2 mentions); 49) Prieuré St-Pierre de Saint-Saturnin-du-Port (2 mentions); 50) Priorato di San Giorgio di Piacenza (2 mentions); 51) Priorato di San Maiolo di Pavia (2 mentions); 52) Priorato di San

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By the 1110s and 20s, the trajectory of Cluny's decline and the pattern of its response was already in motion, with the great monastery gripping tighter on those sites most important to it to the relative neglect of its more marginal priories (*Figure 27*). The vertical spine of the Cluniac network, spanning Flanders to Clermont through Paris, is given particular attention, as are the lucrative islands of pilgrimage territory in Poitiers, Saintes, Limoges, Moissac and Saint-Gilles. In fact, Saint-Gilles and Saint-Bertin appear with the highest frequency of any monastery (*Figure 28*), reflecting their growing struggles with the mother house.

Of course, this period was also one of internal political turmoil for Cluny, not only witnessing the loss of Abbot Hugh the Great in 1109, but also suffering the disastrous regime of his successor Pons (or Pontius) of Melgueil (abbot 1109-22). While Pons' abbacy began with a period following the policies of Hugh, almost being elected to the Holy See himself as one of the two successors named by Gelasius II on his deathbed, his extravagance was ultimately unpopular with the monks of Cluny, who challenged his position in 1122. Summoned to answer these charges by the incumbent Pope Calixtus II, Pons resigned his abbacy in favour of the short reign of Hugh II in 1122, and thereafter Peter the Venerable.

However, Pons would later prove unsatisfied by this outcome, marching on Cluny in 1125 and instigating something of a civil war between his own faction and that of Abbot Peter. Notably, it is also in 1125 that the disproportionately rapid rate of expansion in Cluniac monasteries and churches ceases (*Figure 11*), returning to rates

Pietro di Castelletto (2 mentions); 53) Priorato di San Valeriano di Robbio (also dedicated to San Salvatore) (2 mentions); 54) The Priory of Saint Pancras, Southover near Lewes (2 mentions).

of growth similar to secular categories and speaking to a widespread collapse in the perceived authority of Cluny.

While Peter would win this contest, Cluny would never be the same again, weathering a storm of criticism from the new orders – most prominently from Bernard of Clairvaux (his *Apologia* was written in 1125) – and entering a period of what can only be described as managed decline. Financially, the *census* of the kings of León and Castile would not resume after 1111, and the more powerful and wealthy abbeys of the Cluniac network would begin to agitate for their own, more complete, autonomy.

FIGURE 27. CLUNIAC 'ATTENTION MAP' - 1110s & 20s

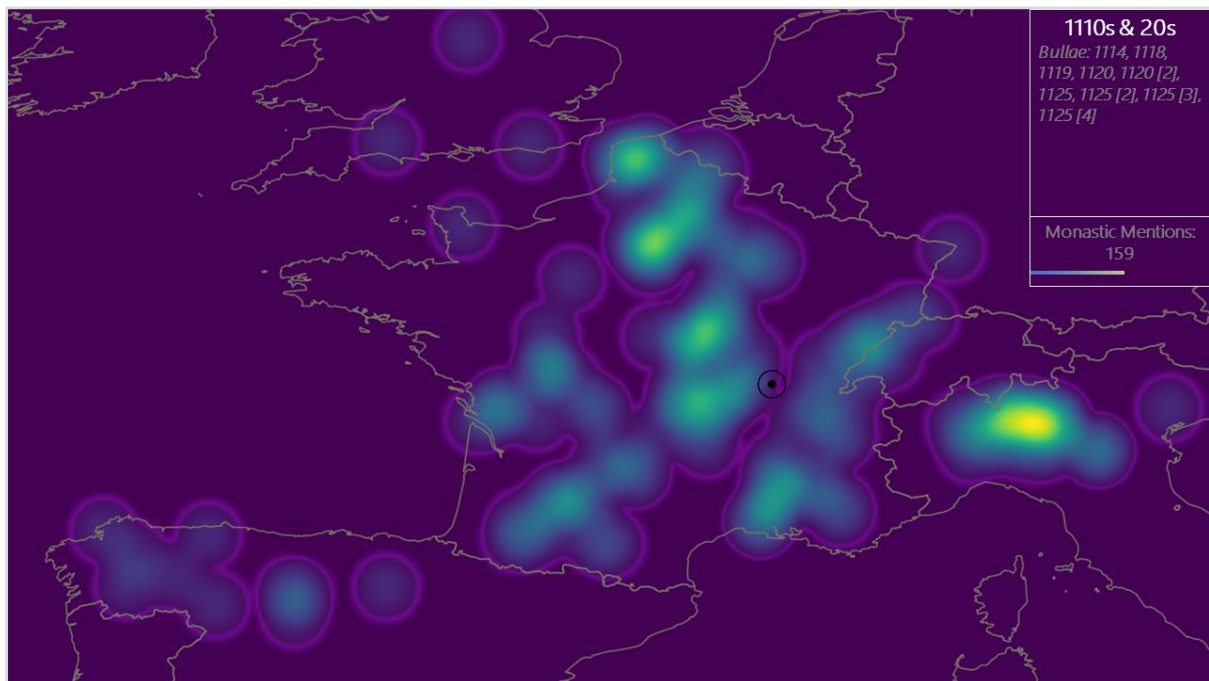
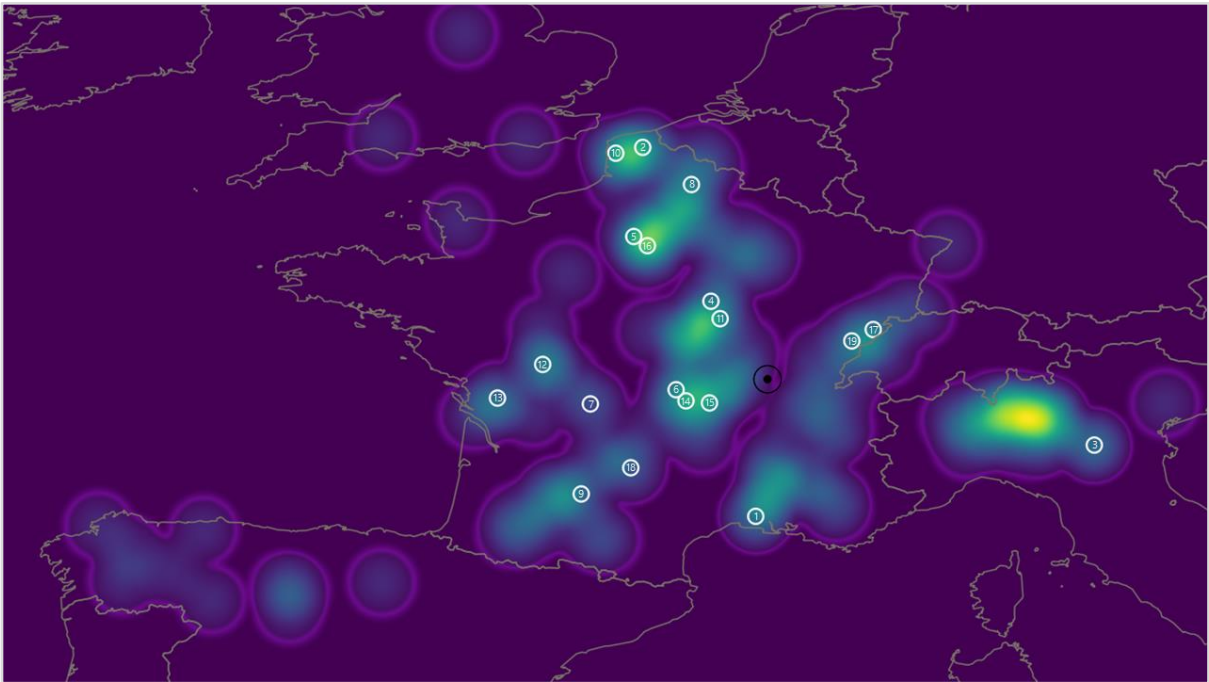
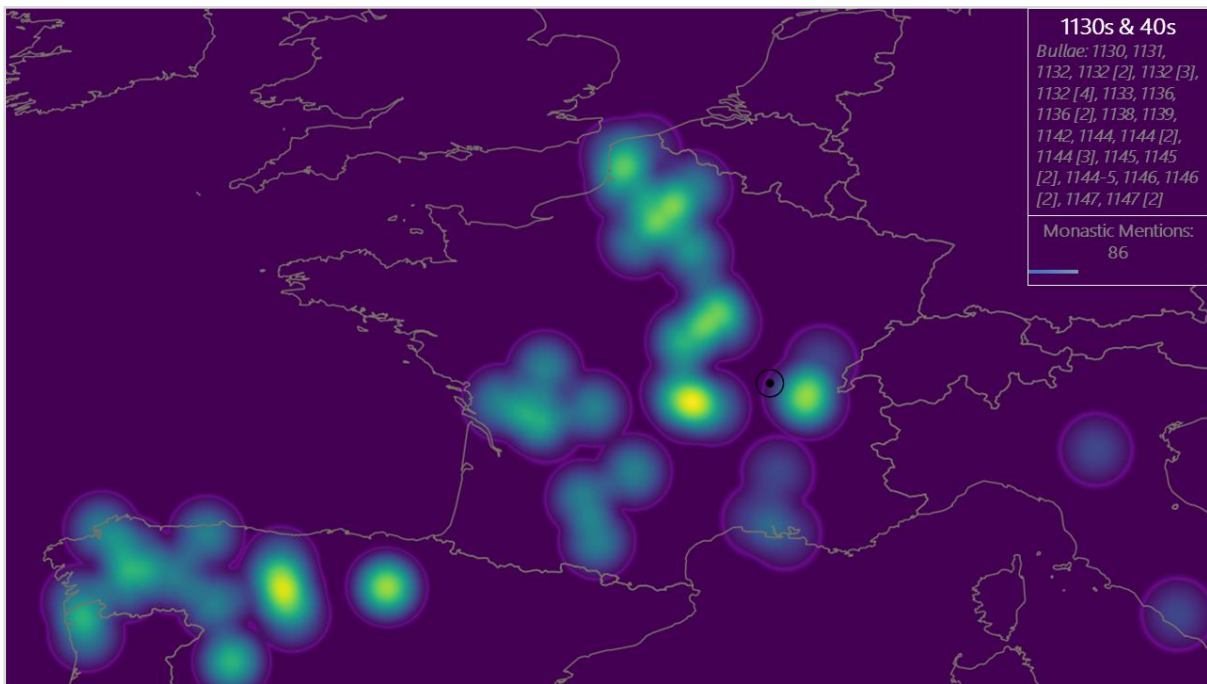


FIGURE 28. CLUNIAN 'ATTENTION MAP' (PROMINENT SITES) - 1110s & 20s²⁶²

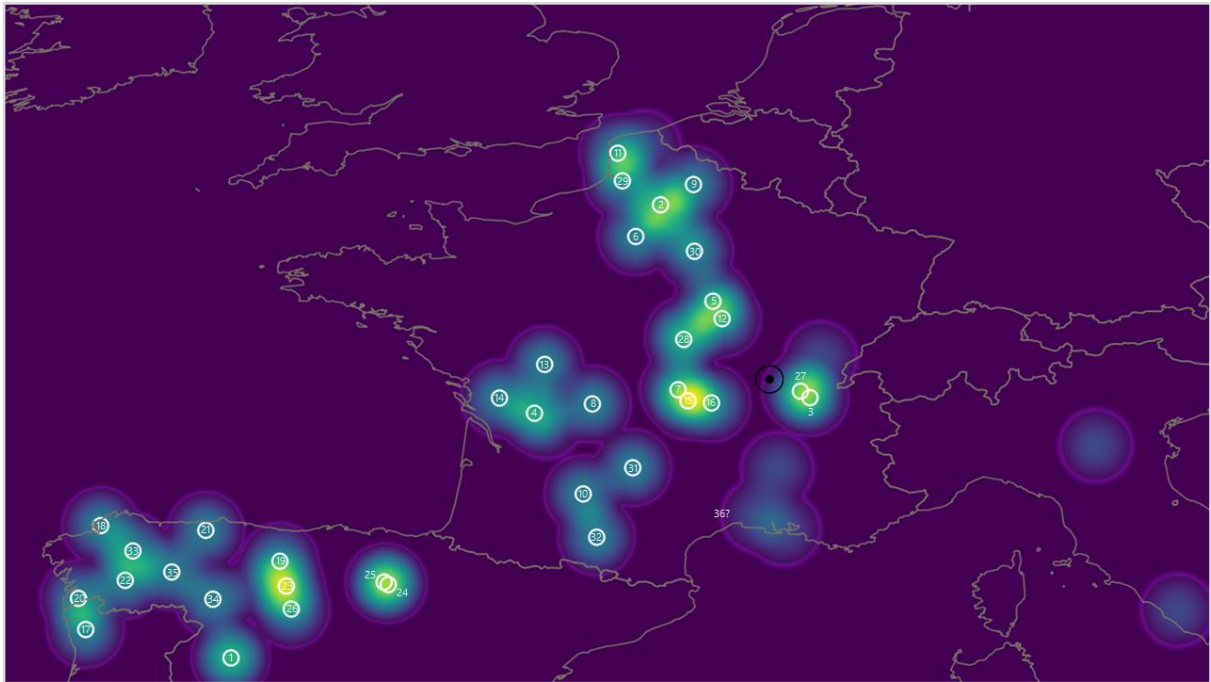
In the 1130s and 40s, Peter's consolidation of Cluny's holdings is even clearer, continuing the trend begun in 1125. There is a yet deeper retreat from its marginal holdings, and a proportionally stronger grip on more important sites (*Figure 29*), especially in Spain.

²⁶² 1) Abbaye de Saint-Gilles (3 mentions); 2) Abbaye Saint-Bertin de Saint-Omer (3 mentions); 3) Abbazia di San Benedetto in Polirone (3 mentions); 4) Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre (2 mentions); 5) Abbaye Saint-Germain de Pontoise (2 mentions); 6) Abbaye Saint-Ménelée de Menat (2 mentions); 7) Abbaye Saint-Martial de Limoges (2 mentions); 8) Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Honnecourt (2 mentions); 9) Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Moissac (2 mentions); 10) Abbaye Saint-Wulmer de Samer-aux-Bois (2 mentions); 11) Abbaye Ste-Marie-Madeleine de Vézelay (2 mentions); 12) Abbaye St-Jean de Montierneuf (Poitiers) (2 mentions); 13) Abbaye St-Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Jean-d'Angély (2 mentions); 14) Abbaye St-Pierre-St-Caprais de Mozac (2 mentions); 15) Abbaye St-Symphorien du Moutier de Thiers (2 mentions); 16) Prieuré de Saint-Martin-des-Champs (2 mentions); 17) Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Vaucluse (2 mentions); 18) Prieuré Saint-Sauveur de Figeac (2 mentions); 19) Prieuré St-Pierre de Mouthier-Haute-Pierre (2 mentions).

FIGURE 29. CLUNIAC 'ATTENTION MAP' - 1130s & 40s



However, this strategy would only be partially successful. While Peter managed to reassert discipline in Cluny itself, he would be forced to concede to the effective emancipation of both Saint-Bertin and Saint-Gilles in 1132. The loss of these wealthy abbeys must have been a further blow to an already ailing *ecclesia Cluniacensis*, and another headache for an abbot valiantly attempting to staunch a dangerous loss of the congregation's lifeblood.

FIGURE 30. CLUNIAN 'ATTENTION MAP' (PROMINENT SITES) - 1130s & 40s²⁶³

²⁶³ 1) Monasterio de San Vincente de Salamanca (3 mentions); 2) Prieuré Notre-Dame de Montdidier (3 mentions); 3) Abbaye de Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey (2 mentions); 4) Abbaye Saint-Cybard d'Angoulême (2 mentions); 5) Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre (2 mentions); 6) Abbaye Saint-Germain de Pontoise (2 mentions); 7) Abbaye Saint-Ménélee de Menat (2 mentions); 8) Abbaye Saint-Martial de Limoges (2 mentions); 9) Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Honnecourt (2 mentions); 10) Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Moissac (2 mentions); 11) Abbaye Saint-Wulmer de Samer-aux-Bois (2 mentions); 12) Abbaye Ste-Marie-Madeleine de Vézelay (2 mentions); 13) Abbaye St-Jean de Montierneuf (Poitiers) (2 mentions); 14) Abbaye St-Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Jean-d'Angély (2 mentions); 15) Abbaye St-Pierre-St-Caprais de Mozac (2 mentions); 16) Abbaye St-Symphorien du Moutier de Thiers (2 mentions); 17) Convento de Santa Maria de Vimieiro (2 mentions); 18) Monasterio de San Martiño de Xuvia (2 mentions); 19) Monasterio de San Román de Entrepeñas (2 mentions); 20) Monasterio de San Salvador de Budiño (2 mentions); 21) Monasterio de San Salvador de Cornellana (2 mentions); 22) Monasterio de San Vicente de Pombeiro (2 mentions); 23) Monasterio de San Zoilo / Prieuré Saint-Zoilo de Carrión de los Condes (2 mentions); 24) Monasterio de Santa Coloma de Santa Coloma (2 mentions); 25) Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Nájera (2 mentions); 26) Possibly Prieuré Saint-Isidore de Dueñas (2 mentions); 27) Prieuré de Prin (2 mentions); 28) Prieuré Saint-Aignan d'Aubigny (2 mentions); 29) Prieuré Saint-Pierre d'Abbeville (2 mentions); 30) Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Choisy-en-Brie (2 mentions); 31) Prieuré Saint-Sauveur de Figeac (2 mentions); 32) Prieuré St-Antoine-St-Pierre de Lézat (2 mentions); 33) Priorato de San Pedro de Valverde (2 mentions); 34) Priorato de San Salvador de Villaverde de Vidriales (2 mentions); 35) Priorato de Santa María de Cluny de Villafranca del Bierzo (2 mentions); 36?) Unidentified site indicated as 'In Provincia Monasterium juxta montem Pessulanum' and (2 mentions), placed approximately near Montpellier on this map.

By Peter's death in 1156, Cluny's fate was sealed. Its spiritual authority had dissipated, usurped by the vigour and rectitude of the new orders, while new acquisitions would only ever trickle into her hands.

FIGURE 31. CLUNIAC 'ATTENTION MAP' - 1152-6

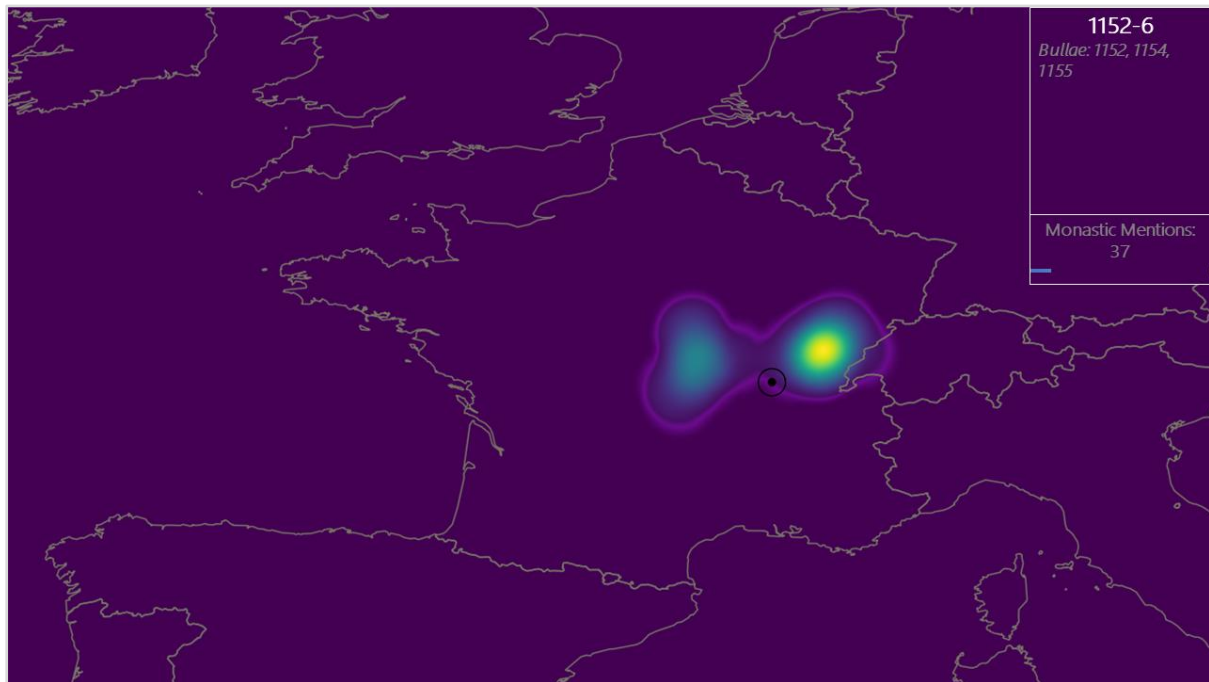
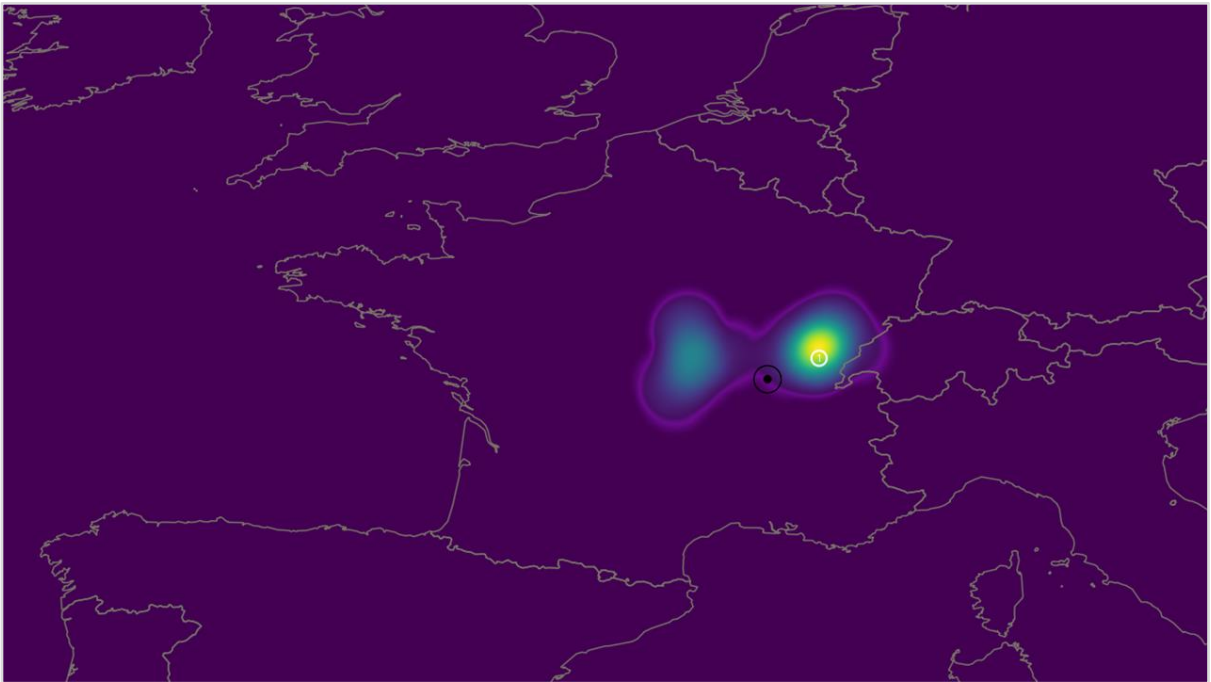


FIGURE 32. CLUNIAC 'ATTENTION MAP' (PROMINENT SITES) - 1152-6²⁶⁴

Across the whole period, whatever its causes, the waxing and waning of Cluny's fortunes produced an inconstant pressure upon the monastic landscape, at times expanding with great authority and aggression, at others squeezing tight upon its domains and inflicting what was for many the intolerable grip of a body in its death throes; finally, releasing, contracting its oppressive presence and allowing others to flood into the resultant voids.

This double action of oppressive grip and its inevitable release provided both the impetus with which the founders of the new orders would be forced to flee this intolerable circumstance, and the dead ground within which they could flourish unhindered – a 'negative space' at once spatial and ideological.

²⁶⁴ 1) Abbaye St-Pierre de Baume-les-Messieurs (1 mention as head of congregation of Baume).

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TABLE 8. MOST PROMINENT CLUNIAC MONASTERIES BY MENTIONS (4-10) IN PAPAL BULLS

No.	Name	Mentions	First Mention
1	Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Paul de Souvigny	10	998
2	Abbaye Ste-Marie-Madeleine de Vézelay*	10	1058
3	Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Moissac	9	1058
4	Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Romainmôtier	8	931
5	Prieuré Saint-Fortunat de Charlieu	8	932
6	Abbaye St-Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Jean-d'Angély*	8	1058
7	Abbaye Saint-Martial de Limoges*	8	1075
8	Prieuré St-Pierre de Saint-Saturnin-du-Port	7	998
9	Prieuré Notre-Dame de Payerne	7	998
10	Prieuré de la Sainte-Trinité de Marcigny	7	1055
11	Prieuré de Saint-Marcel-lès-Sauzet	7	1055
12	Prieuré Saint-Sauveur de Figeac	7	1075
13	Abbaye de Saint-Gilles*	7	1075
14	Abbaye St-Pierre-St-Caprais de Mozac*	7	1095
15	Abbaye Saint-Bertin de Saint-Omer*	7	1099
16	Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre*	7	1099
17	Prieuré Saint-Martin de Mesvres	6	998
18	Prieuré Notre-Dame de Ganagobie	6	998
19	Prieuré Saint-Orens d'Auch	6	1049
20	Prieuré Notre-Dame de La Charité-sur-Loire	6	1075
21	Prieuré Saint-Isidore de Dueñas	6	1075
22	Abbazia di San Benedetto in Polirone	6	1077
23	Prieuré de Saint-Martin-des-Champs	6	1088
24	Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Nájera	6	1088
25	Abbaye St-Jean de Montierneuf (Poitiers)	6	1100
26	Abbaye Saint-Wulmer de Samer-aux-Bois	6	1107
27	Prieuré Notre-Dame de Ris	5	998
28	Prieuré Saint-Julien de Gignat	5	998
29	Prieuré Saint-Marcel de Saint-Marcel	5	1055
30	Prieuré Sainte-Croix de Lavoûte-Chilhac	5	1055
31	Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Seltz	5	1058
32	Priorato di San Gabriele di Cremona	5	1075
33	Abbaye Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou*	5	1088
34	Monasterio de San Zoilo / Prieuré Saint-Zoilo de Carrión de los Condes	5	1100
35	Abbaye Saint-Ménélee de Menat	5	1107
36	Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Honnecourt	5	1109
37	Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Paul de Sauxillanges	4	998
38	Prieuré de Saint-Pantaléon	4	998
39	Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Mayeul de Ternay	4	998
40	Prieuré Notre-Dame de Paray-le-Monial	4	1058

No.	Name	Mentions	First Mention
41	Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Maillezais*	4	1058
42	Abbaye Saint-Cyprien de Poitiers*	4	1058
43	Prieuré Saint-Martin d'Ambierle	4	1058
44	Prieuré Saint-Sauveur de Nevers	4	1075
45	Prieuré de Saint-Étienne de Nevers	4	1075
46	Prieuré Notre-Dame de Longpont-sur-Orge	4	1075
47	Prieuré St-Antoine-St-Pierre de Lézat	4	1075
48	Prieuré de Saint-Lézer	4	1075
49	Prieuré Saint-Victor de Genève	4	1075
50	Priorato di San Maiolo di Pavia	4	1075
51	Kloster St. Alban (Basel)	4	1095
52	Prieuré Notre-Dame de Bort	4	1095
53	Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Paul de Lihons	4	1095
54	Abbaye St-Pierre-St-Paul de Coincy	4	1095
55	L'abbazia di Pontida/monastero di San Giacomo Maggiore	4	1095
56	Priorato dei Santi Pietro e Paolo d'Argon	4	1095
57	Prieuré Saint-Arnould-de-Crépy	4	1100
58	Prieuré Saint-Pierre d'Abbeville	4	1109
59	Abbaye St-Symphorien du Moutier de Thiers	4	1118
60	Abbaye Saint-Germain de Pontoise	4	1118

*Monasteries with recorded episode/s of resistance to Cluny.

'Negative Space'

While it may appear that the most plausible explanation for Cluny's aggression in the region of the Camino Francés was a deliberate and sustained assault against the most lucrative sites in the pilgrimage, the ultimate causes of this 'programmatic shift' are less important than the brute facts of their effects for explaining the rise of the new orders in France; or at least, they are more remote in the causal chain.

What is clear is that between about 1075 and 1125, Cluny operated with what was for many an intolerable level of aggression and overbearing authority in the pursuit of its goals. This 'aggression' appears to be qualitatively different from the way in which

Cluny had previously intervened to reform monastic establishments – before, responding to requests by concerned prelates or secular proprietors; now, actively *targeting* sites that it seemed to desire; installing bishops and abbots, ejecting established communities and installing professed brothers of Cluny, using the force of both secular swords and sacred papal pronouncements to secure its aims.

For monastics who had always coveted the institutional autonomy provided by the Benedictine tradition, the infliction of this new level of authority – of *lordship* – must have generated not a small level of anxiety. As such, across the same period we see the development of alternative institutional identities contraposed to the Cluniac norm, and thus insulated from its grasp: the rise of the regular canons and the new monastic orders.

As such, this narrative presents an alternative hypothesis in explaining the rise of the new orders. Traditionally, most if not all historians of the broadly-defined ‘religious movement’ have tended to ascribe the appearance of the new orders to the ingress of ‘eremitic’ monastic ideals from the east, especially via Italy. J.C. Dickinson, author of what remains the most authoritative monographic treatment of the canons regular in English, was particularly enamoured by the idea, writing: ‘some years ago the writer became convinced that these houses [the Italian eremites] were the main source of the great monastic revival of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and was gratified to find the same conclusion reached independently by an eminent Benedictine historian’.²⁶⁵ Here he conforms to a view that has become more or less

²⁶⁵ J.C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), p. 38. The ‘eminent Benedictine historian’ Dickinson refers to here is none other than Dom David Knowles.

consensus, reproduced by authors as diverse as Norman Cantor, Henrietta Leyser, and David Knowles.²⁶⁶

In general terms, this postulate constitutes what we might call the 'transmissive hypothesis' (see *INTRODUCTION*), described by Herbert Grundmann as 'an alien body invading from the outside'.²⁶⁷ That is, it attempts to trace the origin of the new orders to antecedent ideas or institutions under a broadly philological or epidemiological epistemological paradigm typical of intellectual history; or as Mark Bevir put it, 'historians of ideas usually make sense of the meanings they have ascribed to works by relating them to their historical antecedents'.²⁶⁸

While this almost certainly must form part of the explanation, it suffers from at least two key weaknesses. The first is that the elucidation of any real epistemically *generative* causal mechanisms is abrogated in favour of simply tracing ideas to supposed antecedents, leaving one still wondering *how* and *why* the idea came to be in the first place, while the second is that it simply does not provide an adequate explanation for the *timing* of the rise of the new orders.

Rather, what is presented here is an epistemically *generative* mechanism to explain the rise of the new orders; to argue, in Grundmann's words, that they '[grew] from the soil of Western Christendom on [their] own'.²⁶⁹ How this happened can be

²⁶⁶ Norman F. Cantor, 'The Crisis of Western Monasticism, 1050-1130', *The American Historical Review*, 66 (1960), p. 51; Henrietta Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe 1000-1150* (London, 1984), p. 29; David Knowles, 'Saint Bernard of Clairvaux: 1090-1153', David Knowles, *The Historian and Character, and Other Essays* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 43.

²⁶⁷ Herbert Grundmann, 'New Contributions to the History of Religious Movements in the Middle Ages', in Grundmann, *Religious Movements...*, pp. 209-10.

²⁶⁸ Mark Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 174.

²⁶⁹ Herbert Grundmann, 'New Contributions to the History of Religious Movements in the Middle Ages', in Grundmann, *Religious Movements...*, pp. 209-10.

characterised as a process of what Carl Jung called 'enantiodromia' on a civilisational scale:

Literally, 'running counter to,' referring to the emergence of the unconscious opposite in the course of time. This characteristic phenomenon practically always occurs when an extreme, one-sided tendency dominates conscious life; in time an equally powerful counterposition is built up, which first inhibits the conscious performance and subsequently breaks through the conscious control.²⁷⁰

That is, the new orders were *necessarily forced* to conform to a mode of existence and an ideology opposed to that of Cluniac norms both for the sake of their own survival and as a spiritual rejection of those same norms, constituting what Antonio Gramsci called a 'philosophy of praxis'.²⁷¹ Their alignment to the wilderness was a result of Benedictine (especially Cluniac) monopolisation of urbanised, cultivated and lucrative spaces; their emphasis on work over the liturgy a result of this same economic disparity; their 'difference' and 'alterity' an insurance against claims of subjection, and their rejection from the orthodox a product of this same Cluniac or more generally Benedictine aggression. Their very being, in other words, formed of the shadow of Cluny; something White to the Black and denizens of the great Burgundian house's 'negative space'.

The exemplar of what we might tentatively call this mechanism of 'enantiodromic epistemic generation' is undoubtedly the movement of North-West France centred on the forest of Craon; what Geoffrey Grossus called the 'strong square' of Robert of Arbrissel (founder of Fontevraud), Bernard of Tiron (founder of Tiron), Vitalis of Mortain/Savigny (founder of Savigny) and Ralph of La Futaye (founder of Saint-Sulpice), but which also counted such figures as Gerald of Salles (founder of Dalon)

²⁷⁰ Carl Gustav Jung, *Aspects of the Masculine* (London, 2003), ¶709.

²⁷¹ James Joll, *Gramsci* (Glasgow, 1977), p. 76.

among its disciples (*Figure 34; Figure 35*).²⁷² Especially as evidenced by the life of Bernard of Tiron, this movement of 'grey monks' were ejected by Cluny and forced to flee to the wilderness, kept out of their domains, fought them legally and ultimately engaged in a campaign of satirical opposition with their foundational sites located about as deep within Cluny's 'negative space' as it was possible to manage for a French-speaking movement; victims of the razor-edge of Cluny's sword west of the Camino Francés. This movement – focussed on Tiron – constitutes the subject of *PART TWO: THE NEW ORDER*, serving as an ideal and template against which the other movements of new orders might be judged.

The rest of the new orders can be categorised into one of three broadly related movements, each of which presents less clear – or more problematic – illustrations of this 'enantiodromic hypothesis': the Burgundian movement of 'white monks' initiated by Molesme, the movement of regular canons originating in the orbit of Paris, and a remainder of houses claiming to be emulators of hermits Italian or otherwise: Grandmont and Obazine.

While Molesme could certainly be said to have originated on the periphery of Cluny's contemporary 'attention', founded while she was focused on affairs in the south around Moissac (*Figure 33*), the same could not be said for La Grande Chartreuse (*Figure 33*) and Cîteaux (*Figure 34*). Perhaps the charterhouse posed no threat to Cluny, perched as it was in the remote Chartreuse Mountains and presenting itself neither as rival nor threat. Perhaps Cîteaux's proximity to Cluny forced its later opposition, vectored through the vitriolic rhetoric of the abbot of Clairvaux, though he himself sat in a house well-away from Cluny's real concerns. Or perhaps both of

²⁷² Geoffrey Grossus, *The Life of Blessed Bernard of Tiron*, trans. R. Harwood Cline (Washington, D.C., 2009), pp. 27-8.

these examples would falsify the hypothesis for those orders east of the Camino Francés.

In the north, the movement of canons regular carved out spaces deep within Cluny's urban sphere of influence (*Figure 34; Figure 35*). Does this mean that their origin bears no relation to Cluniac pressures, or does it mean that in order to oppose hierarchical monastic authority in such places that one must become something even further from the template of a monk? As we have seen, the conversion of the religious of Saint-Seurin to the order of canons, in anticipation of a Cluniac subjection attempt which ultimately materialised, might suggest so.

And finally, what of Grandmont and Obazine (*Figure 33; Figure 36*)? Do these, too, owe nothing to an imperative to escape Cluniac or Benedictine authority? Or does their survival rest on a foundation of resistance within the region itself?

In the concluding Part of this thesis – *PART TWO: THE NEW ORDER* – how this causal mechanism manifested for one of the new orders – Tiron – will be explicated in both theoretical and empirical depth, producing thereby an exemplar against which the origins of the other new orders might be judged. While *Chapter 6* investigates the causes of Tiron's ideological positions by reference to the structural pressures applied to the nascent community by Cluny, *Chapter 5* explores a more contingent feature of this dynamic: how opposition to Cluny created an alliance structure that accelerated the formation of the new orders' identity.

FIGURE 33. FOUNDATIONAL SITES OF THE NEW ORDERS AND CLUNIAN 'ATTENTION', 1070s & 80s

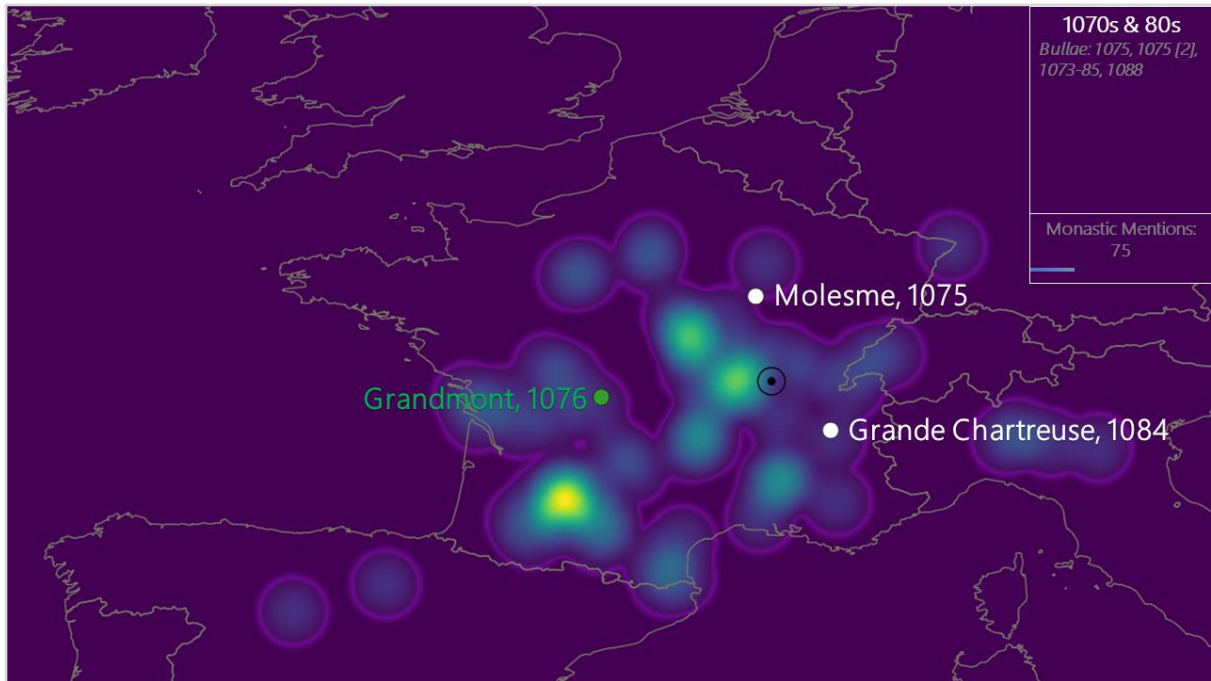


FIGURE 34. FOUNDATIONAL SITES OF THE NEW ORDERS AND CLUNIAN 'ATTENTION', 1090s & 1100s

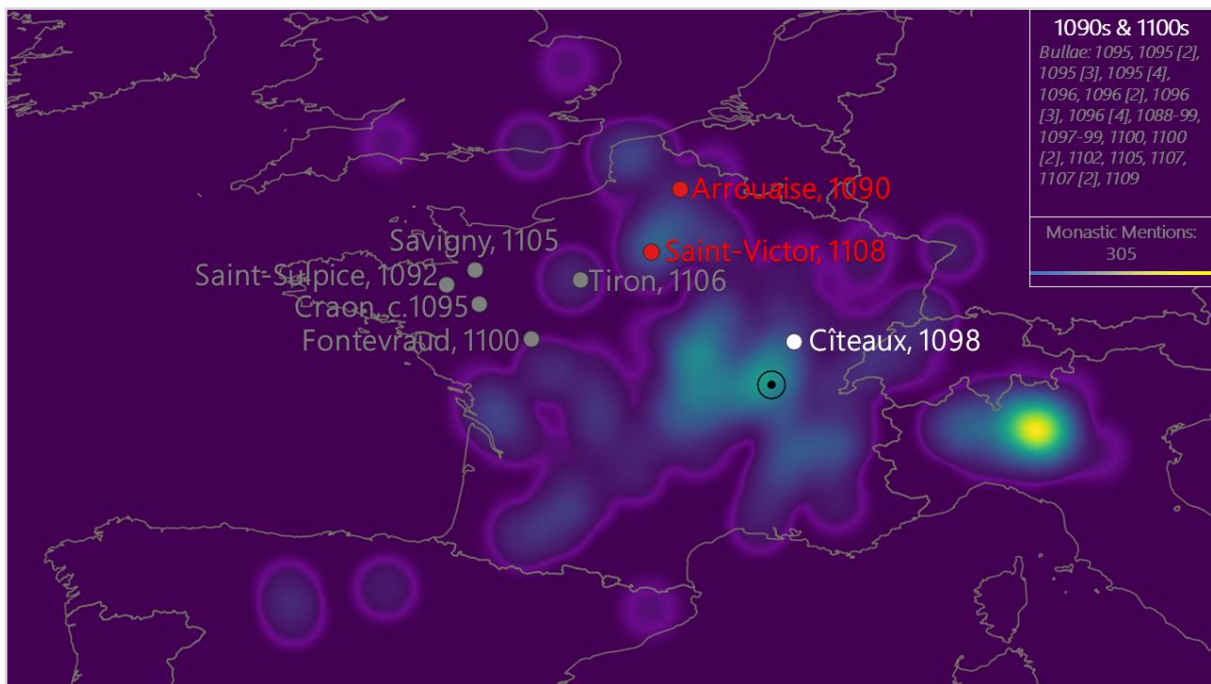


FIGURE 35. FOUNDATIONAL SITES OF THE NEW ORDERS AND CLUNIAN 'ATTENTION', 1110s & 20s

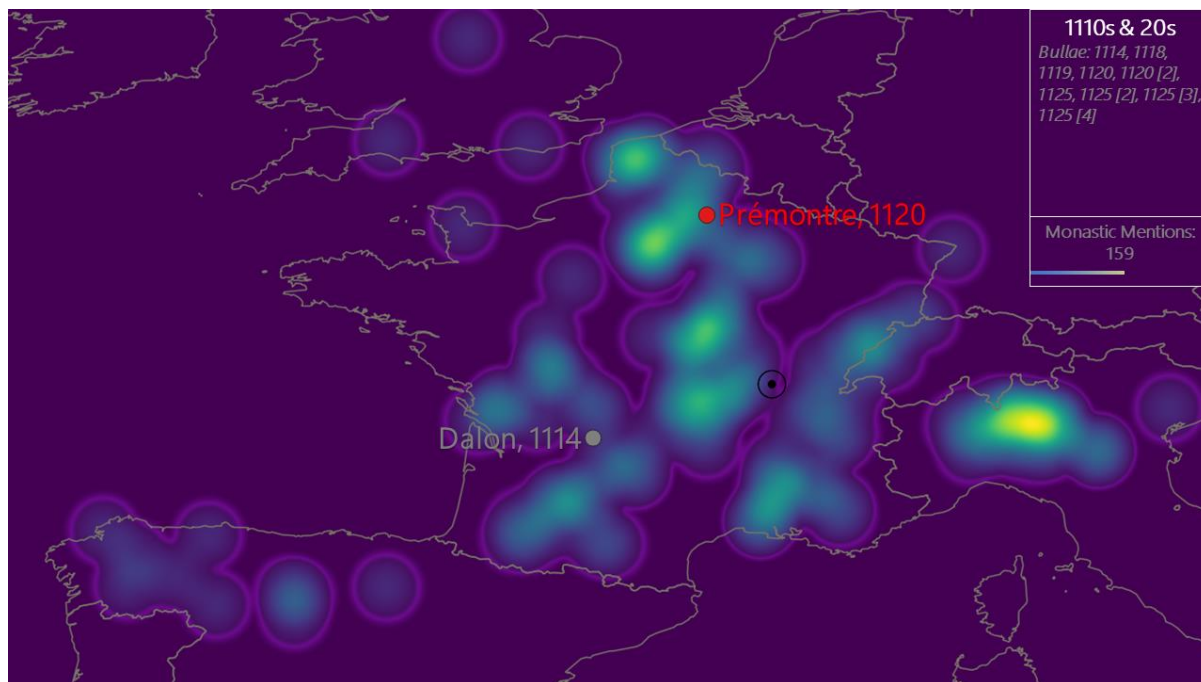


FIGURE 36. FOUNDATIONAL SITES OF THE NEW ORDERS AND CLUNIAN 'ATTENTION', 1130s & 40s

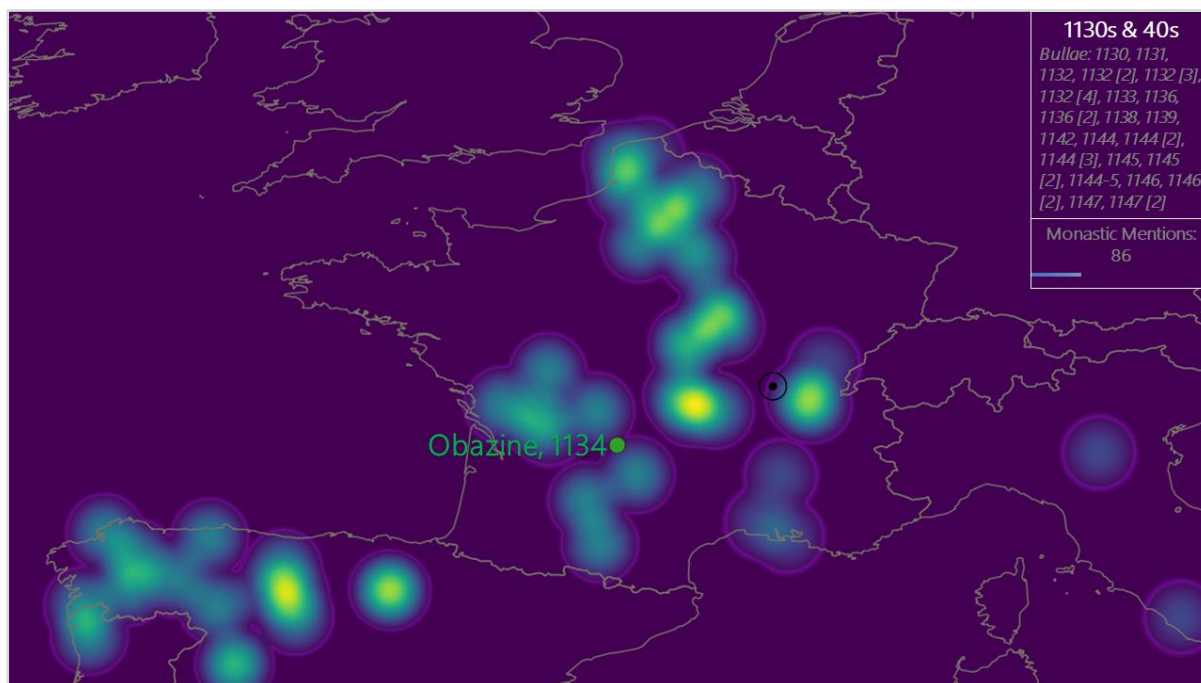
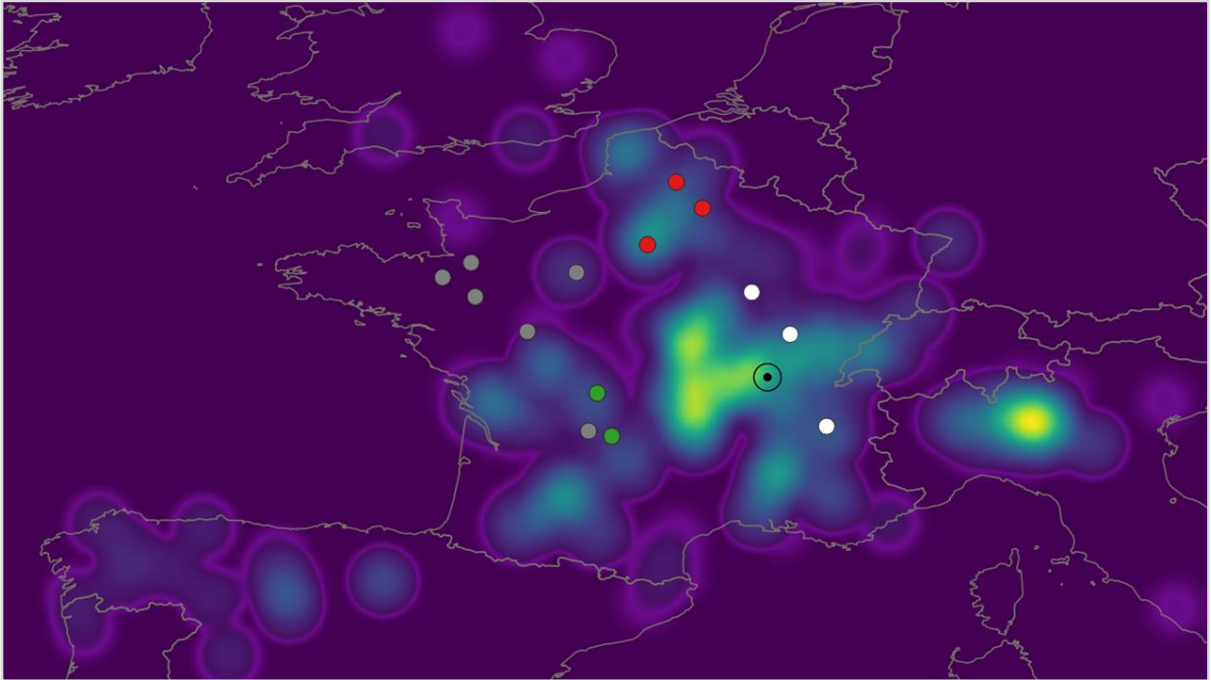


FIGURE 37. FOUNDATIONAL SITES OF THE NEW ORDERS (1075-1134) AND CLUNIAN
'ATTENTION' (910-1156)



PART TWO: THE NEW ORDER

So far we have seen how, in the half-century or so which bracketed the turn of the twelfth-century, the apogee of one coenobitic movement coincided with the birth of another; Cluny, at the height of its influence and the peak of its growth, cast a looming shadow over the 'new orders' of white and grey religious taking root in its penumbral fringes; providing, perhaps, the ideal foil for the gestation of their nascent ascetic creed.

Part two of this thesis – *PART TWO: THE NEW ORDER* – explores the causal origins of the new coenobitic orders by testing the hypothesis that Cluny – or rather, a new mode of authoritative, hierarchical, and expansionary behaviour in the Benedictine order best typified by Cluny – is owed a certain causal primacy in the explanation of the origins of these new orders and the ideas they came to espouse, taking Tiron as its exemplar. From within this hermeneutical framework, sources which offer some insight into the purported motivations, justifications and material circumstances of the new orders' foundational generations are examined – namely, *vitae*, letters, charters, and histories – with the aim of discerning to what degree these influences are perceptible and how much causal responsibility we might therefore be justified in ascribing to the hypothesis.

Chapter 4: Tiron

Within the borders of the region of Maine and Brittany at that time were vast lonely places, where, almost like a Second Egypt, a multitude of hermits, holy men famed for their excellence in religion, flourished living in separate cells. Among them were the leaders and teachers: Robert of Arbrissel, Vital of Mortain, and Ralph of la Futaye, who were subsequently founders of prominent and populous communities. Through Peter, who knew them previously, Divine Providence carefully added a fourth to their number, so that a strong square would be formed by the fourth added to the three, and that square would later become the foundation of a large wide building (Ez 42:15-20 and 43:16-17).²⁷³

When Bernard of Tiron's biographer Geoffrey Grossus wrote of the 'strong square' ('...firma fieret quadratura...') of religious leaders who had assembled in the forests of Craon at the end of the eleventh century, he was very deliberately implying that they all belonged to the same essential project.²⁷⁴ That Robert of Arbrissel (c.1045-1116), Vitalis of Savigny (c.1060-1122), Ralph of la Futaye (d.1129), and Bernard of Tiron (1046-1116) – the founders of Fontevraud, Savigny, Saint-Sulpice, Tiron and their orders respectively – all shared the same ideal and contributed to building a movement of religious that was fundamentally new and different.²⁷⁵ As will be borne

²⁷³ Geoffrey Grossus, *The Life of Blessed Bernard of Tiron*, trans. Ruth Harwood Cline (Washington, D.C., 2009), pp. 27-8; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris Congregationis De Tironio In Gallia Auctore Gaufrido Grosso', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 172, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), cols. 1380D-1381B: 'Erant autem in confinio Cenomanicae Britanniaeque regionis vastae solitudines quae tunc temporis quasi altera Aegyptus florebant multitudine eremitarum, per diversas cellulas habitantium, virorum sanctorum ac propter excellentiam religionis famosorum, inter quos erant principes et magistri, Robertus de Arbrissello, atque Vitalis de Mauritonio, Radulphus quoque de Fusteja, qui postea fundatores exstiterunt multarum atque magnarum congregationum: quibus divina dispositio per Petrum, qui eos antea noverat, hunc quartum adjungere curavit, ut illis tribus quarto adjuncto firma fieret quadratura, quae postmodum magna et lata aedificia erat portatura. Petrus vero de Stellis, multorum dierum itinere confecto, pervenit ad divinum Vitalem, unum ex supradictis, quos principes et magistros eremitarum fuisse jam diximus. Qui ei Bernardum commendabilem laudabilemque sufficienter facundae orationis adminiculo prius faciens, rogat, ut eum habitare secum permetteret, nomen illius et transacti prioratus officium penitus reticens, non Bernardum eum nominans, sed Guillelmum; sicut ab eodem Bernardo antea fuerat praemonitus, ut vilis amodo ubique haberetur atque incognitus'.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., col. 1381B.

²⁷⁵ In addition to the principal members of the 'Strong Square', there are also found important reformers among their disciples, including Gerald of Salles (c.1055/70-1120); founder, most notably, of CAUSAL ORIGINS OF THE 'RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES': CLUNY, TIRON, AND THE NEW ORDERS, 910-1156 JAMIE WILLIAM IRVINE

out, there is ample reason for following Geoffrey's lead here – the religious houses and orders which can be traced back to those nascent communities in the wildernesses of the Neustrian Marches would remain allied both politically and ideologically, lending not a meagre level of credence to the idea that they ought to be considered as, and studied as, a single movement. Indeed, following the precepts laid out in the *INTRODUCTION*, it might be useful to refer to them by a single name, and again Geoffrey provides us with a sufficient one: 'the Strong Square'; or, adjectivally, the 'Quadraturan' movement.²⁷⁶

Among these 'Quadraturan' foundations is perhaps the clearest evidence for the causal influence of opposition to Cluny and its norms in bringing about new monastic orders. The *vitae* of its founders and the practical realities they describe are unusually explicit in both naming their oppositional foil and producing rhetorical critique against it, while the ground reality we are able to adduce places them firmly in the regions of the most aggressive Cluniac advances. And among even these Quadraturan foundations, it is Tiron which stands out as particularly anti-Cluniac in its dynamic, related to us through a *vita* of remarkable length, detail, and ideological consistency. It is for these reasons that Tiron has been selected as the depth case-study to stand as counterpart effect to Cluny's cause, thereby producing an exemplar

Dalon, in addition to a number of other houses. Gerald is mentioned as '...domno Gerardo de Salis, venerabili magistro, socio meo, inter necessarios amicissimo, ejusque filiis, imo conservis tam extemporaneis, quam successuris, utrumque locum in silva Cadunensi situm, videlicet tam eum de Seguini valle, quem ipse Gerardus cum suis commilitonibus tanquam sibi sub mei persona adquisierat, acquisitum aedificaverat, quam illum qui Salvitas dicitur, et universaliter quidquid mihi vel alii vice mei praefatum infra nemus concessum est, atque ut ibidem sub dominicae clientelae norma Deo militent, eorum arbitrio et affectui relinquo' In a charter recording another donation of Robert to Gerald: 'B. Roberti De Arbrissello Diplomata.', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 162, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), cols. 1088A-1088C.

²⁷⁶ Following the 'precepts laid out in the Introduction' in that historians ought to be less shy in creating synthetic concepts for the sake of producing intelligible knowledge. 'Quadraturan' as an adjectival form is slightly less cumbersome than 'Firmaquadraturan'.

of the causal mechanism presented in this thesis against which the origins of the other new orders might be measured.

Nonetheless, it must be borne in mind that Tiron does not stand alone, and the contemporary circumstances of its birth were not peculiar to it. Instead, and as Bernard's *vita* makes abundantly clear when examined closely, his world was arranged into two, mutually antagonistic monastic alliance networks. In parsing Bernard's allies and opponents, what is revealed is a remarkably consistent pattern – alliance structures of extraordinary consistency conforming broadly to a 'Black' network aligned with Cluny, and a 'White' network coalescing from its opponents.

The Text of Geoffrey Grossus' *Vita Beati Bernardi*

While the narrative of Bernard of Tiron's life presented in Geoffrey's *vita* provides enough literal examples of conflict with Cluny, Geoffrey himself also proves to be a remarkable rhetorician – concealing a great deal of critique of the old Benedictine order through his choice selection of Scriptural references for those who look close enough to see. However, it is this which provides the most difficult hermeneutical challenge in utilising these texts: attempting to parse the 'true' causal environment of, say, Bernard of Tiron's life up to 1116 from the political reality in which they were written several decades later. While Migne dated the text to between 1137 and 1148 on the basis of a mention of King Louis VII the Younger (r.1137-1180) reigning alone combined with the *vita*'s recipient, Geoffrey II, bishop of Chartres (d. January 14th, 1148), and claimed that it stood as one of the twelfth century's 'most proven', more modern scholarship paints a different picture.²⁷⁷ Kathleen Thompson, for instance,

²⁷⁷ J.-P. Migne, 'Notitia Historica In Gaufridum', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 172, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), cols. 1361-63.

makes an authoritative case for the text's authorship as falling between 1137 and 1143, while Ruth Harwood Cline, who produced a good translation of the text from 2009, settled instead on a date of around 1147, and noted how the *vita*'s 'pedimental composition' threw its apparent historical accuracy into question.²⁷⁸ This aesthetic compositional technique arranged the *vita* into two halves, pivoting on a singular event – in this case Bernard's private audience with Pope Paschal II – meaning that each life event from the first half of the *vita* has its mirror (in order) in the second half.²⁷⁹

More damningly, she also notes how Geoffrey simply borrowed an episode from the Council of Poitiers described in the 'Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny (c.1103) and William of Malmesbury's (d.1143) *Gesta Regnum Anglorum* (1120)', where 'Bernard is given the role actually played by the papal legates'.²⁸⁰

At that same time [Nov. 18, 1100] two cardinals, John and Benedict, acting as a legation of the Holy See, convened a council in the city of Poitiers, attended by one hundred forty Fathers, who had been summoned there. They punished Philip, king of the Franks, with excommunication, because he was committing adultery with the wife of Fulk, count of Anjou. William [IX], duke of Aquitaine, was present, the enemy of all decency and holiness. When the duke was informed of the king's excommunication, since he was afraid he would suffer a similar punishment for exactly similar faults, he flew into a great rage and ordered all the Fathers to be plundered, flogged, and killed. When his officials

²⁷⁸ Kathleen Thompson, *The Monks of Tiron: A Monastic Community and Religious Reform in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 11-12: '...Geoffrey of Lèves, bishop of Chartres (1116–49). The bishop is directly addressed at its opening, placing the work within his lifetime, and he is described as papal legate. This appointment was made in 1132 and would have lapsed with the death of Innocent II in September 1143, so the writing of the life of Bernard can be pinpointed to the period between those years. Even further precision is given by an internal reference to the succession of Louis VII in August 1137, which suggests that the text was written between that date and the lapse of the apostolic commission

in 1143.'; Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. xiii-xiv; Kathleen Thompson earlier dated the text to 'probably within twenty-five years of Bernard's death in April 1116', i.e., c.1116-1141: Kathleen Thompson, 'The Other Saint Bernard: The "Troubled and Varied Career" of Bernard of Abbeville, Abbot of Tiron', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 60 (2009), p. 658.

²⁷⁹ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. xiv.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xv.

begin [sic] to carry out his orders, the prelates and abbots fled every which way and tried to find safe hiding places in order to save their transitory lives. Bernard and Robert of Arbrissel, who were among those attending the council and were very strong proponents of justice and opponents of all iniquity and injustice, did not move and remained steadfast while others fled in an unseemly manner. They did not refrain from beginning the excommunication, but instead for Christ they were prepared to suffer death or glorious abuse.²⁸¹

Hugh of Flavigny's version of events unambiguously attributes this steadfast behaviour to the legates, and not to Bernard and Robert; indeed, the whole passage was written to honour the 'zeal of these legates' ('...zelum horum legatorum...') as 'pillars of Christ' ('...columnae Christi...').²⁸² Curiously, Geoffrey later claims that, upon

²⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 54-5; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172..., cols. 1396A-C: 'Per idem tempus duo cardinales, Joannes atque Benedictus, apostolicae sedis legatione fungentes, ad urbem Pictavium concilium convocarunt: in quo centum quadraginta convocati Patres adfuerunt, qui Philippum regem Francorum, propter Fulconis consulis Andegavensium uxorem, quam in adulterio tenebat, anathematis vindicta percusserunt. Qua excommunicatione comperta, Guillelmus dux Aquitanorum, qui aderat, totius pudicitiae ac sanctitatis inimicus, timens ne similem vindictam pro consimilibus culpis pateretur, nimio furore succensus, jussit omnes illos depraedari, flagellari, occidi. Quod ministris suis facere incipientibus, pontifices et abbates huc illucque diffugiunt, et, ut temporalem vitam retinerent, tuta latibula quaerere contendunt. At vero Bernardus atque Robertus Abreselensis, qui concilio intererant, fortissimi justitiae propugnatores, ac totius iniquitatis et injustitiae expugnatores, aliis turpiter fugientibus, ita immobiles constantesque perstiterunt, ut nec ab incepto excommunicationis desisterent, sed pro Christo mortem vel contumeliam pati gloriosissimum ducerent. Et quamvis eos persecutores mortem non intulerint, isti, quantum in ipsis est, martyrium pertulerunt'.

²⁸² Hugo Flaviniacensis abbas, *Chronicon*, ed. by G.H. Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica SS 8*, 2 (1848), pp. 492, 493; Ibid., p. 493: 'Aderat ibi comes Pictavensis, summa prece eos deposcens, ne dominum suum excommunicarent. Aderant et episcopi identidem facientes, et cum non impetrarent quod volebant, a consessu et loco concilii, idem comes et sui minas intendendo, aliqui quoque ex episcopis, multi ex clericis, innumerabiles ex laycis exierunt. Sic ordine turbato, pace in tumultu versa, illi remanserunt qui Finees zelum imitari gestiebant; et sicut ille scortum Zamariae cum Chorami Madianita gladio pupugit, furoremque Domini placavit, sic et isti, non veriti fremitum perstreptentium, adulterantem regem cum adultera quem corrigere nequiverunt, pugione excommunicationis perfossum, vitae, quae in Christo est, extorrem reddiderunt. Hoc autem actum est, quando iam erat solvendum concilium. Iamque laus Christi in ore eorum qui astabant pro dimissione concilii, ut moris est, resonabat, et aestus turbae tumultuantis ut fervor maris incandescebat pro domini sui regis excommunicatione insanientis, cum quidam e populo in superioribus consistens aecclesiae lapidem iecit, cardinales ferire volens, cuius ictu clericus quidam qui astabat capite illiso prosternitur. Sanguine manent pavimenta, clamore confuso domus impletur, furore et insania intus et extra ministri satanae debachantur. Manent columnae Christi immobiles, mortem si Dominus iubeat intrepidi opperientes, et ad saxa volantia mitris ablatis capita nuda retegentes, nec aliquando a laude Dei et praedicatione veritatis reticentes, quod voce prosequuti erant, sanguine confirmare, si sit necesse, gestientes. Quorum constantia devota et devotio constantissima furentium facta est repressio et ad penitentiam cordium inclinatio. Adeo ut comites et quotquot antea grassabantur in confusione eorum humiliati sint in conspectu illorum satisfactione praemissa et praetenta obedientia'.

Bernard's first audience with Pope Paschal II, the 'pope received Bernard kindly, because he had heard much of Bernard's holiness from his cardinals, John and Benedict, who had known Bernard previously in Aquitaine and had seen him remain steadfast in the council during the excommunication of the king', digging his heels in with the fabrication.²⁸³

While of course this kind of plagiarism is not so ideal for the historian intending to make use of the *vita* as historical record, nonetheless it does help to establish its polemical purpose. In terms of the plagiarised episode itself, we may note that William IX of Aquitaine (identified as 'comes Pictavensis' – the Count of Poitiers – in Hugh's chronicle) had been convinced by his wife Philippa to grant Robert of Arbrissel the land to build Fontevraud, who herself would later retire there in 1116 following her husband's adultery with Viscountess Dangereuse de l'Isle Bouchard (1079-1151), the wife of his vassal Aimery I de Rochefoucauld, Viscount of Châtellerauld. The modified episode described by Geoffrey, then, may bear some relation to a critique of William IX on behalf of his estranged wife and against the then-still-living *Dangerosa*, or perhaps too as a further signal to the noble wives which Robert of Arbrissel had been fond of proselytising (or indeed to William IX's granddaughter, Eleanor of Aquitaine).

With more certainty we might suppose that fabrications such as this were intended to give more weight to the campaign for Bernard's canonisation, as was common for

²⁸³ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 61; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172..., cols. 1400A-B: 'Ad quam post multos labores perveniens, dominum papam Paschalem adiit, et cur se abbatis officio privasset requisivit. Apostolicus vero, quia multa audierat de ejus sanctitate, per cardinales suos, Joannem et Benedictum, qui illum antea in Aquitania noverant, et ipsius in concilio constantiam ad excommunicandum regem viderant, illum benigne suscepit; atque illius manum tenens, in secretum oratorium duxit; et solus cum solo, magna parte diei, colloquium habuit'.

the hagiographical genre in general, though whatever the purpose, it would seem reasonable to regard Geoffrey's *vita* overall as a principally polemical text, despite Geoffrey's claim to have favoured 'truth and accuracy' over 'polished style'.²⁸⁴ That is, its rhetorical ('pedimental') structure, its presentation of facts, and therefore its biblical references were not idly or carelessly selected; rather that they were all included for a subtextual purpose beyond the mere reproduction of events. We find a clear indication that Geoffrey is capable of this, in fact, when he has Bernard explain the symbolism of Samson slaying his enemies with the jawbone of an ass in Judges 15:15.²⁸⁵ Indeed, one might be forgiven for believing that the latter parts of this passage represent a polemical manifesto for the *vita* itself:

The preacher is an instrument for chewing, if he understands every bit of the word of God (which is the food of our souls, as the Lord says in the Gospel: Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God [Mt 4:4]), and, when he understands it, he practices what he preaches. If he teaches well and lives ill, he does not instruct the people but corrupts them. As long as he lives ill, his preaching is disdained and not retained, and his example to the people is destructive, not instructive. So he should live well, and he must break down the Scriptures to bits by chewing and grinding the food of the soul. He must distinguish the historical information from the allegory, divide the allegory from the tropology, and separate the tropology from the anagogy.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 8; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172..., cols. 1370D-1371A: 'Sciens etenim veritate nihil esse praestantius, veraci stylo magis quam nitido, humilitatis tenente campestria, ea quae vidi vel fidelium hominum relatione didici, litteris commendata successoribus transmissi...'

²⁸⁵ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 57-60; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172..., cols. 1398A-1399D.

²⁸⁶ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 58; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172..., cols. 1398C-1398D: 'Instrumentum mandendi praedicator existit, si verbum Dei (quod est cibus animae nostrae, sicut Dominus in Evangelio dicit: Non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo, quod procedit de ore Dei [Matth. IV, 4]), subtiliter intelligit; si intelligens, operibus adimplet quod dicit; quia si bene docet et male vivit, non instruit populum sed corrumpit: dum enim male vivit, praedicatio ejus contemnitur et non recipitur, et exemplo illius populus non aedificatur, sed destruitur. Oportet ergo ut bene vivat; et Scripturam, cibum animarum commasticando et conterendo, subtiliter discutiatur; videlicet ut historicam intelligentiam ab allegorica discernat, a tropologica dividat allegoricam, tropologicam ab anagogica semoveat'.

While here we are instructed of the proper role of the ‘preacher’ in digesting Scripture for his audience, following traditional alimentary metaphors, notably we are also at the same time introduced to a contemporary method of biblical exegesis known to modern theologians as ‘the four senses of scripture’. This method supposed that there were four principal ways of extracting meaning from the Bible: i) ‘historical’; ii) ‘allegorical’; iii) ‘tropological’, and iv) ‘anagogical’. Reading Scripture ‘historically’ would extract literal accounts of biblical times. Reading ‘allegorically’ would reveal political or spiritual messages in its subtext. Reading ‘tropologically’ aimed to garner moral instruction from Scriptural passages, while, most mystically, reading ‘anagogically’ intended to uncover messages pertaining to the afterlife or otherwise what was to come in the final stages of Christian eschatological history.

Its invocation by Geoffrey signifies several important features about him and the text, not the least of which is his subtextual sophistication: that he himself was aware of such methods and must have used them in preparing his own writings. It also points to a scholastic training, since the method, though having ancient origins in the doctors of the Church, found its first blossom in the schools of the early-twelfth century, as most authoritatively explored in the monumental *Exégèse médiévale*, written by that titan of twentieth-century theology, Henri de Lubac.²⁸⁷ In it, de Lubac explains the method’s historical origins and its spiritual uses, not only contemporarily, but also as an impassioned defence of ancient exegetical methods ahead of the Second Vatican Council of 1962-5.

In reading de Lubac’s historical account, however, it strikes one with giddy realisation that the twelfth-century proponents of the method are practically without exception

²⁸⁷ Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, vol. 1, *The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. Mark Sebanc (Edinburgh, 1998).

aligned with what have been described in this thesis as the 'new orders'. We are early introduced to Godfrey of Saint Victor's (a Victorine canon) 'strophes of the *Fons philosophiae*, in which Godfrey... expounds on the "four ways of understanding Sacred Scripture"', which is followed by Hugh Metel (writing around 1140) – a contemporary Augustinian canon – and then the 'librarian of the Charterhouse at Salvatorberg', though Geoffrey Grossus himself is not mentioned despite fitting the pattern.²⁸⁸ By contrast, authors aligned with Cluny or the broadly defined 'traditional Benedictinism' are markedly less prominent, giving at least the suspicion that the 'four senses' method circulated mostly in those schools aligned with the new orders; that here we are witness to traceable evidence of competing scholastic traditions manifesting in equally competing 'White' and 'Black' monastic networks.

Whatever the case may be, Geoffrey's knowledge of the method, alongside his use of pedimental structure and the plagiarism of other texts for polemical purpose, may entitle us to read his own work – the *vita* of Bernard of Tiron – in a similar manner; sifting through strata of history, allegory, tropology and anagogy to come to a clearer understanding of authorial intent. Indeed, Duncan Robertson's 2011 monograph – *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading* – offers a compelling argument in favour of this view, by tracing in detail medieval traditions of reading from their patristic foundations in Origen, Augustine, and Gregory, to their codification in the twelfth century with Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugh of Saint-Victor and Guigo II (the ninth prior of the Carthusian Order).²⁸⁹ Following in de Lubac's footsteps, Robertson traces the development of the *lectio divina* – 'divine reading'; that is, contemplative or devotional reading – in the same manner as de Lubac did for exegetical systems. While he only mentions the four senses of scripture occasionally and by way of reference to de Lubac and other scholars, it remains in

²⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 2, 2-3, 6, 7, 8, 12.

²⁸⁹ Duncan Robertson, *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading* (Trappist, Ky., 2011).

the background as we are led through the centuries with the *lectio divina*. By the time of Hugh of Saint-Victor, however, the exegetical system of the four (or three) senses of scripture becomes intimately entwined with the counterpart systems of the *lectio divina*, in particular through the stage of reading called *meditatio* ('meditation', the contemplation of a text), such that reading itself becomes inherently exegetical:

Surveying Hugh's theory of reading as a whole, one needs to fit together the competing analytic systems that he offers. The traditional sequence, *historia/allegorica/tropologia*, overlaps, not quite dovetailing, with the expository order of *littera/sensus/sententia*. *Historia* means biblical history and also the *litteralis sensus*, "the first meaning of any narrative which uses words according to their proper nature" (Did 6.3). *Historia* is also associated with *lectio*, the initial stage of *lectio divina*. The following steps in exegesis, *allegoria* and *tropologia*, and the third step in exposition, *sententia*, belong all to *meditatio*. This is the phase in which spiritual interpretation mainly takes place...²⁹⁰

What Robertson makes powerfully apparent, is that hardly *any* reading in the Middle Ages – one would venture to say *none*, and certainly none within the monastic tradition – stops at the literal or historical mode alone; that it is not only Geoffrey's authorial allegorical intent that counts, therefore, but that his monastic brethren would also have been trained to receive it as such, and only as such. Another prominent sign of the commonplace nature of this kind of reading is Geoffrey's invocation of the alimentary metaphor of 'chewing'. As Robertson explains, all is allegory, and all is digested with,

the familiar alimentary metaphors, "mastication," "rumination," and "digestion"... more particularly characteristic of the twelfth century, perhaps, is the view of this activity as a conscious, voluntary, rational "scrutiny," in which the reader "penetrates" (*penetrat*) and "investigates" (*rimatur*), seeking to "extract" hidden meaning.²⁹¹

²⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 222; also p. 215: 'Hugh's system of exposition overlaps the traditional system of exegesis accepted since Gregory: *historia*, *allegoria*, and *tropologia*'.

²⁹¹ Ibid., p. 205. Robertson makes clear the extremely commonplace nature of alimentary metaphors in a number of writers and in the monastic tradition more generally: pp. 31, 63 (Gregory the Great), 102 (on reading in the monastery), 154 (Anselm of Canterbury), 180 (Bernard of Clairvaux), 185.

It ought to be considered unsustainable, therefore, that the *vita*'s principal worth is as a source of historical fact, as Migne once did, and instead apprehend it as what it appears to be: a powerful literal and subtextual manifesto of a religious movement united in purpose and ideology.

Hence, it should be no surprise that Geoffrey's *vita* of Bernard of Tiron indeed reveals several powerful themes within its messaging distinct from what we might normally expect from a Christian text of this or earlier periods. While the ideological thrust of the text comprises a well-articulated and remarkably consistent whole, with its themes closely interconnected and internally accordant, for the purposes of this analysis we can decompose these into one of two categories: i) its allies and opponents; ii) the *practical causes* of its ideological positions. In general, it is possible to say that the text establishes an ideological dichotomy within which all of its positions and characters fall. On the one hand is Bernard, the Strong Square, other White monks, regular canons, episcopal authority and a suite of secular benefactors, all operating within a realm marked by divine grace experienced through *nature*, through an orientation to the wilderness, and through everything that is morally pure. On the other is Cluny, the papacy, and everything aligned with the cultivated and developed world; a conquest-based economic system; everything that is 'false', manufactured and morally corrupted. It is, as Jacques Le Goff surmised, that:

In the Middle Ages the great contrast was not, as it had been in antiquity, between the city and the country (*urbs* and *rus*, as the Romans put it) but between nature and culture, expressed in terms of the opposition between what was built, cultivated, and inhabited (city, castle, village) and what was essentially wild (the ocean and forest, the western equivalents of the eastern desert), that is, between men who lived in groups and those who lived in solitude.²⁹²

²⁹² Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1988), p. 58.

As such, the text represents a resource of singular value for attempting to parse the practical and ideological conditions by which a new monastic order came to be. As an exceptionally long *vita* by contemporary standards – numbering almost twenty-nine-thousand words of Latin in Migne’s edition, which even Geoffrey himself lampoons in his prologue when he writes ‘I abridged the *vita* to be divided into three volumes, a common layout, but a concise one; so that anyone who is put off by the plainness of the language may at least find relief in the briefness of the text’ – it bears extended analysis, and all the more so when one considers the density of its subtextual messaging.²⁹³

In the following two chapters, the origins of the Tironesian Order are analysed through the *vita* of its founder – Bernard of Tiron – and the contemporary political milieu of his life. What emerges are two distinct causal forces acting in the formation of Tiron’s ideological identity. The first, how the structural pressures applied by Cluny to the monastic church force Tiron’s pragmatic adoption of several ideological positions in order to survive the climate with its *libertas* intact, conforming closely to the hypothesis laid out in the *INTRODUCTION*. The second, how these same forces worked to divide the social network of the monastic world into two competing cliques: the Black, aligned with Cluny; and the White, aligned with Cluny’s opponents, including the new orders.

While it may be difficult to attempt to define the relation between these two causal forces, it should become apparent that they each proceed from the same source, and

²⁹³ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 8; Gaufridus Grossus, ‘Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...’, *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1370D: ‘...eamque sub trium voluminum distributione coarctavi, vili quidem schemate verborum, sed brevi, ut qui sermonis incultam faciem exhorruerit, brevitate saltem respiret lectionis’.

thus they exhibit a mysterious symmetry in which one powers and strengthens the other, and vice versa. In Tiron's case, if indeed it can be shown that they were forced into holding several ideological positions through the vagaries of chance and circumstance – if the causes of their new 'ideas' and 'patterns of life' were largely 'pre-mental' – then this is not the case for the social network dynamics which it led them into. Here we find a movement coming to consciousness of itself, as the monastic world undergoes a process of polarisation into antagonistic cliques, described variously by the gestalt psychologists and social network analysts of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries as 'social balancing'.

With the polarisation processes of 'social balancing', ideas are coded as either 'identity' or 'alterity', belonging to 'us' or 'them', centripetally drawing practically every idea into this 'sorting vortex'. As Bernard of Tiron struggled to find a place and an identity for his communities, he was simultaneously subject to both of these forces, each reinforcing the other and accelerating the ideological division between the Cluniac and non-Cluniac monastic worlds. The only available pragmatic and material patterns of life his community could adopt were the very same as the only social and political choices he could make; distinct causal forces converging on a singular ideological outcome. In neither case, however, are 'religious needs' or 'spiritual concerns' prime: Tiron owed its existence and identity to forces largely outside of its control.

In the following chapter, as we come to analyse Tiron's place within the monastic social network of the early twelfth century, we must hold a complex of questions in mind: *how* and *why* are these alliances assembling, do their respective members have any *choice* in the matter, and are the *ideas* they come to adopt a product of sincere spiritual concerns, or simply the price of clique membership?

Chapter 5: Tiron and The Monastic Social Network

The 'Strong Square'

Perhaps most unsurprisingly, it is the Strong Square of hermit leaders with which Bernard of Tiron is most strongly identified in his *vita*. Following their initial introduction in the hermit community of Craon, and the several exploits shared between Bernard and Robert of Arbrissel, they appear depicted as a parallel narrative – Geoffrey several times mentions what the other Quadraturan leaders are doing while Bernard is at a particular stage of his career, and they are always mentioned together. In §82, for instance, while 'Bernard was building his monastery in Frankland', we are informed of how,

Robert of Arbrissel had constructed his monastery in Aquitaine at Fontevraud, Ralph of la Futaye had constructed his in Brittany, and Vital of Mortain was building his monastery in Normandy, at Savigny in the diocese of Avranches, which he subsequently turned over to Dom Bernard [of Clairvaux], with its dependent monasteries.²⁹⁴

Geoffrey then explains that 'The Heavenly Judge wanted them to remain far from Bernard and separated in various regions, because each one built so many monasteries that it was impossible for a single region to hold them all and a single province to contain all the communities they founded'.²⁹⁵ The same sentiment is expressed in §62, where Bernard's community briefly lives near Vitalis of Savigny after a gift of a forest (called Savigny) by Ralph of Fougères, but 'Since Divine Providence

²⁹⁴ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 87; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1416B: 'Dum igitur Bernardus monasterium suum aedificaret in Francia, Robertus Abreselensis suum construxerat in Aquitania, nempe Fontis Ebraldi, Radulphus Fusteiensis in Britannia, Vitalis vero de Mauritonio suum fabricabat in Northmannia, nempe Savinejum in dioecesi Abrincensi, quod postea domno Bernardo cessit cum monasteriis inde pendentibus...'

²⁹⁵ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 87; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1416B: 'Quos supernus arbiter longe a se positos, et in diversis regionibus separatos manere voluit; quia tot et tanta unusquisque illorum monasteria construxit, ut una eos regio minime caperet, una provincia congregationibus ab illis adunatis minime sufficeret'.

CAUSAL ORIGINS OF THE 'RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF
THE MIDDLE AGES': CLUNY, TIRON, AND THE NEW
ORDERS, 910-1156

JAMIE WILLIAM IRVINE

did not want two lights so brilliant to live together, it had one of them remain there and sent the other wandering in other regions'.²⁹⁶ As elsewhere, the sense that they all belonged to the same essential project, guided by Providence, is strong.

This is perhaps nowhere as evident as in the passage which opened *Chapter 4*, where Geoffrey imagines the Quadraturan leaders as each representing a corner or side of a 'strong square' which 'would later become the foundation of a large wide building', referencing Ezekiel's plans for the Fourth Temple in which he describes the four corners of the altar hearth, or 'ariel' (Ez 43:16-17).²⁹⁷ St Jerome (342/7-420), in his commentary on Ezekiel, has this to say about the passage:

*And the ariel itself was four cubits, and from the ariel upward were four horns, or, as is expressed in the Septuagint, "And from the ariel up to the higher parts of the horns were one cubit." The majority think that ariel means "God is my light." We have spoken in greater detail about the prophet Isaiah, where it was written, "Woe to you, city of Ariel, which David conquered," or "besieged" [Isa 29:1]. But as I think, it means "lion" or "strong one of God." This term refers strictly to the altar, in which there is either the illumination of God, or his lion and strength, since Jacob says to Judah, "Judah is a lion's whelp, my son; to the prey, son, you have gone up. Resting you have couched as a lion, and as a lioness; who shall rouse him?" [Gen 49:9]. But it is *four cubits* and has *four horns*; or "the higher parts of the four horns" terminate in "one cubit." Thus the measure of the Gospels is shown, and their strength traversing through the entire world, under the illumination of God and the strength of the lion. Let the "one cubit" of the divine confession be applied to them. And in order that the obscurity of the present passage might be made clearer, it follows, *And the ariel was twelve cubits long, and twelve cubits broad, foursquare, with equal sides*. No one doubts that this relates to the twelve tribes that are recorded in the Apocalypse of John [cf. Rev 7:5-8], and to the number of the*

²⁹⁶ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 69; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1405A: 'Domnus autem Vitalis, de quo mentionem fecimus, in eadem silva cellam sibi fabricaverat, distantem ab istis, duobus fere stadiis, in qua postea coenobium construxit. Sed quoniam divina dispositio duo tam magna luminaria insimul cohabitare noluit, unum illorum ibi remanere fecit, alium ad alias perlustrandas regiones destinavit'.

²⁹⁷ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 27-8; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1380D-1381B: '...firma fieret quadratura, quae postmodum magna et lata aedificia erat portatura'.

apostles concerning the mystery of which I recall that I have spoken above. With four *sides*, the *sides* of the world, twelve cubits together become the forty-eight cubits of the priestly cities [cf. Josh 21:41]. Thus is the strength of the church made solid by these foundations, distributed as it were into the whole world.²⁹⁸

In Geoffrey's *vita* of Bernard, no other author is borrowed from as much as Jerome, with at least twenty-seven direct borrowings from *Ad Eustochium*, compared to the next-most referenced author – Gregory the Great (c.540-604) – with only two references, making Jerome and *Ad Eustochium* by far the greatest influence on the text after the Bible and even before the *Rule of Saint Benedict*.²⁹⁹ Jerome is referenced in the very first section, exalting him above all and exclaiming 'Jerome, the light of

²⁹⁸ St. Jerome, *Commentary on Ezekiel*, trans. Thomas P. Scheck (New York, 2017), pp. 507-8; Hieronymus Stridonensis, 'S. Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis Presbyteri Commentariorum In Ezechielem Prophetam Libri Quatuordecim', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 25, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1845), cols. 0422C-0423A: 'Ipse autem ariel quatuor cubitorum erat, et ab ariel usque sursum cornua quatuor: sive ut in Septuaginta dicitur, ab ariel usque ad superiora cornuum cubitus unus. Ariel ut plerique aestimant interpretatur, lux mea Deus. De quo et in Isaia propheta, ubi scriptum est: Vae tibi, civitas Ariel, quam expugnavit David, sive circumdedit, plenius diximus (Isai. XXIX, 2). Ut autem ego arbitror, leo vel fortis Dei: quod nomen refertur proprie ad altare, in quo vel illuminatio Dei est, vel leo et fortitudo ejus, dicente Jacob ad Judam: Catulus leonis Juda, ad praedam, fili mi, ascendisti: requiescens accubuisti ut leo, et quasi 529 leaena, quis suscitabit eum (Gen. XLIX, 9)? Cubitorum autem quatuor est, et cornua habet quatuor; sive superiora quatuor cornuum, uno cubito finiuntur; ut Evangeliorum mensura et in totum orbem fortitudo discurrens, sub illuminatione Dei, et leonis fortitudine demonstratur, ad unumque cubitum perveniant divinae confessionis. Et ut paulatim obscuritas praesentis loci manifestior fiat, sequitur: Et Ariel duodecim cubitorum in longitudine, per duodecim cubitos latitudinis, quadrangulum aequis lateribus. Quod nemo dubitat ad duodecim tribus pertinere, quae in Joannis Apocalypsi scriptae sunt, et ad Apostolorum numerum, de cujus sacramento supra dixisse me memini (Apoc. VII). Per quatuor autem latera mundi, duodeni cubiti simul efficiunt quadraginta octo cubitos sacerdotalium civitatum, ut istis quasi fundamentis in toto orbe divisus, Ecclesiae fortitudo solidetur'.

²⁹⁹ This is an approximate count: Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...'*, *P.L.*, vol. 172. Jerome's *Ad Eustochium*, or 'letter 108', was, in the words of Johanna C. Lamprecht, 'one of the longest of Jerome's letters... written in 404 AD to console Eustochium for the loss of her mother Paula. Scholars have referred to this letter as a lengthy epitaphium with hagiographic features, a eulogistic tribute, a biographical eulogy of Paula, a *laudatio funebris*, a travelogue, a memoir, a metaphorical account of Paula's pilgrimage through life, a piece of ascetic propaganda and a textual basis for a Bethlehem-centred cult of Paula the ascetic martyr-saint.' Johanna C. Lamprecht, 'Jerome's letter 108 to Eustochium: Contemporary biography in service of ascetic ideology?', *HTS Theologiese Studies/Theological Studies*, 73 (2017), pp. 1-10.

the world, also encourages us to follow his example'.³⁰⁰ In the same chapter, Geoffrey goes on to announce his authorial intent:

The Scriptures also describe the Temple of Solomon meticulously... Moreover, the structure like a city to the south (Ez 40:2), seen in spirit by Ezekiel, is depicted so precisely that he does not omit the gravings of palm trees (Ez 40:37) or pass over the immeasurable threshold of the gate (Ez 40:6), all of which, the Apostle attests, were shadows of the things to come (Heb 10:1).

3. That is why Divine Wisdom, in its providence, which made a distinction between the time of shadow and the time of the things (Heb 10:1) for men of that age, has been inspired to do the same things today, and has willed and ordered the figures and signs to be described very carefully, for what the wise man does not clearly understand he may learn from the deeds of the saints, through their prefiguration and significance. It wishes and hints that their deeds should be carefully described in literature and disclosed to the future faithful.³⁰¹

That is, it seems highly likely that Geoffrey is referencing not only Ezekiel when he writes 'that a strong square would be formed by the fourth added to the three, and that square would later become the foundation of a large wide building', but also St Jerome's commentary on Ezekiel, especially where he describes: 'With four *sides*, the *sides* of the world... Thus is the strength of the church made solid by these foundations, distributed as it were into the whole world'. While here it must be noted that there is not an exact symmetry between the two texts in what has been translated as 'foundations', with St Jerome using 'fundamentis' ('foundations'), and

³⁰⁰ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 3-4; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1367A: 'Sed et mundi lucerna Hieronymus ad hoc idem exemplo suo nos excitat,...'

³⁰¹ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 5-6; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1369B-1369C: 'Templi quoque Salomonis universa cum mensuris suis tam studiose... Et etiam ab Ezechiele vergentis ad austrum civitatis aedificium, in spiritu visum, tam subtiliter est descriptum, ut et caelaturas palmarum non praeteriret, nec saltem portae limen immensuratum transiret: quae cuncta, teste Apostolo, umbrae fuere futurorum (Hebr. X, 1). 3. Itaque si divinae sapientiae providentia, umbrarum et rerum distinguens tempora, per homines illius aetatis, quos ad hoc suis inspirationibus idoneos fecerat, tanto studio figuras et signa describi voluit et iussit; quis sane sapiens non intelligat, figurata et significata ab eis sanctorum gesta, quanta diligentia litterarum descriptionibus retineri et notificari fidelium futurorum notitiae, et velit et innuet'.

Geoffrey Grossus writing ‘...lata aedificia erat portatura’ in the sense of the Strong Square ‘holding up’ or ‘bearing’ the ‘building’ they are forming, nonetheless the imagery is the same.³⁰² That to Geoffrey the Strong Square is *square*, is the *four*, because they represent a providential mission to go out into the ‘four sides of the world’ and form the *foundations* of a renewal of the Church.

While such quaternary symbolism is common in the Bible itself, it is also typical of a contemporary habit of imagining that the foundational figures of an age or tradition are usually packaged as quartets, itself feeding on a scholastic obsession with symmetry and number inherited from classical – especially Greek – traditions.³⁰³ This was nowhere more prominent than in the quartet of Church doctors, usually Gregory, Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine.³⁰⁴ For his part, Geoffrey names ‘Athanasius scilicet Ambrosius, Augustinus, Gregorius’ as the four doctors after extolling Jerome and especially his works on the commentaries ‘upon the Prophets and the Gospel’ and ‘the lives of anchorites, specifically Malchus, Paul, and Hilarion’.³⁰⁵ Conceivably, it may be the case that each type of ‘new order’ associated themselves in particular with a ‘patron doctor’. In the case of regular canons, this is explicit, not simply in their Augustinian ‘rule’, but also ideologically as evidenced for instance when Godfrey of

³⁰² Hieronymus, ‘...Commentariorum In Ezechielem...’, *P.L.*, vol. 25, col. 0423A: ‘Per quatuor autem latera mundi, duodeni cubiti simul efficiunt quadraginta octo cubitos sacerdotalium civitatum, ut istis quasi fundamentis in toto orbe divisus, Ecclesiae fortitudo solidetur.’; Gaufridus Grossus, ‘Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...’, *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1381A: ‘Erant autem in confinio Cenomanicae Britanniaeque regionis vastae solitudines quae tunc temporis quasi altera Aegyptus florebant multitudine eremitarum, per diversas cellulas habitantium, virorum sanctorum ac propter excellentiam religionis famosorum, inter quos erant principes et magistri, Robertus de Arbrissello, atque Vitalis de Mauritorio, Radulphus quoque de Fusteja, qui postea fundatores exstiterunt multarum atque magnarum congregationum: quibus divina dispositio per Petrum, qui eos antea noverat, hunc quartum adjungere curavit, ut illis tribus quarto adjuncto firma fieret quadratura, quae postmodum magna et lata aedificia erat portatura’.

³⁰³ de Lubac discusses quaternary symbolism in this context: de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis...*, p. 6.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³⁰⁵ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 4, 3-4; Gaufridus Grossus, ‘Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...’, *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1368A: ‘Evangelium diligenter exposuit, anachoretarum Vitas, Malchi videlicet, Pauli, Hilarionis florentissimo stylo depinxit...’.

Saint Victor imagined Augustine as having a greater and more complete vision than the other doctors of the Church:

Those bridge builders need indeed	much enumeration...
Gregory the bridge-head holds;	let there be no blinking...
Ambrose has a throne that's marked	by its elevation...
Jerome too a lofty throne	certainly is rating...
See Augustine on the arch	of that bridge presiding...
From this scout not even one	river-bend is hiding. ³⁰⁶

Less clear but occasionally noted by modern historians is the connection with the 'eremitical' new orders and St Jerome.³⁰⁷ Perhaps here, in a similar fashion to Augustine's role as model of the canons regular, Jerome is elevated as the 'patron doctor' of the 'eremitical' new orders; that the religious movement of the twelfth century – at least in its expression in the new orders – is characterised less by a desire to live the *vita apostolica*, and more by the emulation of the cardinal doctors of the Church, or rather, an emulation of those lives and virtues the doctors themselves admired; in these cases resulting in a *vita Augustinus* or a *vita Hieronymus*.

While this is an interesting possibility, locating the self-constructions of the new orders in a fundamentally *scholastic* discourse (and, at a macroscopic causal level, uniting Grundmann's 'religious movement of the twelfth century' with Haskins' 'renaissance of the twelfth century'), nonetheless it cannot be ignored that such associations were made during periods of ideological articulation much after the actual foundation of the orders themselves. It is unclear, therefore, if, for instance, Bernard of Tiron associated *himself* with Jerome or wished to emulate the pattern of life he recommended, or if this is a later regularisation imposed by Geoffrey Grossus; an ordering and structuring of the life of his founder to fit an invented ideological symmetry. If the former were the case, it would constitute an 'epistemic' cause of the

³⁰⁶ Godfrey of Saint Victor, *The Fountain of Philosophy: A Translation of the Twelfth-Century Fons philosophiae of Godfrey of Saint Victor*, trans. Edward A. Synan (Toronto, 1972), pp. 64-5.

³⁰⁷ Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination...*, p. 49.

'religious movement of the twelfth century', challenging the *praxic* causes investigated and emphasised in this thesis; or, more likely, suggesting a sympathetic relationship between such ideas and the exigencies of life on the ground.

With this aside, however, it nonetheless seems likely that Geoffrey Grossus imagined the Strong Square as forming a similar foundational quartet, and indeed this providential mission seems to reappear as oral tradition in the later culture of the Quadraturan houses and their allies. In an 1123 mortuary roll of Vitalis of Savigny, for example, they are described together:

[Vitalis] energetically led the hermit life in the place called Dompierre for almost seventeen years. He was not without frequent visits from upright and honest contemporaries, namely Dom Robert of Arbrissel, who built the monastery called Fontevraud, and Dom Bernard of Tiron. Together with other very famous figures of the same profession, they held very frequent gatherings at which, in the manner of the ancient fathers, they used to discuss the state of the holy Church and the well-being of their souls.³⁰⁸

Elsewhere they are spoken of in similar tones. The twelfth-century English Augustinian canon William of Newburgh (1136-98), writing his history at the behest of the Cistercian Abbot Ernald of Rievaulx Abbey (r.1189-99), had this to say:

I have heard from older people that on the Continent there were, at one time, three remarkable men: Robert surnamed of Arbrissel, Bernard and Vitalis. Well educated and burning with the spirit, these men used to journey through towns and settlements, sowing, in the words of Isaiah, beside all waters and in converting many people they gathered abundant fruit [Is 32:20]. They had agreed in a holy pact that Robert would devote himself to the women, whom their common labour had converted to a better life; Bernard and Vitalis would provide for the wider audience. And so Robert built that most famous of

³⁰⁸ *Rouleaux des morts de IXe au XVe siècle*, ed. by L. Delisle (Paris, 1866), p. 28: 'Hic igitur divine miserationis manu a labentis seculi hujus ruina ereptus, eremiticam vitam, in loco qui Domni Petra dicitur, decem et septem fere annis strenue duxit, non sine frequenti visitatione probatarum honestarumque sui temporis personarum, domini videlicet Robert de Arbrexel, qui cenobium quod Fons Ebraudi dicitur edii cavit et domini Bernardi de Tyron, cum aliis clarissimis ejusdem professionis personis; qui in predicto loco Domni Petre, more sanctorum pratum, collationes persepissimas facientes, de sancte ecclesiae statu et animarum utilitatibus disserebant'. Translation by Kathleen Thompson.

houses for women, Fontevraud, and shaped it with monastic discipline; Bernard set up a regular community for monks at Tiron and Vitalis at Savigny, each making his monks distinct from the others through their particular directions. As it were from these three roots, across a broad area, the servants and handmaids of God sprang up like religious seeds.³⁰⁹

As in Geoffrey's *vita*, these later stories of the Strong Square return to the sense that they comprised a single movement marked with divine purpose; that they 'discussed the state of the holy Church' and 'agreed in a holy pact'. The absence of Ralph of la Futaye from these oral traditions may indicate his lack of contemporary prominence, or it may reveal yet again that Geoffrey Grossus required that the Strong Square leaders comprised a *square* or *quartet* for allegorical reasons.³¹⁰

Indeed, a more significant eschatological role may be imputed to them on the same basis, as the literal embodiment of the Fourth Temple in Ezekiel's prophesy, which in some Christian traditions would be rebuilt before Jesus' thousand-year reign in the

³⁰⁹ William of Newburgh, 'Historia Rerum Anglicarum', *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, vol. 1, *Containing the First Four Books of the Historia Rerum Anglicarum of William of Newburgh*, ed. by Richard Howlett (London, 1884), pp. 51-2: 'Ut autem paullo altius exordiar: in transmarinis partibus, sicut a majoribus accepi, tres memorabiles viri uno tempore fuere, scilicet Robertus qui agnominatur de Arbusculo, Bernardus, et Vitalis. Hi non ignobiliter eruditi et spiritu ferventes circuibant per castella et vicos, seminantesque secundum Ysaïam super omnes aquas, de conversione multorum fructus uberes colligebant: pio inter se placito constituto, quod Robertus quidem feminarum commune labore ad meliora conversarum sollicitudinem gereret; Bernardus vero et Vitalis maribus propensius providerent. Robertus itaque famossum illud monasterium feminarum de Fonte Ebraudi construxit, et regularibus disciplinis informavit: Bernardus vero apud Tirocinum et Vitalis apud Saviniacum, monachis regulariter institutis, suos quisque ab aliis per quasdam praeceptorum proprietates distinxit'. Note that William of Newburgh wrote his history at the behest of the Cistercian abbot Ernald of Rievaulx Abbey, while William was also asked by the Savignac-turned-Cistercian abbot Roger of Byland (1142-96) to write a commentary on the *Song of Songs*. The chapter in which this passage occurs – 15 – concerns the foundation of Byland itself as a Savignac establishment, which was later merged into the Cistercian order. Richard Howlett, compiling the text, mistranslates 'Clarevallenses' to state in a marginal note, 'The Savignian merges in the Cluniac order (A.D. 1148)'. As ever, the links between the new orders are dense with connections.

³¹⁰ Ralph of la Futaye is mentioned in their company elsewhere, however, as in a Grandmontine charter memorialising the death of Robert, where he, Vitalis of Savigny, and Ralph are called 'three associates in religion': 'Charta Abbatiae Grandimontis', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 162, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), cols. 1077-78D: 'Hi tres socii in religione fuerunt, Vitalis eremita, qui fuerat capellanus comitis Morithonii Abrincensis dioecesis, ac Robertus de Arbrissello, et Radulphus de Fusteia. Hi singuli singula monasteria fundaverunt'.

millennial kingdom following the desecration of its predecessor, though whether Geoffrey intended this or not is unclear. Whatever Geoffrey's precise meaning, however, we ought to be sure that he wishes us to view all the events of the narrative through the prism of Bernard as part of a foundational movement to renew the Church; that, therefore, his allies and helpers are necessarily on the side of Providence and grace, and his opponents are not. This fundamental perspective of the *vita* seems to be critical to its understanding; that all of its characters and its institutions fall either on the side of Providence, or on the side of its opponents.

Canons-Episcopal vs Cluniacs-Papal

After the Strong Square itself, one of the most consistently praised groups in the narrative of the *vita* are canons, both regular and secular. Immediately following the Prologue, in fact, we are confronted with a powerful association between Bernard and canons. We are informed of how, as a boy, Bernard was so inflamed by his love of religion that 'he began to dress like a canon regular', earning the ridicule of his fellow schoolboys.³¹¹ This is no idle sentiment, however: throughout the text we are only ever given positive depictions of canons and canons regular.

In chapter seven, we are given some clue as to what this may mean, as it carefully juxtaposes two alliance complexes and demonstrates their contrasting moral worth: canons and bishops against Cluniac monks and the pope. The chapter opens by informing the reader that Bernard's former monastery of Saint-Cyprien had been resisting the 'false claim of the Cluniacs' for about four years, until ultimately they

³¹¹ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 13-14; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1373B-1373C: 'Jam profecto tunc temporis tanto affectu religionis inflammabatur animus illius, ut veste regulari ad modum canonici sese indueret; et secundum habitus morem tenoremque, tantam vitae sobrietatem tantamque modestiam servabat in moribus, ut quamplures scholasticorum sodalium eum deridentes'

recruited the bishop of Poitiers to retrieve Bernard from the desert to help press their case.³¹² While more will be said about this important chapter, forming as it does the central 'pivot' of the *vita's* pedimental structure, it also reveals much about how we are asked to perceive canons and bishops. Bernard, of course, acquiesces to the righteous order of his bishop and returns to Saint-Cyprien, thereafter journeying to Rome to ask Pope Paschal II why he had been deprived of his abbacy several years before. In this first private audience with the pope, Geoffrey tells us that Bernard's abbacy of Saint-Cyprien was restored to him (though this is not supported by Saint-Cyprien's cartulary), and then that Bernard returned to his monastery to rule it for several years in peace.

In the following section (§56), as Bernard is attempting to reform Saint-Cyprien, its contingent of lukewarm monks hide the monastery's supplies of wheat and wine in an attempt to drive him out, but this is foiled when a saintly canon 'gave him so much wheat and wine that he believed it would last until the end of the year'.³¹³

Immediately this is contrasted with Cluny:

Divine Providence restored to him that very year the wheat and wine the monks had hidden, but first, to their misfortune, it imposed an avenging death penalty upon them. Their supporters had no fear of dying themselves and, unable to drive away the holy man by this means, sought another. They informed the Cluniac monks and solemnly promised to lend their assistance in subjecting the monastery of Saint-Cyprien to their laws, for if it were, they had no doubt that Bernard would leave the monastery. Encouraged by the suggestion, the Cluniacs went to the pope a second time and pressed again to

³¹² Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 61-9; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1399D-1405A: '...ut a calumnia Cluniacensium Ecclesiam suam liberarent...'.

³¹³ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 62; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1400C: 'Canonicus etenim quidam, qui eum pauperum procuratorem piissimum noverat, ei sub eodem tempore tantum frumenti vinique contulit, quantum sibi ad transigendum annum sufficere posse creditit'.

have Bernard suspended from the office of abbot unless he would subject the monastery to them.³¹⁴

The message is clear: that the canon was an agent of 'Divine Providence', while the lukewarm monks fled away from it and into the arms of the Cluniacs, with each of these forces opening their sentences to reinforce the contrast ('Divina quoque dispositio...' and 'Cluniacensibus namque monachis fugerunt...').³¹⁵ The text then goes into a powerful denunciation of Cluny (which will be examined later in more detail), but not before it slights the pope himself.

Upon returning to Rome to plead his case, the pope orders Bernard to 'either subject the monastery to the Cluniacs or never to hold office in that abbey'.³¹⁶ Instead, Geoffrey tells us that 'Bernard resolutely summoned the pope and all those involved in this matter to an examination at the Last Judgement before a judge who would be undeceived by dark ignorance and uncorrupted by gifts', implying that the pope had been bribed by the Cluniacs, and perhaps that forces more sinister than them were at work.³¹⁷

³¹⁴ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 62-3; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1400C-1400D: 'Divina quoque dispositio in eodem anno frumentum vinumque, quod monachi recondiderant, ei reddidit; sed prius eos poenis ultricis mortis miserabiliter afflixit. Complices vero illorum qui poenaliter obierant, nec morte eorum territi, dum sanctum virum hoc modo extrudere nequeunt, alium inquirunt. Cluniacensibus namque monachis fugerunt, sese in auxilium fore spondentes, ut S. Cypriani monasterium suis legibus subjiciant; quia si hoc fieret, Bernardum inde recessurum minime dubitabant. Qua suggestionis exhortatione animati Cluniacenses, dominum papam iterum adeunt, et ut Bernardum ab officio abbatis suspenderet nisi illis subderet monasterium, denuo compulerunt'.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, cols. 1400C-1400D.

³¹⁶ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 63; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1401A: 'Quod ille facere subterfugiens, imperavit, ut aut ecclesiam Cluniacensibus subderet, aut nunquam in illa abbatia officium exerceret'.

³¹⁷ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 63; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1401A-1401B: 'Porro vir Dei, postquam pro certo cognovit quod in Romana curia nihil proficeret, nec apostolicum a suae voluntatis decreto flecteret, sublimioris curiae audientiam appellare compulsus est quae quamvis apud mortalium praetoria inveniri nequeat, unde tamen hanc Bernardo expeti oporteret non latebat. Zelo igitur justitiae accensus, illud Salomonis CAUSAL ORIGINS OF THE 'RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES': CLUNY, TIRON, AND THE NEW ORDERS, 910-1156

The connection here between the Cluniacs and the pope is telling, and again shall be explored later, though their juxtaposition against a righteous bishop and a saintly canon is perhaps equally as revealing, with Geoffrey implying just who was on the right side of Providence in the contrast.

While it is true, for instance, that Robert of Arbrissel's first community at La Rœe was one of canons, and that several prominent members and disciples of the Strong Square had been canons regular (such as Vitalis of Savigny and Gerald of Salles), we may also note that conversion to canons regular was a strategy used by coenobitic communities to protect against Cluniac claims of subjection, as had occurred at Saint-Sernin in 1073 (see *Chapter 3* above), albeit unsuccessfully (here the Cluniacs simply ejected the canons and replaced them with monks in 1082).³¹⁸ Indeed, one might wonder if the promotion of canons regular during 'the Cluniac pope' Urban II's pontificate might be more to do with bringing this erstwhile refractory order under hierarchical papal control than it was with any support of the nascent 'religious movement'.³¹⁹ James H. Claxton, for instance, argued that 'Urban' was selected as Odo's papal name to harken back to Urban I, who had supposedly initiated the

secutus: Justus ut leo confidens absque terrore erit, dominum papam, et omnes illius in hac re complices, non praesumptuosa audacitate, sed libera magnanimitate, in extremi judicii examine ante judicium, nullis ignorantiae tenebris falli, aliquibus muneribus corrumpi nescium, constanter invitavit'. Note that here, while Harwood Cline's translation uses the loaded word 'undeceived', the original is 'falli'. In the Latin Vulgate Bible, references to the Devil as what in English would refer to its aspect of 'the Deceiver' typically make use of terms like 'seduxit' (2 Cor 11:3, Rev 12:9), 'decepit' (Gen 3:13), 'insidias' (Eph 6:11), and 'errorem inducantur' (Matt 24:24). Thus, Geoffrey may not be directly invoking the Devil here when he uses 'falli', or he may even be deliberately avoiding it.

³¹⁸ Baudri of Dol, 'First Life of Robert of Arbrissel', Bruce L. Venarde, *Robert of Arbrissel: A Medieval Religious Life* (Washington, D.C., 2003), p. 13.

³¹⁹ See, for instance, the following letters of Urban II: Urbanus II, 'Beati Urbani II Pontificis Romani Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 151, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1853), letters XII, XVII, XXXVII, LVIII, LXXIX, CXXXVI, CCLXII, CCLXXIX.

canonical order, therefore signalling his intent of clerical reform.³²⁰ While this may be true, it must be remembered that 'reform' does not necessarily subsume both the hierarchical reform of the Church and the enthusiasms of the 'religious movement', despite them both often being conflated; the principal goals of the hierarchical (alias 'Gregorian') reform of the Church were control and discipline, contrasted with the freedom and autonomy often sought by the founders of the new coenobitic orders. Notably, Urban II's support of communities of regular canons living according to an established 'Augustinian' rule made them much easier to be found in contravention and therefore in need of reform; that here Cluny's expansionary interests and Urban's policy coincide in a way that has not been recognised; that what has been taken as 'support' of regular canons by Urban II may in fact be an effort to control them.³²¹ Much, however, would depend on a measure of Urban's intent, though clearly the picture is complex. For Geoffrey Grossus, at least, and for whatever reason, the status of canons is much simpler: they are agents of Providence, contrasted with the Cluniacs, who are not.

Deepening this connexion is the relationship between canons (especially cathedral canons) and bishops. Coming in for especial praise is Bishop Peter II of Poitiers, who Geoffrey explains was 'later exiled for the sake of justice and endured it to his death', referring to his imprisonment at the hands of William IX of Aquitaine after excommunicating him for adultery, but who could not be induced to lift the

³²⁰ James H. Claxton, 'On the Name of Urban II', *Traditio*, 23 (1967), pp. 489-95. The tradition that Urban I initiated the canonical order can be found, for instance, in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*: William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: Or, The History of the Ancient Abbies, Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, &c.*, vol. 2 (London, 1717), p. 125: '...whence that sort of Life was call'd Canonical, and those who professed it Canons... Others assign Pope Urban I for the Author, about the Year 230, because he ordain'd in his Decretals, That the Bishops should furnish such as were willing to live in common...'.
³²¹ This is especially the case in letter 279, where Urban declares his intent to restore the canons to a discipline similar to that of the (more accomplished) monks: Urbanus II, '...Epistolae Et Privilegia...', *P.L.*, vol. 151, letter CCLXXIX.

excommunication even under torture, going on to say that 'his holiness of life was so wondrous that after his death it was revealed and confirmed by miracles'.³²² In Geoffrey's *vita* of Bernard, Bishop Peter is instrumental in unilaterally conferring the abbacy of Saint-Cyprien upon Bernard, for which similar behaviour he was censured directly by Pope Paschal II, as we have already seen (*Chapter 2*).³²³ In a letter from 1101, Peter is reprimanded by the pope for consecrating the elections of new abbots at Saint-Cybard and Maillezais without first consulting Abbot Hugh of Cluny, being reminded that he 'may suffer the indignation of the apostolic see' if papal commands were not complied with.³²⁴ Even after this censure, however, it was also Bishop Peter who retrieved Bernard from the desert at the urging of the monks of Saint-Cyprien, when they wished to fight their subjection to Cluny, revealing a level of intent and defiance on Peter's part in countering Cluniac claims and papal authority.³²⁵ Indeed, Peter did not confine himself to advocating for Bernard's interests alone, as we also find him advocating on behalf of Robert of Arbrissel when the latter's attempt to acquire Tusson was challenged by the monks of Nantueil, who, through Saint-Cyprien (who controlled abbatial elections there), were in the Cluniac *nebula*.³²⁶ Evidence of such cooperation between Bishop Peter and the Strong Square against Cluniac interests is neither rare nor isolated.

³²² Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 50; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1393D: 'Quae dum agerentur, Pictaviensis urbis episcopatum regebat venerabilis Petrus episcopus, qui postea exsilium pro justitia usque ad mortem sustinuit, cujus vitae sanctitas mirabilis exstitit, ut post ipsius obitum miraculorum attestazione patuit'

³²³ Ibid.; Paschalis II, 'LX. P[etro] episcopo Pictaviensi praecipit ut monasterio Cluniacensi satisfaciat de abbate S. Cypriani consecrato; eidemque monasterio satisfieri ab abbate Malleacensi jubet', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 163, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1841-55), cols. 0081C-D.

³²⁴ Ibid., cols. 0081C-D: '...sedis apostolicae indignationem experiaris...'; '...adversus Romanae Ecclesiae privilegia...'

³²⁵ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 61; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1399D-1400B.

³²⁶ Bishop Peter of Poitiers, 'On the Foundation of Tusson (1112)', in Bruce L. Venarde, ed., *Robert of Arbrissel: A Medieval Religious Life* (Washington, 2003), pp. 107-110.

Similarly, when the monks of Cluniac Saint-Denis-de-Nogent-le-Rotrou claimed burial fees and tithes on the land Bernard had been awarded by Count Rotrou of Perche to build his monastery, it was the famous Bishop Ivo of Chartres to which he turned,

Therefore, he went to the above-mentioned Ivo [who had previously been mentioned in the text as celebrating the first mass at Tiron], the venerable bishop of the celebrated cathedral of Chartres, dedicated in honor of Holy and Ever-Virgin Mary, and to the canons at that time, and he asked them to give him a very small portion of a farm that they owned... The canons received the servant of God with due veneration, listened to him with kindness and good will, and, in their noble magnificence and generous munificence, granted him more land than he requested. Once the donation was made, they drew up the charter and sent Lord Geoffrey, a cathedral canon and the provost of that property, with some other persons, to inspect the tract... as the cathedral chapter had decreed, they gave him the tract...³²⁷

While this gift would eventually be declared as under the protection of Bishop Ivo in a letter, here, as in §56, we are shown a powerful contrast between the unjust and avaricious Cluniac monks of Saint-Denis, and the 'noble magnificence and generous munificence' of the cathedral canons of Chartres, each placed in immediate juxtaposition to the other.³²⁸ Indeed, as Kathleen Thompson also describes, '[t]he association between Tiron and the cathedral at Chartres is a prominent element of Orderic's [Vitalis'] narrative [of Bernard of Tiron]', where, in his account, Bernard was

³²⁷ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 82-3; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1412D-1413A: 'Illius igitur celeberrimae Carnotensis Ecclesiae, in honore sanctae semperque virginis Mariae dicatae, venerabilem episcopum, praedictum scilicet Ivonem, atque canonicos tunc temporis adiit, et ut sibi aliquam portiunculam praedii illius, quod suae possessiunculae... Illi autem famulum Dei debita veneratione suscipiunt, clementi bonitate exaudiunt, et secundum magnificentiam suae nobilitatis et munificentiam largitatis, plus terrae quam postulaverat, concedunt. Facta equidem donatione chartam faciunt, atque dominum Gaufridum, ejusdem Ecclesiae canonicum et ipsius territorii praepositum, cum quibusdam personis ad ostendendam terram dirigunt. Qui postquam ad praedictum praedium pervenerunt, ex decreto capituli, juxta rivulum qui Tyronus dicitur, ad faciendas officinas sui monasterii, terram quam petierat, ita liberam sicuti ipsi tenerant, tribuunt'.

³²⁸ Ivo Carnotensis, 'D. Ivonis Epistolae: Epistola CCLXXXIII. Ivo, Dei gratia humilis Ecclesiae Carnotensis minister', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 162, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), cols. 0283A-0283D; Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 82-3; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1413A: '...et secundum magnificentiam suae nobilitatis et munificentiam largitatis...'

'so well received by him [Ivo] that he settled with some brethren in the territory of the church of Chartres'.³²⁹ Even more notably, the entire text of the *vita* is dedicated to Bishop Geoffrey II of Chartres (1116-1146), Ivo's successor and a major ally of the Strong Square (his disputed election was mediated by Bernard and Robert of Arbrissel, for instance) and Bernard of Clairvaux.³³⁰

Needless to say, the employment of this juxtapositional device at least twice in the *vita* – in §56 and §77, of saintly canons contrasted with sinful Cluniacs – implies that Geoffrey wishes us to understand both the relative merits of the two orders as well as ultimately their orientation with regard to divine Providence and heavenly grace. The bishops and canons who support Bernard are very clearly the agents of Providence, appearing in the text to challenge the anti-Providential will of the Cluniacs and occasionally of the pope himself. Intriguingly, this alliance structure as described in the *vita* may reveal something of an episcopal counter-movement to the advance of 'papal monarchy' at the time, where new 'eremitic' orders and the wilful bishops who protect them emerge as a challenge to the growing authority of a centralised hierarchical Church under a papal monarchy, closely entangled with the equally centralising interests of Cluny and its 'archabbot'.³³¹ That, again, we must be aware to parse the 'religious movement' from the Gregorian reform and recognise their often contradictory goals and oppositional stances.

³²⁹ Thompson, *The Monks of Tiron...*, p. 18; Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. IV, *Books VII and VIII*, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1973), pp. 328, 330 (original Latin) and 329, 331 (English translation): 'Denique post plures circuitus ad uenerabilem episcopum Iuonem diuertit, et ab eo benigniter susceptus in predio Carnotensis æcclesiæ cum fratribus quibusdam constitit, et in loco siluestri qui Tiron dicitur cœnobium in honore sancti Saluatoris construxit'.

³³⁰ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 3; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1367A.

³³¹ Indeed, impassioned defences of 'episcopalism' were occurring contemporaneously, as evidenced for instance by Bishop Ivo of Chartres' resistance to Bishop Hugh of Lyon's claim to hierarchical primacy over the entirety of 'Gaul', despite the latter being supported by the pope. See Christof Rolker, *Canon Law and the Letters of Ivo of Chartres* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 18-21.

However true this might be in macroscopic terms, for Geoffrey on the scale of the *vita*, the theme of saintly allies is not confined to churchmen alone; Bernard's secular benefactors also come away with a similar glamour of holiness, themselves reinforcing the same alliance structure and their appearance marked with the same juxtapositional techniques.

Secular Benefactors

One such secular ally is William II, count of Nevers (r.1098-1148), who relieved a famine at Tiron by sending them a heavy gold vase from Burgundy, likened by Geoffrey to the prophet Habakkuk, who had been commanded by God to send a meal to Daniel in Bel and the Dragon 33-40.³³² Count William, we might be unsurprised to discover, seems to have been connected to monastic alliance structures in two ways: as an ally of the new orders, and as an enemy of Cluny. While we can count on his positive regard among the Tironesians thanks to Geoffrey Grossus, it may also be notable that he was buried at La Grande Chartreuse, which, as it happened, was much to the chagrin of Bernard of Clairvaux, according to Walter Map.

In his satirical *De Nugis Curialum*, Walter Map (c.1130-1210) relates three stories of failed miracles by Bernard of Clairvaux, one of which involves Count William:

It was a matter of common knowledge that this failure of grace in Bernard was followed by a second which did not add to his reputation. Walter, count of Nevers [i.e., William], died at the Chartreuse, and was buried there. Bernard hastened to the tomb, and after he had lain long upon it in prayer, the Prior

³³² Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 77-8; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1409B-1410A.

begged him to come to dinner, for it was time. "No," said Bernard, "I will not stir hence till my brother Walter speaks to me." And then he cried with a loud voice: "Walter, come forth." But Walter, not hearing the voice of Jesus, had not the ears of Lazarus, and did not come.³³³

While this episode is 'almost certainly fictitious', in the opinion of Aviad Kleinberg, it nonetheless forms part of a long, often humorous, sometimes scathing critique against St Bernard and the Cistercians, revealing a certain alignment between St Bernard, the Carthusians, and Count William himself.³³⁴ While this may be coincidental, of course, the rest of *De Nugis Curialium* certainly conforms to the same dichotomous 'White' and 'Black' monastic alliance structure that we might expect from such a staunch critic of the white monks.

Most famously, Map engages in a long critique of the Cistercians, though this is actually directed more broadly towards 'men we call white or grey monks', the 'grey' referring to monks of the Tironesian and Savignac orders.³³⁵ In it, he describes them as 'false prophets' who 'come to us in sheep's clothing and within are ravening wolves' (referencing their woollen habits); as 'robbers', and Bernard of Clairvaux as shining above others 'like Lucifer among the stars of night'.³³⁶

³³³ Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium = Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. by M.R. James, C.N.L. Brooke, and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), pp. 80-1: 'Publicatum est autem quad eidem predicto Barnardo post hunc gracie defectum contigerit secundus, et famam eius non secundans. (G)ualterus comes Neuemensis² in Chartusia decessit, ibique sepultus est. Conuolauit igitur dompnus Barnardus ad sepulcrum illud, et cum diutissime prostratus orasset, orauit eum prior ut pranderet; erat enim hora. Cui Barnardus: 'Non recedam hinc, donec mihi loquatur frater Galterus;' et exclamauit uoce magna dicens: 'Galtere, ueni foras.' Galterus autem, quia non audiuit uocem Iesu, non habuit aures Lazari, et non uenit'.

³³⁴ Aviad M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1992), p. 161.

³³⁵ Map, *De Nugis...*, pp. 84-5: '... quos nos uel albos nominamus monachos uel grisos'.

³³⁶ Ibid., pp. 86-9, 86-113, 76-9: '... pseudopphetas...'; '... qui ueniunt in uestimentis ouium ut hii, intrinsecus sunt lupi rapaces.'; '... rapina...'; '... ut Lucifer inter nocturna sidera...'. Cîteaux is criticised as 'covetous', 'the devil', 'greedy', 'avaricious', and 'fraudulent' pp. 50-3; its origins in laxity and hypocrisy pp. 72-9; Bernard of Clairvaux's failed miracles pp. 78-81; the extended critique of the white and grey monks pp. 84-113; 'covetousness... now the rule of the white monks' pp. 472-3: 'Continebat manus omnis auaricia, que tunc adhuc erat uicium, nunc alborum est regula monachorum'.

Unsurprisingly, these are not sentiments he shares for the Cluniacs, who, in three stories, are instead given a universally positive depiction; as faithful, valorous, and hospitable.³³⁷ Its allies, too, are granted the same grace, with the 'blessed man' Anselm of Canterbury depicted as taking refuge against 'William II... the worst of kings' with the 'lord abbot of Cluny', who himself was holy enough to miraculously reveal the death of William Rufus to St Anselm on the day of its occurrence.³³⁸

Curiously, while Walter Map is broadly neutral towards the Grandmontines, Gilbertines, and Carthusians, the latter are regarded as somewhat at risk to the Cistercians, which he shows by describing how a sinful Carthusian daughter house 'adopted a mother like to itself in the shape of the house of Cîteaux'.³³⁹ As ever, the Carthusians seem to find themselves torn between opposing networks, like the favoured child struggled over by hostile divorcees.

Needless to say, however, Walter Map's sentiments are clearly divided, and Count William II of Nevers falls exactly on the side we might expect him to in his depiction: he was not Lazarus, and St Bernard was not Jesus. Quite the opposite, in fact: St Bernard was a 'hypocrite', sharing some of this odious quality with the lord he

³³⁷ Ibid., pp. 38-9, 38-41, 480-3.

³³⁸ Ibid., pp. pp. 468-9, 464-7, 470-1: '... beatum uirum...', 'Willelmus secundus rex Anglie, regum pessimus...', '...dompnus abbas Cluni(acensis)...'. Simon of Ghent also mentioned how Abbot Hugh was able to predict the king's death: Simon Sithiensis abbas, 'Gesta abbatum Sancti Bertini Sithiensium (1021-1145)', ed. by O. Holder-Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica SS 13* (1881), c.60, p. 647: 'Cuius interitus sanctae recordationis viro Hugoni abbati Cluniacensi est preostensus'. The death of William Rufus – hated in the Church for driving St Anselm out of the country and keeping clerical benefices to himself – was an ominous occasion marked by dreams in diverse sources, leading some historians to speculate that there was a clerical plot on his life: Richard Cavendish, 'The Death of William Rufus August 2nd, 1100', *History Today*, 50 (2000), p. 52.

³³⁹ Map, *De Nugis...*, pp. 50-1, 52-5, 114-7, 50-3: 'Recessit, et sibi similem matrem domum Cisterciensem aduocauit'.

attempted to resurrect. For his part, perhaps most damningly, Count William is also notable for his sustained aggression towards Cluniac Vézelay in a dispute over its free election of abbots, which appears in a series of nine letters of Pope Eugenius III (r.1145-53), happening contemporaneously to Geoffrey Grossus' writing of the *vita* of Bernard of Tiron.³⁴⁰ It ought not to be considered coincidental that Geoffrey marked the count out for especial praise while this was happening, and indeed this kind of clarity of alliances is not isolated to Count William alone.

For instance, most prominent among these saintly seculars is Count Rotrou III of Perche (c.1080-1144), who is described by Geoffrey as being 'cherished more than any other mortal man' by Bernard.³⁴¹ We are first introduced to him as the donor of Arcisses, a verdant plot of land upon which Bernard was to build his first monastery, after being guided to the count by a providential vision from 'an angelic ministration' given to one of his monks.³⁴²

However, the count is forced to retract his first offer under pressure from his mother on behalf of Cluny:

Nonetheless, the count, misled by advice from certain individuals and obeying his mother's orders, withdrew from Bernard the gift that he had made. Nonetheless he earnestly urged the servant of God to accept another property. Beatrix, the count's mother, was trying daily to remove the holy man from the vicinity of Nogent, because she was afraid that some trouble would

³⁴⁰ Eugenius III, 'Eugenii III Pontificis Romani Epistolae Et Privilegia', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 180, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1855), eps. CXLV, CXLVI, CXLVII, CXLVIII, CXLIX, CL, CCLXXV, CDLXXXVIII, DXIV. In these letters, Eugenius III makes the interesting point that, since Vézelay was dedicated to St Peter (in addition to its more famous dedication to Mary Magdalene), this entitled it to special papal protection. Eugenius III was a disciple of Bernard of Clairvaux and himself a Cistercian monk, however.

³⁴¹ Harwood Cline, ...*Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 84; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1414A: 'Interea factum est, ut saepedictus consul Rotocus, quo neminem mortalium sanctus Domini Bernardus plus diligebat...'

³⁴² Harwood Cline, ...*Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 70; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1405A-1406C: 'Commovet igitur divinae nutus providentiae... angelico monstrante ministerio...'

arise because of his relationship with the monks of Cluny, having gathered many of them together in that town.³⁴³

Notably we see here that Bernard's oppositional 'relationship with the monks of Cluny' is widely known, and the latter's influence such that regional nobility like Béatrix de Montdidier (1040-1129) acted either independently or under instruction to secure their interests. Bernard then accepts the offer of a much less suitable wilderness site at Thiron, which would become his monastery of Tiron.

The next we hear of the beloved Count Rotrou is on the heels of yet another juxtaposition with a Cluny sympathiser. In §78, we are informed of how 'Adela... countess of Blois, made several offers to the holy Bernard of broader expanses of land on which to build his monastery and much more suitable sites', but 'Nonetheless he refused, because he preferred to place his monastic foundation under the protection of Blessed Ever-Virgin Mary than under the advocacy of any layperson whomsoever'.³⁴⁴ This is then immediately followed with yet more high praise for the canons of Chartres:

The canons were extremely pleased that they had consented to have such a tenant on one of their cathedral farms. In their compassion, they loved him deeply throughout his entire lifetime, gave him many good things as well as liturgical ornaments, carefully extended their patronage, devotedly and

³⁴³ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 72; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1406A-1406B: 'Sed quorundam deceptus consilio, atque maternis jussis obtemperans, donum quod fecerat ei retraxit. Praedictum tamen Dei famulum ad aliud suscipiendum territorium diligenter invitavit. Beatrix namque mater ipsius, sanctum virum illis in diebus a vicina Novigenti remove magnopere satagebat, quoniam ex affinitate illius, Cluniacensibus monachis aliqua suboriri incommoda formidabat, quorum quamplures in praedicto oppido adunaverat'.

³⁴⁴ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 83-4; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1413B: 'Porro quaedam matrona regali stirpe progenita, Adela videlicet, Blesensium comitissa, eo tempore S. Bernardo latiores terrae amplitudines, ad monasterium suum construendum, et loca multo utiliora offerebat; quae tamen refutabat, malens coenobii sui sedem locare sub protectione beatae Mariae semper virginis, quam sub advocacione qualiscunque saecularis personae'.

vigilantly protected the possessions of the monastery itself, and skillfully shielded it from certain troublemakers. After Bernard had established his foundation as a possession of the Blessed Mother of God, he venerated her so lovingly thereafter that he instituted a special daily Mass to be celebrated perpetually in her honor, for the salvation of all the benefactors of his monastery, and, above all, the canons, which is solemnly celebrated to this day.³⁴⁵

Countess Adela of Blois (c.1067-1137), much like Rotrou's mother Beatrix, would throughout her life exercise comital duties between 1096 and 1120 as regent on behalf of both her crusading husband, Stephen II of Blois (c.1045-1102), and during the minority of her son, Theobald II, Count of Champagne (1090-1152). She was also, perhaps unsurprisingly, a well-known supporter of Cluny. As we have already seen (*Chapter 2*), she interceded on Cluny's behalf in securing the abbacy of Saint-Germain d'Auxerre against its incalcitrant incumbent Abbot Robert, while her youngest son Henry was given to Cluny as an oblate at the age of two years, spending some of his monastic career at Cluniac La Charité-sur-Loire, under Prior Odo there who had fought with his father at Ramla, and later at Cluny itself.³⁴⁶ Adela herself would later retire to Cluniac Marcigny in 1120 and spend her final seventeen years as a nun, by tradition remembered as a prioress.³⁴⁷ Her connection to a hypothesised 'black network' of Cluny's allies runs deeper, with Anselm of Canterbury

³⁴⁵ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 84; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1413B-1414A: 'Praedicti vero canonici, suscepto tanto hospite in fundo suae Ecclesiae, non mediocriter gavisi sunt; eumque omni tempore vitae suae nimio pietatis affectu dilexerunt, atque illi plurima beneficia nec non ecclesiastica ornamenta contulerunt, rebusque monasterii ipsius pervigili studio protectionis suae patrocinia adhibere curaverunt, et contra quosdam infestantes clypeum suae defensionis solerter opposuerunt. Bernardus siquidem fundata habitatione sua, in possessione beatae Dei Genitricis, tanto eam deinceps venerari affectu studuit, ut ad honorem ipsius specialem missam de ea, pro salute omnium monasterio suo beneficia impendentium, et maxime supradictorum canonicorum, singulis diebus perpetuo celebrari instituerit, quae usque in hodiernum diem solemniter celebratur'.

³⁴⁶ Urbanus II, '...Ep. CCLXXXVI...', *PL 151*, cols. 0538D-0539B; *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, vol. V, no. 3717, pp. 63-4; Kimberly A. LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois as Mother and Countess', *Medieval Mothering*, ed. by John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York, 1996), p. 318.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 313; Kimberly A. LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois: Familial Alliances and Female Lordship', *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. by Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia, 1999), p. 40.

– this ‘fervent follower of Cluny’ postulated by Etienne Sabbe to have interceded on Cluny’s behalf in the subjection of Saint-Bertin – having visited her on at least two occasions on his way to Rome.³⁴⁸ Indeed, Anselm would later speak for her to the pope regarding her conflict with the cathedral canons of Chartres, praising her as a staunch supporter of papal policies and blaming the cathedral canons for the scandal.³⁴⁹

Most pertinent to this juxtaposition, however, is the protracted and occasionally violent conflict between the countess, her eldest son William, and the cathedral canons of Chartres between 1103 and 1107, recorded in extant letters of Bishop Ivo of Chartres. The secular canons of the cathedral chapter of Chartres were predominantly drawn from noble families like ‘the Lèves, the Montfort, the Epernon, the Le Puiset or the counts of Blois-Chartres’, and controlled large assets belonging to the cathedral, as well as overseeing its numerous benefices.³⁵⁰ From the very beginning of his episcopacy, Ivo had been in various conflicts with them, since they had supported his papally deposed predecessor Geoffrey, and resisted Ivo’s attempts to reform them into regular canons according to an Augustinian rule, though by the first decade of the twelfth century, Ivo found himself defending them against the attacks of the comital family.³⁵¹ In a dispute ultimately connected to the need for papal dispensation for sworn oaths, and the issue of allowing low-born men into the cathedral chapter, Adela and her son William had resorted to violent means of conflict resolution. In letter 121, Ivo admonishes the countess for the activities of her men, reporting that,

³⁴⁸ LoPrete, ‘Adela of Blois: Familial Alliances...’, pp. 30-1; Sabbe, ‘La réforme...’, pp. 122-5: ‘Dès lors, il n’est pas impossible que ce fervent adepte de Cluny ait fait, auprès de l’abbé de St-Bertin, une propagande active en faveur de la conception ascétique de Cluny’.

³⁴⁹ LoPrete, ‘Adela of Blois: Familial Alliances...’, p. 31.

³⁵⁰ Christof Rolker, *...Ivo of Chartres*, p. 22.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-3.

...they [the cathedral canons of Chartres] show themselves ready to pursue full justice in relation to you and your men; they say that, on your command, your sergeants violently seized the grain stores of the church at Châteaudun and at Bonneval and the wine of lord Hilduin the cantor in the tanners' district, and they committed many indignities against the clerics and their men.³⁵²

While there are some echoes here of Bernard of Tiron's lukewarm monks at Saint-Cyprien hiding away the grain and wine, only for it to be restored by the generosity of a canon (see above), any rhetorical connection on Geoffrey's part to this episode at the cathedral of Chartres would be tenuous at best, despite Ivo's letters being widely circulated at the time.³⁵³ This, however, was by no means as bad as it got for the cathedral canons in their conflict with the comital family, with Adela's son William threatening to kill the canons and harass the bishop with the aid of the city's burghers in 1103.³⁵⁴ A letter from 1107 reveals yet more retaliation against the cathedral canons, with Ivo complaining against the countess' ban on them travelling her roads. This time, Ivo's language is less tentative, comparing her to 'savage Turks' (*truces Turci*) and 'the cruelty of the perverse woman detested by Chrysostom in Herodias':

We heard that on your orders, you have forbidden to our sons, the canons of St. Mary, travel, bread, water, and all the necessities of this life which are under your authority. What else is this than to condemn to death without a hearing or a trial innocent men who do not bear arms? For hunger and thirst kill just as much as the sword does. What more barbarous edict could barbarous Turks, persecutors of the Christian name, promulgate against the servants of God than to deny them the necessities of life? Wherefore, by admonishing I

³⁵² Ivo Carnotensis, 'D. Ivonis Epistolae', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 162, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), ep. 121, cols. 0134B-0135A: 'Cum itaque ad omnem justitiam exsequendam erga vos et erga vestros promptos se exhiberent; praecepto vestro, sicut dicunt, vestri servientes annonam ecclesiae apud Castrum-duni et apud Bonamvallem violenter acceperunt, et vinum domni Hilduini cantoris in vico coriariorum saisierunt; plurima etiam indigna clericis et hominibus eorum intulerunt'. See also letter 116: Ivo Carnotensis, 'D. Ivonis Epistolae', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 162, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), ep. 116, cols. 0132B-0132C.

³⁵³ Rolker, ...*Ivo of Chartres*, p. 21.

³⁵⁴ Ivo Carnotensis, 'D. Ivonis Epistolae', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 162, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), ep. 136, cols. 0145A-0145C.

counsel and by counselling I admonish your nobility that you change the unconsidered rigor of your sentence for the better until there is a hearing and not condemn to death with such a severe sentence those who have not been judged nor convicted. We have tempered our sentence out of love for you, though it is just and established by law; we have not denied even to their persecutors the sacraments of baptism, confession or penance which suffice for the salvation of souls in need. Act therefore so that the glory of the strong woman commended by Wisdom will be broadcast about you throughout our provinces, rather than the cruelty of the perverse woman detested by Chrysostom in Herodias. If you do not wish to acquiesce to my sound and pious admonitions, I enjoin you through the present bearer to name a suitable day for pursuing a just settlement. I enjoin you by the peace that you swore this year in the hands of the lord pope, and indeed in my hands three years ago. Meanwhile allow the sons of the church to possess their goods freely according to the agreed terms of the peace. If you spurn all these, know for certain that with contrite and humbled hearts, the cathedral church, along with all the churches subject to it, will, before the body and blood of the Lord and the relics of the saints, daily perform a liturgical clamour against all the perpetrators of and assenters to this evil and will invite all neighbouring bishops, with the churches subject to them, to do the same. I say these things in sorrow, yet mindful of your honour and reputation, seeking nothing other than that you have justice done according to custom and law and if there is any charge against the church, you shall have justice. Fare well.³⁵⁵

³⁵⁵ Ivo Carnotensis, 'D. Ivonis Epistolae', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 162, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), ep. 179, cols. 0180C-0181B: 'Interdictus est, ut audivimus, praecepto vestro filiis nostris canonicis B. Mariae, exitus viarum, panis et aqua, et omnia huic vitae necessaria quae sunt sub potestate vestra. Quod quid aliud est facere, quam homines innocentes et arma non tenentes sine audientia et sine iudicio morti destinare? Ita enim necat fames et sitis, sicut gladius. Quod enim truces Turci, christiani nominis persecutores, possent truculentius edictum in Dei servos promulgare, quam necessaria eis vitae subtrahere. Unde monendo consulo et consulendo moneo nobilitatem vestram, quatinus inconsideratum sententiae vestrae rigorem usque ad audientiam in melius commutetis, et non convictos, non iudicatos, tam severa sententia morti addicatis. Nos enim pro amore vestro sententiam nostram, quamvis justam et iudicio diffinitam, temperavimus; nec baptismi sacramentum, nec confessionem, nec poenitentiam, quae saluti animarum in necessitate sufficiunt, etiam ipsis persecutoribus denegavimus. Ita ergo vos habetote, ut laus fortis mulieris, quam sapientia commendat, de vobis praedicetur: non crudelitas perversae mulieris, quam in Herodiade Chrysostomus detestatur, per omnes nostras provincias publicetur. Quod si sanis et piis admonitionibus meis acquiescere non vultis, commoneo vos per pacem quam praesenti anno in manu domni Papa, ante autem tertium annum in manu mea promisistis, quatinus diem competentem exsequendae iustitiae per praesentium portitorem nobis denominetis, et interim filios ecclesiae, secundum institutum pacis, suis rebus libere potiri permittatis. Quod si haec omnia contempseritis, procul dubio sciatis quia ecclesia corde contrito et humiliato, adscitis sibi omnibus ecclesiis subjectis, quotidie ante corpus et sanguinem Domini, et sanctorum patrocinia, clamorem faciet adversus omnes hujus mali patratores et consentaneos, et ad hoc ipsum ex debito omnes vicinos episcopos cum ecclesiis sibi subjectis invitabit. Dolens haec dico, consulens tamen in hoc honestati et famae vestrae: CAUSAL ORIGINS OF THE 'RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES': CLUNY, TIRON, AND THE NEW ORDERS, 910-1156 JAMIE WILLIAM IRVINE

Ivo's letters reveal more jurisdictional disputes between the cathedral canons and the countess, he himself attempting to walk a fine diplomatic line between supporting the canons and ensuring a peaceful coexistence with the comital family.³⁵⁶ Indeed, Ivo's own position in what we might tentatively imagine as an 'alliance structure' is difficult to place, with Christof Rolker rightly pointing out that 'although in many cases the lines of conflict are apparently clear, they are neither very tidy nor very stable. Alliances changed quickly and cooperation could turn into conflict, yet negotiations continued even during what may appear to be clashes of fundamentally different principles'.³⁵⁷ For instance, Ivo's own twenty-year abbacy at St Quentin was very moderate, patterning its customs on St Martin des Champs, showing much more natural affinity with traditional Benedictine institutions.³⁵⁸ He was, in addition, wary about 'excessive forms of devotion', 'emphasising the importance of moderation (*moderatio*) in religious practice'.³⁵⁹ His episcopacy at Chartres was supported by King Philip and Pope Urban II, who had deposed his predecessor Geoffrey, and he enjoyed the early and strong support of Countess Adela of Blois.³⁶⁰ Despite this, however, Ivo was not shy in confronting the king over his adulterous 'marriage' to Bertrade of Montfort (who would later found a daughter-house of Fontevraud), and went against the pope in arguing against the primacy of Lyon over all of Gaul, establishing an 'episcopal position' as he did so.³⁶¹ While arguing this, Ivo would defend the role of

nihil aliud quaerens nisi ut secundum morem et legem justitiam facitatis, et si qua adversus ecclesiam calumnia est, justitiam habeatis. Valet.

³⁵⁶ For instance, Ivo's letter 101 concerns a jurisdictional dispute between the Church and the countess concerning the case of a false nun: Ivo Carnotensis, 'D. Ivonis Epistolae', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 162, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), ep. 101, cols. 0120B-0120D. In letter 91, Ivo urges the countess to stop her men from seizing the property of a conversus entering the church of St. Jean en Vallee: Ivo Carnotensis, 'D. Ivonis Epistolae', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 162, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), ep. 91, cols. 0112A-0112B.

³⁵⁷ Rolker, ...*Ivo of Chartres*, p. 17.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 8.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 10, 14; LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois: Familial Alliances...', pp. 17, 23.

³⁶¹ Rolker, ...*Ivo of Chartres*, pp. 15, 18-21.

kings in episcopal elections as 'heads of the people', mirroring the ecclesiological arguments of Jan Hus and John Wyclif three centuries later, themselves prefiguring the Reformation and all perhaps indicating that the pro-monarchist ecclesiological position was the natural refuge of those in conflict with the pope.³⁶² And, of course, we have already seen how he turned against his erstwhile ally the countess in defending Chartres' cathedral canons.

In attempting to place Ivo within a hypothetical contemporary alliance structure, especially one so artificially bipolar as a mutually antagonistic 'white network' of the new orders and their allies against a 'black network' of traditional Benedictines and theirs, we may read his life history in one of two ways. First, we might agree with Christof Rolker that alliances in Western Europe during this time were inherently chaotic; naturally fragile and always shifting.³⁶³ Alternatively, we might imagine that Ivo's ultimate position as an opponent of the interests of his Cluny-aligned countess were the result of a long process of polarisation, his office drawing him into an almost inevitable place within a rationalised 'alliance structure'. In other words, that Ivo of Chartres was part of the process known to social network theorists as 'social balancing'.

³⁶² Ibid., pp. 20-1. The idea that each nation constituted a confessional unity, especially under their king, was widely discussed by both Jan Hus (c.1372-1415), John Wyclif (c.1328-1384), and their disciples like the Bohemian Matthew of Janov and the English Richard Wyche of London. In this context, then, Ivo's arguments form part of the *longue durée* story leading to the development of Gallicanism, Hussitism, Wyclifism, and eventually the Reformation itself, the causal commonality being their shared opposition to papal authority. See Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 15, 23-52; J. Hus, 'To Richard Wyche of London in Answer to His Letter', in M. Spinka (trans. and ed.), *The Letters of John Hus* (Manchester, 1972), pp. 45-8; J. Klassen, 'The Disadvantaged and the Hussite Revolution', *International Review of Social History*, 35 (1990), pp. 256, 260; D. Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History* (Princeton, 1998), p. 36; H. LeCaine Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (2004), pp. 30, 32, 35.

³⁶³ Rolker, *...Ivo of Chartres*, p. 17.

'Social balance theory', first proposed by the Austrian Gestalt psychologist Fritz Heider (1896-1988), contends that a social network tends towards a state of 'balance' wherein each individual in the network only possesses relationships that are not in affective tension with each other; that is, an individual's allies are allies with each other, are enemies of their enemies, and so on; or, in Heider's words, 'a balanced state exists if all parts of a unit have the same dynamic character'.³⁶⁴ The most common example given to demonstrate this principle is the case of a friend of a married couple on the occasion of their divorce. As Antal, Krapivsky, and Redner explain:

As a familiar and illustrative example, suppose that you are friendly with a married couple that gets divorced. A dilemma arises if you try to remain friendly with both of the former spouses. You may find yourself in the uncomfortable position of listening to each of the former spouses separately disparaging each other. Ultimately you may find it simplest to remain friends with only one of the former spouses and to cut relations with the other ex-spouse. In the language of *social balance*, the initially balanced triad became unbalanced when the couple divorced. When you subsequently kept your friendship with only one former spouse, social balance is restored.³⁶⁵

According to Heider's theory, 'if no balanced state exists, then forces towards this state will arise', meaning that there is always a general tendency towards social balance.³⁶⁶ The psychological mechanism of these 'forces' can generally be categorised under the heading of 'consistency theory', of which the well-known concept of 'cognitive dissonance' is a part; that is, existing in a state of social imbalance is so psychologically uncomfortable, that individuals will either attempt to reorder their relations with others to solve it, or will engage in the internal 'cognitive restructuring (excuses or rationalisations)' of cognitive dissonance to ignore it.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁴ Fritz Heider, 'Attitudes and Cognitive Organization', *The Journal of Psychology*, 21 (1946), p. 107.

³⁶⁵ T. Antal, P.L. Krapivsky, and S. Redner, 'Social Balance on Networks: The Dynamics of Friendship and Enmity', *Physica D: Nonlinear Phenomena*, 224 (2006), p. 130.

³⁶⁶ Heider, 'Attitudes and Cognitive Organization', pp. 107-8.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

Following Heider, the next major advance in social balance theory came from the mathematicians Dorwin Cartwright and Frank Harary, who, in 1956, used the mathematics of 'signed graphs' to apply a mathematical rigour to the theory, opening the gates for mathematical and ultimately computer modelling of social network dynamics.³⁶⁸ In their paper, as part of their 'structure theorem', they also proved that social networks tend towards only two possible balanced states: a unitary 'utopia' in which all are friendly with each other, or a 'bipolar' state formed of two mutually antagonistic 'cliques'.³⁶⁹ Furthermore, this had interesting epistemological consequences: 'thus, under the assumed conditions, any exerted influence regarding opinions will tend to produce homogeneity within cliques and opposing opinions between cliques'.³⁷⁰

In the case of Ivo of Chartres, therefore, we might hypothesise that, far from his career representing an ultimately chaotic and ever-shifting set of alliances, as Rolker would argue, instead we observe him undergoing just such a process of 'social balancing', and furthermore at precisely the moment this process would have been occurring according to this thesis. At the assumption of his episcopacy, we find a former Benedictine abbot who emphasised moderation and found allies with the king of France, the pope, and the countess Adela of Blois. Over the course of his episcopal career, however, these initial alliances are forced apart by what may have been the unstoppable logic of a social network reorganising itself into a new, bipolar state. He splits with the king over an adulterous marriage; he splits with the pope over Hugh of Die's assertion of primacy over Gaul; and he splits with Countess Adela and the comital family of Blois-Chartres to support a cathedral chapter he had previously struggled with himself. And throughout this transformation we find the unmistakable

³⁶⁸ Dorwin Cartwright and Frank Harary, 'Structural Balance: A Generalization of Heider's Theory', *The Psychological Review*, 63 (1956), pp. 277-93.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 286-7.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

evidence of a man wracked with the cognitive dissonance of being torn apart by opposing forces. His letters to Adela of Blois, in particular, are cut through with the reframing strategies described by Fritz Heider: in a move familiar to historians, he engages in the 'evil advisors' trope, deflecting blame from the comital family itself by blaming their actions instead on 'your men (*vestrorum*)', what 'your sergeants (*servientes vestri*), driven by wrath, request that you do', 'what your officials (*servientes vestri*), impelled by wrath, urge', or 'on the advice of foolish and malicious men (*insipientium et malignorum*), your son [William] took that Herodian oath and compelled his burghers to do the same'.³⁷¹ To Heider, this would be an example of an individual attempting to maintain his social network by attributing malign causes outside of it ('attribution theory'), and thus, too, one of the stages of cognitive dissonance imposed by an individual caught between the separating processes of two opposing 'cliques'.³⁷²

After about 1107, however, Ivo's letters to Adela take on a much less conciliatory tone, with the bishop more willing to apportion direct blame to her and to her deliberate intent. This can be seen in letter 179 from 1107 quoted substantially above, but is perhaps even more evident in 1109's letter 187:

The abbot of the monastery of Bonneval and the congregation entrusted to him assail the ears of God and men with tearful and wretched clamours, complaining you are unjustly persecuting them and the men under their jurisdiction because of the killing of Hugo the Black, and that you impose oppressive dues on them against the privileges and established practices of

³⁷¹ Ivo Carnotensis, *PL* 162, ep. 91, cols. 0112A-0112B: '...vestrorum...'; Ivo Carnotensis, *PL* 162, ep. 116, cols. 0132B-0132C: '...quod ira dictante servientes vestri postulent, ad praesens statuatis.'; Ivo Carnotensis, *PL* 162, ep. 121, cols. 0134B-0135A: '...quod dictante ira suaderent vobis servientes vestri...'; Ivo Carnotensis, *PL* 162, ep. 136, cols. 0145A-0145C: '...nisi consilio insipientium et malignorum filios vester Herodianum illud sacramentum fecisset, et ad idem burgenses suos coegisset'.

³⁷² On causal attribution theory, see Fritz Heider, 'Social Perception and Phenomenal Causality', *Psychological Review*, 51 (1944), pp. 358-74. A canonical example of social balancing in history is the bipolarisation of the pre-WWI alliance system, referenced by Antal, Krapivsky and Redner, among others: Antal, Krapivsky and Redner, 'Social Balance on Networks...', p. 135; Guido Caldarelli and Michele Catanzaro, *Networks: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2012), p. 21.

your predecessors, to the extent that you leave them no opportunity for mercy or for judgment from you. Hearing that I cannot fail to sigh with their sighs, I who ought to rejoice in their prosperity and grieve in their tribulations. Wherefore by admonishing I ask and by asking I admonish that you temper your menacing severity with discerning counsel, lest the Lord's flock be dispersed by the storm of unaccustomed tribulation and religious life, which has flourished again in these times, be diminished or altogether destroyed. Furthermore you should reflect upon your salvation and your reputation, lest it be seen as vain that you sustain with your gifts and enrich in whatever ways you can monasteries which are not under your jurisdiction while you impoverish and subjugate with virtually servile oppression those which are under your jurisdiction. Whence to prevent these things from reaching the ears of many and greatly detracting from your reputation and your salvation alike, I admonish you again just as I have done before that you act more mildly, lest your unaccustomed and intolerable severity be an example to your posterity and an eternal sin for you. Indeed you should fear lest the sighs of God's servants reach His ears and those who do not find mercy from you will close the door of mercy on you. For as those who are oppressed by you say, they will continuously fill the ears of God with their sighs and daily [fill] the ears of God's people daily nearby as well as far away with their complaints, until the Lord command the winds and the sea and their surges are brought to rest. Because this matter is potentially dangerous and ignominious for you, may the Lord grant you the spirit of wise counsel so that you choose what is better and flee from what is dangerous. Fare well.³⁷³

³⁷³ Ivo Carnotensis, 'D. Ivonis Epistolae', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 162, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), ep. 187, cols. 0190B-0190D: 'Abbas Bonevallensis monasterii, et congregatio sibi commissa lacrymosis et miserabilibus clamoribus aures Dei et hominum pulsant, conquerentes quod propter interfectionem Hugonis Nigri, injuste eos et homines sui juris vexatis, et angarias contra privilegia et instituta praedecessorum vestrorum super eos faciatis [al. facitis], in tantum ut nec misericordiae nec iudicio apud vos eis locum relinquatis [relinquitis]. Quod ego audiens non possum non ingemiscere gemitibus eorum, qui et in prosperis debeo eis congaudere, et in tribulationibus condolere. Unde monendo rogo, et rogando moneo, ut severitatem intentatam prudenti et discreto consilio temperetis, ne grex Dominicus insolitae tribulationis tempestate dispergatur, et religio quae istis temporibus reflueraat, aut minuatut aut omnino ad nihilum redigatur. Praeterea debetis consulere saluti vestrae et famae vestrae, ne vanum videatur quod monasteria quae non sunt juris vestri, muneribus vestris sustentatis, et quibus modis potestis ampliatis, ea autem quae vestri juris sunt, minuitis et quasi servili oppressione subjugatis. Unde, ne ista ad aures multotum perveniant, et famae vestrae; sicut saluti, plurimum detrahant, sicut monui iterum moneo, ut mitius agatis, ne insolita et intolerabilis severitas posteris vestris sit in exemplum, et vobis in peccatum aeternum [al. sempiternum, ita ms. c.]. Timendum est enim vobis ne gemitus servorum Dei ad aures ejus perveniant, et qui apud vos misericordiam non inveniunt misericordiae vobis januam claudant. Sicut enim ipsi dicunt qui a vobis opprimuntur, continuo gemitu Dei aures implebunt, et quotidiana conquestione aures populi Dei tam in vicinis quam in remotis locis, donec Dominus imperet ventis et mari, et quiescant fluctus ejus. Quod quia

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Here we see frank and impolitic descriptions of Adela's behaviour as 'unjustly persecuting', of her 'impos[ing] oppressive dues', of her 'menacing severity', how she 'impoverish[es] and subjugate[s] with virtually servile oppression', and her 'unaccustomed and intolerable severity'.³⁷⁴ The letter ends on a curious threat to prayerfully recruit the intervention of God, until, Ivo says, 'the Lord command the winds and the sea and their surges are brought to rest', invoking the elements of nature in a similar fashion to that in the *vita* of Bernard of Tiron, where Bernard prayerfully recruited the wind and sea to return the absconded ships of pirates back to his retreat on Chausey Island.³⁷⁵ Notably, Adela lost her daughter Lucia-Mahaut and her husband Richard d'Avranches, 2nd Earl of Chester (1094-1120) in the wreck of the White Ship disaster of November 25th 1120, indicating perhaps some inclusions in his letters by later copiers, or otherwise simply an unusual coincidence.

From the beginning of his episcopate in 1090 to about 1107, then, we see Ivo of Chartres gradually, despite all of his best efforts, turn against his erstwhile supporters, impelled by the institutional demands of his office in a process perhaps well described by the notion of 'social balancing' within a social network separating into two mutually antagonistic bipolar cliques. From the perspective of Bernard of Tiron, furthermore, all of this would have been taking place at exactly the moment he was attempting to found his own monastic community (Ivo's conflicts with Adela occurred 1103-7, with evidence of them continuing intermittently thereafter, while Tiron was founded 1106). Bernard would have faced his own conflicts with Cluny, ultimately being deposed as abbot of Saint-Cyprien by them, then would have seen his first grant of land from Rotrou III refused by Rotrou's mother in favour of Cluniac

periculosum est vobis et ignominiosum, det vobis Dominus spiritum consilii, ut meliora eligatis, et quae sunt periculosa fugiatis. Valete'.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., col. 0190D; Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 37; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1386A-1386D.

interests, another challenged by the Cluniacs of Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou; finally, granted Thiron by Bishop Ivo of Chartres and the adjacent Gardais by the cathedral canons of Chartres just as they were undergoing their most intense conflicts with Countess Adela, her son William, and their men, she also being powerfully aligned with Cluny. While historians are right to point out that Marmoutiers was the most influential monastic institution of Blois-Chartres, here we see that the divisions of a new-orders-aligned 'White Network' and a Cluny-aligned 'Black Network' still manage to reproduce themselves via the influence of secular supporters like Adela of Blois.

Certainly, by the time Geoffrey wrote his *vita* of Bernard of Tiron, these alliances seemed clear; clear enough to write into his own work a series of allegorical juxtapositions laying out the lines of difference. In this case, the patronage of Adela of Blois is refused, since 'he preferred to place his monastic foundation under the protection of Blessed Ever-Virgin Mary than under the advocacy of any layperson whomsoever', immediately followed by praise for the cathedral canons:

After Bernard had established his foundation as a possession of the Blessed Mother of God, he venerated her so lovingly thereafter that he instituted a special daily Mass to be celebrated perpetually in her honor, for the salvation of all the benefactors of his monastery, and, above all, the canons, which is solemnly celebrated to this day.³⁷⁶

Here we see Geoffrey siding with the canons (who were dedicated to St Mary) against the countess and making a pointed comparison between her and the 'Mother

³⁷⁶ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 83-4, 84; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1413B, 1413B-1414A: '...malens coenobii sui sedem locare sub protectione beatae Mariae semper virginis, quam sub advocacione qualiscunque saecularis personae.'; 'Bernardus siquidem fundata habitatione sua, in possessione beatae Dei Genitricis, tanto eam deinceps venerari affectu studuit, ut ad honorem ipsius specialem missam de ea, pro salute omnium monasterio suo beneficia impendentium, et maxime supradictorum canonicorum, singulis diebus perpetuo celebrari instituerit, quae usque in hodiernum diem solemniter celebrator'.

of God', referencing Adela's own motherhood. Of course, that Adela is so embedded within a broadly 'Cluniac' alliance network is probably not coincidental.

Turning from Adela and the cathedral canons, Geoffrey returns to Count Rotrou, who had been captured by Count Fulk of Anjou and turned over to the notorious Robert of Bellême for a sum of money.³⁷⁷ While Fulk's motivation was monetary, Robert's was apparently nothing more than the torture of Rotrou, in revenge for being defeated by him in war.³⁷⁸ Through Hildebert of Lavardin as messenger, and by his mother Béatrix as regent, however, Rotrou informs Bernard, who is able to restore the count to his freedom through prayer (and, in reality, negotiation).³⁷⁹ While Hildebert, the Bishop of LeMans, was imprisoned by Béatrix in the course of attempting to relay this message (though this is not remarked upon by Geoffrey), ultimately the episode results in her redemption in the *vita*: the properties donated by Rotrou and previously denied at the behest of his mother were restored, with Beatrix herself 'recogniz[ing] Bernard's holiness' and coming to reside at Tiron rather than the family castle at Nogent-le-Rotrou.³⁸⁰ While Beatrix did indeed once deny Bernard Arcisses for the sake of the Cluniac monks at Nogent-le-Rotrou, her 'salvation' and ultimate destination at Tiron is representative of a tone of victory and overcoming struck at the close of the chapter, ending with:

When Bernard, soldier of Christ, had established his monastic foundation on that farm that the Mother of God had given to him through her canons, no

³⁷⁷ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 84; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1414A.

³⁷⁸ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 85; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1414A-1414C.

³⁷⁹ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 85-6; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1414C-1415B.

³⁸⁰ Hildebert describes his imprisonment at the hands of Béatrix in a letter: Hildebertus Cenomanensis, 'Ven. Hildeberti Epistolae', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 171, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), vol. II, ep. 17, cols. 0225B-0226D; Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 86-7; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1415B-1416A: 'Supradicta vero Beatrix, ejus cognita sanctitate...'

malicious claims could expel him, no adversities caused by violent storms could move him, because he clung to Christ, the firm solidity of immovable stability.³⁸¹

The whole episode formed part of contemporary conflicts over the succession to the English crown and Norman duchy, which found Count Rotrou III aligned with Henry I of England against the Duke of Normandy, Robert Curthose, and Robert of Bellême, with regional lords drawn in on either side (for instance, the Thibaudian counts of Blois-Chartres supported King Henry against their rival counts of Anjou). The secular alliance structures which evolved from these conflicts notably do not follow those of the 'White' and 'Black' monastic networks postulated here, and indeed there cannot be said to be much correlation in the *vita* of Bernard of Tiron. The sometimes rivals King Henry I of England and King Louis VI of France, for instance, are praised equally as benefactors of Tiron, as is Count Thibaut and several figures who had formerly been subject to critique in the *vita*, including 'William, duke of Aquitaine, Fulk, count of Anjou... Robert, earl of Gloucester, Henry [William], count of Nevers, Guy the younger, count of Rochefort, William [Henry], earl of Warwick, Robert FitzMartin, Guichard of Beaujeu, Geoffrey, viscount of Chateaudun, Girard Berlay [of Montreuil-Bellay], Brice of Chillo [Chillou], and many other individuals...'.³⁸² Again, however, such praise comes at the very end of the *vita* – indeed Bernard is dying in the next chapter – with Geoffrey wishing to impart the impression that by this time, Bernard and Tiron

³⁸¹ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 87-8; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1416B-1416C: 'Porro Christi miles Bernardus, postquam coenobii sui sedem locaverat in praedio, quod ipsius genitrix sibi per manum canonicorum suorum dederat, nulla eum inde expulit calumnia, nulla potuit illinc dimovere procellosae tempestatis adversitas; quia Christo inhaeserat, qui est immobilis stabilitatis firma soliditas'.

³⁸² Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 102-3, 103-4, 104-5; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1424B-1424D, 1424D-1425A, 1425B-1426A: '...Guillelmo duce Aquitanorum, de Fulcone consule Andegavensium, exhinc rege Hierosolymorum, de Roberto comite Glocestrium, de Henrico consule Nivernensium, de Guidone Juniore Rochefortis comite, de Guillelmo consule Varvanicensium, de Roberto filio Martini, de Guichardo Beljocensi, de Gaufrido Castridunensi vicecomite, de Giraudo Berlay, de Britio de Chillo, atque de multis aliis singulatim tangere velimus...'

are victorious; that the seculars over which monasteries competed had finally chosen *Tiron* over their opponents.

By contrast, in the majority of the *vita* the life histories and monastic alliances of those seculars singled out for praise are remarkably consistent with the notion of a mutually antagonistic 'White' and 'Black' monastic network. As one would expect, the amity and enmity exhibited to actual monastics is no less clear.

Monastics: General

Apart from the founders and brethren of the orders of the Strong Square, the other 'new monastic orders' are mentioned seldom or not at all. The Cistercians, for instance, are only mentioned by way of a reference to St Bernard of Clairvaux taking on the Savignacs, when 'Vital of Mortain was building his monastery in Normandy, at Savigny in the diocese of Avranches, which he subsequently turned over to Dom Bernard, with its dependent monasteries'.³⁸³

What does appear, however, is La Chaise-Dieu. In §9, as Bernard is journeying in Aquitaine after his schooling, looking for a suitable monastic house to take him in, he finds himself in Poitiers enquiring which monks of the duchy most strictly observed the discipline of life under the *Rule*. There he is informed of Saint-Cyprien and its abbot, Renaud (r.1073-1100):

They inquired so they could join the better ones and entrust their lives to be ruled by the holier ones. The monastery of Saint-Cyprien was located not far from that city, and at that time the abbot ruling it was named Renaud. He was

³⁸³ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 87; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1416B: '...Vitalis vero de Mauritonio suum fabricabat in Northmannia, nempe Savinejum in dioecesi Abrincensi, quod postea domno Bernardo cessit cum monasteriis'.

an exceedingly erudite man of letters, gifted with so much wisdom that he was a most eloquent concluding speaker for lawsuits in public assemblies. He was well known and accepted in the Roman curia on that account, and in Aquitaine he was considered a celebrity. Rumour reported to Bernard that Renaud was a disciple of St. Robert, the founder of the monastery called Chaise-Dieu, and that report made Bernard long to listen to Renaud's instruction.³⁸⁴

Clearly the *vita* accords La Chaise-Dieu and, by extension, Abbot Renaud, a great deal of respect, placing the establishment within the same tradition of true holiness as the Strong Square itself would later come to inhabit. Whether Geoffrey intends for La Chaise-Dieu to represent the precursor or origins of Bernard's own approach to monastic institution-building is harder to judge, though it must be noted that La Chaise-Dieu itself did not escape conflicts with Cluny (see *Chapter 1*).

More intriguingly, perhaps, are the five instances of visions of 'monks in white' which appear in the *vita*. Bernard himself experiences the first of these after being raised to the rank of prior of Saint-Savin and attempting a religious renewal of the monastery. There, at night, he sees 'a multitude of monks in snowy white (*ad instar nivis dealbatorum*) sitting in chapter', who inform him that they were formerly monks of the monastery, and had appeared to him to approve of his reforms, telling him: 'We are duly grateful to you, because you have been guided by Divine Grace, and the community of this monastery has returned to a state of religious observance and holiness, when once it had deviated far from the rule of justice'.³⁸⁵ Later, while

³⁸⁴ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 15; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1374B-C: 'Hoc etenim inquirebant, ut melioribus se sociarent, et sanctoribus vitam suam regendam committerent. Est autem ab hac civitate non longe positum S. Cypriani monasterium quod eo tempore regebat abbas quidam, cui vocabulum Raynaudus vir apprime litteris eruditus, tanta sapientia praeditus, ut in publicis conciliis causarum perorator esset eloquentissimus: cujus rei gratia in Romana etiam curia bene notus et acceptus erat, et in Aquitania famosissimus habebatur. Hic etiam S. Roberti fundatoris illius monasterii quod Casa Dei dicitur, discipulus fuerat, quod Bernardo fama retulerat, referendoque sitientem audiendi doctrinam illius valde reddiderat'.

³⁸⁵ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 23-4; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1379A-1379D: 'Quadam itaque nocte, dum post orationes ab oratorio CAUSAL ORIGINS OF THE 'RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES': CLUNY, TIRON, AND THE NEW ORDERS, 910-1156 JAMIE WILLIAM IRVINE

Bernard's wilderness community is searching for a site to settle, one of his disciples has a dream of 'an angelic attendant, who appeared to him as young, splendid in appearance, and becomingly dressed in a snowy garment (*niveoque decorus amictu*)', who advises them to return to Count Rotrou of Perche.³⁸⁶ Another vision occurs when a dead brother of Tiron appears to Bernard, 'clothed in a white garment (*albis indutus vestibus*), holding a maniple in his hand', asks for a blessing and then requests that Bernard tell his brothers that he is now able to rest.³⁸⁷

The last two such visions accompany Bernard's dying and his death. As his bodily strength is failing, a 'matron named Mary', while praying upon some relics held in the castle of Nogent-le-Rotrou, experiences this vision:

[The relics] emitted a loud noise and terrified her. Then she had a vision that a multitude of monks dressed in white (*dealbatorum monachorum*) were processing from our monastery toward that very tower, which was less than three furlongs away, proceeding like a procession and preceding the man of God [Bernard of Tiron], who was distinguished by his priestly vestments.³⁸⁸

Finally, on his deathbed, Bernard has his own vision of dead Tironesian monks who had earned their salvation, and he says to the living brothers surrounding him,

in dormitorium pergeret, conspicit multitudinem monachorum, ad instar nivis dealbatorum, in capitulo residentium... «Charissime, nos hujus monasterii monachi fuimus, et haec sancta loca visitandi licentiam habemus, in quibus nostram operando salutem olim habitavimus; tibi vero condignas grates referimus, quia divina praeunte gratia, ad statum religionis ac sanctitatis hujus coenobii congregatio te operante rediit, quae quondam a norma justitiae multum exorbitavit'.

³⁸⁶ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 70; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1405B-C: 'Nam cuidam illorum talis in somniis apparuit visio, angelico monstrante ministerio: videbatur etenim sibi, quod quidam juvenis, splendidus aspectu, niveoque decorus amictu...'.

³⁸⁷ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 90; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1417C: '...albis indutus vestibus, manipulum habens in manu...'.

³⁸⁸ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 121-2; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1434D-1435B: 'Eadem itaque, sicut praemisimus, orante, praefata pignora ingentem, qua detinebantur cista, strepitum dederunt, ipsamque admodum perterritam reddiderunt. Et hinc videbatur sibi, quod a nostro monasterio usque ad eandem turrin, quae tribus ad minus distabat stadiis, dealbatorum monachorum multitudo tendebatur, processionis ad instar procedentium, virumque Dei sacerdotalibus insignitum vestimentis praecedentium'.

"You will know for certain, dearly beloved, that all the professed of this monastery, who have been delivered from their mortal condition and have been given ineffable glory, are most certain of their own salvation and most uneasy about your own. They appeared to me just now, happy and clad in white (*ipsi namque dealbati hilaresque mihi*) and, shortly afterward, added me to their company."... Those who were present had memories of a monk of whose salvation they were doubtful, and they wanted to know if he had been seen with the others. Bernard said no, saying, "Indeed, he is in torment."³⁸⁹

Since all of these instances make use of language literally ('albis', 'dealbatorum', 'dealbati') or poetically ('nivis', 'niveoque'; i.e. 'snowy') to express the colour 'white', it is plausible that Geoffrey intends to indicate some allegiance or otherwise support for the contemporary movement of 'white monks'; that he may be making allegorical references to the monastic landscape of his own time rather than simply anagogical ones. Indeed, Harwood-Cline and others prefer the translation 'clothed in white' and its variants to indicate literally the colour of their monastic habits, perhaps following the translation given in the *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*: 'Dealbatus (adj.) > *vêtu de blanc* — *clothed in white* — *weißgekleidet*'.³⁹⁰

While this might be a justifiable inference, therefore, based upon its dictionary definition, it might also be useful to settle the question more definitively for the sake of the hermeneutical analysis of any text produced by the new orders (or, indeed, their opponents). To do this, Migne's *Patrologia Latina* was surveyed for all occurrences of the term 'dealba*' (that is, all declensions and variations of 'dealbatus' beginning with 'dealba*'), returning 1,456 instances across 545 titles. While this would

³⁸⁹ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 123-4; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1436A-C: «Certissime, noveritis, dilectissimi, cunctos hujus ecclesiae professos, de hac mortalitate ereptos, ineffabili jam gloria donatos, de sua salute certissimos esse, de vestra vero quammaxime sollicitos. Ipsi namque dealbati hilaresque mihi, paulo post eis aggregando nunc apparuerunt... Qui aderant memores cujusdam monachi, de cujus dubitabant salute, sciscitantur, si visus fuisset cum aliis. Negavit dicens: «Imo est in tormentis.»'.

³⁹⁰ J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus Online*, <https://dictionaries-brillonline-com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/search#dictionary=niermeyer&id=NI-05060> [accessed 13 April 2022].

doubtlessly rank as a near exhaustive – and therefore definitive – analysis of the term’s usages among ecclesiastical authors, it is unfortunately too extensive to be practicable in this context. Instead, a sample of these usages was taken by limiting the search to ‘dealbatus’ only, which returned 91 instances across 71 titles. From this sample, titles with unnamed authors were removed, while within each text every use of *dealba** (and not just *dealbatus*) was closely examined for usage and context, resulting in a final tally of 210 instances across 51 titles. While this analysis, too, was no mean task, it should at least constitute a dataset comprehensive enough to provide a solid heuristic guide for the interpretation of these terms, representing as it does around 14-15% of all usages contained in the *Patrologia Latina*.

From Optatus (d.c.4th century) to Peter Cantor (d.1197), a remarkably consistent pattern of usages emerges (*Table 9*). Almost without exception, usages of *dealba** fall into one of two categories: The first is probably best translated as ‘whitewash*’, and carries the sense of ‘hypocrisy’. That is, it refers to something corrupt or rotten being ‘whitewashed’ with a superficial splendour of purity. This ‘whitewash~hypocrisy’ sense of *dealba** follows three Biblical references: the ‘whitewashed wall’ of Acts 23:3, the ‘whitewashed tombs’ of Matthew 23:27-28, and the character of Laban (‘white’) in the book of Genesis 24-31.

In Acts 23:3, the Apostle Paul is brought to stand trial before the Jewish council of elders, the Sanhedrin, where the High Priest Ananias orders him to be struck in the mouth, at which Paul exclaims: “‘God will strike you, you whitewashed wall! (‘paries dealbate’ in the Vulgate) You sit there to judge me according to the law, yet you yourself violate the law by commanding that I be struck!’”. The exegetes of the *Patrologia Latina* universally take ‘whitewashed wall (*paries dealbate*)’ to mean one who is internally corrupt or rotten, like the crumbling clay of an old wall, but who

presents himself by the means of a coat of white paint as pristine and pure. Similarly, in Matthew 23:27-28, Jesus is denouncing the hypocrisy of the 'teachers of the law and Pharisees', whereupon he says:

"Woe to you, teachers of the law and Pharisees, you hypocrites! You are like whitewashed tombs (Vulgate: *sepulchris dealbatis*), which look beautiful on the outside but on the inside are full of the bones of the dead and everything unclean. In the same way, on the outside you appear to people as righteous but on the inside you are full of hypocrisy and wickedness."

The meaning is practically identical with that of 'whitewashed wall', clearly explained in the text itself: internal corruption masked by a superficial cloak of apparent purity.

Less consistent meanings are derived from the story of Laban in the book of Genesis. Laban was the brother of Rebekah, who herself was the mother of Jacob through Isaac. In the context of Jacob's efforts to marry Rachel, Laban's daughter, it was Laban who charged him with seven years' labour for the privilege and then tricked him into marrying his daughter Leah instead. After promising another seven years of labour, Jacob is finally allowed to marry Rachel. The exegetes tend to interpret Laban (who's name means 'white,' they inform us) as another metaphor for corruption concealed. Rabanus Maurus (780-856) says of him, 'Dealbatus quoque in caeremoniis legis et vanis munditiis': '[He was] also whitewashed in legal ceremonies and vain elegance', while St Ambrose likens him to how also 'Satan transformed into an angel of light'.³⁹¹ Others, such as Angelomus of Luxeuil (d. c. 895), take his 'whitening' as a symbol of the absolution of God and the remission of sin, though typically the usages

³⁹¹ Rabanus Maurus, '(Anno 834.) Beati Rabani Mauri Fuldensis Abbatis Et Moguntini Archiepiscopi Enarrationis Super Deuteronomium Libri Quatuor', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 108, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1851), col. 0841B; Ambrosius Mediolanensis, 'Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi De Jacob Et Vita Beata Libri Duo', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 14, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1845), col. 0623C: '...quia et satanas transfigurat se in angelum lucis'.

are negative; indeed even Angelomus acknowledges the meaning of 'hypocrisy (*hypocrisin*)'.³⁹²

The second category of usages of *dealba** is probably best translated as 'whiten*', and takes the sense of 'purification'. It is typically used in connection with a much broader range of references, which can themselves be ordered into one of seven symbological categories: 'snow', and relatedly 'Mount Zalmon' (often as 'the snow of Mount Zalmon'); 'hair', and relatedly 'wool'; 'garments' such as robes or linens; the less palatable sense of 'whitening' the 'blackness' of 'Aethiopians'; and finally a general sense derived from these others relating to the purification of grace, of baptism, or of the soul.

While 'snow' appears Biblically in several contexts, the authors of the *Patrologia Latina* invoke it with *dealba** invariably in reference to either Psalm 51:7 (Psalm 50:9 in the slightly different numbering system of the Vulgate, after the Septuagint) or Isaiah 1:18.³⁹³ In Psalm 51 – a penitential confession – verse 7 describes the washing of sin by God as 'Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed: thou shalt wash me, and I shall be made whiter than snow (Vulgate: '*super nivem dealbabor*'). Similarly, in Isaiah 1:16:20, as Isaiah's vision of God rails against the corrupt condition of Judah and Jerusalem, redemption is promised if they reform using similar metaphors:

(16) Wash yourselves, be clean, take away the evil of your devices from my eyes, cease to do perversely,

³⁹² Angelomus Luxovensius, 'Angelomi Luxoviensis Monachi Commentarius In Genesin', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 115, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1852), cols. 0215D, 0220D.

³⁹³ There is, for instance, an Old Testament usage of 'like snow' to refer to pale, leprous flesh, as in Exodus 4:6 (Vulgate: '*leprosam instar nivis*'), Numbers 12:10 (Vulgate: '*lepra quasi nix*'), or 2 Kings 5:27 (Vulgate: '*leprosus quasi nix*').

(17) Learn to do well: seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge for the fatherless, defend the widow.

(18) And then come, and accuse me, saith the Lord: if your sins be as scarlet, they shall be made as white as snow (Vulgate: *'nix dealbabuntur'*): and if they be red as crimson, they shall be white as wool.

(19) If you be willing, and will hearken to me, you shall eat the good things of the land.

(20) But if you will not, and will provoke me to wrath: the sword shall devour you because the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.³⁹⁴

References to Mount Zalmon and its 'snows' belong to the same salvatic context, referencing the vision of redemption depicted at length in Psalm 68 (in the Vulgate, Psalm 67). Verse 15 of the Vulgate proceeds 'cum divideret Robustissimus reges in ea nive dealbata est in Selmon', or 'with the strongest kings divided there, it is white as snow in Zalmon'. The King James Version (Ps. 68:15) reads 'When the Almighty scattered kings in it, it was white as snow in Salmon', and the New International Version: 'When the Almighty scattered the kings in the land, it was like snow fallen on Mount Zalmon'. The exegetes of the *Patrologia Latina* consulted in this sample, however, universally (with one exception) refer to Zalmon with the formulation 'dealbabuntur in Selmon' or 'nive dealbabuntur in Selmon', most likely suggesting that some other *Vetus Latina* version of the Psalm was more commonly in use.³⁹⁵ Whatever the form of Latin, they all agree that the snows of Mount Zalmon 'make white' the kings of the land, referring again to spiritual purification.

³⁹⁴ *Bible*, Isaiah 1:16-20; this English translation of the Vulgate from *Vulgate.org*, https://vulgate.org/ot/isaiah_1.htm [accessed 14 April 2022].

³⁹⁵ Walafrid Strabo (c.808-849), Peter Damian (c. 1007-1072/3), Rupert of Deutz (c.1075/1080-c.1129), Peter Lombard (c.1096-1160), and Petrus Comestor/Pierre le Mangeur (d.1178) all use 'dealbabuntur in Selmon'. Only Ratherius (887/890-974) uses anything different: 'non nive in Selmon dealbatus'. Please see *Table 9* notes for references. The first use of 'dealbabuntur in Selmon' in the *Patrologia Latina* overall is by Hilary of Poitiers (c.310-c.367): Hilarius Pictaviensis, 'Sancti Hilarii Pictaviensis Episcopi Tractatus Super Psalmos', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 9, ed. by j.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844), col. 0452B.

'Whitened hair' and 'wool' are linked in the apocalyptic prophesies of Daniel in Daniel 7:9, and John, in Revelation 1:14, with Daniel describing the 'Ancient of Days': a name of God. In Daniel: 'His clothing was as white as snow; the hair of his head was white like wool (Vulgate: *'vestimentum eius quasi nix candidum et capilli capitis eius quasi lana'.*); and in John: 'The hair on his head was white like wool, as white as snow (Vulgate: *'caput autem eius et capilli erant candidi tamquam lana alba tamquam nix'*), making the inclusion of 'as snow' to the earlier prophesy of Daniel. As visions of God, the symbolism of the colour white to indicate purity is clear, though in the Apocalypse of John, 'snow' and 'wool' take on an additional meaning relating to Christ as 'the Lamb', through who's blood redemption is earned, a metaphor itself first encountered in John's Gospel.

Other usages of *dealba** in this sense of 'whitening~purification' are derived from these principal references, including a general meaning relating to the purification of grace, or baptism, or of the soul. Occasionally, the 'whitening' and 'washing white' of garments such as robes or linens are invoked, referring again either to Daniel 7:9 and Revelation 1:14 or 7:9-17, and especially the Great Multitude in White Robes (i.e. the saved), who '...have come out of the great tribulation; they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb (Revelation 7:14)'.

In addition to sporadic references to the 'Ethiopian' who was turned white (in purification), and a handful of idiosyncratic usages, therefore, all usages of *dealba** fall into these categories, and all without exception fall into the broader semantic categories of *dealba** either as 'whitewashing~hypocrisy' or 'whitening~purification'.

TABLE 9. USAGES OF *DEALBA** IN THE *PATROLOGIA LATINA*

'WHITEWASH'~HYPOCRISY			Either/Or	'WHITEN'~PURIFICATION						
Wall	Laban	Tombs	Lebanon	Snow	Garment; Other (specify)	Grace; Baptism; Soul	from Blackness	Hair	Wool	Mount Zalmon
Optatus (d.4 th C) ³⁹⁶										
St Ambrose (c.339- 97) ³⁹⁷	St Ambrose (c.339- 97) ³⁹⁸			St Ambrose (c.339- 97) ³⁹⁹						
				St Jerome (c.342/7- 420) ⁴⁰⁰						
St Augustine (354- 430) ⁴⁰¹		St Augustine (354- 430) ⁴⁰²			St Augustine (354- 430) ⁴⁰³					
					Boethius (c.477- 524) ⁴⁰⁴					
						Fulgentius of Ruspe (462/7- 527/33) ⁴⁰⁵				
Cummian (fl.c.591- 661/662) ⁴⁰⁶										
				Venantius Fortunatus (c.530- 600/609) ⁴⁰⁷						

³⁹⁶ Optatus Milevitanus, '1 Sancti Optati Afri Milevitani Episcopi, De Schismate Donatistarum Adversus Parmenianum', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 11, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1845), col. 0887A.

³⁹⁷ Ambrosius Mediolanensis, 'Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam Libris X Comprehensa', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 15, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1845), cols. 1579C, 1600B.

³⁹⁸ Ambrosius Mediolanensis, 'Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi De Jacob Et Vita Beata Libri Duo', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 14, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1845), col. 0623C.

³⁹⁹ Ambrosius, '...Expositio Evangelii Secundum...', col. 1703B.

⁴⁰⁰ Hieronymus Stridonensis, 'Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis Presbyteri Epistolae Secundum Ordinem Temporum Ad Amussim Digestae Et In Quatuor Classes Distributae', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 22, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1845), col. 0336.

⁴⁰¹ Augustinus Hipponensis, 'S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Epistolae Secundum Ordinem Temporum Nunc Primum Dispositae, Et Quatuor In Classes Digestae', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 33, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1845), col. 0530; Augustinus Hipponensis, 'S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi De Sermone Domini In Monte Secundum Matthaeum Libri Duo', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 34, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1845), col. 1259; Augustinus Hipponensis, 'S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Contra Litteras Petiliani Donatistae Cirtensis Episcopi Libri Tres', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 43, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1846), cols. 0293, 0295.

⁴⁰² Augustinus, '...Contra Litteras Petiliani Donatistae...', col. 0309.

⁴⁰³ Augustinus, '...Epistolae Secundum Ordinem...', col. 0113.

⁴⁰⁴ Boetius, 'An. Manl. Sev. Boetii De Disciplina Scholarium', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 64, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1847), col. 1231A.

⁴⁰⁵ Fulgentius Ruspensis, '144 Sancti Fulgentii Epistolae In Unum Corpus Nunc Primum Collectae', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 65, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1847), col. 0378D.

⁴⁰⁶ Cummianus Hibernus, 'Epistola Cummiani Hiberni Ad Segienum Huensem Abbatem De Controversia Paschali', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 87, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1851), col. 0977B.

⁴⁰⁷ Venantius Fortunatus, 'Vita Sancti Leobini Episcopi Carnotensis', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 88, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1850), col. 0556C.

'WHITEWASH'~HYPOCRISY			Either/Or	'WHITEN'~PURIFICATION						
Wall	Laban	Tombs	Lebanon	Snow	Garment; Other (specify)	Grace; Baptism; Soul	from Blackness	Hair	Wool	Mount Zalmon
Bede (672/3- 735) ⁴⁰⁸				Bede (672/3- 735) ⁴⁰⁹		Bede (672/3- 735) ⁴¹⁰	Bede (672/3- 735) ⁴¹¹			
		Smaragdus of Saint- Mihiel (c.770- c.840) ⁴¹²		Smaragdus of Saint- Mihiel (c.770- c.840) ⁴¹³			Smaragdus of Saint- Mihiel (c.770- c.840) ⁴¹⁴			
				Hilduin (c.785- c.855) ⁴¹⁵						
	Rabanus Maurus Magnentiu s (780- 856) ⁴¹⁶					Rabanus Maurus Magnentiu s (780- 856) ⁴¹⁷	Rabanus Maurus Magnentiu s (780- 856) ⁴¹⁸			
Walafrid Strabo (c.808- 849) ⁴¹⁹	Walafrid Strabo (c.808- 849) ⁴²⁰	Walafrid Strabo (c.808- 849) ⁴²¹	Walafrid Strabo (c.808- 849) ⁴²²	Walafrid Strabo (c.808- 849) ⁴²³				Walafrid Strabo (c.808- 849) ⁴²⁴	Walafrid Strabo (c.808- 849) ⁴²⁵	Walafrid Strabo (c.808- 849) ⁴²⁶
	Angelomus of Luxeuil (d.c.895) ⁴²⁷									

⁴⁰⁸ Beda, 'Super Acta Apostolorum Expositio', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 92, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1850), col. 0989B.

⁴⁰⁹ Beda, 'De Tabernaculo Et Vasis Ejus, Ac Vestibus Sacerdotum', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 91, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1850), cols. 0459A-B.

⁴¹⁰ Beda, 'SUPER ACTA...', col. 0962A.

⁴¹¹ Beda, 'SUPER ACTA...', cols. 0962A, 0962A-B.

⁴¹² Smaragdus S. Michaelis, 'Incipiunt Collectiones', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 102, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1851), cols., 0194A, 0415B-C.

⁴¹³ Smaragdus, 'Incipiunt Collectiones', col. 0050D.

⁴¹⁴ Smaragdus, 'Incipiunt Collectiones', col., 0251C.

⁴¹⁵ Hilduinus Sandionysianus, 'Incipit Passio Sanctissimi Dionysii...', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 106, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1851), cols. 043A-B.

⁴¹⁶ Rabanus Maurus, '(Anno 834.) Beati Rabani Mauri Fuldensis Abbatis Et Moguntini Archiepiscopi Enarrationis Super Deuteronomium Libri Quatuor', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 108, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1851), col. 0841B.

⁴¹⁷ Rabanus Maurus, '(Anno 826 Ad Annum 844) Homiliae', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 110, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1852), col. 0157D.

⁴¹⁸ Rabanus, '...Homiliae', cols. 0157D-0158A.

⁴¹⁹ Walafridus Strabo, 'Liber Numeri. Hebraice Vaiedabber (), Id Est: Et Locutus Est', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 113, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1852), cols. 0439B-C.

⁴²⁰ Walafridus Strabo, 'Liber Deuteronomii. Hebraice Elleh Haddebarim Id Est Haec Sunt Verba', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 113, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1852), col. 0449A.

⁴²¹ Strabo, 'Liber Numeri. Hebraice...', cols. 0439B-C.

⁴²² Strabo, 'Liber Numeri. Hebraice...', cols. 0439B-C.

⁴²³ Strabo, 'Liber Numeri. Hebraice...', cols. 0439B-C.

⁴²⁴ Strabo, 'Liber Numeri. Hebraice...', cols. 0439B-C.

⁴²⁵ Strabo, 'Liber Numeri. Hebraice...', cols. 0439B-C.

⁴²⁶ Strabo, 'Liber Numeri. Hebraice...', cols. 0439B-C.

⁴²⁷ Angelomus Luxovensius, 'Angelomi Luxoviensis Monachi Commentarius In Genesin'..., cols. 0215D, 0220D.

'WHITEWASH*'~HYPOCRISY			Either/Or	'WHITEN*'-PURIFICATION						
Wall	Laban	Tombs	Lebanon	Snow	Garment; Other (specify)	Grace; Baptism; Soul	from Blackness	Hair	Wool	Mount Zalmon
Paschasius Radbertus (785– 865) ⁴²⁸		Paschasius Radbertus (785– 865) ⁴²⁹		Paschasius Radbertus (785– 865) ⁴³⁰		Paschasius Radbertus (785– 865) ⁴³¹				
	Remigius (Remi) of Auxerre (c. 841–908) ⁴³²									
					Canons John the Monk? ⁴³³					
			Ratherius (887/890– 974) ⁴³⁴	Ratherius (887/890– 974) ⁴³⁵						Ratherius (887/890– 974) ⁴³⁶
					Altar Dudo of Saint- Quentin (c.965– <1043) ⁴³⁷	Dudo of Saint- Quentin (c.965– <1043) ⁴³⁸				

⁴²⁸ Paschasius Radbertus, 'S. Paschasii Radberti Abbatis Corbeiensis Expositio In Evangelium Matthaei', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 120, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1852), col. 0258C.

⁴²⁹ Paschasius Radbertus, '...Expositio In Evangelium Matthaei', cols. 0362C, 0781B, 0781C, 0782A.

⁴³⁰ Paschasius Radbertus, '...Expositio In Evangelium Matthaei', col. 0942A.

⁴³¹ Paschasius Radbertus, '...Expositio In Evangelium Matthaei', cols. 0157C, 0579D, 0582B, 0846C.

⁴³² Remigius Antissiodorensis, 'Commentarius In Genesim...', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 131, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1853), col. 0109A.

⁴³³ Joannes Italus, 'Vita Sancti Odonis Abbatis Cluniacensis Secundi...', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 133, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1853), col. 0047C: '...canonicorum dealbatus chorus...'

⁴³⁴ Ratherius Veronensis, 'Ratherii Episcopi Veronensis Praeloquiorum Libri Sex', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 136, J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1853), col. 0213B.

⁴³⁵ Ratherius, '...Praeloquiorum Libri Sex', col. 0256C.

⁴³⁶ Ratherius, '...Praeloquiorum Libri Sex', col. 0256C.

⁴³⁷ Dudo Viromandensis, 'Dudonis Super Congregationem S. Quintini Decani De Moribus Et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum Libri Tres...', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 141, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1853), cols. 0750B–C.

⁴³⁸ Dudo Viromandensis, '...De Moribus Et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum...', cols. 0623C–D.

'WHITEWASH'~HYPOCRISY			Either/Or	'WHITEN'~PURIFICATION						
Wall	Laban	Tombs	Lebanon	Snow	Garment; Other (specify)	Grace; Baptism; Soul	from Blackness	Hair	Wool	Mount Zalmon
Copied from St Augustine and Strabo Peter Damian (c. 1007- 1072/3) ⁴³⁹	Peter Damian (c. 1007- 1072/3) ⁴⁴⁰	Copied from Strabo Peter Damian (c. 1007- 1072/3) ⁴⁴¹	Copied from Strabo Peter Damian (c. 1007- 1072/3) ⁴⁴²	Copied from Strabo Peter Damian (c. 1007- 1072/3) ⁴⁴³		Peter Damian (c. 1007- 1072/3) ⁴⁴⁴			Copied from Strabo Peter Damian (c. 1007- 1072/3) ⁴⁴⁵	Copied from Strabo Peter Damian (c. 1007- 1072/3) ⁴⁴⁶

⁴³⁹ Petrus Damianus, '51-52 Opusculum Quartum. Disceptatio Synodalis Inter Regis Advocatum Et Romanae Ecclesiae Defensorem', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 145, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1853), col. 0082D: Beginning 'Paulus etiam palma percussus iussione pontificis...', and ending '...turpitudinem: nam quod humilitatis fuit, mirabiliter custodivit.' is paraphrased from St Augustine, beginning 'Nam et pontificis jussu palma percussus...', and ending, '...turpitudinem occultans.': Augustinus, '...De Sermone Domini In Monte Secundum Matthaeum...', col. 1259; Petrus Damianus, '555 556 Opusculum Tricesimum Secundum. De Quadragesima Et Quadraginta Duabus Hebraeorum Mansionibus', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 145, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1853), cols. 0553C-D: 'Deinde transeunt in Lebna, quod interpretatur, dealbatio. Non autem ignoramus dealbationem aliquando pro crimine poni, sicut dicuntur monumenta dealbata, et paries dealbatus, sed hic illa dealbatio debet intelligi de qua per Isaiam dicitur: «Si fuerint peccata vestra ut coccinum, quasi nix dealbabuntur: et si fuerint rubra quasi vermiculus, ut lana alba erunt.» Et in psalmo: «Nive dealbabuntur in Selmon.» Et in Apocalypsi: «Capilli Jesu tanquam lana alba referuntur.» Quapropter hic dealbatio convenienter intelligitur de verae lucis splendore prodire, et de summae visionis claritate descendere'. This is paraphrased from Strabo; cf.: 'In Lebna, etc. Laterem scilicet. In hoc enim transitu nunc crescimus, nunc decrescimus, et post multos profectus saepe ad laterem, id est carnalia opera redimus. Post haec venit in Lebna, quod interpretatur dealbatio. Scio in aliis dealbationem culpabiliter poni, ut cum dicitur paries dealbatus, et monumenta dealbata. Hic autem dealbatio est de qua dicitur: Lavabis me et super nivem dealbabor; et, si fuerint peccata vestra sicut Phoenicium, ut nivem dealbabo. Et alibi, Nive dealbabuntur in Selmon. Et vetusti dierum capilli dicuntur esse candidi, id est, albi sicut lana. Haec igitur dealbatio ex splendore verae lucis intelligitur provenire, et ex visionum coelestium claritate descendere.': Strabo, 'Liber Numeri. Hebraice Vaiedabber...', cols. 0439B-C.

⁴⁴⁰ Petrus Damianus, 'Collectanea In Vetus Testamentum Ex Opusculis B. Petri Damiani...', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 145, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1853), cols. 1004C-1005B.

⁴⁴¹ Paraphrased from Strabo (see above notes): Petrus Damianus, '555 556 Opusculum Tricesimum Secundum. De Quadragesima Et Quadraginta Duabus Hebraeorum Mansionibus', cols. 0553C-D; Strabo is also paraphrased in Petrus Damianus, 'Collectanea In Vetus Testamentum Ex Opusculis B. Petri Damiani...', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 145, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1853), cols. 1058A-B.

⁴⁴² Paraphrased from Strabo (see above notes): Petrus Damianus, '555 556 Opusculum Tricesimum Secundum. De Quadragesima Et Quadraginta Duabus Hebraeorum Mansionibus', cols. 0553C-D; Strabo is also paraphrased in: Petrus Damianus, 'Collectanea In Vetus Testamentum...', cols. 1058A-B.

⁴⁴³ Paraphrased from Strabo (see above notes): Petrus Damianus, '555 556 Opusculum Tricesimum Secundum. De Quadragesima Et Quadraginta Duabus Hebraeorum Mansionibus', cols. 0553C-D; Strabo is also paraphrased in: Petrus Damianus, 'Collectanea In Vetus Testamentum...', cols. 1058A-B; Petrus Damianus, 'Collectanea In Vetus Testamentum...', cols. 1004C-1005B.

⁴⁴⁴ Petrus Damianus, 'Collectanea In Vetus Testamentum...', col. 1006C.

⁴⁴⁵ Paraphrased from Strabo (see above notes): Petrus Damianus, '555 556 Opusculum Tricesimum Secundum. De Quadragesima Et Quadraginta Duabus Hebraeorum Mansionibus', cols. 0553C-D; Strabo is also paraphrased in: Petrus Damianus, 'Collectanea In Vetus Testamentum...', cols. 1058A-B.

⁴⁴⁶ Paraphrased from Strabo (see above notes): Petrus Damianus, '555 556 Opusculum Tricesimum Secundum. De Quadragesima Et Quadraginta Duabus Hebraeorum Mansionibus', cols. 0553C-D; Strabo is also paraphrased in: Petrus Damianus, 'Collectanea In Vetus Testamentum...', cols. 1058A-B.

'WHITEWASH*'~HYPOCRISY			Either/Or	'WHITEN*'-PURIFICATION						
Wall	Laban	Tombs	Lebanon	Snow	Garment; Other (specify)	Grace; Baptism; Soul	from Blackness	Hair	Wool	Mount Zalmon
Bernold of Constance (c.1054- 1100) ⁴⁴⁷										
				Berengosus Trevirensis (fl.1112- 25) ⁴⁴⁸						
						Anselm of Laon (c.1050- 1117) ⁴⁴⁹				
Nonspecific usage Bruno di Segni (c.1045- 1123) ⁴⁵⁰				Bruno di Segni (c.1045- 1123) ⁴⁵¹	'...let us be clothed in linen so that...'; robes Bruno di Segni (c.1045- 1123) ⁴⁵²					
Rupert of Deutz (c.1075/108 0-c.1129) ⁴⁵³		Rupert of Deutz (c.1075/108 0-c.1129) ⁴⁵⁴		Rupert of Deutz (c.1075/108 0-c.1129) ⁴⁵⁵	Robes Rupert of Deutz (c.1075/108 0-c.1129) ⁴⁵⁶					Rupert of Deutz (c.1075/108 0-c.1129) ⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁴⁷ Bernaldus Constantiensis, 'De Damnatione Eorum Qui Papam Totamque Romanam Synodum Deauctorare Tentaverunt, Et De Sacramentis Damnatorum', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 148, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1853), col. 1165D.

⁴⁴⁸ Berengosus Trevirensis, 'Berengosi Abbatis De Laude Et Inventione Sanctae Crucis', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 160, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), col. 0980B.

⁴⁴⁹ Anselmus Laudunensis, 'Enarrationes In Cantica Canticorum', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 162, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), col. 1214A.

⁴⁵⁰ Bruno Astensis, 'Incipit Expositio In Job', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 164, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), col. 0620A.

⁴⁵¹ Bruno Astensis, 'S. Brunonis Astensis Signiensium Episcopi Expositio In Pentateuchum', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 164, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), cols. 0227D, 0327C, 0436C-D, 0546A-B; Bruno Astensis, '...Expositio In Job', col. 0669B; Bruno Astensis, 'S. Brunonis Astensis Episcopi Signiensis Expositio In Apocalypsim', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 165, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), cols. 0644A, 0685A, 0709B, 0728B.

⁴⁵² Bruno Astensis, '...In Pentateuchum', cols. 0436C-D; 'robes': Bruno Astensis, '...Expositio In Apocalypsim', cols. 0643B, 0644A.

⁴⁵³ Rupertus Tuitiensis, 'R. D. D. Ruperti Abbatis Tuitiensis Commentariorum In Duodecim Prophetas Minores Libri XXXI', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 168, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), cols. 0331B, 0331C, 0331D, 0350C, 0350C-D, 0350D, 0623A-B.

⁴⁵⁴ Rupertus Tuitiensis, '...Commentariorum In Duodecim Prophetas Minores Libri XXXI', cols. 0289B-0290A, 0314B, 0331C; Rupertus Tuitiensis, 'R. D. D. Ruperti Abbatis Tuitiensis In Librum Ecclesiastes Commentarius', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 168, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), cols. 1274A-B.

⁴⁵⁵ Rupertus Tuitiensis, '...Commentariorum In Duodecim Prophetas Minores Libri XXXI', cols. 0474C, 0475B-C, 0678B; Rupertus Tuitiensis, '...Ecclesiastes Commentarius', col. 1306D.

⁴⁵⁶ Rupertus Tuitiensis, '...Commentariorum In Duodecim Prophetas Minores Libri XXXI', col. 0676C.

⁴⁵⁷ Rupertus Tuitiensis, '...Commentariorum In Duodecim Prophetas Minores Libri XXXI', col. 0474C, 0475B-C.

'WHITEWASH'~HYPOCRISY			Either/Or	'WHITEN'~PURIFICATION						
Wall	Laban	Tombs	Lebanon	Snow	Garment; Other (specify)	Grace; Baptism; Soul	from Blackness	Hair	Wool	Mount Zalmon
Hildebert (c.1055- 1133) ⁴⁵⁸		Hildebert (c.1055- 1133) ⁴⁵⁹		Hildebert (c.1055- 1133) ⁴⁶⁰		Hildebert (c.1055- 1133) ⁴⁶¹			Hildebert (c.1055- 1133) ⁴⁶²	
			Honorius of Autun (c.1080- c.1140) ⁴⁶³			Honorius of Autun (c.1080- c.1140) ⁴⁶⁴				
			Gottfried of Admont (d.1165) ⁴⁶⁵		Desert; river Gottfried of Admont (d.1165) ⁴⁶⁶	Gottfried of Admont (d.1165) ⁴⁶⁷				
Hugh of Saint Victor (c.1096- 1141) ⁴⁶⁸										
Hervé de Bourg-Dieu (c.1080- 1150) ⁴⁶⁹		Hervé de Bourg-Dieu (c.1080- 1150) ⁴⁷⁰	=hypocrisy Hervé de Bourg-Dieu (c.1080- 1150) ⁴⁷¹	Hervé de Bourg-Dieu (c.1080- 1150) ⁴⁷²		Hervé de Bourg-Dieu (c.1080- 1150) ⁴⁷³				
	Like monks Gilbert of Hoyland (c.1115- 1172) ⁴⁷⁴									
Wibald (1098- 1158) ⁴⁷⁵								Wibald (1098- 1158) ⁴⁷⁶		

⁴⁵⁸ Hildebertus Cenomanensis, 'Ven. Hildeberti Sermones', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 171, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), cols. 0444C-D, 0697B.

⁴⁵⁹ Hildebertus, '...Sermones', cols. 0444C, 0474C, 0878B.

⁴⁶⁰ Hildebertus, '...Sermones', cols. 0456B, 0456B.

⁴⁶¹ Hildebertus, '...Sermones', col. 0677C.

⁴⁶² Hildebertus, '...Sermones', cols. 0456B, 0456B.

⁴⁶³ Honorius Augustodunensis, 'Expositio In Cantica Cantorum', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 172, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), cols. 0408D, 0408D-0409A, 0417D, 0417D-0418A, 0427B-C.

⁴⁶⁴ Honorius Augustodunensis, 'Expositio In Cantica Cantorum', cols. 0408D, 0427B-C.

⁴⁶⁵ Godefridus Admontensis, 'Ven. Godefridi Abbatis Admontensis Homiliae In Festa Totius Anni', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 174, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), col. 0706C.

⁴⁶⁶ Godefridus Admontensis, '...Homiliae...', cols. 0706D-0707A, 0905C.

⁴⁶⁷ Godefridus Admontensis, '...Homiliae...', cols. 0706D-0707A.

⁴⁶⁸ Hugo de S. Victore, 'Eruditionis Didascalicae Libri Septem', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 176, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), cols. 0777C-D.

⁴⁶⁹ Herveus Burgidolensis, 'Ven. Hervei Burgidolensis Monachi Commentariorum In Isaiam Libri Octo...', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 181, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), col. 0314D.

⁴⁷⁰ Herveus Burgidolensis, '...Commentariorum In Isaiam...', cols. 0408B-C.

⁴⁷¹ Herveus Burgidolensis, '...Commentariorum In Isaiam...', cols. 0279C-D, 0279D, 0314D, 0314D, 0314D, 0331B, 0352D.

⁴⁷² Herveus Burgidolensis, '...Commentariorum In Isaiam...', cols. 0037A, 0331B.

⁴⁷³ Herveus Burgidolensis, '...Commentariorum In Isaiam...', cols. 0037A-B, 0279D, 0331C ('...justitiae...').

⁴⁷⁴ Gillebertus de Hoilandia, 'Ejusdem Gilleberti Tractatus Ascetici', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 184, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), cols. 0286B, 0286C, 0287C.

⁴⁷⁵ Wibaldus Corbeiensis, 'Wibaldi Epistolae', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 189, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), col. 1248D.

⁴⁷⁶ Wibaldus, 'Wibaldi Epistolae', col. 1127B.

'WHITEWASH'~HYPOCRISY			Either/Or	'WHITEN'~PURIFICATION						
Wall	Laban	Tombs	Lebanon	Snow	Garment; Other (specify)	Grace; Baptism; Soul	from Blackness	Hair	Wool	Mount Zalmon
Peter Lombard (c.1096-1160) ⁴⁷⁷		Peter Lombard (c.1096-1160) ⁴⁷⁸		Peter Lombard (c.1096-1160) ⁴⁷⁹	Lord's Garment Peter Lombard (c.1096-1160) ⁴⁸⁰		Peter Lombard (c.1096-1160) ⁴⁸¹			Peter Lombard (c.1096-1160) ⁴⁸²
Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093-1169) ⁴⁸³		Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093-1169) ⁴⁸⁴		Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093-1169) ⁴⁸⁵						
	Richard of Saint Victor (d.1173) ⁴⁸⁶			Richard of Saint Victor (d.1173) ⁴⁸⁷	White Horse; robes; clothes Richard of Saint Victor (d.1173) ⁴⁸⁸	Richard of Saint Victor (d.1173) ⁴⁸⁹				
Petrus Comestor/ Pierre le Mangeur (d.1178) ⁴⁹⁰		Petrus Comestor/ Pierre le Mangeur (d.1178) ⁴⁹¹		Petrus Comestor/ Pierre le Mangeur (d.1178) ⁴⁹²						Petrus Comestor/ Pierre le Mangeur (d.1178) ⁴⁹³

⁴⁷⁷ Petrus Lombardus, 'Petri Lombardi Parisiensis Quondam Episcopi Sententiarum Magistri In Totum Psalterium Commentarii...', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 191, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), cols. 0879D, 0880A.

⁴⁷⁸ Petrus Lombardus, '...In Totum Psalterium Commentarii...', col. 0814D.

⁴⁷⁹ Petrus Lombardus, '...In Totum Psalterium Commentarii...', cols. 0488C, 0489A, 0489A, 0489A, 0609C-D, 0610A, 0610A-B, 0621C.

⁴⁸⁰ Petrus Lombardus, '...In Totum Psalterium Commentarii...', col. 0489A.

⁴⁸¹ Petrus Lombardus, '...In Totum Psalterium Commentarii...', cols. 0689B-C.

⁴⁸² Petrus Lombardus, '...In Totum Psalterium Commentarii...', cols. 0609C, 0609C-D, 0610A, 0610A-B, 0621C.

⁴⁸³ Gerhohus Reicherspergensis, 'Ven. Gerhohi Praepositi Reichersperg Commentarius Aureus In Psalmos Et Cantica Ferialia...', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 193, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), cols. 1778D-1779A, 1779C-D.

⁴⁸⁴ Gerhohus Reicherspergensis, '...Commentarius Aureus In Psalmos...', cols. 1499C-D, 1703C.

⁴⁸⁵ Gerhohus Reicherspergensis, '...Commentarius Aureus In Psalmos...', cols. 1457A-B, 1605D, 1609D.

⁴⁸⁶ Richardus S. Victoris, 'De Gratia Contemplationis Libri Quinque Occasione Accepta Ab Arca Moysis Et Ob Eam Rem Hactenus Dictum Benjamin Major', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 196, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1855), col. 0066B.

⁴⁸⁷ Richardus S. Victoris, 'De Gratia Contemplationis Libri Quinque...', col. 0066B; Richardus S. Victoris, 'In Apocalypsim Joannis Libri Septem', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 196, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1855), col. 0761D.

⁴⁸⁸ Richardus S. Victoris, 'In Apocalypsim Joannis...', cols. 0761C-D, 0761D, 0774B-C, 0775A.

⁴⁸⁹ Richardus S. Victoris, 'In Apocalypsim Joannis...', cols. 0761D, 0774C.

⁴⁹⁰ Petrus Comestor, 'Petri Comestoris Sermones', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 198, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1855), col. 1798D.

⁴⁹¹ Petrus Comestor, '...Sermones', col. 1839A.

⁴⁹² Petrus Comestor, '...Sermones', col. 1837A.

⁴⁹³ Petrus Comestor, '...Sermones', col. 1817C.

'WHITEWASH'~HYPOCRISY			Either/Or	'WHITEN'~PURIFICATION						
Wall	Laban	Tombs	Lebanon	Snow	Garment; Other (specify)	Grace; Baptism; Soul	from Blackness	Hair	Wool	Mount Zalmon
Philip of Harveng (d.1183) ⁴⁹⁴		Philip of Harveng (d.1183) ⁴⁹⁵		Philip of Harveng (d.1183) ⁴⁹⁶	Liquid; cloth; ice Philip of Harveng (d.1183) ⁴⁹⁷	Philip of Harveng (d.1183) ⁴⁹⁸	Philip of Harveng (d.1183) ⁴⁹⁹		Philip of Harveng (d.1183) ⁵⁰⁰	
Peter Cantor (d.1197) ⁵⁰¹		Peter Cantor (d.1197) ⁵⁰²								

Thus, when Geoffrey Grossus invokes 'dealbatorum monachorum multitudo', for instance, he is using what appears to be a somewhat common ancient formula to mean 'a multitude of *whitened* monks'; that is, monks who have had their souls 'whitened' or 'purified' befitting their residence in heaven.⁵⁰³ There are very limited grounds, therefore, for presuming anything other than this anagogical meaning in the *vita*, such as relating to the contemporary movement of 'white monks', indicating that great care must be taken when imputing meaning from such phrases in similar texts of the 'new orders'.

Nonetheless, there is more direct evidence for this link between the literal colour of habits, the 'whitening' of souls in the anagogical sense, and contemporary 'political' rifts within the orders of religious. In the above sample, for instance, Bruno di Segni (c.1045-1123) would argue 'Vestiamur ergo lineis vestimentis, ut toti candidi, et super

⁴⁹⁴ Philippus de Harveng, 'De Institutione Clericorum Tractatus Sex', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 203, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1855), cols. 0734C, 1007C-D, and as general hypocrisy: 0787A, 0787B-C, 0788B, 0791A, 0791A-B, 0822D; Philippus de Harveng, 'Philippi Ab Harveng Bonae Spei Abbatis Commentaria In Cantica Canticorum', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 203, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1855), cols. 0366C-D.

⁴⁹⁵ Philippus de Harveng, 'De Institutione Clericorum Tractatus Sex', cols. 1040C-D.

⁴⁹⁶ Philippus de Harveng, 'De Institutione Clericorum Tractatus Sex', col. 0890D.

⁴⁹⁷ Philippus de Harveng, '...Commentaria In Cantica Canticorum', cols. 0309B-C, 0443B.

⁴⁹⁸ Philippus de Harveng, 'De Institutione Clericorum Tractatus Sex', col. 0938B.

⁴⁹⁹ Philippus de Harveng, '...Commentaria In Cantica Canticorum', cols. 0309B-C.

⁵⁰⁰ Philippus de Harveng, 'De Institutione Clericorum Tractatus Sex', col. 0839A.

⁵⁰¹ Petrus Cantor, 'Venerabilis Petri Cantoris Ecclesiae Beatae Mariae Parisiensis Ac S. Theologiae Doctoris Et Professoris, Verbum Abbreviatum, Opus Morale...', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 205, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1855), col. 0063C.

⁵⁰² Petrus Cantor, '...Verbum Abbreviatum, Opus Morale...', col. 0292C.

⁵⁰³ Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1435A.

nivem dealbati, interioris et exterioris hominis munditiam, et castitatem, per omnia custodiamus': 'Let us wear, therefore, vestments of linen, completely white, and whiter than snow (or, 'that we may be completely white, and whitened upon the snow'), that we may keep the cleanness and chastity of the inner and outer man through all things', directly linking completely white (*ut toti candidi*) linen with the customary 'purification' sense of 'whiter than snow (*super nivem dealbati*)'.⁵⁰⁴ Bruno di Segni, we may be unsurprised to hear, came into conflict with Pope Paschal II during his service as both the Abbot of Montecassino and Bishop of Segni.

The link is even made among the opponents of the new orders, with the aforementioned Walter Map saying of the white and grey monks:

These men we call white or grey monks. The black monks by rule wear the cheapest cloth of their district, and by special dispensation lambskins only. The white monks wear the woven wool just as the sheep did, innocent of any dye, and though they taunt the black monks for their lambskins, they themselves are provided in equally good measure with numbers of comfortable habits, such as would become costly scarlet (*scarlete*) for the delight of kings and princes if they were not snatched from the dyers' hands.⁵⁰⁵

Here Map not only makes reference to the scripturally important 'white' and 'wool' (see above), he also uses the word *scarlete* satirically to invoke Isaiah 1:18: 'And then come, and accuse me, saith the Lord: if your sins be as scarlet, they shall be made as white as snow: and if they be red as crimson, they shall be white as wool', essentially accusing his opponents of hypocrisy.

⁵⁰⁴ Bruno Astensis, 'S. Brunonis Astensis Signiensium Episcopi Expositio In Pentateuchum', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 164, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1854), cols. 0436C-D.

⁵⁰⁵ Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialum...*, pp. 84-5 : '...quos nos uel albos nominamus monachos uel grisos. Nigri habent regulam, quod uilissimos induant sue prouincie pannos, et ex dispensacione pellicias agninas tantum; albi ut qualem ouis gesserit lanam textam habeant, alieni coloris nesciam, et cum de pelliciis nigros derideant, plurimis et suauissimis habundant ad equipollenciam tunicis, que si non a tinctoribus rapiantur, fiant ad regum delicatas et principum preciose scarlete'.

Such symbolism was not lost on contemporaries, therefore, though in Geoffrey Grossus' case, what the Tironesians were allegiant to seems to be of less importance than what they were opponent to, and indeed this is made abundantly clear in the text of the *vita*.

Monastics: Cluny

Within Geoffrey Grossus' *vita* of Bernard of Tiron, one 'opponent' is emphasised above all others, almost to exclusion: Cluny. Even the Devil only gets a single episode compared to the Burgundian house, tied with Duke William IX of Aquitaine, though William himself is eventually 'redeemed' by his being mentioned in a list of benefactors. While there are many explicit mentions of Cluny acting as the enemy of Providence, and overt critiques of Cluny itself, the text also hides many more critiques of its practices behind the subtext of allegory. Normally, this assertion might at first appear circumstantial, subject to the uncertainty of interpretation, though Geoffrey himself includes several indications that this is how his text must be read. The first, discussed above, is his knowledge and use of 'the four senses of scripture', indicating that he is well capable and willing to make use of subtext in his work. Another is perhaps even clearer: near to the end of the *vita* (§113), while Bernard is on his deathbed, he says to the assembled brethren of Tiron:

"In this alone [by love]," he said, "men will know that you are disciples of Christ, not if you were outstanding upholders of superstitious traditions, but if you loved one another, for superstitious traditions lead less to edification than violation. So I deliberately kept you ignorant of them, dearly beloved, because I knew they would be less helpful than harmful to you, for I was subjected to them for a considerable time and imposed them strictly for others to bear over the course of several years. I had no doubt that some of you rightly longed for them, but, since I considered it more salutary to do what the strong yearn for than what the weak run from, I did not give in one bit on many occasions. I avoided useless innovations, by which I would have made you

transgressors once again, while I carefully emphasized the traditions that were essential, like a father for his children."⁵⁰⁶

Here Bernard explains why he did not make use of what he calls 'superstitious traditions' ('supertitosarum observatores traditionum') for his community, but crucially also makes it clear where these came from with the phrase 'for I was subjected to them for a considerable time and imposed them strictly for others to bear over the course of several years,' referring to his time in the Cluniac houses of Saint-Cyprien and Saint-Savin.

This places the *vita* in a category of texts critical of the liturgical and ritual excesses of Cluniac practices, such as in a *vita* of his most famous Strong Square counterpart, Robert of Arbrissel, who says with sarcasm 'Cluny, where gorgeous processions take place...',' and "...what truly wise person would dare to slight the supreme monastery, Cluny, where every day there is such good service by God's grace?"," each critique notably focused on the ritual and liturgical practices of the house.⁵⁰⁷ It also, of course, contextualises every preceding and succeeding critique of such practices within this context: we are to understand just who is being targeted by them.

⁵⁰⁶ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 118-9; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1433B-C: 'In hoc solo, inquit, cognoscent homines, quia Christi sitis discipuli; non si supertitosarum observatores traditionum exstiteritis; sed si dilectionem ad invicem habueritis. Illae namque non tam aedificationem quam praevaricationem generant: has etiam vobis ideo, dilectissimi, scienter dissimulabam, quia non tam profuturas, quam nocituras non ignorabam; utpote quibus non parvo tempore ipse subjacueram, quosque aliis per nonnulla annorum curricula instanter ferendos imposueram. Et licet quosdam ex vobis ad has anhelanter suspirare minime dubitarem; salubrius iudicans ut esset quod fortes cuperent, quam ut infirmi refugerent, nullatenus acquievi multoties; inutiles (vitans) adinventiones, quibus vos praevaricatores redderem: his inhians, quibus ad pernecessaria, quasi pater filios, proveherem'.

⁵⁰⁷ Andreas of Fontevraud, 'Second Life of Robert of Arbrissel (c 1120)', in Bruce L. Venarde, *Robert of Arbrissel: A Medieval Religious Life* (Washington, 2003), p. 44; Andreas Fontis Ebraldi, 'Vita Altera B. Roberti De Arbrissello Sive Extrema Conversatio Et Transitus Ejus', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 162, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1854), cols. 1073B, 1073C: '...Cluniaco monasterio, ubi fiunt pulchrae processions...', 'Quis denique sane sapiens audeat deprimere supremum Cluniacum monasterium, ubi quotidie Dei gratia tantum sit beneficium?'

For instance, during Bernard's eremitic sojourn on the Chausey Island, he encounters a band of pirates who are blown towards the island by a contrary wind, along with the shackled merchants who they had plundered while at sea.⁵⁰⁸ While there, Bernard entreats the pirates to let the merchants go and repent, and for the merchants themselves to forgive, but they do not, setting off back to Brittany instead. After they leave, Bernard engages in spiritual warfare with the Devil over the souls of the pirates, praying incessantly, which causes the seas and the winds to thrash and assail the pirates. In desperation, they engage in all kinds of false and ineffectual prayers and promises:

Afterward, when they realized that their efforts were of no avail against the raging deep, completely losing all hope of survival, these double-dealers returned to the way of the heart. Since their tribulation gave them the understanding to hear, they confessed that they had sinned, they confessed that they were criminals, they rent their clothes (Gn 37:30 and elsewhere), they beat their breasts (Lk 23:48), they undertook to go on various pilgrimages, some to be pilgrims to Jerusalem, others to set out for the city of Romulus, since both merit prayers. Many earnestly made binding promises to visit the famous shrine of the Apostle James at the far ends of Galicia. After these vows, since the fierce storm continued notwithstanding, tormented by their intense fear, they began to divulge the sins they had disgracefully committed by confessing them more disgracefully in the hearing of all. Usurping the office of priest, they gave and received penance from one another. Then they gave each other the kiss of peace, so that death might find leagued together in peace those whom the Devil, deviser of dissension, had leagued together long before to wage war upon Christ's faithful. They drew together, holding each other with clasped hands, which they thought was suitably devout, so that those whom cruel greed once leagued together to commit carnage might perish together under the waves.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁸ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 35-42; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1384D-1389C.

⁵⁰⁹ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 39-40; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1387B-D: 'Sed postquam conatus suos, contra ponticam rabiem nihil valere conspiciunt, tunc vivendi spe penitus ablata praevaricatores ad cor redeunt, vexationeque intellectum dante auditui, tunc se peccasse, tunc se reos esse confitentes, vestes scindunt, pectora tundunt, ac diversae peregrinationis se proposito astringunt; alii autem se Jerosolymitanos fore, alii autem Romuleam usque ad urbem profecturos, ut mereantur habere suffragia. Quamplures vero ex illis Jacobi apostoli in extremis Galeciae finibus famosam se requisituros memoriam, astipulatis promissionibus asseverant. Sed post haec vota nihilominus tempestatis perseverante saevitia, timoris

All of this, however, is to no avail, until one of them remembers the 'holy hermit yesterday on the Chausey Island, whose warnings we scorned, whose words we mocked?'.⁵¹⁰ After this they promise God to become Bernard's followers if they are saved from death and to right their wrongs with the merchants they had taken captive, exclaiming,

"... We are not holding the merchants captive in any way, but, since they are our brothers, we must bear their burdens, fulfilling the law of Christ (Gal 6:2). We are helping them as best we can by fighting against the raging sea (*contra ponti rabiem luctantes*), so that they will not be swallowed up in its depths. As greedy thieves we once coveted their money, but since we are now working under the guidance of the holy hermit minister we are taking care to return it."⁵¹¹

With this, a gust of wind brings them back to the Chausey Island, and they are saved, pledging themselves to the service of Bernard.

It is not difficult to see in this story a critique of the contemporary Church and its practices, especially since all of this was purported to have occurred without witnesses, on Bernard's remote island hermitage. The episode in the *vita* ends with an invitation to read on from Isaiah 1:8, noting how Bernard 'had lain hidden in caverns in the rocks or in humble lodges like keepers of vineyards or cucumber fields (Is 1:8)';

vehementia exagitati, peccata sua, quae turpiter gesserant, turpius in audientia cunctorum confitendo propalare incipiunt; sacerdotale sibi officium usurpantes, dum poenitentias alternatim et dant et accipiunt. Dehinc osculum pacis sibi invicem conferunt, ut quasi in pace foederatos mors inveniatur, quos dissensionis repertor diabolus, ut Christi fidelibus bellum inferant, jamdudum foederaverat, atque complosis manibus sese tenentes astringunt, quia ad pietatem illis videbatur pertinere, si socialiter sub undis interirent, quos spirans caedis et rapacitatis crudelitas antea sociaverat'.

⁵¹⁰ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 40; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1387D-1388A: '...sanctum eremitam cujus monita contempsimus, cujus verba risimus?'

⁵¹¹ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 40-1; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1388B: 'Nos amodo mercatores captivos non tenemus, sed illos, ut fratres nostros, quorum onera portare debemus, Christi legem complentes, contra ponti rabiem luctantes, ne ab ipsius voragine sorbeantur, prout possumus, adjuvamus. Pecuniam illorum ut avidi praedones jam concupivimus; sed ob tutelam ipsius laborantes, ut sancti eremitae ministri, reddendam custodimus.''

his exile on Chausey, of course, the result of being cast out of Saint-Cyprien by the Abbot of Cluny.⁵¹² Isaiah 1, from verse 8, proceeds:

Daughter Zion is left
 like a shelter in a vineyard,
 like a hut in a cucumber field,
 like a city under siege.
 Unless the Lord Almighty
 had left us some survivors,
 we would have become like Sodom,
 we would have been like Gomorrah.
 Hear the word of the Lord,
 you rulers of Sodom;
 listen to the instruction of our God,
 you people of Gomorrah!
 "The multitude of your sacrifices—
 what are they to me?" says the Lord.
 "I have more than enough of burnt offerings,
 of rams and the fat of fattened animals;
 I have no pleasure
 in the blood of bulls and lambs and goats.
 When you come to appear before me,
 who has asked this of you,
 this trampling of my courts?
 Stop bringing meaningless offerings!
 Your incense is detestable to me.
 New Moons, Sabbaths and convocations—
 I cannot bear your worthless assemblies.
 Your New Moon feasts and your appointed festivals
 I hate with all my being.
 They have become a burden to me;
 I am weary of bearing them.
 When you spread out your hands in prayer,
 I hide my eyes from you;
 even when you offer many prayers,
 I am not listening.⁵¹³

⁵¹² Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 41; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1389A: '...sed in saxorum cavernis, aut velut vineae custos vel cucumerarii, vilibus in tuguriis latuerat'.

⁵¹³ *Bible*, Isaiah 1:8-15.

Elsewhere in the *vita* are similar critiques of money and useless ritual in the Cluniac vein, making use of Matthew 6:

"Be careful not to practice your righteousness in front of others to be seen by them. If you do, you will have no reward from your Father in heaven.

"So when you give to the needy, do not announce it with trumpets, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and on the streets, to be honoured by others. Truly I tell you, they have received their reward in full. But when you give to the needy, do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing, so that your giving may be in secret. Then your Father, who sees what is done in secret, will reward you.

"And when you pray, do not be like the hypocrites, for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and on the street corners to be seen by others. Truly I tell you, they have received their reward in full. But when you pray, go into your room, close the door and pray to your Father, who is unseen. Then your Father, who sees what is done in secret, will reward you. And when you pray, do not keep on babbling like pagans, for they think they will be heard because of their many words. Do not be like them, for your Father knows what you need before you ask him.⁵¹⁴

Of course, it is no mystery that Cluny is an opponent of Bernard of Tiron in the *vita*, and no mystery either that this is given an ideological foundation by Geoffrey Grossus to match the real conflicts they shared. What is less intuitive, however, is that this fundamental opposition should reveal itself in practically all of the characters and relationships mentioned in the *vita*: that we should find, time and again, that Bernard's allies are enemies of his enemies, and that his opponents share a similar allegiance.

⁵¹⁴ *Bible*, Matthew 6:1-8; Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 29, 33; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1382A-C, 1384A-C. Both occurrences in the *vita* are critiques of money.

From the narrative of the *vita*, however, it seems to emerge that the monastic alliance structure of the early twelfth century assembles less from the conscious and deliberate choices of its members, and more from the inexorable logics of polarising forces within the contemporary monastic social network. It would seem that, since the oppressions of Cluny were so widespread, the recruitment of allies by the afflicted spread this antagonism even deeper through the monastic world, forcing the otherwise unaligned into one or other opposing camps. In precisely parallel fashion (*Chapter 2*) did Cluny's efforts to subject monastic institutions result in generating a swath of allies allegiant to it, who in turn would hope to count on their support in their own endeavours and who would then find it difficult to collaborate with anyone openly defiant of Cluny's will. In either case, the root cause is the same: Cluniac expansionism.

While it would be an endeavour all its own to determine if this process of polarisation also led to the adoption of opposing ideological positions by the members of each antagonistic clique, it is clear even with a cursory glance that this bears both theoretical and empirical plausibility. Just as the principle of 'social balancing' posits that 'any exerted influence regarding opinions will tend to produce homogeneity within cliques and opposing opinions between cliques', so too can we observe Adela of Blois becoming 'Cluniacised' or Ivo of Chartres turning White.⁵¹⁵ Perhaps surprisingly, however, the principal ideological position of the White network revealed to us is not any arrangement of the *vita apostolica* or its cognate concepts, but a certain ardour for *libertas*, contrasted with the hierarchical control desired by Cluny and those aligned with her. A wilderness orientation, manual labour, or asceticism are not revealed by the political activities of the White network; these are

⁵¹⁵ Cartwright and Harary, 'Structural Balance...', p. 287.
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merely second-order outcomes adopted by some in the clique as adaptations in favour of preserving their institutional autonomy and freedom.

Rather, the first-order ideological commitments of both cliques were White *libertas* against Black *auctoritas*, with the former acting to protect customary rights and freedoms, and the latter acting to impose *novel* control and authority. It was not, as is almost universally claimed, that the white and grey monks burst onto the scene with fresh and vigorous life, energised by the 'new ideology' of the 'religious movement', but that they were reactionaries acting to defend conservative principles. The novel force was a newly aggressive and expansionary Benedictine monasticism which began to devour all local freedoms before it in a wave of assimilation to a Cluniac norm. The novel force was simply that embodied by Hugh the Great; an authoritarian turn so inexorable and consuming that it generated its own counterposition in the White monks, like white blood cells protecting a body from the invasion of an infection. What *happened* to the Latin West around the turn of the twelfth century was, in other words, a force we might properly call 'Hugonism'.

For Tiron, while this 'Hugonism' may indeed have forced its allegiance into the defensive alliance of the 'White' monastic network, its influence was also responsible for the *praxic* 'patterns of life' adopted by the community to ensure its immediate survival.

Chapter 6: Causes of Tironesian Ideology

Bernard of Tiron takes his time to become a hermit, according to his *vita*. He follows a relatively normal monastic career, ending up at Cluniac Saint-Cyprien for 'ten years or more', though if the *vita* is to be believed, this was because he was drawn there by the presence of Abbot Renaud, supposedly (the *vita* uses 'Rumour' (*fama retulerat*) to make this claim) a disciple of St Robert, founder of Chaise-Dieu.⁵¹⁶ Only when he is asked to become the prior of Saint-Savin do troubles arise.

After Bernard had spent his decade at Saint-Cyprien, a monk of that house – Gervais – was asked to become the abbot of one of its daughter houses, Saint-Savin.⁵¹⁷ This he accepted only on the condition that Bernard should become his prior, which was ultimately granted, with a charter witnessed by Gervais as abbot dating this to 1082 or thereabouts.⁵¹⁸ After this, with Gervais as abbot of Saint-Savin and Bernard his prior, the *vita* then explains a dispute that arose between them:

At that time, a serious dispute arose between the much-mentioned Gervais and the venerable Bernard on account of a church, which caused dissension among the monks of their monastery. In order to expand and enrich the monastery, Gervais eagerly persisted in acquiring the celebrated church. Bernard totally resisted acquiring the church, warning that the plague of simony was infiltrating the monastery indirectly.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁶ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 18, 15; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1376A, 1374C: '...per annos decem vel eo amplius...';

⁵¹⁷ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 18-19; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1376A-D.

⁵¹⁸ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 19n1.

⁵¹⁹ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 20; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1376D-1377A: 'Per idem tempus occasione cujusdam ecclesiae inter saepefatum Gervasium et venerabilem Bernardum, dissentientibus monachis ejusdem monasterii non parva altercatio suboritur. Nam Gervasius, coenobii amplificandi ac ditandi gratia, pro memorata acquirenda ecclesia avide insistebat; Bernardus vero nullatenus acquievit, animadvertens quod Simoniaca pestis ex latere subintrabat'.

This episode leads to a falling out between Bernard and Gervais, with the church ultimately going to Saint-Cyprien and Gervais building a dwelling for himself there at Saint-Savin's expense. Coincidentally, the conflict between Gervais and Bernard occurs at precisely the time we witness Cluny embark upon its staggering programme of church-acquisition (*Figure 11*; note that Saint-Cyprien and Saint-Savin were Cluniac), with the *vita* clear about Bernard's opinion of this: that it was tantamount to simony (the prohibited act of buying or selling sacred things). The *vita* then explains its counter: 'We have not gone into this matter in such depth in order to simplify the subtle point causing the dissension, but, as will be set forth subsequently, so that we may reveal God-fearing judgements together with mighty instructive works, by transmitting them to posterity,' or, in other words, *read on, see what becomes of Gervais, and then you will have ours and God's judgement on the matter*.⁵²⁰ Later, Gervais is killed by a lion on the road to Jerusalem, which Bernard miraculously knows about immediately.⁵²¹

Here the conflict between Bernard and Gervais is caused by Bernard's objection to the practice of acquiring churches – supposing that this episode is true, and not simply an invention on Geoffrey's part, it may be said that the conflict requires two elements: Bernard's pre-existing opinion on the simoniacal status of acquiring churches, and the novelty of the practice itself. In producing the 'conflict' as outcome, both are necessary causes, though it is only the latter which instigates it. That is, Bernard's response is a *reaction* to policies which originate with Cluny – the 'pre-existing' idea that acquiring churches is simony only has meaning in reference to the practice itself, and only takes form in the real world of ideological conflict when

⁵²⁰ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 20-21; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1377A: 'Haec non adeo protulimus, ut quibusque simplicioribus quodlibet dissensionis argumentum proponamus; sed ut, sicut in sequentibus declarabitur, metuenda Dei iudicia simulque praedicanda magnalia posteritati succedentium transmittendo propalemus'.

⁵²¹ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 22-23; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1378C.

confronted with the same practice, as in the case of Gervais' scheme, otherwise one might imagine that it would remain as dormant as any number of other hypothetical simoniac practices. The practice generates its counterposition – resonating with ancient injunctions against simony – which generates the ideological bipolarity of the conflict itself.

Indeed, the process of ideological polarisation on this issue would continue, with writers such as the aforementioned Walter Map levelling their own counter-critiques. In discussing the white and grey monks, he argues:

...because their rule does not allow them to govern parishioners, they proceed to raze villages, they overthrow churches, and turn out parishioners, not scrupling to cast down the altars and level everything before the ploughshare... As I say, they make a solitude that they may be solitaries; and not being allowed to have parishioners of their own, they take leave to disperse those of others: the Rule says they must not keep them, therefore it bids destroy them.⁵²²

Just as here Walter Map makes a contribution to a debate still contemporary in the late twelfth century, it is likely that Geoffrey Grossus intended the same when he wrote Bernard's *vita* in the 1140s, unfortunately introducing considerable doubt in the reliability of the episode.

Nonetheless, following Gervais' death on the road to Jerusalem, Bernard then takes charge of the monastery, ruling it wisely and being responsible for a religious revival of the house. When the brethren of Saint-Savin then wish to make him their abbot, the *vita* claims that Bernard 'went away from them in secrecy' to 'pursue something

⁵²² Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialum...*, pp. 92-3: '...et quia parrochianos regere non habent secundum regulam, eradicant uillas, ecclesias parrochianos eiciunt euertunt, altaria deicere non abhorrent et ad uiam uomeris omnia complanare, ut si uideas que uideras, dicere possis Nunc seges est ubi Troia fuit. Et, ut soli sint, solitudinem faciunt, et, cum non liceat eis proprios habere parochianos, licet eis alienos disperdere; seruare non permittit regula, destruere precipit'.

he had longed to do for many years, which was to try to live as a hermit and to earn his food for himself by the work of his hands'.⁵²³ The *vita* claims that this was to avoid the 'anxieties of pastoral care', though by that time Bernard had already been Saint-Savin's *de facto* abbot for several years, and had been at Saint-Savin for nearly twenty.⁵²⁴ While it is plausible, therefore, that Bernard's election at Saint-Savin was contested – just as it would later be at Saint-Cyprien – whatever the case may be, the outcome was Bernard becoming a fugitive from his house.

After a period in the wilderness, Bernard later returns to monastic life when Abbot Reginald of Saint-Cyprien retrieves him from his hermitage, soon designating Bernard as his successor from the deathbed before promptly dying.⁵²⁵ The *vita* then describes a successful abbacy at Saint-Cyprien, emphasising how 'in great purity of life [he] governed the monastery entrusted to him wisely according to the *Rule*,' until Cluny herself intervened directly.⁵²⁶

Nonetheless, the Providence of heavenly Mercy did not want him to stay there longer; for it was inclined to do other things through him and for him. So it allowed him to be so badly persecuted that he abandoned his monastery under duress. The monks of Cluny, who asserted that the monastery of Saint-Cyprien should be subject to their authority, went to Pope Paschal [II], the Supreme Pontiff of the Romans at that time, and urged him to prohibit Bernard from holding the office of abbot unless he would subject himself and the monastery to their laws. When Bernard heard the prohibition imposed on pain of separation, he accepted one part of the separation quite willingly, which was to abandon the honor of the abbacy, but he refused to accept the

⁵²³ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 26; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1380B: 'Nam cognita monachorum voluntate, qui eum sibi abbatem facere disponebant, clam discessit ab iis, rem sibi a multis annis desideratam quaerere intendens, scilicet anachoreticae vitae studium, et ut sibi victum acquireret labore manuum'.

⁵²⁴ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 27; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1380C: '...implicandus sollicitudinibus curae pastoralis...'.

⁵²⁵ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 47-51; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1391D-1394C.

⁵²⁶ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 51-55; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1394C-1396C, 1396C: '...atque in magna puritate vitae, monasterium sibi commissum sapienter ac regulariter gubernabat'.

other part, because he feared that the monastery, which he had accepted free (*quam liberam acceperat*), would be placed in subjection. Also, he dreaded opposing the authority of the Cluniacs, who constantly said they were in the right. He did not hesitate to take what he believed would be the safest course of action, for, burning with love of poverty and solitude, he returned to the remoteness of the desert from which he had been torn by fraudulent violence and found his heart, which had remained there. He joined Dom Robert of Arbrissel and Vital of Mortain, whom we mentioned previously.⁵²⁷

In this case, while Geoffrey presents the wilderness as Bernard's desire, it is clear that without the intervention of the Cluniacs, Bernard would have remained the abbot of Saint-Cyprien. That is, his flight to the wilderness is an effective exile caused by Cluniac authority rather than a choice made freely. Bernard must have been, therefore, either an unacceptable abbatial candidate to Cluny, or otherwise that installing him had circumvented their authority over abbatial elections (or both).

In the *vita*, while it is Abbot Reginald who retrieves Bernard from the wilderness, he then has an audience with Peter II of Chauvigny, bishop of Poitiers (r.1087-1115), who gives his assent. The initiative for the scheme is apparently with Reginald, though a sternly worded letter from Pope Paschal II to the bishop in 1101 reveals that this was not an isolated incident:

⁵²⁷ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 55-6; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1396C-1397A: 'Tamen divinae pietatis dispositio ibi illum diutius immorari nolebat; quia de illo et per illum aliud facere disponebat. Quapropter contra eum talem persecutionem exoriri permisit, qua cogente illud monasterium dereliquit. Monachi Cluniacenses ecclesiam S. Cypriani suae ditioni debere esse subditam asserentes, dominum papam Paschalem, Romanum tunc temporis apicem gubernantem, adierunt; et ut Bernardo, nisi se et ecclesiam suis subjiceret legibus, officium abbatis interdicere, compulerunt. Quam interdictionem sub disjunctione positam Bernardus audiens, unum membrum disjunctionis, id est officium honoremque abbatis deserere, satis libenter excepit; alterum autem excipere renuit, metuens ne ecclesiam, quam liberam acceperat, servituti subjiceret; et ex alia parte vehementer formidans jura Cluniacensium, qui se causam justam habere dicebant, impedire. Quod vero sibi tutius fore credidit, facere non distulit; exaestuans etenim amore paupertatis ac solitudinis, ad secretum eremi a quo fraudulenta violentia abstractus fuerat rediit, et mentem suam, quae ibi remanserat, invenit. Qui domno Roberto de Abresello atque Vitali de Mauritonio, quorum jam superius mentionem fecimus, est conjunctus'.

Since you are a member of the Roman Church, we are astonished that you are knowingly against us. And you are not ignorant of the fact that the monastery of Saint Cyprien is entrusted to the monastery of Cluny through the disposition of the apostolic see. You truly, as we heard, consecrated the abbot there who was elected against the laws of the Roman Church. We order that the same brother abbot may be deprived from this office, for as long as the abbot of Cluny may be satisfied, and the Church itself may remain with the Roman constitutions of the abbot of Cluny's ordination. Concerning Maillezais, each abbot we order, as with lord Urban's order, to the abbot of Cluny's satisfaction. Otherwise, you understand truly that for this you may suffer the indignation of the apostolic see, and they may not escape from this appropriate ruling.⁵²⁸

That Bishop Peter had also consecrated an abbot at Maillezais without Saint Hugh's consent suggests a certain level of concerted action in Poitiers against Cluny's privileges, and indeed the region records the highest density of resistance to Cluny among its daughter houses (*Figure 15*), with Steven Vanderputten recently describing just how widespread anti-Cluniac sentiment was in the region.⁵²⁹ We might plausibly imagine, therefore, that Bernard was deliberately procured by a complot of Bishop Peter and Abbot Reginald as someone who would resist Cluniac authority, and if Reginald was indeed a disciple of Chaise-Dieu, who themselves had engaged in a jurisdictional dispute with Cluny in 1095 (*Chapter 1*), another possible alliance network would seem to have revealed its shape.

⁵²⁸ Paschalis II, 'LX. P[etro] episcopo Pictaviensi praecipit ut monasterio Cluniacensi satisfaciatur de abbate S. Cypriani consecrato; eidemque monasterio satisfieri ab abbate Malleacensi jubet', *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 163, ed. by J.-P. Migne (1841-55), cols. 0081C-D: 'Cum Romanae Ecclesiae membra sitis, miramur quod vestro capiti scienter contraitis. Neque enim ignoratis Sancti Cypriani monasterium per sedis apostolicae dispositionem Cluniacensi monasterio esse commissum. Tu vero, ut audivimus, abbatem illic repente electum adversus Romanae Ecclesiae privilegia consecrasti. Unde praecipimus ut idem frater abbas officio careat, donec Cluniacensi abbati satisfaciatur, et Ecclesia ipsa juxta Romanas constitutiones in abbatis Cluniacensis ordinatione persistat. De Malleacensi quoque abbate praecipimus ut juxta domini Urbani praeceptum abbati Cluniacensi satisfaciatur. Alioquin vide ne tu pro eis sedis apostolicae indignationem experiaris, et ipsi condignam sententiam non effugiant'.

⁵²⁹ Steven Vanderputten, "'I would be rather pleased if the world were to be rid of monks.'" Resistance to Cluniac integration in late eleventh- and early twelfth-century France', *Journal of Medieval History*, 47 (2021).

Bernard, for his part, chooses the wilderness over the alternative of enforcing Cluniac laws in Saint-Cyprien. The crux of the issue is clear: monastic (and episcopal) *libertas* struggling against an overbearing papal-Cluniac authority intent on complete hierarchical integration. Since in the case of Saint-Cyprien, Bernard was forced from his abbacy against his will by Cluny – returning to the exile of the wilderness – it is possible that this was also the case at Saint-Savin, though there seems to be no means of settling the question for certain. Here, then, the causes of Bernard's flights to the wilderness are split: on the one hand, Geoffrey Grossus is keen to emphasise that the hermit life was a matter of Bernard's heart – his desire; on the other, the exile of the wilderness is a direct result of Cluny rejecting him as abbot of one (or perhaps two) of their houses. It may be that one or the other is the real principal cause, or otherwise that both are equally operant, each cause converging on the same outcome. Only at Saint-Cyprien, however, can we be sure that Bernard's exile is purely Cluny's doing.

After relating a period of Bernard preaching in Normandy and Brittany, the *vita* then returns to the issue of Saint-Cyprien:

Meanwhile, for about four years the monks of Saint-Cyprien had expended much effort and expense trying to free (*liberarent*) their monastery from the false claim of the Cluniacs and had been unsuccessful. Since their need was urgent, in distress they were forced to go into the desert with letters from the bishop of Poitiers. They located their abbot and asked him to help the persons who were toiling in their monastery. Impelled by compassion and compelled by the order of his bishop, Bernard returned to Saint-Cyprien and spent a few days there. Urged by the bishop and monks, accompanied by a few hermit brothers from the desert, riding on a donkey, wearing his garments of poverty, that is, of hermit life, he set out for Rome with this humble entourage. When he arrived there after much exertion, he went to his lord, Pope Paschal [II], and asked the pontiff why he had deprived him of the office of abbot.⁵³⁰

⁵³⁰ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 61; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1399D-1400B: 'Interea monachi S. Cypriani, per annos ferme quatuor multis laboribus atque expensis satagentes, ut a calumnia Cluniacensium Ecclesiam suam liberarent, CAUSAL ORIGINS OF THE 'RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES': CLUNY, TIRON, AND THE NEW ORDERS, 910-1156 JAMIE WILLIAM IRVINE

Here again Bernard is retrieved from the desert by Bishop Peter, apparently in another scheme to release Saint-Cyprien from Cluniac control. This time, the pope 'kindly restored the office that he had forbidden Bernard to hold, in a public audience', after which Bernard 'returned to Poitiers and held his monastery for several years in peace'.⁵³¹

As Harwood Cline herself notes, however, '[Geoffrey's] assertion that Paschal II restored Bernard to his abbacy is not supported by the abbey's cartulary and seems improbable, for the pope's powerful chamberlain had ties to Cluny'.⁵³² Especially damning against the reality of this actually having occurred is the compositional structure of the *vita* itself: in order to effect a symmetry of events between the two halves of Bernard's life, Geoffrey is forced to contrive a scenario whereby Bernard makes a trip to Rome both before and after his private audience with the Pope, this audience being the *vita's* central pivot. The first trip to Rome, therefore, is most likely a fabrication or the splitting of a single event.

The second trip to Rome is apparently instigated by lukewarm monks at Saint-Cyprien promising to lend their assistance to Cluny's attempts to subject the monastery, who, emboldened by the suggestion, then 'went to the pope a second time and pressed again to have Bernard suspended from the office of abbot unless

facere nequiverunt. Qua difficultate necessitatis compulsi, cum Pictaviensis episcopi litteris eremum adeunt, abbatem suum inveniunt; et ut Ecclesiae suae laboranti succurreret, rogaverunt. Qui pietate tactus, atque sui episcopi jussione coactus, ad S. Cyprianum rediit, ibique diebus aliquot habitavit. Ac deinceps, episcopo ac monachis impellentibus, paucis secum de eremo fratribus assumptis, ipse in asino residens, paupertatis suae vestibibus indutus, id est eremiticis, cum tam humili comitatu Roman petiit. Ad quam post multos labores perveniens, dominum papam Paschalem adiit, et cur se abbatis officio privasset requisivit'.

⁵³¹ Harwood Cline, ...*Blessed Bernard of Tiron*..., p. 62; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1400B: 'Deinceps vero illum ad palatium reduxit, eique officium quod interdixerat, in communi audientia benigne reddidit. Dehinc Bernardus, accepta ab eo benedictione, Pictavium rediit, monasteriumque suum per aliquot annos in pace tenuit'.

⁵³² Harwood Cline, ...*Blessed Bernard of Tiron*..., p. 62n1.

he would subject the monastery to them'.⁵³³ Ever dutiful, Bernard then 'resumed the work anew,' because 'He was afraid that he would sin if through sloth and negligence on his part, he allowed the liberty (*libertatem*) of his monastery of Saint-Cyprien to slip away'.⁵³⁴ This time, we are presented with a very different Pope Paschal II from the kindly spiritual father who had ruled in Bernard's favour before, seeing instead a pope avoiding his duty of handing down a summary judgement:

[Bernard] asked the pope to investigate the cases of both parties carefully and hand down a lawful judgement. The pope avoided doing so (*subterfugiens*) and ordered Bernard either to subject the monastery to the Cluniacs or never to hold office in that abbey.⁵³⁵

This pontifical cowardice then sets up what Geoffrey clearly intends to be Bernard's crowning glory: a lengthy and scalding speech to the pope and the curia which not only forces Paschal to reverse his decision, but also delivers a devastating blow to Cluny itself. Resting, as it does, at the very heart of the *vita's* pedimental composition – the deliberate pivot of Bernard's whole story and providential mission – its significance cannot be overstated. Following on the heels of Bernard terrifying all present by summoning 'the pope and all those involved in this matter to an examination at the Last Judgement before a judge who would be undeceived by dark

⁵³³ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 63; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1400D: 'Qua suggestionis exhortatione animati Cluniacenses, dominum papam iterum adeunt, et ut Bernardum ab officio abbatis suspenderet nisi illis subderet monasterium, denuo compulerunt'.

⁵³⁴ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 63; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1400D-1401A: 'Bernardus igitur ex integro resumens laborem, ne gravioris fortunae ictibus succumberet, metuens peccare, si propter desidiam ac negligentiam suam S. Cypriani monasterium suam amitteret libertatem, iterum Romam veniens, supradictum papam rogavit ut utriusque partis causas attente discuteret, et justum iudicium faceret'.

⁵³⁵ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 63; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1401A: '...rogavit ut utriusque partis causas attente discuteret, et justum iudicium faceret. Quod ille facere subterfugiens, imperavit, ut aut ecclesiam Cluniacensibus subderet, aut nunquam in illa abbatia officium exerceret'. Note that Harwood Cline's translation of 'subterfugiens' as 'avoided doing so' undersells the level of cowardice Geoffrey imputes to the pope, with 'subterfugiens', from 'subter-' ('under') and 'fugio' ('I flee'), implying a 'running away' by stealth or underhanded means.

ignorance and uncorrupted by gifts,' he is then allowed to speak after the pope and his advisers decide that it would be 'unsafe (*non esset securum*)' to go against him, whereupon he says:

"Most reverend pope, I entreat your eminence in your excellence to allow me briefly to say a few words that reflect the truth. For years past, you, Father, and many who are members of this sacred college, very honourable men because of their meritorious wisdom and lives, have been aware that the abbey of Saint-Cyprien, entrusted to the rule of our insignificant self, has enjoyed its freedom (*libertate*) over the course of many years. It reflowered with great piety, before the monastery began to be Cluniac. Now, the abbot of Cluny, according to the prophesy of Isaiah, keeps neighing after my wife (Jer 5:8). As if he were an archabbot, with arrogant tyranny he hotly desires to rule me, an ordinary abbot, and is trying to make our abbey serve him like a maidservant and be his to rule and command. This kind of ambition is novel and unusual. It springs from vice, and unless its stalk is cut off at its root, it will propagate fruits of great virulence and broadcast seeds of immense corruption, if it is allowed to grow. I have no doubt, of course, that this detestable evil, which I call novel and insolent, will be uprooted in its egregiousness by the censure of your judgement. We read in divine compilations about archbishops, archpriests, and archdeacons, but we do not find the title of archabbot in them. The *Rule of Saint Benedict* (which I, who am accused, profess, and he, my accuser, professes) establishes that the abbot alone has the right to dispose of all things in his monastery (*RB* 65:11-12). Benedict makes no mention whatsoever of any archabbot, for Benedict believed that no one in the world ever longed or would long for such arrogant vanity. I came to show that his malicious claim is false, if I am given an opportunity to defend the ancestral liberty (*libertatem*) of our monastery, most excellent Father..."⁵³⁶

⁵³⁶ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 63, 63, 64-65; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1401A-B, 1401B, 1401C-1402B: 'Zelo igitur iustitiae accensus, illud Salomonis secutus: Justus ut leo confidens absque terrore erit, dominum papam, et omnes illius in hac re complices, non praesumptuosa audacitate, sed libera magnanimitate, in extremi iudicii examine ante iudicium, nullis ignorantiae tenebris falli, aliquibus muneribus corrumpi nescium, constanter invitavit.', '«Vestrae sublimitatis excellentiam, reverendissime papa, deprecor, ut me pauca nec a veritate discrepantia dicturum paulisper sustineat. Jam ab annis praecedentibus hoc vestra paternitas, et quamplures qui huic sacro conventui intersunt, vitae et sapientiae suae merito multum honorabiles viri hoc non nesciunt, quatenus S. Cypriani ecclesia quae nostrae parvitatibus regimini commissa est, multorum annorum curriculis sua utens libertate in magna religione reflowerit, antequam Cluniacense monasterium esse coeperit. Nunc vero Cluniacensis abbas, juxta Isaiae vaticinium, ad uxorem meam hincire non desinit, et mihi qualicunque abbati tamen veluti archiabbas superba tyrannide dominari appetit; et quod nostra ecclesia ut ancilla sibi famuletur, sua regnet et imperet, efficere satagit; quod genus ambitionis novum et inauditum: nam ab illo (vitio) exordium accipit, (quod) nisi in sua radice stirpitibus amputetur, multam virulentae proles propaginem emisit, corruptionisque immensae

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After concluding this blistering critique with humble supplication to the wisdom of his lord pope, the Cluniacs respond, but 'Since they did not have truthful arguments (*quia veritatis non habentis angulos argumenta*) that would prove that the monastery of Saint-Cyprien should be subject to their laws and could not devise any, they began to fashion veiled ambiguous comments abounding in ambitions and roundabout ways of speaking'.⁵³⁷ This mirrors an earlier, indirect criticism of the subterfuge of Cluniac schemes, where Bernard's qualities as abbot are praised in contrast to those who 'exult because of an abundance of splendid things, or rejoice in his own renown,

seminarium, si oriri permittatur, pullulaverit. Hoc sane tam detestabile malum, quod propter magnitudinem vestri censura iudicii merito abscindet non dubito, novum et insolens dixerim. In litteris etenim divinitus collatis archiepiscopos, archipresbyteros, archidiaconos legimus; archiabbatum vero nomina, in illis necdum invenimus. S. Benedicti Regula (cujus ego professor, qui impetor; et ille est, qui me impetit) ut abbas solummodo jus disponendi omnia in suo monasterio habeat, constituit; de archiabbate vero penitus tacuit, quia neminem hujus superbae vanitatis appetitorem in mundo fuisse vel fore credidit. Cujus calumniae falsitatem ut ostendam, si mihi detur locus defensionis, nostrique monasterii astruam libertatem, excellentissime Patrum, «Vestrae sublimitatis excellentiam, reverendissime papa, deprecor, ut me pauca nec a veritate discrepantia dicturum paulisper sustineat. Jam ab annis praecedentibus hoc vestra paternitas, et quamplures qui huic sacro conventui intersunt, vitae et sapientiae suae merito multum honorabiles viri hoc non nesciunt, quatenus S. Cypriani ecclesia quae nostrae parvitatibus regimini commissa est, multorum annorum curriculis sua utens libertate in magna religione refluoruit, antequam Cluniacense monasterium esse coeperit. Nunc vero Cluniacensis abbas, juxta Isaiae vaticinium, ad uxorem meam hincire non desinit, et mihi qualicunque abbati tamen veluti archiabbas superba tyrannide dominari appetit; et quod nostra ecclesia ut ancilla sibi famuletur, sua regnet et imperet, efficere satagit; quod genus ambitionis novum et inauditum: nam ab illo (vitio) exordium accipit, (quod) nisi in sua radice stirpitibus amputetur, multam virulentae prolis propaginem emiserit, corruptionisque immensae seminarium, si oriri permittatur, pullulaverit. Hoc sane tam detestabile malum, quod propter magnitudinem vestri censura iudicii merito abscindet non dubito, novum et insolens dixerim. In litteris etenim divinitus collatis archiepiscopos, archipresbyteros, archidiaconos legimus; archiabbatum vero nomina, in illis necdum invenimus. S. Benedicti Regula (cujus ego professor, qui impetor; et ille est, qui me impetit) ut abbas solummodo jus disponendi omnia in suo monasterio habeat, constituit; de archiabbate vero penitus tacuit, quia neminem hujus superbae vanitatis appetitorem in mundo fuisse vel fore credidit. Cujus calumniae falsitatem ut ostendam, si mihi detur locus defensionis, nostrique monasterii astruam libertatem, excellentissime Patrum, adveni...'

⁵³⁷ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 65; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1402C: 'Sed hi, quia veritatis non habentis angulos argumenta, quibus (proben) S. Cypriani ecclesiam suis legibus debere esse subditam, invenire nequeunt, per ambages palliatas ambitionibus et circuitibus plenas, commenta quaedam fingere incipiunt'. Note the use of 'angulos' (angles, corners, nooks) to refer to the 'truth', perhaps another invocation of the quaternary symbolism of the Strong Square, this time noting its lack among the Cluniacs.

or aspire to honor, or *revel in authority over others in the hidden meditations of his deliberations* [my emphasis],’ again repeating the accusation – as we saw from the anti-Cluniac defenders of Saint-Martial, Saint-Bertin, Baigne and elsewhere – that Abbot Hugh of Cluny customarily operated in secret.⁵³⁸ If it must be conceded that these accusations are from Cluny’s avowed enemies, and therefore are unreliable enough that they would still not constitute evidence ‘that her abbots desired the expansion of Cluny’, as Hunt maintained, then it must be at least acknowledged that this appears to be something widely rumoured about Saint Hugh and the Cluniacs more generally.⁵³⁹

Apparently having embarrassed the Cluniacs and convinced the pope of his case, however, Bernard is then restored to the abbacy of Saint-Cyprien, though Paschal begs him to join him as cardinal-priest in a moment that seems comically unlikely, though not out of character for a pope often depicted as otherworldly, devout, and sympathetic to ascetics.⁵⁴⁰ Bernard instead refuses both positions and makes clear his desire for the wilderness, whereupon the pope commissions him as a mendicant priest a century before Saint Dominic.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁸ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 52; Gaufridus Grossus, ‘Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...’, *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1395A: ‘Non rerum affluentium abundantia exsultabat, non laude propria laetabatur; non ad honorem cor elevabat, nec in occulta cogitationis meditatione caeterorum subjectione pascebatur...’

⁵³⁹ Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh...*, p. 150.

⁵⁴⁰ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 65; Gaufridus Grossus, ‘Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...’, *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1402D. For this depiction of Paschal II, see for instance Hayden V. White, ‘Pontius of Cluny, the “Curia Romana” and the End of Gregorianism in Rome’, *Church History* 27.3 (1958), pp. 195-219.

⁵⁴¹ Gaufridus Grossus, ‘Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...’, *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1402D-1403A; Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 66: ‘...he imposed this office on Bernard: Bernard was to preach to the people, hear confessions, impose penances, baptize, tour regions, and solicitously fulfill all functions of a preacher to the public. Subsequently the pope gave this kind of apostolic remuneration to Bernard, since he did not wish the apostolic vicar whom he was sending out to preach without pay to have no livelihood: he decreed that Bernard might accept bodily food from those whom he restored by his saving word’.

It should go without saying, of course, that much of this is exceedingly unlikely. Saint-Cyprien did not, in fact, secure its independence from Cluny, with papal privileges listing it as a possession of Cluny in 1058, 1075, 1100 and 1125, after the episode with Bernard and the curia, which must have occurred between 1101, when Paschal II wrote his letter to Bishop Peter II of Poitiers scolding him for consecrating Bernard as Abbot of Saint-Cyprien against Cluniac privileges (which he himself had issued just a year prior), and at the very latest 1107, when Tiron was founded.⁵⁴² Paschal, too, would have had to reverse pronouncements he himself had made on several occasions – the papal privilege issued for Cluny in 1100 was issued in his name, and of course his letter of 1101 to Bishop Peter is unequivocal and authoritative – while his own relationship to Cluny is such that it was once widely believed that he was himself a professed Cluniac, being the godfather of the notorious Pons or Pontius of Melgueil, Abbot of Cluny 1109-22, and ever a warden of their interests.⁵⁴³ Indeed, it was Paschal who infamously granted episcopal regalia to ‘his most beloved son’ Pons, ‘...Mitræ (mitre), Dalmaticæ (the dalmatic vestment, worn by bishops), chirothecarum

⁵⁴² Stephan IX, ‘Ad hoc Deo auctore’, *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 15, col. 1; Gregor VII, ‘Supernae miserationis’, *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 18, col. 2; Paschalis II, ‘Ea religionis praerogativa’, *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 32, col. 1; Honorius II, ‘Incomprehensibilis et ineffabilis’, *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 42, col. 1, n. 2.

⁵⁴³ Many popular online biographies of Pope Paschal II still maintain a Cluniac profession. For instance, Wikipedia’s entry on Pope Paschal II largely follows that of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, itself based on its own 1911 entry: Wikipedia, ‘Pope Paschal II’, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Paschal_II [accessed 6 June 2022]; Catholic Encyclopedia, ‘Pope Paschal II’, <https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11514b.htm> [accessed 6 June 2022]. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* does not reproduce the error: Encyclopedia Britannica, ‘Pope Paschal II’, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Paschal-II> [accessed 6 June 2022]. Orderic Vitalis maintained that Paschal II had been a monk of Vallombrosa: Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. V, *Books IX and X*, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1975), p. 194. Orderic Vitalis also mentions his relationship of godfather to Pons: Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. VI, *Books XI, XII, and XIII*, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1978), p. 268.

(episcopal gloves) & Sandaliorum (episcopal sandals)...,' and, according to Orderic Vitalis, it was 'at [his] command he had been brought up among Cluniac monks'.⁵⁴⁴

Rather, a more likely scenario is that Bernard did indeed fight his case in the papal curia but was soundly defeated and hence forced back into the exile of the wilderness. He went to Rome to recover his abbacy and release his monastery from the subjection of the Cluniacs; it would be more than a little strange if, on having achieved these two objectives, he instead decided to resign the said abbacy in favour of a hermitage and leave his monastery once again at risk to the clutches of Cluny. Nonetheless, the version of events presented by Geoffrey Grossus is substantially the same as that reported by Orderic Vitalis some years earlier:

About this time Bernard, abbot of Saint-Cyprian, left Poitiers because he did not wish to subject his monastery, which up to that time had been independent, to Cluny. Since, as it is written, "the righteous man is bold as a lion" [Prv 28:1], he fought an action in the Roman synod before Pope Paschal for the liberty of his church and challenged him to face the judgement of God because he had not done full justice in the matter. The pope respected his impressive courage and begged him to remain with him to further the interests of the Roman church. But he utterly spurned all worldly cares and travelled through many parts with a few pious monks who gladly followed him.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴⁴ Paschalis II, 'Cum differentia donationum', *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 37, col. 1; Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History...*, vol. VI..., p. 268: 'Erat quippe magnanimous de Valle Brutiorum monachus consulis Merguliensis filius, et paschalis papæ filiulus, imperioque eius inter Cluniacenses educatus'.

⁵⁴⁵ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. IV, *Books VII and VIII*, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1978), pp. 328, 329: 'Circa hæc tempora Bernardus Quinciaci abbas Pictaunse solum reliquit, quia prefatum monasterium quod hactenus liberum extiterat Cluniaco subiugare noluit. Et quia sicut scriptum est "iustus ut leo confidit", in Romana sinodo contra Pashalem papam pro libertate æcclesiæ litigavit, ipsumque quia plenarium sibi rectum non fecerat ad diunium examen prouocavit. Cuius formidandam animositatem papa reueritus est. ipsumque ut secum ad Romanæ tutelam æcclesiæ commoraretur precatus est. Ille uero mundanas omnio curas deseruit, et plura cum quibusdam religiosis fratribus ipsum auide sequentibus loca perlustravit.'

Since in Orderic Vitalis' abridged version of events the narrative beats are exactly those of Geoffrey Grossus, including where and how the quotation of Proverbs 28:1 is used as well as some near-verbatim sentences, it seems more probable that both men were working from the same or similar sources rather than each of their accounts providing independent corroboration for the other, as Chibnall believed, though this would conform to her wider belief that much of *The Ecclesiastical History* of Orderic Vitalis was composed referencing 'pancartes' (a single charter comprising many separate gifts and endowments from the period of a monastery's foundation) and similar sources.⁵⁴⁶ Geoffrey, for his part, tells us simply that 'we are clearly exhorted to transcribe the deeds of holy men and to transmit collections of them in literary works to make their merits known to posterity,' and 'I committed to writing and transmitted to posterity what I saw myself or what I learned from the report of reliable men. Understating rather than overstating the merit of the works (*operisque*), I merely arranged the material from good letter writers'.⁵⁴⁷ While here Harwood-Cline prefers to translate 'bonis dictatoribus materiam tantummodo comparavi' as 'I merely arranged the material from good letter writers', the original sense seems more to imply a *comparison to* 'good writers (*bonis dictatoribus*)' than *arrangement from* 'good letter writers' – Geoffrey is saying that he composed the *vita* after the style of acknowledged masters rather than having arranged it from a corpus of letters – nonetheless it is clear that there is some pre-existing 'material (*materiam*)' and

⁵⁴⁶ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History...*, vol. IV..., p. 329n; Marjorie Chibnall, 'Charter and Chronicle', in C.N.L. Brooke, D.E. Luscombe, G.H. Martin and Dorothy Owen, eds., *Church and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to C.R. Cheney on His 70th Birthday* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 11-14.

⁵⁴⁷ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 3, 8; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1367A, 1370D-1371A: '...quod Gesta sanctorum hominum describere, et ad posteriorum notitiam utilitatis gratia litterarum apicibus collecta transmittere...', 'Sciens etenim veritate nihil esse praestantius, veraci stylo magis quam nitido, humilitatis tenente campestria, ea quae vidi vel fidelium hominum relatione didici, litteris commendata successoribus transmissi; operisque dignitatem magis attenuans quam explicans, bonis dictatoribus materiam tantummodo comparavi: quam et rei veritatem fucis sermonum obducere nolui, ne dum lector pompas phalerasque verborum studiosus attenderet, virtutes sancti viri negligenter perciperet'.

'work/s (*operis*-)' he has used as his sources.⁵⁴⁸ That is, while it may be true that both Orderic Vitalis' account (*Book VIII* being written c.1135) and that of Geoffrey Grossus (written c.1137-43) accord because they report the same events, it is more likely that they simply both consulted an older, single Tironesian tradition, be that preserved in letters, orally, or more likely both. Such a tradition would, of course, be incentivised to frame Bernard's deeds and life in the best possible light, including presenting his moment in Rome as a triumph and, particularly, crafting a legend of a man who had sought the wilderness from his own personal piety and ascetic, apostolic conviction. It is a story which would serve as hearty edification for the brethren of Tiron, in contrast to anything which implied defeat, exile, or failure.

So while it may indeed be unwise to discard outright the narrative assertions of Orderic and Geoffrey that Bernard entered the wilderness motivated by personal *desire*, there is nonetheless considerable cause to believe that he instead found himself there because Cluny was victorious in Saint-Cyprien's suit against their claim, and rejected him as abbot – a fact mildly obfuscated if not concealed by the lionising aims of Tironesian sources. A counterfactual exercise settles the matter: if Cluny had not interceded in Saint-Cyprien, would Bernard have entered the wilderness? Even following the vita's narrative, it is clear that he would not have; he would simply have remained as Abbot Reginald's appointed successor and was apparently happy to do so until he was confronted by Cluniac authority.

With Bernard in apparent 'exile' in the wilderness, then, Cluniac spatial influence still did not cease to exert control over where Bernard was *permitted* to be. As we have already seen, when he became ready to settle a new community at Arcisses on land

⁵⁴⁸ The difficulty here stems from 'dictatoribus' being both the ablative and dative plural of *dictator*, though *comparavi* ('I have compared') settles the context. Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 8; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1370D-1371A.

donated by Count Rotrou, it was from fear of the local Cluniacs that the count's mother (and 'misled by advice from certain individuals') forced her son to withdraw the offer because 'she was afraid that some trouble would arise because of his relationship with the monks of Cluny,' a phrase confirming their mutual animosity.⁵⁴⁹ The count's alternative offer, however – Tiron – failed to head off their claims in any case, when the Cluniac 'monks of Saint-Denis [de-Nogent-le-Rotrou] said that they were entitled to the tithes and burial fees of the very tract that Count Rotrou had given to him'.⁵⁵⁰ Again Bernard was forced to relocate, though this time he sought the patronage of those who shared similar adversaries:

This malicious claim forced him to abandon the buildings that his disciples had constructed so laboriously and to seek another site where he might be allowed to dwell. Therefore he went to the above-mentioned Ivo, the venerable bishop of the celebrated cathedral of Chartres, dedicated in honor of Holy and Ever-Virgin Mary, and to the canons at that time, and he asked them to give him a very small portion of a farm that they owned, contiguous to his little property, on which he might found his monastery.⁵⁵¹

In this case, causal precedence is easier to attribute: it is for *Cluny* that Bernard is forced to relocate and for no other reason, subsequently driving him into the arms of an enemy of their friend, the cathedral canons of Chartres, who were then engaged in a conflict with a well-known supporter of Cluny and later prioress of Marcigny,

⁵⁴⁹ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 72; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1406A-B: 'Sed quorundam deceptus consilio...', '...quoniam ex affinitate illius, Cluniacensibus monachis aliqua suboriri incommoda formidabat...'.
⁵⁵⁰ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 82; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1412C: 'Sub eodem tempore, ne militi Christi Bernardo pugna laboris atque tribulationis deesset, monachi, quorum jam mentionem fecimus, ipsius terrae quam praefatus consul ei dederat, decimas et corpora mortuorum sui juris esse dixerunt'.

⁵⁵¹ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 82-3; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1412D: 'Qua compulsus calumnia, quae discipuli summo cum labore fecerant, aedificia deseruit, aliudque terrae solum, in quo sibi habitare liceret, quaerere intendit. Illius igitur celeberrimae Carnotensis Ecclesiae, in honore sanctae semperque virginis Mariae dicatae, venerabilem episcopum, praedictum scilicet Ivonem, atque canonicos tunc temporis adiit, et ut sibi aliquam portiunculam praedii illius, quod suae possessiunculae contiguum habebant, ad monasterium suum fundandum darent, petiit'.

Countess Adela of Blois (see *Chapter 5*, above). Only with them does he find peace, though interestingly they were not the only Chartres institution who had issues with the Cluniac network in 1107, for Abbot William of St Peter's Abbey at Chartres had accused the monks of Cluny of presiding over the Council of Trent (23 May 1107), 'nobis in Trecensi concilio praesidentibus'.⁵⁵² Unsurprisingly for a pope who had just spent Christmas and much of February at Cluny, the same Pope Paschal II who had judged Bernard's case for Saint-Cyprien found in their favour.

Nonetheless, the mechanism which had forced Bernard's move from 'Tiron' reveals something of the way in which monastic (in this case Cluniac) control was exerted over the wider landscape. In this case, Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou had asserted their rights to 'noval tithes' on the land which Bernard had been granted, which were incomes generated from the cultivation of or activities on lands of what Giles Constable called the "'internal frontier" of forests, swamps, and moors' – those liminal spaces on the edge of the cultivated world, but before the 'wilderness' proper.⁵⁵³ He gives an illustrative example:

A lay grant of noval tithes from a certain forest in Normandy was confirmed by King Philip I of France in 1060, who gave the monks of Marmoutier both the tithe of any honey found in the forest, the terrage and tithe of any crops raised by ploughing new land there, and the tithe alone of any produce raised without ploughing the soil.⁵⁵⁴

In this way, a monastery could project a broader influence and control over lands in its immediate and wider vicinity, forcing any would-be interlopers who did not wish to be subject to such *de facto* taxes deeper into the uncultivated wilderness. In Saint-Denis' case – who themselves had been subject to the same conquest as Bernard had

⁵⁵² This is discussed in Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Early Councils of Pope Paschal II 1100-1110* (Toronto, 1978), p. 80, on the basis of Philip Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 1 (1885-8), JL 6154.

⁵⁵³ Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes: From Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1964), p. 105.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

been at Saint-Cyprien when, in 1082, they were simply replaced wholesale by Cluniacs after their seigneurial lord, Count Geoffrey IV, took offense to Abbot Hubert (*Chapter 2*) – a papal confirmation from November 29, 1095, confirmed their rights to numerous lands, including ‘all lands cultivated and uncultivated’ in a place called ‘Vivariis’, as well as its fields, woods and the goods of its serfs.⁵⁵⁵

In other words, here we see the nascent community of Tiron carried to its site of settlement not through some commitment to a religious ideal, but rather buffeted and directed there by political and economic forces beyond its will. The grant of Arcisses, which the *vita* described as having ‘fertile soil, surrounded by forests on all sides, watered by streams and springs,’ and was ‘noted for its pleasant meadows, fit for cultivating vines and constructing buildings, and suitable for every need,’ was instead abandoned in the face of Cluniac political pressure (through the count’s mother, Beatrix) in favour of Tiron, which was “‘...a place with virtually nothing required for human needs’”.⁵⁵⁶ Settling there for a while before Saint-Denis made its claim, the *vita* reports or invents Bernard nonetheless crafting a suitable ideological narrative for their predicament:

“Now, dearest brothers, look at this desert, a very suitable place for us, quite open, conducive to silence and quiet, and appropriate for divine meditation and prayer. Here the heavy cross of Christ will be borne, here the crown of unending life will be earned, which in your piety you have long desired, and which will be conferred upon you, as you deserve, by the generosity of heavenly grace. If you are displeased that it is unsuitable for human needs, you should be pleased that a wilderness is an opportunity fit only for religious

⁵⁵⁵ Urban II, ‘Sicut irrationabilia’, *B.S.O.C.*, ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 26, col. 1: ‘...in loco qui dicitur Vivariis, terra omnis culta et inculta...’.

⁵⁵⁶ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 71; Gaufridus Grossus, ‘Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...’, *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1405D-1406A: ‘...solo terrae fecundum, silvis ab omni latere contiguum, fontibus et aquis irriguum...’, ‘...pratorum amoenitate conspicuum, vinearum culturae ac domorum aedificationi congruum, omniumque rerum usibus opportunum...’, ‘Vidimus enim, inquit, cui fere cuncta usibus humanis necessaria desunt...’.

men and seekers of the solitary life. The harshness of this place will confer the cross and crown upon you..."⁵⁵⁷

Finally, after Tiron is claimed, Bernard again moves his community to the land granted by the canons of Chartres cathedral, a tract adjacent to Tiron called Gardais, known in modern times as Thiron-Gardais and the ultimate site of the monastery of Tiron proper. In all of these moves, not once does Bernard or any of the future Tironesians express a *desire* to settle in a harsh wilderness, though Geoffrey Grossus is well capable of justifying their circumstances on religious grounds when they are forced to; rather, the motivating factor is always political.

If it was *necessity* which brought the Tironesians into the wilderness, it was also *necessity* which determined their development of certain practices and beliefs distinct from traditional Benedictinism. Always in the *vita*, innovations characteristic of what has been called the 'New Monasticism' – most prominently the preference for work over the liturgy – are presented as necessary compromises to deal with circumstances of poverty rather than anything amounting to deeply-held religious commitments. At Bernard's small community at Chenne-dét in Brittany, for instance, between the two visits to Rome in the *vita*'s narrative, but almost certainly following Bernard's real defeat in the Saint-Cyprien case and subsequent exile, the issue of work conflicting with the recitation of psalms in the *Rule of St Benedict* is treated thus:

Since they did not have anything to live on except what they earned by the work of their hands, sheer necessity forced them to press on with their work, and the many long psalms in honor of patrons that they recited at that time prevented them from pursuing their work for the greater part of the day. The brothers went to the holy man and asked him to make a decision about the matter. He replied, "I am afraid to omit the psalms that by custom are chanted in every monastery (*RB* 9) unless the Lord reveals otherwise, yet you must

⁵⁵⁷ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 76; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1409A-B: «En, fratres charissimi, nunc eremum, locum satis nobis competentem, satis apertum, silentio ac quieti congruum, divinisque meditationibus et orationibus opportunum. Hic Christi crux est bajulanda; hic immarcessibilis vitae corona promerenda, quam diu quaesivit vestra devotio, quam vobis post modum conferre dignata est divinae largitatis pia dignatio'. CAUSAL ORIGINS OF THE 'RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES': CLUNY, TIRON, AND THE NEW ORDERS, 910-1156 JAMIE WILLIAM IRVINE

work hard from necessity. It seems fitting for us to pray earnestly meanwhile so that God may let us know somehow what we should do about this matter."⁵⁵⁸

With great reluctance to giving up the chanting of psalms, the community dutifully continued its practice, exhausting themselves through lack of sleep, until a Divine revelation was sent to them:

Through the depth of their sleep a divine revelation was sent to show them that the psalms should be omitted, particularly because, since it was winter, they customarily slept for scarcely half the night (*RB* 8:1-3). From that time Dom Bernard allowed the recitation of those psalms to be omitted and ordered his disciples to refrain from saying them thereafter. He knew for certain that God preferred to have the workers earn their living than press on with such a large number of psalms.⁵⁵⁹

Later, when this same community was finally settled at Tiron, the role of necessity in determining their practices remained paramount. In the good times, it was the *Rule* which prevailed, such as in section 84's 'proper amount of psalms', or the same in section 106, and when poverty took hold, so too did work and abstinence.⁵⁶⁰ At the height of Tiron's success, with the *vita* reporting five-hundred monks under Bernard's command – three hundred at Tiron and two hundred in priories of twelve – there was

⁵⁵⁸ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 67-8; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1404A-B: 'Sed non habentibus illis unde viverent, nisi labore manuum acquirerent, ipsa necessitas insistere laboribus imperabat, ac multiplex prolixitas familiarium psalmorum, quos tunc temporis dicebant, eos magna parte diei ab operis studio detinebat. Quamobrem fratres sanctum virum adeunt, et quid de hac re decernat, requirunt. Quibus ille respondit: «Psalms quidem, qui per omniafere monasteria ex more decantantur, nisi Dominus aliquid revelet, vereor omittere; ipsa tamen necessitas vos jubet studiosius laborare. Sed hoc videtur idoneum, ut Deum interim attentius precari studeamus, quatenus nobis aliquo modo innuat quid super hac re facere debeamus.»'

⁵⁵⁹ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 68; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1404B-1405A: 'Quae soporis oppressio revera fuit relinquendi supradictos psalmos divinitus missa revelatio, praesertim quia nox illa hiemalis erat, ad cujus usque vix medium aliquis eorum dormire solebat. Domnus autem Bernardus ab illo tempore hos psalmos dicere praetermisit, et discipulis suis ut ab illis deinceps quiescerent imperavit: dixitque se pro certo scire, quod Deus malebat illos laborando sibi victum acquirere, quam tam multiplicibus psalmodiis insistere'.

⁵⁶⁰ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 90, 112; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1417C, 1429C: '...debitae psalmodiae...'

'many days a shortage of bread, so that a pound of bread (*RB* 39:4) had to be divided between two and sometimes among four,' in addition to a complete lack of wine and shortages of clothing.⁵⁶¹ Here the *vita* reports that 'Their abstinence in food and drink and clothing was greater than is required by the *Rule of Saint Benedict*, father and founder of monks, or is decreed by any other written regulations (*RB* 73:5)', though it is clear that the *cause* of this abstinence is simple poverty.⁵⁶² The chapter ends with a description of Tiron's economy and the place of work within its culture:

As long as the man of God had breath in his body, none of his disciples was idle. Everyone worked with his own hands at appointed hours, unless prevented by some impediment. His disciples included numerous artisans, who practiced their individual crafts (*RB* 57) in silence. Subpriors always monitored them, so that, by the Father's order, they were diligent in strict observation of the *Rule* (*RB* 6)... They carried firewood on their shoulders from the forest, took turns cooking unassisted by any servants...⁵⁶³

This theme of real, rather than ideal, poverty, is repeated on Bernard's deathbed, where he says:

"If you are mindful of my most humble poverty, and if you are willing to follow the examples and regulations I set for you, and if you reject other ways, when I

⁵⁶¹ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 93; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1419A-B: 'Multis tamen diebus ita panis deerat, ut necesse esset panis libram inter duos, et nonnunquam inter quatuor dividi'.

⁵⁶² Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 93; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1419C: 'Major autem eis inerat in cibo vel in potu atque in vestibis abstinentia, quam S. Benedicti (Patris) ac institutoris monachorum praecipiat Regula, vel alicujus alterius scripturae jubeant instituta'.

⁵⁶³ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 95; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1420C-1421A: 'Itaque quandiu vir Dei mortales tenuit auras, nullus discipulorum suorum otiosus erat; sed quisque, nisi detineretur incommodo, horis statutis propriis manibus laborabat. Erant etenim inter eos plures artifices, qui singulas artes cum silentio exercebant: quibus semper custodes ordinis praeerant, qui, jubente Patre distractionem regularis observationis diligenter observarent... ligna suis humeris a silva deferrent, coquinam sine aliquo servientium adminiculo ex ordine facerent...'.

am dead the constant oppressive lack of material things will not weigh so heavily on you, God willing."⁵⁶⁴

In the *vita's* postscript analecta of deeds, the source of this poverty is again made clear:

Very frequently it was reported that there was no bread and that his children had no food, yet crowds of people were arriving who could not properly be sent off unfed because they had come from far away. What then?.. he asked the Lord... "Lord, send the crowds away to go into the villages and towns and buy food for themselves, because we are in a lonely place,"... "Lord, send them away, so they can go to more prosperous places where they can get what they need, for this is a lonely and barren place," he learned directly by divine inspiration what the Lord was prompting him to do in His words to the apostles: "You give them something to eat."⁵⁶⁵

That is, Tiron is poor because of its location, and the practices it adopted to address that – manual labour and abstinence – while monastic virtues in their own right, were adopted through *necessity* rather than as the outcomes of a deliberately designed ideological schema.

⁵⁶⁴ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 113; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1430A-B: 'Si enim meae memores humillimae paupertatis, quae vobis ostenderim exempla, quae tradiderim instituta, his sectas refutando contrarias, sequi volueritis; non tanta, me defuncto, gravabimini rerum inopia, quanta vos huc usque, Domino permittente, pressit assidua'.

⁵⁶⁵ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, p. 134; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, cols. 1442A-B: 'Saepius namque nuntiabatur et panem deesse, infantesque suos victu carere, nec non adventantium turbas adesse, quas venientes de longe oportebat jejunas non dimittere. Quid igitur? Putasne, qui legis, fidelissimum Dei famulum, cui panis deerat, et populus pascendus aderat, putas vel ad modicum quasi anxium dubitasse quid ageret? Non dubitavit; non haesitavit: fides namque ejus mira de Dei largitate praesumere assueverat. Promittebat ergo securus, quod non habebat; quia de Omnipotentis bonitate confisus, se habiturum vere credebat. Si enim aliquando corde sollicitus pro turbis affluentibus Dominum rogaverit illud, quod apostoli cum turbae properarent ad Dominum, non habentes unde pascere, rogasse referuntur, dicentes: Domine, dimitte turbas, ut eant in castella et villas emere sibi escas, quia hic in deserto loco sumus, quibus ait Dominus: Vos date illis manducare (Matth. XIV); si, inquam, aliquando multitudini diversorum undique affluentibus non dissimiliter compatiens, Dominum rogaverit corde contrito, dicens: Domine, dimitte eos, ut eant ad ditiora loca, ubi habere possint necessaria, quia hic in deserto et arido loco sumus: continuo intellexit Dominum sibi divinitus inspirando suggerentem, quod ait apostolis: Tu da illis manducare'.

Indeed, from a summary vantage it is possible to see that the origins and life of Tiron had *necessity* as its foundation. It is through conflict with Cluny executed with papal power that Bernard leaves a traditional monastic establishment and attempts to found his own communities; it is only through conflict with Cluny that Bernard is forced into less ideal sites to settle these communities and, thus established, it is this fact of life which generates their *praxis*. Cut off from established networks of tradesmen, the Tironesians are forced to maintain their own trades and skilled artisans, while their isolation from cultivated regions meant that they were also forced to become their own farmers.

It is true, however, that the *vita* presents Bernard of Tiron as being a hermit at heart, desirous of the wilderness, and though this would be rhetorically advantageous for the *vita* itself, ought not to be discarded. Nonetheless, it is also true that the individual kind of eremitism practiced by Bernard of Tiron early in his career was not new to Christendom, and indeed was tolerated and even lauded by the Cluniacs themselves – what was ‘new’ were *communities* founded on different principles, which are often labelled as ‘eremitic’ by modern historians. Here, too, the clues Geoffrey Grossus gives us as to the origin of these ideas ought not to be discarded: Bernard of Tiron, he says, was first attracted to Saint-Cyprien because its abbot – Renaud – had been a disciple of the founder of La Chaise-Dieu, Robert de Turlande (1000-1067), thus providing some evidence of a ‘transmissive’ effect for eremitic ideas directly to Tiron’s founder.

However, it must be asserted that the simple transmission of ideas from place to place is hardly ever a complete causal picture, or even the principal cause of such ideas becoming widespread or ‘successful’ in one place or another. It is not the case,

as we know, that the God of Motorcycles, Bullet Baba's Motorbike, now dominates Western theological discourse despite the idea having been circulating in Western media for several decades: environments must be receptive to the ideas they encounter; there must always be some adaptive 'reason' why the ideas will be adopted. The story of Tiron reveals, in a uniquely explicit way, how the monastic environment of France during this period had become extraordinarily receptive to certain novel ideas and practices; how Cluny and institutions like it had created the conditions and problems which such new ideas and practices could be deployed to solve. *Now* they were necessary, *now* they were useful.

If there is an overriding ideological imperative in the *vita* of Bernard of Tiron, it is hardly the *vita Apostolica*, but rather something else: *libertas*. In Bernard's efforts to secure Saint-Cyprien its *libertas* (traditionally translated as 'freedom'), his activities and what he seems to be fighting *for* accords extremely well with Gerd Tellenbach's important description of the term.⁵⁶⁶ To Tellenbach, '*libertas* simply means subjective right': the totality of a person or thing's 'subjective rights', freedoms and obligations constituted its *libertas*, and this carried with it the need to defend it.⁵⁶⁷ '*Libertas* is the right of every individual. The very foundation of natural law is that every individual's rights must be maintained and defended'.⁵⁶⁸ That is, *libertas* constituted a kind of subjective 'identity', the defilement of which would have been akin to an assault on

⁵⁶⁶ Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. R.F. Bennett (Oxford, 1948), pp. 1, 4, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22-3, 126, 183-4. '*Libertas*' has been translated as 'freedom' or 'freedom' in English and Old English since at least the late ninth century, with Bishop Wærferð of Worcester's translation of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great rendering '...libertate...' as '...freodome...': Bischofs Wærferth von Worcester, *Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. by Hans Hecht (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 11-12. While explorations of *libertas* are widely deployed in historiography, Tellenbach's conception is still dominant and influential, as in Riccardo Baldissone's 2018 survey of 'liberty' in Western thought, where Tellenbach is cited and Gregory VII's use of *libertas ecclesiae* is considered foundational to a 'Papal Revolution' and its subsequent influence on the development of ideas of 'freedom': Riccardo Baldissone, *Farewell to Freedom: A Western Genealogy of Liberty* (London, 2018), pp. 47-54, 48n236.

⁵⁶⁷ Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society...*, pp. 21, 17, 22-3.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-3.

one's personhood or the very 'being' of an institution, and indeed this is how Bernard conceives of it. In his speech to Pope Paschal II, he is 'defend[ing] the ancestral liberty (*libertatem*) of our monastery, most excellent Father....,' against the unjust innovations of the abbot of Cluny and his pretensions to the status of 'archabbot'.⁵⁶⁹ Bernard's sentiments are very much in alignment with what Tellenbach described as the medieval imperative to 'right order' in the world, within which *libertas* is deployed to negotiate the place of each of its constituent parts by their subjective qualities, ordained by God; Cluny, in this context, is an affront to 'right order'; something novel and impertinent; unjust and ungodly.⁵⁷⁰ Indeed, one cannot fail to notice that here, Geoffrey Grossus presents a vivid image of Bernard of Tiron valiantly defending the ancient liberties of his church before a man – Pope Paschal II – who would himself sell *the* Church to the Emperor in a widely condemned act of cowardice, granting the new Emperor Henry V (r.1111-25) investiture rights after two months of imprisonment at his hands in 1111 (which, however, would be overturned at a Lateran council the year after). Geoffrey, of course (*Chapter 5*: was ever well versed in the art of allegorical juxtaposition.

In game theoretic terms, then, not much more need be imagined to produce the outcomes we observe than for each actor to seek principally the maximisation of his *libertas*: his liberty, his freedom, his autonomy, his privileges. It may be, perhaps, the *animus* of the entirety of the Church itself in this period: the 'widespread and thoroughgoing revolution in world view' which Norman Cantor – in the spirit of

⁵⁶⁹ Harwood Cline, *...Blessed Bernard of Tiron...*, pp. 65; Gaufridus Grossus, 'Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris...', *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 1402B: '...si mihi detur locus defensionis, nostrique monasterii astruam libertatem, excellentissime Patrum, adveni...'. Tellenbach says this of churches' *libertas*: 'Churches had in the middle ages a right which was really *sui generis*; it most closely resembled that of the great estates, though their love of comparisons sometimes tempted medieval writers to compare it with personal, rather than property, rights. Clerical *libertates* were, like all others, susceptible of wide variations. Each church had its own, and this liberty was called "ancient," "proper," "noble," "entire": Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society...*, p. 20.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Tellenbach – argued was the transformational ideological outcome of the Gregorian reform and the Investiture Controversy.⁵⁷¹ After *libertas* – the cause and the spirit of the struggle – every other ideological novelty we witness adopted by Tiron is second-order; they are *praxic* consequences of this principal aim, the offspring of necessity. Afterwards comes the rationalisation of alliance structures and concerted ideological articulation: the ‘meta-game’ embarked upon by the new orders to argue that their lifestyle was the ideal one.

⁵⁷¹ Norman F. Cantor, ‘The Crisis of Western Monasticism, 1050-1130’, *The American Historical Review*, 66 (1960), p. 55. It is worth noting, however, that though Tellenbach’s sense of *libertas* is affirmed by the study of Tiron in this thesis, he still made exclusive use of the transmissive paradigm when attempting to explain the concept’s origins, such as arguing that the contemporaries reading ‘Augustine, Gregory and Dionysius... naturally allowed themselves to be guided by them, rapidly assimilating the ideas which they had formulated’, or more prominently where he emphasised that the ideas of pseudo-Isidore were directly responsible for eleventh-century ideas of papal supremacy: Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society...*, pp. 38, 98-9, 139. More recent work even on this narrow subject of *libertas* continues to operate within the bounds of the transmissive paradigm, with Riccardo Baldissone, for instance, arguing that ‘...contemporary innovative notions of freedom are less the effect of speculation on absolute divine faculties, than of the double recovery of Aristotelian and Roman law texts...’: Baldissone, *Farewell to Freedom...*, p. 54. That is, even where concepts are largely ‘correct’, the causal histories imputed to them by historians are universally limited by the dominance of the transmissive paradigm, and this tendency can be seen everywhere one looks.

CONCLUSION

For Tiron and its founder, Bernard, there may indeed be compelling evidence that their ideological positions were generated not by the conscious choice of pre-existing religious commitments, but by simple, pre-mental adaptations to their immediate practical circumstances. It is likely that, had Cluny not intervened in Saint-Cyprien, Bernard of Tiron would have remained its abbot, obscured in the pages of history to the status of footnote or charter witness. Instead, Cluny's aggressive insistence on its control of abbatial appointments forced Bernard first into exile and then into conflict with it, creating an oppositional alliance structure in Poitiers to counter it centred on Bishop Peter II of Chauvigny.

In this conflict, Bernard was recruited as an agent of the movement's real first-order ideological commitment: monastic *libertas*; institutional autonomy pitted against the centralising, subjecting force of Papal-Cluniac *auctoritas* (authority). In defeat here, Bernard was *forced to found his own communities*, their motivating principle being *libertas* with an eremitic gloss. The proto-Tironesians, searching for a home, never *chose* the wilderness, manual labour, or, indeed, extreme poverty; the long tendrils of Cluny's influence chose that for them.

Forced from ideal sites by Cluniac influence and into the arms of a nascent, anti-Cluniac 'White' alliance, the Tironesians ultimately found themselves somewhere they were finally free of the oppressive Cluniac *auctoritas* of the age: the wilderness. Here they adopted the patterns of life that would ensure their survival: manual labour and a tolerance for privation. Though the Christian tradition did indeed furnish them with means of justifying these circumstances, it is clear that they were not *chosen*; that the

Tironesians were not motivated to seek out a harsh wilderness before the territoriality of the black monks had forced them there.

Thus, we might be able to say with some confidence that the individuals and communities which founded the Order of Tiron were possessed of a conscious first-order ideological commitment which precipitated the circumstances by which a suite of unconscious, second-order 'patterns of life' had to be adopted for the sake of survival. *Libertas*, forcing a conflict with its counterpart – *auctoritas* – led a community and its leader into ever deeper *wildernesses*, alloying the culture of the new monastic order to the values of *manual labour* and *ascetic poverty*. From this position, the alloy of Tironesian ideology was forged with the application of a justificatory gloss applied from the *a posteriori* observation of their actual, lived conditions. The wilderness became the means by which Tironesians might earn the cross and crown of Christ; their labour their Pauline nobility; their abstinence their temperate virtue.

Or so the argument would go. While such a 'generative' mechanism for the origins of the 'new ideology' of the 'religious movement' may be plausible or even convincing, it is clear that Bernard of Tiron was likely already in prepossession of eremitic ideals. Even if he did not choose the circumstances into which he was forced, he was already pre-armed with the cultural tools to navigate them: the wilderness was *already* sanctified in Christian tradition, as was manual labour and poverty the more so. In the infinite complexity of reality, both the 'transmissive' and 'adaptive' or 'generative' categories of causes laid out in the *INTRODUCTION* were powerfully operant. The truer mystery of the causes which brought about the 'new ideology' of the 'religious movement' was convergence; was timing. Eremitic ideals arrived in the Latin West just as they were most useful to a monastic world wracked by the disruptive force of 'Hugonist' Benedictinism; or perhaps they lay dormant in the psyches of churchmen

and the scribed copies Jeromian texts, awaiting a moment which created in them a newly powerful utility.

Balancing the influence of separate causes converging to singular outcomes is a difficult task, though two things are clear: i) that the 'new ideology' of the 'single religious movement' did not have a single or categorically constrained cause, as Grundmann and others maintained, and ii) that Tiron in particular may have owed its existence in greater part to the practical, material circumstances arrayed against it, and its ideology to pre-mental *praxic* adaptations to these circumstances. It is *not coincidental* that the principal content of the 'new ideology' of the 'religious movement of the Middle Ages' was praxic; was concerned expressly with ways of living and, indeed, that pre-mental flywheel of 'ideas' – 'patterns of life'. These were birthmarks, at least for Tiron.

So too is it plausible that this causal mechanism extended far beyond the itineraries of Bernard of Tiron and his followers. As *PART ONE: THE OLD ORDER* established, the pressure being applied to the structure of the monastic church by Cluny and those like her during this period was broad and deep. 'Hugonism' was in full force. The 'Old Order' was not old at all, but new and vital; while it was the White 'new orders' that fought for conservative values and, as Bernard of Tiron argued to the Pope, 'ancestral liberties'. Cluny under Saint Hugh spearheaded a transformation of Benedictine monasticism that consumed and assimilated all before it, powered by a strident and irrepressible force of *auctoritas* that upended prevailing monastic norms of institutional autonomy and enraged and mobilised those who were actually to suffer it.

However, Tiron is not typical and Cluny was not everywhere. In the spectrum of origin stories of the new monastic orders, Tiron is in many ways an extreme case. It serves as an ideal exemplar for an unexplored causal mechanism precisely because it is an extreme, exhibiting a level of conflict with and opposition to Cluny exceptional among its peers, from a region – Poitiers – notable for its broader anti-Cluniac politics and a religious movement – the Strong Square – similarly vociferous in its opposition. This circumstance was by no means universal, and the other new monastic orders of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are more difficult to locate on a spectrum of discrete causes.

Molesme, the mother of Cîteaux, was certainly founded under a certain kind of opposition to Cluniac norms, though it would be hard to argue that Robert of Molesme was forced to act in and against the pressure of unconscious, eusocial forces. His ardour was sincere. Similarly for those inspired by him, as was Bruno of Cologne and his Carthusians. In these cases, a genuine reforming spirit seems to be the prime cause, even if it was a reaction to a certain laxity creeping into the monastic church.

For Grandmont we are compelled to concede that there, the direct inspiration of Italian hermits was to blame, and so a truly ‘transmissive’ cause has primacy.

The other new orders each have different stories, more or less similar to Tiron, Cîteaux, or Grandmont, and each falling within a causal range established within the vertices of these exemplars. However, one fact above all is unavoidable: that all of them, no matter which cause was prime in their origins, were newly forced to exist within a monastic milieu determined by Cluny. ‘Hugonism’ was hegemonic; the world was theirs and the structure of the Church was arranged to do their bidding.

The new world this new force had created, saturated and monopolised with a single strain of norms and the hierarchical authority which imposed them, could only be reacted to, never proacted upon. If separate first causes were not sufficient to unite the new orders, the irrepressible logic of social network polarisation and its social balancing would do the heavy lifting: for a moment, all were drawn into the vortex of the singular conflict between White and Black; their values and norms sharpened in the contrast and opposition; their friends enemies of their enemies and friends of their friends. And only one force capped the summit of the causal web which determined these relations, intensified ideologies, and pitted house of God against house of God: Cluny and its newfound *modus operandi*, Hugonism.

However, arguing *this* would require a burden of evidence far beyond any that is produced in this study, and, crucially, would ignore in its synthesis the decisive role played by the transmission of texts and thought in a society undergoing an unprecedented burgeoning of its intellectual culture. Nonetheless, what can be said with some confidence, is that the new ideology of the religious movement did not owe its existence solely to the transmission of thought over space and time, but rather that the products of the moment represented a curious confluence of causal forces both conscious and unconscious, and at least some of these were the hitherto unrecognised praxic, pre-mental mechanisms by which new ideas partly come to be.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Heinrich Rickert and the 'Phrenocentric Paradigm'

In the subfield of philosophy known as 'social epistemology', the way an academic or intellectual discipline as a whole collates, orders and structures its disparate knowledge is sometimes referred to as 'discourse synthesis'. Though the modern term is traceable to a 1996 paper by Raymond McInnis in the journal *Social Epistemology*, and before that to the educationalist Nancy Nelson Spivey, who claims to have coined it, the essential project of theorising about how disciplines 'work' on a social or structural level is not new, ultimately having found its greatest expression in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Neo-Kantian endeavour to transform the whole of philosophy into the '*scientia scientiarum*' – the 'science of the sciences' – following the mid-century collapse of Hegelian metaphysics in the face of the obvious truth-value of the natural sciences.⁵⁷²

In the minds of its proponents, the function of philosophy as the *scientia scientiarum* was to investigate the foundational principles of science and the sciences as a whole, delimit their bounds, order them hierarchically, and elucidate the bonds between them in an epistemological project which sought to perceive the whole of science as

⁵⁷² R.G. McInnis, 'Introduction: Defining Discourse Synthesis', *Social Epistemology: A Journal of Knowledge, Culture and Policy*, 10 (1996), p. 1; N.N. Spivey, *Discourse Synthesis: Constructing Texts in Reading and Writing* (Newark, 1984); N.N. Spivey, *The Constructivist Metaphor: Reading, Writing, and the Making of Meaning* (London, 1997), ch. 6. For the notion of '*scientia scientiarum*' up to the end of the nineteenth-century, see Robert Flint, *Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum, and a History of Classifications of the Sciences* (Edinburgh, 1904), or more conveniently [review] 'Robert Flint, *Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum, and a History of Classifications of the Sciences* (Edinburgh, 1904)', *The Athenaeum*, 4030 (1905), pp. 77-8. For the best monograph on the Neo-Kantian project to transform philosophy into the *scientia scientiarum*, tracing the work of Wilhelm Windelband, Heinrich Rickert, and Wilhelm Dilthey, see Bambach, *Heidegger, Dilthey, and the Crisis of Historicism...*, chs 1-4.

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the unity of knowledge. In the endearing Victorian hyperbole of Robert Flint, he explains:

The sciences are parts of a great whole, the members of a magnificent system. Each of them has manifold relations to every other. But the great whole, the magnificent system, to which they belong is itself an object of knowledge. Unless the intellectual universe be no real universe, but essentially a chaos, science must be general as well as special; or, in other words, there must be a science of the sciences – a science which determines the principles and conditions, the limits and relations, of the sciences.⁵⁷³

This new conception of philosophy as epistemology for the sciences gained the most traction in Germany among those academic philosophers who counted themselves as part of the 'Neo-Kantian' project to skip Hegel and return to Kant; reconsidering his insights about the centrality of concepts and a concept-centred view of human knowledge.

Among the Neo-Kantians, and most prominently its 'Baden School' centred in the university town of Heidelberg, the problem of history's place within their classificatory schemes of the sciences often took centre stage, predictably becoming a problem solved under the same axiomatic terms as they had conceived it: as epistemology (that is, as a problem about 'concept-formation').

Rather than attempting to classify the sciences by their subject matter, the Neo-Kantians instead opted to classify them based upon how each discipline seemed to *form its concepts*. To one of the most prominent Neo-Kantians of the Baden School, for example – Wilhelm Windelband (1848-1915), *Rektor* of the University of Strasbourg – the sciences were divided by their tendency to either particularise with

⁵⁷³ Flint, *Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum...*, p. 3.
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relation to events, as in the case of history, or to universalise with relation to laws, as in the case of the natural sciences, which he referred to as the 'idiographic' and 'nomothetic' disciplines respectively.⁵⁷⁴ In Windelband's contemporarily well-known 1894 Rectorial Address at Strasbourg, he explains:

In view of the forgoing considerations, we are justified in drawing the following conclusion. In their quest for knowledge of reality, the empirical sciences either seek the general in the form of the law of nature or the particular in the form of the historically defined structure. On the one hand, they are concerned with the form which invariably remains constant. On the other hand, they are concerned with the unique, immanently defined content of the real event. The former disciplines are nomological sciences. The latter disciplines are sciences of process or sciences of the event. The nomological sciences are concerned with what is invariably the case. The sciences of process are concerned with what was once the case. If I may be permitted to introduce some new technical terms, scientific thought is *nomothetic* in the former case and *idiographic* in the latter case. Should we retain the customary expressions, then it can be said that the dichotomy at stake here concerns the distinction between the natural and historical disciplines.⁵⁷⁵

While there may indeed be a certain kind of genius in this perception, ultimately it would have the deleterious effect of contributing a great deal to the *delimitation* of how historians came to form concepts, despite the best efforts of some Neo-Kantians to explain that their taxonomies were intended to be merely *descriptive* of actual practice rather than prescriptive of ideal practice. One of Windelband's disciples, for instance – the prominent Heinrich Rickert (1863-1936) – belaboured this point to a degree understandable in the context of just how often his critics would ignore it, writing in one edition of his book *Kulturwissenschaft und Naturwissenschaft*,

I often read that in my view the natural sciences are concerned exclusively with laws, whereas history deals only with what is absolutely nonrepeatable and hence at the farthest conceivable remove from what conforms to law. I have never, in fact, maintained such a thesis. This misunderstanding cannot

⁵⁷⁴ Wilhelm Windelband, 'Rectorial Address, Strasbourg, 1894', *History and Theory*, 19 (Feb., 1980), pp. 169-185.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

have been caused by anything that I have written, but, at most, by Windelband's well-known rectorial address on "History and the Natural Sciences" (1894), which contrasted the "nomothetic" method of the natural sciences to the "idiographic" method of history. I have never used this terminology without reservation because it can indeed give rise to the false impression that the subject matter of science has to be either absolutely general on the one hand or absolutely particular on the other. I myself speak rather of a *generalizing* and of an *individualizing* method, and I have always emphasised that what is involved here is not a question of an absolute antithesis, but of a *relative* difference. Even at the beginning of this book I wrote, as early as 1899, that in it I proposed merely to mark off the two polar *extremes* at either end of the *intermediate* region within which all scientific work is actually carried on. Whoever fails to take note of this point will never understand what I have in view.⁵⁷⁶

Elsewhere in the book he explains his task as 'separat[ing] conceptually what is in reality closely *connected*', or more poetically, 'in the *globus intellectualis* constituted by the various sciences, the poles and the equator do not, so to speak, emerge of themselves, but require a special investigation to determine their location'.⁵⁷⁷

Despite the insistence that most 'science' – including history – is conducted between these poles, however, Rickert's actual system conceives of the methods of the 'natural sciences' (*Naturwissenschaften*) and the 'cultural sciences' (*Kulturwissenschaften*; to which history belongs) as being 'mutually exclusive' and 'ineluctable', such that it is perhaps no wonder that the taxonomic systems of the Neo-Kantians would later influence the notion that 'history' not only customarily *is*, but also *ought to be* completely particularising in its output, with 'nomothetic' concepts by definition conceived of as outside its scope.⁵⁷⁸ While for a long time this was unproblematic, with many prominent historians indeed working within Rickert's 'intermediate' latitudes on the *globus intellectualis* and aiming to render out of their studies 'historical laws', by the time such 'substantive philosophy of history' had fallen out of

⁵⁷⁶ Rickert, *Science and History...*, pp. xi-xii.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 3; see also pp. 16, 104, 134.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 58, xvi.

favour all that remained was the doctrine that history was 'particular'; was a discipline logically incommensurate with 'lawfulness'.

From Vico, Marx and Hegel on its upswing, to Lamprecht and Toynbee on its decline, the substantive philosophy of history attempted to extract broader nomological concepts from the study of history; general theories of the progress of civilisations or other equally universal principles of historical development. By the time Carl Gustav Hempel's (1905-97) ideas had made their way into the debate on historical lawfulness in the inaugural issues of the journal *History and Theory*, the substantive philosophy of history was already becoming widely discredited, owing largely to the overreaches of its most well-known practitioners.⁵⁷⁹ Its death knell was finally struck with the 1973 publication of Hayden White's seminal *Metahistory* and the subsequent entry of history into what is now widely-known as its 'narrativist phase', becoming preoccupied as it did so by the postmodern fascination with hermeneutics and 'history as a kind of literature'.⁵⁸⁰ Only rarely after that would historians ever venture into the territory of the 'lawful' concept, and even then with much trepidation and a density of empirical proofs reminiscent of *The Origin of Species*, as was the case with Paul Kennedy's six-hundred-and-seventy-seven page *The Rise and Fall of The Great Powers*, published in 1988 to much commercial success and ultimately earning that year's Wolfson History Prize.⁵⁸¹ While Kennedy perhaps proves that the appetite among the general public for this type of work had never left, its reception in academic circles was more likely to earn one the somewhat derisive moniker of 'historical sociologist', if the career of Michael Mann is to provide any indication.⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁹ The first reference to Hempel can be found in *History and Theory's* very first issue, in an article by William Dray: William Dray, 'Toynbee's Search for Historical Laws', *History and Theory*, 1 (1960), p. 40.

⁵⁸⁰ White, *Metahistory...*; Simon and Kuukkanen, 'Introduction: Assessing Narrativism'..., p. 153.

⁵⁸¹ Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (London, 1988).

⁵⁸² A useful overview of what is called 'historical sociology' can be found in Dennis Smith, *The Rise of Historical Sociology* (Cambridge, 1991).

Despite the protests of disciplines which supervene upon historical knowledge for historians to resume the theorisation of their output, as the international relations theorists Joseph Mackay and Christopher David Laroche have argued, history would seem now to have almost completely capitulated this territory to other academic disciplines, conjuring what for some would be the nightmare vision of substantive philosophy of history becoming a firm feature of political science rather than history departments and thereby completing the conquests instigated by Fukuyama and Huntington in the early 1990s.⁵⁸³

While this kind of retreat of history as a discipline from the ground of the nomothetic can certainly be presented as lamentable, part of why historians themselves have allowed this to happen must certainly be that, in their own work, the very notion of 'historical laws' seems at best fanciful and at worst the domain of charlatans and pseudoscientists. The sheer complexity of history and the realities of the source base making it impossible to perform any kind of verificatory 'experiments' render any such endeavour ultimately fruitless, at least in the degree of empirical certitude that would normally be required of the scientific process. It would be no great loss, then, to allow the Fukuyamas and Huntingtons their follies, while 'real historians' get on with the altogether more rigorous and reliable work of interrogating the sources and drawing from them conclusions as limited as they allow.

⁵⁸³ Joseph Mackay and Christopher David Laroche, 'The conduct of history in International Relations: rethinking philosophy of history in IR theory', *International Theory*, 9 (2017), pp. 203-36. They claim that 'the past cannot be systematically understood without the observer taking a theoretical stand in general terms on the form of history and our relationship to it', and that '[t]heories of history are unavoidable. IR theorists necessarily hold them, and should therefore make them explicit': *Ibid.*, p. 205. The challenge levelled at historians to resume production of 'theory' is pointed throughout. I refer to Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (London, 1992) and Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, 1996), though there is no lack of non-historians occupying the ground of substantive philosophy of history, especially in the popular imagination, as for instance Jared M. Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: A Short History of Everybody for the Last 13,000 Years* (London, 1997) and its sequels.

While this narrative in the philosophy of history may be a familiar one, nestled at its core, however, rests a singular conceptual conflation with implications as enormous as they are egregious, and for which the Neo-Kantians must surely shoulder a greater part of the blame. In propagating the notion of 'universal laws', 'nomothetic practice', 'generalizing method' and however else it was rendered, an apparently indissoluble link was forged between the concept of 'physics', 'mechanics', 'laws', 'causal rules', and the sense of 'universal' or 'general'. That is, it was imagined that the fundamental *rules* by which the causal interactions of objects are governed must at the same time be somehow 'universally inhering', just as the fundamental physics of the natural world appear to be. The sense of 'universal' or 'general', however, is not necessitated by the notion of 'causal rules' – it is entirely possible that a causal ruleset governing a causal interaction may assemble only *once* in the entire history of the universe, and this likelihood increases exponentially according to the degree of complexity in the interaction, with the circumstances of history representing perhaps the most complex of all, subsuming as it does the potentially infinitely indeterminate vagaries of human choice.

It is for this reason that the jargon of '*precepta*' is used here to refer to such 'causal rulesets', making no reference to any sense of 'universal' or 'general', and in this configuration the work of historians is certainly productive of it. The temporary 'causal ruleset' governing the outcome of a war or other event, for instance, could be assembled from a multitude of transitory cultural exigencies, material factors only applicable to specific times and places, and the mental conditioning (or *mentalités*, as the *Annalistes* had it) of individuals incommensurate with a 'psychology' constructed under axioms of universal human nature. Such a ruleset might apply for only a single event, or it might inhere throughout the lifespan of a historical process lasting

centuries before dissolving completely from the play of civilisations. That is, even if

we are to accept that history is indeed 'particularising', there would still be no sound methodological reason why historians should consider the formation of concepts concerning 'lawfulness' in history to be beyond their scope, and certainly not in the case of those historians who have made macroscopic contributions to their discourses, as for example Bisson, Moore, Grundmann and Leyser discussed above. Even Rickert recognised this, albeit by way of caveat, asserting,

History, too, with its individualizing method and its orientation to values, has to investigate the causal relations subsisting among the unique and individual events with which it is concerned. These causal relations do not coincide with the universal *laws* of nature, no matter how much general concepts may be required as constructive *elements* of historical concepts in order to represent *individual causal relationships*.⁵⁸⁴

Here Rickert is forced to invent a subordinate type of concept-formation, which he refers to as 'historical causality', or by other contemporaries such as Sergius Hessen as *Individuelle Kausalität* ('individual causality'), so precious is the dichotomy between generalising natural sciences and particularising history.⁵⁸⁵ Rather than simply allowing that lawfulness (causal rulesets) can occur with variable temporal applicability, for the logical symmetry of Rickert's system to remain undisrupted, he must instead maintain that *universal* is an inherent property of *lawful* concept-formation, rather than *universal* simply being an *empirical* and *observed* property of the elementary physics of the physical universe (and indeed it is not difficult to imagine scenarios whereby physics itself must contend with a breakdown of such apparently universal 'laws'). In this original Neo-Kantian dual sense of 'universal law', then, 'history' remains relegated from 'nomothetic' modes of concept-formation, and their fiction of the sciences as principally distinguished by their modes of concept-formation rather than their subject matter is preserved.

⁵⁸⁴ Rickert, *Science and History*..., p. 94.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 94; Sergius Hessen, *Individuelle Kausalität. Studien zum transzendentalen Empirismus* (1909).
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Perhaps this distinction seems merely semantic – what is the difference between concepts of ‘individual causality’ and nomological concept-formation proper, if history is allowed to investigate the causal rules governing its events in either case? Here the consequences are contingent rather than strictly formal symptoms of the system itself. One result has been the widespread propagation of what we might call a ‘reification fallacy’ in causal analyses among the cultural sciences, resulting from the inappropriate ingress of *heuristics* of nomological concept-formation from the natural sciences. Since certain natural sciences – most prominently physics – observe that the ‘objects’ of their study (such as elementary particles) can be predicted to behave according to the same causal rules wherever they are, it is *heuristically* true in this case that causal properties *seem to* attach to such ‘objects’ themselves; as if ‘objects’ somehow ‘carry around’ their own ‘causality’. Since this mode of concept-formation is idealised, the method, *along with its heuristics*, is then imported into the cultural sciences, with the result that invented *conceptual objects* in historical milieux are thereby imagined to ‘possess’ their own causality in a similar manner (as concepts of ‘the state’ often do, for example); that causal properties are somehow *attached to* conceptual ‘objects’ rather than arising from the totality of the historical instance to which they belong. This has already been discussed above as the ‘*assimilatur huic*’ *fallacy*, but its prevalence seems to be directly related to the importation of thinking about causality with idioms and heuristics only appropriate to certain of the natural sciences.

In a related sense, but perhaps more profoundly consequential for our purposes, however, has been the belief that, because ‘history’s’ ‘individual causality’ does not ‘coincide with the universal *laws* of nature’, as Rickert instructs us, then almost by definition it must supervene therefore upon a more basal causal ruleset. Predictably this has meant that ‘psychology’ has often been invoked as the ‘mechanics’ of history, much as physics is positioned as the mechanics of ‘nature’. Indeed, the very ‘father of

psychology', Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920), held this position, as did another of Rickert's contemporaries, Hermann Paul (1846-1921), who argued that psychology ought to be considered 'the primary basis of all cultural sciences conceived in a higher sense'.⁵⁸⁶ Far from being a merely antiquated view, this position found its most explicit expression in the mid-twentieth-century to present notion of 'psychohistory', which sought to explain historical phenomena by reference mostly to the psychoanalytic principles of Sigmund Freud.⁵⁸⁷ Despite David Stannard's contention that the method had 'failed' by 1980, however, 'psychohistory' is in fact alive and well, while the more general principle that history supervenes upon 'psychology' – that psychology's principles and findings are more basal than those of history, and that they drive historical causality in its fundamental dimensions – is revealed in the words of that most widely-read of medievalists – Giles Constable – when he wrote recently that 'the application of psychology to history has also helped to deepen our understanding of the religious needs of contemplatives...'.⁵⁸⁸ While Rickert himself ultimately rejected this idea, on the basis that the generalising method of psychology was incommensurate with the particularising method of history, his important concept of 'culture' nonetheless reproduced the same axiomatic conceit: that the subject matter of history – 'culture' – is ultimately the product of, and is 'located' within, human minds.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁶ Hermann Paul, *Principien der Sprachgeschichte* (1880), p. 7: 'Das psychische element ist der wesentlichste factor in aller culturbewegung, um den sich alles dreht, und die psychologie ist daher die vornehmste basis aller in einem höheren sinne gefassten culturwissenschaft'.

⁵⁸⁷ A critical yet summary treatment of 'psychohistory' can be found in David E. Stannard, *Shrinking History: On Freud and the Failure of Psychohistory* (Oxford, 1980).

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 147-56; Joan W. Scott, 'The incommensurability of psychoanalysis and history', *History and Theory*, 51 (2012), pp. 63-83; Giles Constable, 'From church history to religious culture: the study of medieval religious life and spirituality', in Miri Rubin (ed.), *European Religious Cultures: Essays offered to Christopher Brooke on the occasion of his eightieth birthday* (London, 2020), p. 12.

⁵⁸⁹ Rickert, *Science and History...*, pp. 11, 12, 54, 65, 103, 110; Ibid., p. 54: 'However much psychology may differ from the physical sciences in details, its ultimate purpose is always to subsume particular and individual events under general concepts and, if possible, to discover laws. In logical and formal respects the laws of *psychical* life too must be *natural laws*. Thus, considered logically, with regard to the distinction between nature and culture as well as by virtue of its generalizing method, psychology is a natural science. These questions are decided by the fact that empirical psychology, which

Ranking perhaps as his most notable qualification of the bipartite 'nomothetic' and 'idiographic' schema of the sciences as set out by Windelband, Rickert's conception of 'culture' represented the application of formal, methodological definitions both to 'culture' and to its counterpart in the concept of 'nature'. To Rickert, while the natural sciences were methodologically 'generalising', and the cultural sciences were methodologically 'particularising', this also gave rise to a conception of their subject matter. 'Nature' thus came to be defined as reality '*known by a process of generalisation*', with its products 'the embodiment of whatever comes to pass of itself', while 'culture' (or sometimes interchangeably, 'history') was by contrast reality 'when we view it as particular and individual', with its products 'whatever is produced directly by man according to valued ends or, if it is already in existence, whatever is at least *fostered* intentionally for the sake of the *values* attaching to it'.⁵⁹⁰ With this understanding, one is left only to wonder at the elegant logical symmetry Rickert is able to craft here; the self-evident connection between methods and material subject matters in each of the major divisions of the empirical sciences. As he explains,

On the answer to this question depends not only insight into the formal character of the historical sciences, but ultimately also the justification of the material distinction between the natural and the *cultural* sciences. This classification is warranted if, as I believe, it can be shown that the very *same* concept of culture – i.e., as a segment of reality affected with meaning and value – with whose help we have been able to make a distinction between the two groups of *objects* treated by the various specialised sciences determines at the same time the *principle* governing the formation of the concepts of the individual segments of reality dealt with by the *historical* sciences. Thus, we are now finally in a position to demonstrate the *connection* between the *formal* and the *material* principle of classification and thereby to understand the nature of the historical sciences whose subject matter falls within the domain of cultural reality.⁵⁹¹

disregards all values and complexes of meaning, has hitherto obtained its results only by way of the generalizing methods of the natural sciences'.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 46, 18, 57, 19.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., p. 80.

While Rickert's system may indeed be beautiful, and while we might sympathise with Max Weber when, upon reading it, he reports to his wife 'I have just finished Rickert. He is *very good*', nonetheless we must also spy with some scepticism the harshness of the lines he draws around *culture*; the degree of separation from the rest of reality he imparts to it when he plucks it so gracefully from *nature*.⁵⁹² In the process of making this logical abstraction, Rickert inadvertently creates an axiom concerning the *empirical* nature of causal processes in 'culture'. Since 'culture' is conceived as that segment of reality created by human *intent*, its permissible causal inputs are thereby restricted to just such *intent*. 'Culture' is imagined as a 'manifestation of the human spirit'; is rendered as '*psychical* life... contrasted with the *physical* world'; can only be created by the 'fact,' that 'every cultural phenomenon embodies some *value* recognized by man' and 'cultural phenomena, because they are regarded as valuable, must always involve a valuation'.⁵⁹³ In other words, Rickert's formulation of what 'culture' *is*, and how it is *formed*, invents the fiction that it is the sole product of '*psychical*' or '*spiritual*' life; that its genetic origin is always to be found in human *minds*. It is 'phrenocentric' in this sense, unable to conceive of culture as capable of being located external to just such 'minds'; indeed, how could it be? What other possible medium of storage is there? The thought is certainly not unintuitive.

Even here, then, in these Rickertian notions of 'history' and 'culture' – at first glance apparently so rejective of the idea that history supervenes upon psychological principles – we have a second reinforcement of a 'phrenocentric paradigm' – of the fundamental 'mind-centredness' of culture. This hard division is of course even more explicit among psychologists like Wundt, when they contend such things as,

⁵⁹² Marianne Weber, *Max Weber: A Biography*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York, 1975), p. 260.

⁵⁹³ Rickert, *Science and History...*, pp. 14, 10, 19, 26-7.

Psychical can only be adequately explained from psychical, just as motion can only be derived from motion, and never from a mental process, of whatever kind. At the same time... mental processes within the body, and especially in the brain... How are we to conceive of this connection?... The connection can only be regarded as a *parallelism* of two causal series existing side by side, but never directly interfering with each other in virtue of the incomparability of their terms.⁵⁹⁴

Far beyond Rickert and Wundt, of course, but owing largely to their seminal and originary contributions, the 'phrenocentrism' of culture is now, as it always has been, paradigmatic in its grip over how 'ideas' are imagined to arise; with the '*psychical*' constituting an impermeable realm governed by its own rules. The overwhelming majority, if not even the exhaustive totality, of models of epistemic causation relevant to history are conceived under this paradigm. It can be seen in the 'memes' of Richard Dawkins and his disciples – units of information, analogised from an understanding of 'genes' as vectors of biological information transfer, 'leaping from brain to brain' in what are tantamount to epidemiological processes of transmission and spread.⁵⁹⁵ It can be seen in the 'World 3' of Karl Popper – a 'realm' of knowledge separate from the more physical 'World 1' and 'World 2', or even in the comparable 'noosphere' conceived under Pierre Teilhard de Chardin's eschatology.⁵⁹⁶ More well-known than these, perhaps, is the 'superstructure' of Marx, or the '*Geist*' of his master Hegel.⁵⁹⁷ Perhaps the Foucauldian '*épisteme*' would qualify, too, in which case so

⁵⁹⁴ Wilhelm Wundt, 'Lectures', in *Significant Contributions to the History of Psychology*, trans. J.E. Creighton and E.B. Titchener (London, 1894), p. 442.

⁵⁹⁵ Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene*, p. 192: 'Just as genes propagate themselves in the gene pool by leaping from body to body via sperm or eggs, so memes propagate themselves in the meme pool by leaping from brain to brain via a process which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation'. One disciple of Dawkins' and the nascent field of 'memetics' – Aaron Lynch – would attempt to expand the concept by detailing the ways in which 'memes' could spread, largely by analogy with epidemiological mechanisms, which he labelled explicitly as 'the epidemiology of ideas': Lynch, *Thought Contagion...*, p. 9. Another – Alvin Goldman – called it, 'the most elementary and universal social path to knowledge: the transmission of observed information from one person to others': Goldman, *Knowledge in a Social World*, p. 103.

⁵⁹⁶ Popper and Eccles, *The Self and Its Brain...*, p. 133; Teilhard de Chardin, *The Phenomenon of Man...*

⁵⁹⁷ Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*; Inwood, *A Hegel Dictionary*, pp. 274-6.

world Bourdieu's 'field', the Searlian 'Background', and the highly comparable '*objektiver Geist*' of the Neo-Kantian Wilhelm Dilthey.⁵⁹⁸ Wherever concepts of top-level epistemic structures are encountered, they all imagine the garden of flowering ideas to be formed of the fertile soil of human minds in concert. *This* is where ideas 'are'; where they are 'located', cultivated, and generated.

And only naturally, of course, does this same paradigm structure the understanding of ideas and their origins in our own discourse, founded as it is in the inherited tendency of 'historians of ideas,' to 'usually make sense of the meanings they have ascribed to works by relating them to their historical antecedents'.⁵⁹⁹ In Grundmann and Leyser, in Knowles and Compton-Dickinson, to Bernice Kerr, to Marcus Bull, and the rest, the ideology of the religious movement and its new monastic orders is transmitted from mind to mind; is the product of human thought and intent; is the only conceivable causal origin of any such phenomena and a living embodiment of Man's peculiar *responsabilité*, as Paul Fauconnet had described it in 1928:

There exists a causality peculiar to man, different from the causality which connects natural phenomena. Man is, in a certain sense, a first cause, if not of the physical movements which constitute his acts, at least of their moral quality... he is fully the author, the creator. Of this perfect causality derives responsibility.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁸ Foucault, *The Order of Things...*, pp. xxii, 378; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (London, 1993), ch. 1; Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality*, p. 130; Bambach, *Heidegger, Dilthey, and the Crisis of Historicism*, p. 163.

⁵⁹⁹ Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas*, p. 174.

⁶⁰⁰ Grundmann, *Religious Movements...*, p. 210; Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism...*, pp. 29-34; Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England...*, p. 192; Knowles, 'Cistercians and Cluniacs...', p. 39; Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons...*, p. 38; Bernice M. Kerr, *Religious Life for Women, c. 1100-.c.1350: Fontevraud in England* (Oxford, 1999), p. 17: 'By the time Robert of Arbrissel had made his decision to live in the forest of Craon, Benedictine monasticism had been challenged by the foundation of the Carthusian and Cistercian orders in 1084 and 1098 respectively. Moreover, throughout the whole of Western Europe people had begun to experiment with less formal types of evangelical living.'; Marcus Bull, 'The Church', in Marcus Bull, ed., *France in the Central Middle Ages 900-1200* (Oxford, 2002), p. 152: 'on one level it was the result of economic growth that created greater amounts of surplus to provide for more professed religious,' and 'the proliferation of new orders was a consequence of heightened historical consciousness that found expression in appeals to CAUSAL ORIGINS OF THE 'RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES': CLUNY, TIRON, AND THE NEW ORDERS, 910-1156

But what of the alternative? What possible substrate is capable of holding the ideas of human culture if human minds do not, in fact, monopolise this capacity? The causal history of the new monastic orders confronts us with a remarkable possibility: that theirs was an idea conceived not in any mind, but assembled from the unconscious reactions of communities of monks to impersonal structural forces, after which it migrates a generation later, *fully formed*, into the comprehension of its ideological articulators. That is, the genetic origin of their ideology is a product of unconscious *eusocial* forces; not merely that environmental factors somehow 'influenced' the idea in the minds of its originators.

This would mean that we would have to admit an unintuitive causal mechanism in not only our aetiology of the new monastic orders of eleventh and twelfth-century Europe, but in aetiological history more generally: the notion that certain ideas are capable of being 'stored' in social *praxis* without ever having been conceived of by human minds. Such ideas might be thought of as 'ideologies of praxis', to adapt a phrase of Gramsci's, in that their epistemic content as they would be imagined in a human mind forms such a resemblance to that exhibited in social and eusocial *patterns of behaviour* that the 'idea' can effectively be contained in either medium: in

the original way of life that was supposed to have been followed by the early Church, the *vita apostolica*.'; Paul Fauconnet, *La responsabilité, étude de sociologie* (Paris, 1928), p. 177: 'Il y a une causalité propre à l'homme, distincte de la causalité qui enchaîne les uns aux autres les phénomènes de la nature. L'homme est, dans un certain sens, une cause première, sinon des mouvements matériels qui constituent ses actes, au moins de leur qualité morale. Ce caractère qui leur confère une valeur, il en a, en lui, toute l'efficacité, il en est pleinement l'auteur, le créateur. De cette causalité parfaite dérive la responsabilité. Seuls me sont pleinement imputables les actes qu'il dépendait de moi de ne pas produire. Je peux faire ou ne pas faire, faire le bien ou faire le mal, vouloir conformément au devoir ou en opposition avec lui ; je peux créer de la moralité ou de l'immoralité. En tant que bon ou mauvais, l'acte est mien exclusivement et absolument. Pour cette raison, j'en suis responsable'. Note that 'Man' was used here to describe 'humankind' as a rhetorically symmetrical reference to Fauconnet rather than constituting any political choice on the part of the author.

thought or in *social praxis*.⁶⁰¹ This, of course, then suggests a qualification to epistemology itself: that we ought no longer to consider 'ideas' as native to minds; rather that 'ideas' are simply one manifestation of a much broader sense of informational *patterns* that can be stored in a multitude of conceivable media, and may be capable of migrating from one to the other, like energy transferred from flywheels to batteries to chemical bonds and back again.

More modestly, the implication for our aetiological history here is that we must necessarily expand our search for its origins from the confines of the 'idea', and include the form of its *pattern* located external to minds; hypothesised in this case to be the kinetic storage of *social praxis*.

⁶⁰¹ Joll, *Gramsci*, p. 76.

Appendix 2: List of Cluniac Monasteries from Papal Sources

The following list of Cluniac monasteries from papal sources lists the identification of monasteries in the modern language of the country within which they are presently sited (e.g. 'Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Romainmôtier'), followed by the date of their first known establishment (e.g. '{928}') and their geographic coordinates (e.g. '[46°41'36"N 6°27'40"E]'). The list is ordered chronologically by mention in papal sources.

Each monastery is listed alongside a chronological sub-list of every reference made to it in the data set of papal sources compiled for this thesis (see *Chapter 1*: . Each entry in these sub-lists is followed by a date referring to the papal source in which it is mentioned. For instance, 'Romanum Monasterium (931)' indicates that the Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Romainmôtier is mentioned in a bull of the year 931, issued by Pope John XI, while 'Romanum Monasterium (1100 [2])' indicates that the Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Romainmôtier is mentioned in the second bull of 1100 issued by Pope Paschal II. Note that the sequence of bulls used in this reference system do not refer to the absolute sequence of bulls in any given papacy, only those pertinent to Cluniac properties.

The papal sources to which these date references refer are as follows:

TABLE 10. DATE REFERENCES AND SOURCES FOR LIST OF MONASTERIES

DATE REFERENCE	ISSUING POPE	SOURCE ⁶⁰²
931	John XI	Johannes XI, 'Convenit apostolico moderamini', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 1, col. 1.
932	John XI	Johannes XI, 'Convenit apostolico moderamini [2]', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 2, col. 1.

⁶⁰² Title is incipit.

DATE REFERENCE	ISSUING POPE	SOURCE ⁶⁰²
936/7	Leo VII	Leo VII, 'Desiderium quod religioso', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 2, col. 2 no. 2.
936/7 [2]	Leo VII	Leo VII, 'Desiderium quod religioso [2]', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 2, col. 3.
954	Agapetus II	Agapit II, 'Convenit apostolico moderamini', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 4, col. 2.
978	Benedict VII	Benedict VII, 'Quia monasterium Cluniacense', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 6, col. 1, n. 1.
998	Gregory V	Gregor V, 'Desiderium quod religiosorum', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 10, col. 1.
1050	Leo IX	Leo IX, 'Quoniam postulasti a nobis', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 12, col. 2 (extr.).
1049-54	Leo IX	Leo IX, 'Pervenit ad aures nostras', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 13, col. 1., n.1.
1055	Victor II	Victor II, 'Desiderium quod religiosorum', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 13, col. 1., n. 2.
1058	Stephen IX	Stephan IX, 'Ad hoc Deo auctore', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 15, col. 1.
1075 [1]	Gregory VII	Gregor VII, 'Iusta santaeque religioni', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 20, col. 2.
1075 [2]	Gregory VII	Gregor VII, 'Supernae miserationis', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 18, col. 2.
1073-85	Gregory VII	Gregor VII, 'Suscepti nos officii', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 18, col. 1.
1088	Urban II	Urban II, 'Cum omnibus sanctae', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 22, col. 2.
1095 [1]	Urban II	Urban II, 'Cum omnibus sanctae [2]', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 23, col. 2.
1095 [2]	Urban II	Urban II, 'Quoniam supernae dispositionis', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 29, col. 2.
1095 [3]	Urban II	Urban II, 'Sicut irrationabilia', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 26, col. 1.
1095 [4]	Urban II	Urban II, 'Ad hoc nos disponente', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 22, col. 1.
1096 [1]	Urban II	Urban II, 'Et religionem augere', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 25, col. 2.
1096 [2]	Urban II	Urban II, 'Ad sollicitudinem ac', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 27, co. 1.
1096 [3]	Urban II	Urban II, 'Apostolicae sedis sollicitudo', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 28, col. 2.

DATE REFERENCE	ISSUING POPE	SOURCE ⁶⁰²
1096 [4]	Urban II	Urban II, 'Piae postulatio voluntatis', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 29, col. 1.
1088-99	Urban II	Urban II, 'Iustus precibus ministerium', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 28, col. 2, n. 2.
1097-99	Urban II	Urban II, 'In Nemausensi concilio', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 24, col. 2, n. 2.
1100 [1]	Paschal II	Paschalis II, 'Ad hoc nos disponente', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 31, col. 1.
1100 [2]	Paschal II	Paschalis II, 'Ea religionis praerogativa', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 32, col. 1.
1102	Paschal II	Paschalis II, 'Quia documentis apostolicis', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 33, col. 1, n. 2.
1105	Paschal II	Paschalis II, 'Sancti spiritus per', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 211, col. 1.
1107 [1]	Paschal II	Paschalis II, 'Religioni vestrae per', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 34, col. 2.
1107 [2]	Paschal II	Paschalis II, 'Desiderium quod ad religionis', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 35, col. 2.
1109	Paschal II	Paschalis II, 'Et religio Cluniacensis', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 36, col. 2, n. 2.
1114	Paschal II	Paschalis II, 'Apostolicae sedis auctoritate', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 37, col. 2.
1118	Gelasius II	Gelasius II, 'Ignem semper in', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 38, col. 1, no. 2.
1119	Calixtus II	Calixt II, 'Sicut iniusta poscentibus', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 39, col. 2.
1120 [1]	William of P��rigueux, Bishop	Willelmus eps. Petragoricensis, 'Sapientium auctoritate', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 59, col. 2, n. 2.
1120 [2]	Calixtus II	Calixt II, 'Religionis monasticae modernis', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 41, col. 1, n. 1.
1125 [1]	Honorius II	Honorius II, 'Incomprehensibilis et ineffabilis', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 42, col. 1, n. 2.
1125 [2]	Honorius II	Honorius II, 'Ad hoc universalis', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 42, col. 1, n. 1.
1125 [3]	Honorius II	Honorius II, 'Pax ecclesiae fratrum', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 41, col. 2, n. 2.

DATE REFERENCE	ISSUING POPE	SOURCE ⁶⁰²
1125 [4]	Honorius II	Honorius II, 'Pax ecclesiae fratrum', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 41, col. 2, n. 3.
1130	Innocent II	Innocenz II, 'Desiderium quod ad religionis', <i>MPL</i> 179 Col. 67.
1131	Innocent II	Innocenz II, 'Ex apostolicae sedis', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 45, col. 1.
1132 [1]	Innocent II	Innocenz II, 'Quae ad pacem spectant', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 45, col. 2.
1132 [2]	Innocent II	Innocenz II, 'Canonum praecepta nos', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 47, col. 2.
1132 [3]	Innocent II	Innocenz II, 'Dispensatrix et provida', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 48, col. 1, no. 1.
1132 [4]	Innocent II	Innocenz II, 'Ignem venit Dominus', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 48, col. 2.
1133	Innocent II	Innocenz II, 'Quae a fratribus nostris', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 50, col. 1, no. 2.
1136 [1]	Innocent II	Innocenz II, 'Bonus et diligens', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 49, col. 2.
1136 [2]	Innocent II	Innocenz II, 'Bonus et diligens [2]', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 49, col. 1.
1138	Innocent II	Innocenz II, 'Pro pace et tranquillitate', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 48, col. 1, no. 2.
1139	Innocent II	Innocenz II, 'Quos omnipotens Dominus', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 50, col. 2.
1142	Innocent II	Innocenz II, 'Ad hoc in Apostolicae', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 51, col. 1.
1144 [1]	Celestine II	Celestin II, 'Cum ex iniuncto nobis', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 52, col. 1, n. 1.
1144 [2]	Lucius II	Lucius II, 'Quoniam sine verae', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 52, col. 1, n. 2.
1144 [3]	Lucius II	Lucius II, 'Religionis monasticae modernis', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 52, col. 2.
1145 [1]	Lucius II	Lucius II, 'Privilegiis quae a sede', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 54, col. 2.
1145 [2]	Lucius II	Lucius II, 'Etsi ecclesiarum omnium', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 55, col. 1.
1144-5	Lucius II	Lucius II, 'Meminisse debet tua', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 55, col. 2, n. 2.
1146 [1]	Eugene III	Eugen III, 'Cum omnibus sanctae', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 56, col. 1.

DATE REFERENCE	ISSUING POPE	SOURCE ⁶⁰²
1146 [2]	Eugene III	Eugen III, 'Apostolicae sedis auctoritate', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 62, col. 1, n. 1.
1147 [1]	Eugene III	Eugen III, 'Quam proprie et specialiter', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 57, col. 2, n. 1.
1147 [2]	Eugene III	Eugen III, 'Quae ab ecclesiae Dei', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 58, col. 2.
1152	Eugene III	Eugen III, 'Iustis Religiosorum desideriis', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 62, col. 2.
1154	Anastasius IV	Anastasius IV, 'Religiosis desideriis dignum', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 64, col. 1, n. 2.
1155	Adrian IV	Hadrian IV, 'Gloriosa et admirabilis', <i>Bullarium Sacri Oridinis Cluniacensis</i> , ed. by Pierre Simon (Lyon, 1680), p. 67, col. 1.

Some of the monasteries in this list have never before been identified, and as such some caution must be exercised when referring to them. In these cases, the entry is marked with the 'SPECULATIVE' tag. In some cases, 'SPECULATIVE' entries have been identified with topographical analyses of modern regions and philological extrapolation of their Latin names to the names of sites (usually villages) in modern languages, where no extant monastery exists (though these sites may be candidates for local archaeology). In other cases, the 'SPECULATIVE' tag refers to monasteries that have been independently identified, though which I am uncertain are definitely referred to in the papal sources. Some monasteries I have been unable to identify, in which cases their mentions carry the 'UNIDENTIFIED' tag.

1. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Romainmôtier {928} [46°41'36"N 6°27'40"E]
 - i. *Romanum Monasterium* (931)
 - ii. *Monasterium quoque quod dicitur Romanum* (998)
 - iii. *Monasterium quod dicitur Romanum* (1055)
 - iv. *Monasterium quod dicitur Romanum* (1058)
 - v. *Monasterium quod dicitur Romanum* (1075 [2])
 - vi. *Romanum Monasterium* (1100 [2])
 - vii. *Romanum Monasterium* (1109)

- viii. *Romanum-Monasterium* (1125 [1])
- 2. Prieuré Saint-Fortunat de Charlieu {932} [46°09'28"N 4°10'06"E]
 - i. *Caruslocus in Territorio Matisconensi* (932)
 - ii. *Carilocensis* (954)
 - iii. *Carus-locus* (998)
 - iv. *Carus-locus* (1055)
 - v. *Carus locus* (1058)
 - vi. *Carum-locum* (1075 [2])
 - vii. *Carus-locus Paredus* (1100 [2])
 - viii. *Carum-locum* (1109)
- 3. Prieuré Saint-Jean de Mâcon [46°18'25"N 4°49'43"E]
 - i. *Abbatias sancti Joannis... in suburbio Matiscensi sitas* (954)
- 4. 'Abbaye' Saint-Martin des Vignes [46°18'26"N 4°48'59"E]
 - i. *Abbatias... atque beati Martini in suburbio Matiscensi sitas* (954)
 - ii. *Matisconensi Cellam in honore sancti Martin* (998)
 - i. *Downgraded to the status of a cell*
 - iii. *In Matisconensi... S. Martini* (1095 [1])
- 5. Arluc (Saint-Cassien, Cannes) [43°32'57"N 6°57'15"E]
 - i. *Monasterium Arlucum* (978)
- 6. Abbaye Saint-Honorat de Lérins [43°30'24"N 7°02'50"E]
 - i. *monasterio insulam Lirinensem* (978)
- 7. Prieuré Saint-Martin de Mesvres {994} [46°51'36"N 4°14'30"E]
 - i. *Magabrense* (998)
 - ii. *Magabrense* (1055)
 - iii. *Magabrense* (1058)
 - iv. *Monasterio Magatro* (1075 [2])
 - v. *Magobrium* (1109)
 - vi. *Magobrium* (1125 [1])
- 8. Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Paul de Souvigny {915} [46°32'06"N 3°11'35"E]
 - i. *Silviniacum* (998)
 - ii. *Silviniacum* (1055)
 - iii. *Silviniacum* (1058)
 - iv. *Silviniacum* (1075 [2])
 - v. *Monasterium Silviniacense* (1095 [2])
 - vi. *Monasterium Silviniacense* (1100 [1])
 - vii. *Silviniacus* (1100 [2])
 - viii. *Silviniacum* (1109)
 - ix. *Silviniacus* (1125 [1])
 - x. *Monasterij Silviniacensis* (1152)

9. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Ris {952} [45°59'56"N 3°30'17"E]
 - i. *Rivis* (998)
 - ii. *Rivis* (1055)
 - iii. *Rivis* (1058)
 - iv. *Rivis* (1075 [2])
 - v. *Rivis* (1109)
10. Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Paul de Sauxillanges {927} [45°33'04"N 3°22'23"E]
 - i. *Celsinianense* (998)
 - ii. *Celsinianense* (1055)
 - iii. *Celsinianense* (1058)
 - iv. *Celsinaniense* (1075 [2])
11. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Bournoncle {950} [45°20'34"N 3°19'07"E]
 - i. *Burnunculum* (998)
 - ii. *Burnunculum* (1055)
 - iii. *Burnunculum* (1058)
12. Prieuré Saint-Maurice de Bonnac [45°12'27"N 3°09'28"E]
 - i. *Abolniacum* (998)
 - ii. *Abolniacum* (1055)
 - iii. *Abolniacum* (1058)
13. Prieuré Saint-Julien de Gignat [45°28'46"N 3°13'14"E]
 - i. *Ginniacum* (998)
 - ii. *Ginniacum* (1055)
 - iii. *Ginniacum* (1058)
 - iv. *Ginniacus* (1100 [2])
 - v. *Ginniacus* (1125 [1])
14. Prieuré Saint-Hilaire de Monton [45°40'37"N 3°09'30"E]
 - i. *Cardonetum* (998)
 - ii. *Cardonetum* (1055)
 - iii. *Cardonetum* (1058)
15. Prieuré St-Pierre de Saint-Saturnin-du-Port [44°15'25"N 4°39'03"E]
 - i. *In Episcopatu Uticensi Monasterium in honore sancti Petri & sancti Saturnini dedicatum* (998)
 - ii. *In Episcopatu Uticensi Monasterium in honore sancti Petri & sancti Saturnini dicatum* (1055)
 - iii. *In Episcopatu Uticensi Monasterium in honore sancti Petri & sancti Saturnini dedicatum super Ripam Rodani situm* (1058)
 - iv. *In Episcopatu Uticensi Monasterium sancti Saturnini... ex utraque parte Rhodani fluminis* (1075 [2])
 - v. *S. Saturninus de Provincia* (1100 [2])

- vi. *S. Saturninum* (1109)
- vii. *S. Saturnini* (1125 [1])
- 16. Prieuré de Saint-Pantaléon [44°23'55"N 5°02'38"E]
 - i. *Monasteriolum in honore sancti Pantaleonis constructum* (998)
 - ii. *Monasterium in honore sancti Pantaleonis constructum* (1055)
 - iii. *Monasterium in honore sancti Pantaleonis constructum* (1058)
 - iv. *Monasterium sancti Pantaleonis* (1075 [2])
- 17. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Ganagobie [43°59'53"N 5°54'29"E]
 - i. *Ganagobiense* (998)
 - ii. *Ganagobiense* (1055)
 - iii. *Ganagobiense* (1058)
 - iv. *Ganagobiense Monasterium* (1075 [2])
 - v. *Ganagobium* (1109)
 - vi. *Ganagobia* (1125 [1])
- 18. Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Mayeul de Ternay [45°36'33"N 4°48'33"E]
 - i. *Taderniacum* (998)
 - ii. *Taderniacum* (1055)
 - iii. *Taderniacum* (1058)
 - iv. *In Episcopatu Viennensi Monasterium Taherniacum* (1075 [2])
- 19. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Payerne {961} [46°49'15"N 6°56'15"E]
 - i. *Paterniacum* (998)
 - ii. *Peterniacum* (1055)
 - iii. *Paterniacum* (1058)
 - iv. *In Lausannensi Episcopatu Monasterium quod dicitur Paterniacus* (1075 [2])
 - v. *Paterniacus* (1100 [2])
 - vi. *Paterniacum* (1109)
 - vii. *Paterniacum* (1125 [1])
- 20. Prieuré Saint-Orens d'Auch [43°38'54"N 0°35'12"E]
 - i. *sancti Orientii* (1049)
 - ii. *In territorio Ausciensi Monasterium sancti Orientii* (1075 [2])
 - iii. *Cimeterium Monasterii S. Orientii in Ausciensi* (1096 [3])
 - iv. *S. Orvenitius Auxiensis* (1100 [2])
 - v. *S. Orientium* (1109)
 - vi. *S. Orientii de Auxia* (1125 [1])
- 21. Prieuré de la Sainte-Trinité de Marcigny {1056} [46°16'29"N 4°02'35"E]
 - i. *Marciniacum* (1055)
 - ii. *Marciniacum* (1075 [2])
 - iii. *S. Trinitatis in Marciniaco* (1088)

- iv. *Prioratus Marciniacensis* (1095 [4])
 - v. *De Marciniaco* (1100 [2])
 - vi. *Marciniacum* (1109)
 - vii. *Marciniacus* (1125 [1])
22. Prieuré Saint-Marcel de Saint-Marcel {979} [46°46'31"N 4°53'17"E]
- i. *sancti Marcelli... in suburbio Cabilonensi* (1055)
 - ii. *Monasterium sancti Marcelli* (1058)
 - iii. *Monasterium sancti Marcelli* (1075 [2])
 - iv. *S. Marcellus de Cabilone* (1100 [2])
 - v. *S. Marcelli Cabilonensis* (1109)
23. Prieuré Sainte-Croix de Lavoûte-Chilhac {1025} [45°08'50"N 3°24'08"E]
- i. *Volta in honore sanctæ Crucis* (1055)
 - ii. *Volta, in honore sanctæ Crucis* (1058)
 - iii. *Monasterium quod dicitur Volta* (1075 [2])
 - iv. *Voltam* (1109)
 - v. *Volta* (1125 [1])
24. Prieuré de Saint-Marcel-lès-Sauzet {1037} [44°35'45"N 4°48'22"E]
- i. *sancti Marcelli quod dicitur ad Salcetum* (1055)
 - ii. *sancti Marcelli, quod dicitur ad Salcetum* (1058)
 - iii. *Monasterium sancti Marcelli quod dicitur Salicetum* (1075 [2])
 - iv. *S. Marcellus de Salciniaco* (1100 [2])
 - v. *S. Marcelli de Salzeto* (1109)
 - vi. *S. Marcelli de Salzeto* (1125 [1])
 - vii. *Priorem sancti Marcelli de Salseto* (1146 [2])
25. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Paray-le-Monial {973} [46°26'59"N 4°07'18"E]
- i. *In Episcopatu verò Augustodunensi Monasterium in aureâ valle, quod Paredus dicitur in honore sancti Joannis Baptistæ consecratum* (1058)
 - ii. *In Episcopatu Augustodunensi Monasterium in aurea valle quod vocatur Paredum* (1075 [2])
 - iii. *Paredum* (1109)
 - iv. *Paredum* (1125 [1])
26. Abbaye St-Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Jean-d'Angély {1010} [45°56'38"N 0°31'22"W]
- i. *In Episcopatu Sanctonico Abbatiam sancti Joannis quæ vocatur de Engiriaco* (1058)
 - ii. *Abbatiam sancti Joannis quæ vocatur Ingeriacus* (1075 [2])
 - iii. *S. Joannis de Angeliaco* (1100 [2])
 - iv. *Angeriacum* (1109)
 - v. *In Sanctonensi Abbatiam sancti Joannis de Angeriaco* (1118)

- vi. *S. Joannis Angeriacensis* (1125 [1])
 - vii. *sancti Joannis Angeriacensis* (1144 [3])
 - viii. *sancti Joannis Angeriacensis* (1146 [1])
27. Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Maillezais {1058} [46°22'24"N 0°44'46"E]
- i. *Malleacensem* (1058)
 - ii. *Malliacensem* (1075 [2])
 - iii. *Malliacensem* (1100 [2])
 - iv. *S. Petri Malliacensis* (1125 [1])
28. Abbaye Saint-Cyprien de Poitiers [46°34'30"N 0°20'56"E]
- i. *In Abbatia autem sancti Cypriani, quæ est Pictavis* (1058)
 - ii. *In Abbatia autem sancti Cypriani quæ est Pictavis* (1075 [2])
 - iii. *Monasterium S. Cypriani Pictaviensis* (1100 [2])
 - iv. *S. Cypriani Pictavensis* (1125 [1])
29. Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Moissac {1058} [44°06'20"N 1°05'04"E]
- i. *Abbatiam sancti Petri de Moyssiaco* (1058)
 - ii. *In Episcopatu Caturcensi Abbatiam sancti Petri de Moysiaco* (1075 [2])
 - iii. *Moysiaccense sanè Cœnobium* (1088)
 - iv. *Sancti Petri de Moisiaco* (1100 [2])
 - v. *Moisiacum* (1109)
 - vi. *In Caturcensi, Abbatias Moysiaccensem* (1118)
 - vii. *S. Petri Moyssiaccensis* (1125 [1])
 - viii. *Moysiaccensis* (1144 [3])
 - ix. *Moysiaccensis* (1146 [1])
30. Prieuré Saint-Martin d'Ambierle {938} [46°06'16"N 3°53'43"E]
- i. *Amberta* (1058)
 - ii. *In Episcopatu Lugdunensi Monasterium quod dicitur de Amberta* (1075 [2])
 - iii. *Ambertam* (1109)
 - iv. *Amberta* (1125 [1])
31. Abbaye Ste-Marie-Madeleine de Vézelay [47°27'59"N 3°44'55"E]
- i. *Abbatiam etiam Viziliacensem, ubi sancta Maria Magdalene* (1058)
 - ii. *Viziliacensem* (1075 [2])
 - iii. *sanctæ Mariæ de Vizeliaco* (1095 [1])
 - iv. *Virzelai* (1100 [2])
 - v. *Abbatia Vizeliacensi* (1100 [2])
 - vi. *Abbatiam Vizeliaci* (1109)
 - vii. *In Episcopatu Augustodunensi, Abbatiam Viziliacensem* (1118)
 - viii. *S. Mariæ Virziliacensis* (1125 [1])
 - ix. *in Episcopatu Eduensi Viziliacensis* (1144 [3])

- x. *In Episcopatu Eduensi Vizeliacensis* (1146 [1])
- 32. Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Seltz [48°53'37"N 8°06'28"E]
 - i. *Abbatiam autem Salsensem* (1058)
 - ii. *In Argentino Episcopatu Monasterium Salsense* (1075 [2])
 - iii. *Salsinangiæ* (1100 [2])
 - iv. *Salsinianas* (1109)
 - v. *Salsinaniæ* (1125 [1])
- 33. Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Gigny {1076} [46°27'26"N 5°27'44"E]
 - i. *Gigniacense* (1075 [1])
 - ii. *Gigniaci* (1109)
- 34. Prieuré Saint-Nazaire de Bourbon-Lancy {1030} [46°37'26"N 3°46'08"E]
 - i. *Burbonum Monasterium* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *S. Nazarium Borbonensem* (1109)
- 35. Prieuré Notre-Dame de La Charité-sur-Loire [47°10'39"N 3°01'03"E]
 - i. *Antisiodorensi. Monasterium quod dicitur sanctæ Mariæ ad charitatem* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *Monasterium S. Mariæ de Caritate* (1088)
 - iii. *Sancta Maria de Charitate* (1100 [2])
 - iv. *sanctam Mariam de Caritate* (1109)
 - v. *sanctæ Mariæ de Charitate* (1125 [1])
 - vi. *Monasterio beatæ Mariæ de Charitate supra Ligerim* (1132 [3])
- 36. Prieuré St-Pierre de Bonny-sur-Loire [47°33'46"N 2°50'11"E]
 - i. *In pago Antisiodorensi... Bonaiaicum* (1075 [2])
- 37. Prieuré Notre-Dame-du-Pré de Donzy [47°21'52"N 3°06'37"E]
 - i. Uncertain: *Monasterium sanctæ Dei genitricis in Donziaco Castro* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *Donziacum* (1125 [1])
 - iii. *Priorem beatæ Mariæ de Prato Donziaci Altisiodorensi Diœcesi* (1154)
- 38. Prieuré de Saint-Flour {1025} [45°02'00"N 3°05'43"E]
 - i. *sanctus Florus* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *sanctum Florum* (1109)
- 39. Prieuré Saint-Jean de Rochefort [45°11'03"N 3°12'18"E]
 - i. *Volta cum... Rocam fortem* (1075 [2])
- 40. Prieuré Saint-Sauveur de Nevers [46°59'09"N 3°09'25"E]
 - i. *In Episcopatu Nivernensi Monasterium sancti Salvatoris* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *S. Salvator* (1100 [2])
 - iii. *S. Salvatoris Niverni* (1109)
 - iv. *Salvatoris, &... de Niverno* (1125 [1])
- 41. Prieuré de Saint-Étienne de Nevers [46°59'30"N 3°09'52"E]

- i. *Monasterium sancti Stephani* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *S. Stephanus de Niverno* (1100 [2])
 - iii. *S. Stephani ibidem* (1109)
 - iv. *S. Stephani de Niverno* (1125 [1])
42. Prieuré Saint-Martin de l'Île-d'Aix [46°00'45"N 1°10'22"W]
- i. *In Episcopatu sanctonico Monasterium de insula quæ dicitur Aias* (1075 [2])
43. Prieuré Saint-Georges-de-Didonne [45°36'09"N 0°59'53"W]
- i. *Monasterium sancti Georgii juxta Castrum Didonium* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *obedientia de Didonia* (1125 [1])
44. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Barbezieux [45°28'23"N 0°09'27"W]
- i. *Monasterium sanctæ Mariæ juxta Castrum Berbeziacum* (1075 [2])
45. Abbaye Saint-Martial de Limoges [45°49'53"N 1°15'35"E]
- i. *In Episcopatu Lemovicensi Monasterium sancti Martialis* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *Abbatiae sancti Martialis Lemovicen* (1096 [2])
 - iii. *S. Martialis de Lemovico* (1100 [2])
 - iv. *Abbatiam S. Martialis Lemovicensis* (1109)
 - v. *in Episcopatu Lemovicensi Abbatiam sancti Martialis* (1118)
 - vi. *S. Martialis Lemovicensis* (1125 [1])
 - vii. *sancti Martialis Lemovicensis* (1144 [3])
 - viii. *sancti Martialis Lemovicensis* (1146 [1])
46. Prieuré Saint-Maurice de Montbron [45°40'10"N 0°30'10"E]
- i. *In Episcopatu Engolismensi Monasterium sancti Mauricii quod est juxta Castrum montis Berolti* (1075 [2])
47. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Longpont-sur-Orge {1031} [48°38'32"N 2°17'33"E]
- i. *In Episcopatu Parisiensi Monasterium de Longo ponte* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *In Parisiensi, Ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ de Longoponte* (1095 [1])
 - iii. *Longumpontem* (1109)
 - iv. *Longus-Pons* (1125 [1])
48. Prieuré Ste-Marguerite de Margerie [48°33'21"N 4°31'27"E]
- i. *In Episcopatu Trecassino Monasterium sanctæ Margaritæ* (1075 [2])
 - i. Note that *Trecassino* here must refer to Troyes rather than Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux.
 - ii. *sanctæ Margaretæ* (1125 [1]) – second '*sanctæ Margaretæ*' in list
 - i. '*sanctæ Margaretæ*' appears twice in this bull. However, since the second appearance of '*sanctæ Margaretæ*' is among other sites local to Prieuré Ste-Marguerite de Margerie, such as Gaye and St-Thiébaud de Vitry-en-Perthois ('...*Turris, super materna,*

sancti Theobaldi de Vitrejo, sanctæ Margaretæ, Gaya, Villare...),
this has been the attribution.

49. Prieuré Saint-Sauveur de Figeac [44°36'29"N 2°02'05"E]
 - i. *Monasterium quod dicitur Fiacus* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *de Fiaco* (1100 [2])
 - iii. *Figiacum* (1109)
 - iv. *In Caturcensi, Abbatias... & Figiacensem* (1118)
 - v. *Figiacensis* (1125 [1])
 - vi. *Figiacensis in Caturcensi pago* (1144 [3])
 - vii. *Figiacensis in Caturcensi pago* (1146 [1])
50. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Carennac {1048} [44°55'07"N 1°43' 55"E]
 - i. *Monasterium Carannacum* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *Carennacum* (1109)
 - iii. *Carennac* (1125 [1])
51. Prieuré Notre-Dame de la Daurade [43°36'04"N 1°26'22"E]
 - i. *Tolosæ Monasterium sanctæ Mariæ de Aurate* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *S. Mariæ de Tolosa* (1088)
52. Prieuré St-Antoine-St-Pierre de Lézat [43°16'34"N 1°20'34"E]
 - i. *in eodem Episcopatu [Tolosæ] Monasterium sancti Petri quod dicitur Lajad* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *In Episcopatu Tolosano, Abbatiam Lesatensem* (1118)
 - iii. *Monasterij Lezatensis* (1144 [3])
 - iv. *Monasterij Lezatensis* (1146 [1])
53. Possibly Prieuré Saint-Martin de Layrac [44°08'10"N 0°39'35"E]
 - i. *In Pago Aginnensi Monasterium quod dicitur Lairacum* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *Alairacum* (1109)
 - iii. *Alayrac* (1125 [1])
54. Possibly Prieuré Notre-Dame de Moirax {1049} [44°08'28"N 0°36'32"E]
 - i. *Et alterum quod dicitur Muiracum* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *Moiracum* (1109)
 - iii. *Moyrac* (1125 [1])
55. Possibly Prieuré Sainte-Geneviève d'Astaffort [44°03'50"N 0°39'04"E]
 - i. *alterum quod dicitur sancta Genevera* (1075 [2])
56. Possibly Prieuré St-Jean-Baptiste de Mézin [44°03'22"N 0°15'26"E]
 - i. *Monasterium quod dicitur Medziacum* (1075 [2])
57. Prieuré Saint-Gény de Lectoure [43°55'27"N 0°37'27"E]
 - i. *In pago Lecturicensi Monasterium sancti Genu* (1075 [2])
58. Prieuré St-Michel de Montaut-les-Créneaux [43°41'39"N 0°39'30"E]
 - i. *Monasterium quod dicitur Monasterium* (1075 [2])

59. Prieuré Saint-Jean de Saint-Mont [43°39'07"N 0°08'58"W]
 i. *Monasterium sancti Joannis quod dicitur ad sanctum montem* (1075 [2])
 ii. *Sanctum-Montem* (1109)
 iii. *Sancti-Montis* (1125 [1])
60. Prieuré de Saint-Lézer [43°22'18"N 0°01'49"E]
 i. *In territorio Bigorritano Monasterium sancti Licerii* (1075 [2])
 ii. *S. Lecerius de Bigorro* (1100 [2])
 iii. *S. Licerium* (1109)
 iv. *S. Licerii de Bigorra* (1125 [1])
61. Possibly Prieuré Saint-Isidore de Dueñas {1073} [41°53'55"N 4°31'00"W]
 i. *In Episcopatu Hispalensi Monasterium sancti Isidori* (1075 [2])
 ii. *S. Isidorus de Hispania* (1100 [2])
 iii. *sanctum Isidorum* (1109)
 iv. *S. Isidori* (1125 [1])
 v. *S. Isidorum* (1144 [3])
 vi. *sanctum Isidorum* (1146 [1])
62. Abbaye de Saint-Gilles [43°40'36"N 4°25'56"E]
 i. *In Episcopatu Nemaulensi Monasterium sancti Ægidii* (1075 [2])
 ii. *S. Egidii* (1100 [2])
 iii. *Abbatiam S. Ægidii* (1109)
 iv. *In Nemausensi, Abbatiam S. Egydii* (1118)
 v. *Abbatiae S. Egidii* (1125 [1])
 vi. *S. Egidii* (1125 [2])
 vii. *S. Egidii Monasterio* (1132 [1])
63. Prieuré Saint-Amand de Montségur [44°22'21"N 4°50'02"E]
 i. *In Tricassinensi civitate Monasterium sancti Amandi* (1075 [2])
64. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Domène [45°12'11"N 5°49'59"E]
 i. *Monasterium quod vocatur Domena* (1075 [2])
 ii. *Domena* (1109)
 iii. *obedientia de Domêna* (1125 [1])
65. Prieuré Saint-Victor de Genève [46°11'54"N 6°09'12"E]
 i. *In Episcopatu Genevensi Monasterium sancti Victoris martyr* (1075 [2])
 ii. *S. Victor de Gebenna* (1100 [2])
 iii. *sanctum Victorem in Geneva* (1109)
 iv. *S. Victoris de Geneva* (1125 [1])
66. Priorato di San Maiolo di Pavia [45°11'01"N 9°09'10"E]
 i. *In Episcopatu Papiensi Monasterium sancti Mayoli* (1075 [2])
 ii. *sancti Mayoli de Papiâ* (1095 [1])
 iii. *S. Majolum de Papia* (1109)

- iv. *S. Majoli de Papia* (1125 [1])
- 67. Priorato di San Marco di Lodi [45°18'10"N 9°25'48"E]
 - i. *In Episcopatu Lausensi Monasterium sancti Marci* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *In Laudensi, Monasterium sancti Marci, cum his cellis* (1095 [1])
 - iii. *S. Marci de Lauda* (1125 [1])
- 68. Priorato di San Gabriele di Cremona [45°07'51"N 10°01'11"E]
 - i. *Juxta urbem Cremonam Monasterium in honore sancti Gabrielis & sanctorum Barnabæ & Lucæ* (1075 [2])
 - ii. *sancti Gabrielis de Cremonâ cum cellis suis* (1095 [1])
 - iii. *S. Gabriel de Cremona* (1100 [2])
 - iv. *S. Gabrielelem de Cremona* (1109)
 - v. *S. Gabrielis de Cremona* (1125 [1])
- 69. Abbazia di San Benedetto in Polirone {1077} [45°02'33"N 10°55'42"E]
 - i. *Quapropter de spiritali gubernatione, & statu Monasterij sancti Benedicti consistentis inter littora Padi & Larionis fluminum* (1073-85)
 - ii. *Abbatiam S. Benedicti super Padum* (1109)
 - iii. *In Italia Abbatiam sancti Benedicti supra Padum* (1118)
 - iv. *S. Benedicti super Padum* (1125 [1])
 - v. *S. Benedicti super Padum* (1125 [4])
 - vi. *Abbatis Monasterij sancti Benedicti super Padum* (1145 [1])
- 70. Prieuré de Saint-Martin-des-Champs [48°51'58"N 2°21'16"E]
 - i. *Monasterium S. Martini de Campis apud Parisios* (1088)
 - ii. *Monasterium sancti Martini à Campis Parisiis situm* (1096 [4])
 - iii. *S. Martinus de Campis* (1100 [2])
 - iv. *sanctum Martinum de Campis* (1109)
 - v. *Monasterij sancti Martini à Campis Parisiis* (1119)
 - vi. *S. Martini de Campis* (1125 [1])
- 71. Abbaye Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou {1080} [48°18'57"N 0°48'55"E]
 - i. *Monasterium S. Dionysii apud Nungentum* (1088)
 - ii. *Monasterio S. Dionysii, de Nogento Rotroci* (1095 [3])
 - iii. *Nongentum* (1100 [2])
 - iv. *Nogentum* (1109)
 - v. *Nongentum* (1125 [1])
- 72. Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Nájera {1079} [42°25'00"N 2°44'07"W]
 - i. *S. Mariæ de Nazara* (1088)
 - ii. *S. Maria de Nazara* (1100 [2])
 - iii. *Nazaram* (1109)
 - iv. *in Hispaniis Prioratus S. Mariæ de Nazara* (1125 [1])
 - v. *In Hispania Nazaram* (1144 [3])

- vi. *In Hispaniis Nazaram* (1146 [1])
- 73. Abbaye St-Gervais-St-Protas d'Eysses [44°25'03"N 0°43'14"E]
 - i. *sancti Gervasii de Exiis* (1088)
- 74. Possibly Abbaye Sainte-Marie d'Arles-sur-Tech [42°27'22"N 2°38'05"E]
 - i. *S. Mariæ de Arulis* (1088)
- 75. Possibly Prieuré St-Pierre de Champrond-en-Gâtine [48°24'11"N 1°04'38"E]
 - i. *S. Petri de Campo Rotundo* (1088)
- 76. Abbaye Saint-Génis-des-Fontaines [42°32'36"N 2°55'19"E]
 - i. *sancti Genesii in Elnensi Episcopatu* (1088)
- 77. UNIDENTIFIED 'S. Pauli in valle olei'
 - i. *S. Pauli in valle olei* (1088)
- 78. Abbaye Notre-Dame de Cubières-en-Rasez [42°51'42"N 2°27'38"E]
 - i. *S. Mariæ de Cubaria* (1088)
- 79. Abbaye Notre-Dame de Sallèles-d'Aude [43°15'26"N 2°56'40"E]
 - i. *S. Mariæ de Salella* (1088)
- 80. Abbaye St-Pierre-St-Caprais de Mozac {1095} [45°53'26"N 3°05'39"E]
 - i. *Monasterium sancti Austremonii de Mozaco* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Austremonii Mauziacensis* (1100 [2])
 - iii. *Abbatiam Mauziaci* (1109)
 - iv. *In pago Arvernensi, Abbatias Mausiacensem* (1118)
 - v. *S. Austremonii de Mauzac* (1125 [1])
 - vi. *in Arvernia Mauziacensis* (1144 [3])
 - vii. *in Arvernia Mauziacensis* (1146 [1])
- 81. Prieuré St-Pierre de Mouthier-Haute-Pierre [47°02'23"N 6°16'32"E]
 - i. *S. Petri de Altapetra* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *In Episcopatu Bisuntino Monasterium de Altapetra* (1114)
 - iii. *Alta-Petra* (1125 [1])
- 82. Possibly Prieuré Saint-Martin de Salles {960 Not yet priory} [46°02'28"N 4°38'04"E]
 - i. *Monasterium quod dicitur Sales* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Salas* (1109)
- 83. UNIDENTIFIED 'in Episcopatu Lugdunensi Ecclesia S. Justi'
 - i. *in Episcopatu Lugdunensi Ecclesia S. Justi* (1095 [1])
- 84. Prieuré Saint-Didier de Pouilly-lès-Feurs {966} [45°47'53"N 4°13'52"E]
 - i. *in Episcopatu Lugdunensi... S. Desiderii* (1095 [1])
- 85. Doyenné Notre-Dame de Frontenas [45°55'32"N 4°37'06"E]
 - i. *in Episcopatu Lugdunensi... Ecclesia de Frontenaico* (1095 [1])
- 86. SPECULATED 'Prieuré de Jassans-Riottier' {1094} [45°58'55"N 4°45'30"E]
 - i. *in Episcopatu Lugdunensi... de Rorterio* (1095 [1])

87. Doyenné Notre-Dame de Malay {1095} [46°33'57"N 4°40'46"E]
 - i. *In Matisconensi Ecclesia de Maleto* (1095 [1])
88. SPECULATED Prieuré Saint-Martin d'Ougy [46°34'11"N 4°41'58"E]
 - i. *In Matisconensi... de Otgers* (1095 [1])
89. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Montberthoud {c.940} [45°59'42"N 4°50'50"E]
 - i. *In Matisconensi... de Saviniaco* (1095 [1])
90. SPECULATED Prieuré Saint-Julien de Sennecey-le-Grand [46°38'09"N 4°51'38"E]
 - i. *In Matisconensi... de Seniciaco* (1095 [1])
91. Doyenné de Berzé-la-Ville {1062} [46°21'49"N 4°42'02"E]
 - i. *In Matisconensi... de Berziaco* (1095 [1])
92. Doyenné de Saint-Hippolyte {1000} [46°33'10"N 4°38'39"E]
 - i. *In Matisconensi... Ecclesia S. Hippolyti* (1095 [1])
93. Doyenné Notre-Dame de Chazelle {1102} [46°31'49"N 4°41'31"E]
 - i. *In Matisconensi... sanctæ Mariæ de Casellis* (1095 [1])
94. Prieuré/Église Saint-Nicolas de Meursault [46°58'39"N 4°46'11"E]
 - i. *In Augustudinensi Ecclesia de Monrisalt* (1095 [1])
95. Prieuré/Église de Puligny-Montrachet [46°56'48"N 4°45'10"E]
 - i. *In Augustudinensi... de Pulignio* (1095 [1])
96. Possibly Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Blanzay [46°41'50"N 4°23'31"E]
 - i. *In Augustudinensi... de Blanchiaco* (1095 [1])
97. Prieuré Ste-Madeleine de la Motte-Saint-Jean [46°29'40"N 3°57'49"E]
 - i. *In Augustudinensi... de Monte S. Joannis* (1095 [1])
98. Prieuré Saint-André-lès-Luzy [46°47'02"N 3°57'57"E]
 - i. *In Augustudinensi... de Luciaco* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *In Episcopatu Eduensi, obedientiam de Luciaco* (1154)
99. UNIDENTIFIED 'In Augustudinensi... de Crupellis'
 - i. *In Augustudinensi... de Crupellis* (1095 [1])
100. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Vannoise [46°52'27"N 3°59'48"E]
 - i. *In Augustudinensi... de Milpont* (1095 [1])
101. Prieuré St-Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Mamert {1095} [46°15'05"N 4°34'56"E]
 - i. *In Augustudinensi... Ecclesia S. Mammetis* (1095 [1])
102. Prieuré Saint-Christophe la Montagne [46°15'39"N 4°32'22"E]
 - i. *In Augustudinensi... S. Christophori* (1095 [1])
103. Église/Prieuré Sainte-Eulalie d'Orville [47°33'51"N 5°12'46"E]
 - i. *In Lingonensi, Ecclesia S. Eulaliæ* (1095 [1])
104. SPECULATED 'Prieuré Saint Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Jean-de-Losne' [47°06'06"N 5°15'46"E]
 - i. *In Lingonensi... S. Joannis de Laona* (1095 [1])

105. Prieuré Saint-Eutrope de Trouhaut [47°23'29"N 4°45'25"E]
 - i. *In Lingonensi... de Trualt* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *in Lingonensi, Monasterium de Trivolt* (1105) - Note that modern Trouhaut is located in a small valley bracketed by three hills/spurs, making the 'Trivolt' appellation quite likely
 - iii. *Trualdum* (1109)
106. UNIDENTIFIED 'In Lingonensi... de Arcu'
 - i. *In Lingonensi... de Arcu* (1095 [1])
107. Prieuré Saint-Georges de Vendœuvre [48°14'12"N 4°27'54"E]
 - i. *In Lingonensi... de Vandoura* (1095 [1])
108. Prieuré Saint-Martin de Marmesse [48°03'06"N 4°54'46"E]
 - i. *In Lingonensi... de Marmaissa* (1095 [1])
109. Prieuré Saint-Pierre d'Autet [47°32'33"N 5°41'42"E]
 - i. *In Lingonensi... de Altars* (1095 [1])
110. Kloster St. Alban (Basel) {1093} [47°33'16"N 7°36'2"E]
 - i. *In Basilea Ecclesia sancti Albani* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Monasterium videlicet sancti Albani à Burchardo Episcopo datum in suburbio Basileæ Urbis* (1107 [1])
 - iii. *sanctum Albanum de Basilea* (1109)
 - iv. *S. Albani de Basilea* (1125 [1])
111. UNIDENTIFIED 'In Cabilonensi, Ecclesia de Viniules' [Chalon-sur-Saône placeholder: 46°46'50"N 4°51'14"E]
 - i. *In Cabilonensi, Ecclesia de Viniules* (1095 [1])
112. UNIDENTIFIED, SPECULATED 'Prieuré de Saint-Amant-Tallende' [45°40'09"N 3°06'36"E]
 - i. *In Arvernensi, Ecclesia S. Amandi* (1095 [1])
113. Prieuré St-Sépulchre de Laveine [45°54'49"N 3°22'23"E]
 - i. *In Arvernensi... sancti Sepulchri de Lavenna* (1095 [1])
114. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Châtel-Montagne {c.1081-8} [46°06'53"N 3°40'57"E]
 - i. *In Arvernensi... S. Mariæ de Castello* (1095 [1])
115. UNIDENTIFIED 'In Arvernensi... de Canariis'
 - i. *In Arvernensi... de Canariis* (1095 [1])
116. Prieuré St-Martin de Rochefort-Montagne [45°41'02"N 2°48'21"E]
 - i. *In Arvernensi... de Montania* (1095 [1])
117. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Noirétable [45°49'01"N 3°46'01"E]
 - i. *In Arvernensi... de Nigro-stabulo* (1095 [1])
118. Prieuré Saint-Georges d'Augerolles [45°43'25"N 3°37'02"E]
 - i. *In Arvernensi... de Angerolis* (1095 [1])

119. Prieuré Saint-Léger d'Arronnes {1095} [46°03'32"N 3°34'06"E]
 - i. *In Arvernensi... de Arumna* (1095 [1])
120. Prieuré Saint-Pierre d'Artas [45°32'05"N 5°09'56"E]
 - i. *In Viennensi, Ecclesia de Artaz* (1095 [1])
121. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Moras-en-Valloire [45°17'22"N 4°59'36"E]
 - i. *In Viennensi... Moras* (1095 [1])
122. Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Paul de Manthes {1099?} [45°18'06"N 5°00'27"E]
 - i. *In Viennensi... Mantula* (1095 [1])
123. SPECULATIVE 'Prieuré de Lens-Lestang' [45°17'30"N 5°02'25"E]
 - i. *In Viennensi... Loteng* (1095 [1])
124. SPECULATIVE 'Prieuré de Châtonnay' [45°29'10"N 5°12'35"E]
 - i. *In Viennensi... Monte-Castaneto* (1095 [1])
125. Prieuré de Saint-Pierre-d'Allevard {1082} [45°22'31"N 6°02'48"E]
 - i. *In Gratianopolitano, Ecclesia de Alavart* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Alavardum* (1109)
 - iii. *obedientia de Alavard* (1125 [1])
126. Prieuré Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Avalon {c.1080s} [45°25'42"N 6°02'15"E]
 - i. *In Gratianopolitano... de Avalun* (1095 [1])
127. UNIDENTIFIED 'In Gratianopolitano... de Teies'
 - i. *In Gratianopolitano... de Teies* (1095 [1])
128. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Valbonnais [44°54'01"N 5°54'22"E]
 - i. *In Gratianopolitano... de Valbones* (1095 [1])
129. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Vizille [45°04'56"N 5°46'39"E]
 - i. *In Gratianopolitano... de Visilia* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Visilia* (1109)
130. Prieuré Saint-Andéol de Chabeuil [44°53'58"N 5°01'17"E]
 - i. *In Valentiniense, Ecclesia de Chabeuil* (1095 [1])
131. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Charrière [45°13'58"N 4°58'19"E]
 - i. *In Valentiniense... de Castellis* (1095 [1])
132. Prieuré Saint-Baudile d'Allex [44°45'51"N 4°54'58"E]
 - i. *In Valentiniense... de Ales* (1095 [1])
133. Prieuré Saint-Pierre d'Eurre [44°45'33"N 4°59'18"E]
 - i. *In Valentiniense... de Urz* (1095 [1])
134. Prieuré de Saint-Sébastien [44°50'52"N 5°47'56"E]
 - i. *In Diensi Ecclesia sancti Sebastiani* (1095 [1])
135. Prieuré Sainte-Euphémie de Noyers-sur-Jabron [44°11'12"N 5°49'41"E]
 - i. *In Diensi... sanctæ Euphemie* (1095 [1])
136. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Treffort [44°54'56"N 5°39'29"E]

- i. *In Diensi... sancti Petri de Trefrort* (1095 [1])
- 137. UNIDENTIFIED 'In Diensi... de Arun'
 - i. *In Diensi... de Arun* (1095 [1])
- 138. Prieuré Saint-Pierre d'Aurel [44°41'34"N 5°17'56"E]
 - i. *In Diensi... de Aurel* (1095 [1])
- 139. UNIDENTIFIED 'In Diensi... de Calciun'
 - i. *In Diensi... de Calciun* (1095 [1])
- 140. UNIDENTIFIED 'In Diensi... de Castello-novo'
 - i. *In Diensi... de Castello-novo* (1095 [1])
- 141. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Dammarie [48°35'35"N 5°14'13"E]
 - i. *In Tulensi, Ecclesia de Domna Maria* (1095 [1])
- 142. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Froville {1080} [48°28'14"N 6°21'17"E]
 - i. *In Tulensi... de Frondonis villa* (1095 [1])
- 143. Prieuré Sainte-Croix de Thicourt {1093} [48°59'20"N 6°33'18"E]
 - i. *In Metensi, Ecclesia de Tihencurt* (1095 [1])
- 144. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Bort [45°24'00"N 2°29'43"E]
 - i. *In Lemovicensi, Monasterium quod dicitur Boort* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *S. Maria de Tobosa Boorum* (1100 [2])
 - iii. *Boortzium* (1109)
 - iv. *obedientia Bernardi Vicecomitis de Biert* (1125 [1])
- 145. Prieuré Saint-Leu de Saint-Leu-d'Esserent {1081} [49°13'06"N 2°25'25"E]
 - i. *In Belvacensi, Ecclesia sancti Lupi* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Asserentum* (1109)
 - iii. *Asserentz* (1125 [1])
- 146. Prieuré de Saint-Christophe-en-Halatte {1083} [49°15'37"N 2°35'52"E]
 - i. *in Sylvanectensi Ecclesia sancti Christophori* (1095 [1])
- 147. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Nanteuil-le-Haudouin {1095} [49°08'20"N 2°48'45"E]
 - i. *In Meldensi, Ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ de Nantolio* (1095 [1])
- 148. Prieuré Saint-Sulpice d'Aulnay [48°56'27"N 2°29'50"E]
 - i. *In Parisiensi... de Alneto* (1095 [1])
- 149. Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Paul de Lihons [49°49'30"N 2°46'01"E]
 - i. *In Ambianensi, Ecclesia sancti Petri de Lehuno* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *S. Petrus de Leuntiis* (1100 [2])
 - iii. *Leontium* (1109)
 - iv. *Lehunum* (1125 [1])
- 150. Prieuré Saint-Michel du Wast [50°45'01"N 1°48'09"E]
 - i. *In Morinensi, Ecclesia sancti Michaëlis* (1095 [1])

- ii. *In Episcopatu Tarvanensi Monasterium sancti Michaëlis de Vvasto* (1107 [1])
- 151. Abbaye St-Pierre-St-Paul de Coincy [49°09'42"N 3°25'20"E]
 - i. *In Suessionensi, Ecclesia sancti Petri de Consiaco* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *S. Petrus de Cunsiasco* (1100 [2])
 - iii. *Conciacum* (1109)
 - iv. *Consiacus* (1125 [1])
- 152. Priorato di San Valeriano di Robbio (also dedicated to San Salvatore) [45°17'13"N 8°35'19"E]
 - i. *In Longobardiâ, Monasterium sancti Valeriani de Castello Rhothobio* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Rodobium* (1109)
 - iii. *Roddobium* (1125 [1])
- 153. Priorato di San Michele di Mugarone [45°00'33"N 8°42'29"E]
 - i. *sancti Michaëlis de Mucharione* (1095 [1])
- 154. UNIDENTIFIED 'sancti Mayoli de Castemolâ'
 - i. *sancti Mayoli de Castemolâ* (1095 [1])
- 155. Priorato Santa Maria di Ferrera Erbognone [45°06'53"N 8°51'49"E]
 - i. *sanctæ Mariæ de Ferariâ* (1095 [1])
- 156. UNIDENTIFIED 'In Longobardiâ... Ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ de Lacu'
 - i. *In Longobardiâ... Ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ de Lacu* (1095 [1])
- 157. Priorato di San Pietro di Castelletto {1095} [45°30'48"N 8°14'20"E]
 - i. *In Vercellensi Episcopatu, Monasterium sancti Petri de Castellitio* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Castelletum* (1109)
 - iii. *Castelletum* (1125 [1])
- 158. Priorato di San Giovanni di Benna [45°30'55"N 8°07'29"E]
 - i. *sancti Joannis de Bainâ* (1095 [1])
- 159. Priorato dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo di Sandigliano [45°31'18"N 8°04'38"E]
 - i. *sanctorum Joannis et Pauli de Sandaliano* (1095 [1])
- 160. Priorato di San Martino di Salomone [45°25'35"N 8°05'01"E]
 - i. *sancti Martini de Salamone* (1095 [1])
- 161. Priorato di Santa Maria di Formigliana [45°25'45"N 8°17'37"E Site of modern church in Formigliana; new discovery?]
 - i. *sanctæ Mariæ Ferminiana* (1095 [1])
- 162. UNIDENTIFIED 'In Vercellensi Episcopatu... Ecclesia de Parione'
 - i. *In Vercellensi Episcopatu... Ecclesia de Parione* (1095 [1])
- 163. Priorato di San Pietro di Cavaglio Mezzano [45°36'23"N 8°29'42"E]
 - i. *In Vercellensi Episcopatu... de Calvallio* (1095 [1])

- ii. *Mediana* (1125 [1])
- 164. L'abbazia di Pontida/monastero di San Giacomo Maggiore {1076}
[45°43'52"N 9°30'16"E]
 - i. *In Pergamensi, Monasterium sancti Jacobi de Pontidâ* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *S. Jacobus de Pontivo* (1100 [2])
 - iii. *S. Jacobum de Pontida* (1109)
 - iv. *Pontida* (1125 [1])
- 165. Priorato di San Giorgio di Prezzate [45°43'06"N 9°33'42"E]
 - i. *Presiate* (1095 [1])
- 166. Priorato di Santa Maria di Medolago [45°40'13"N 9°29'37"E]
 - i. *Mediolaco* (1095 [1])
- 167. Priorato di San Benedetto di Portesana [45°37'39"N 9°30'06"E]
 - i. *Portizianâ* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Portesana* (1125 [1])
- 168. Priorato di San Giovanni di Morengo [45°32'03"N 9°42'19"E]
 - i. *Mauringo* (1095 [1])
- 169. Priorato dei S.S. Nazaro e Celso di Gerolanuova [45°24'25"N 10°00'04"E]
 - i. *Glariolâ* (1095 [1])
- 170. Priorato di San Nicola di Verziano [45°30'03"N 10°10'50"E]
 - i. *Verziliano* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Virgiliana* (1125 [1])
- 171. Priorato di San Zenone di Maclodio [45°28'36"N 10°02'32"E]
 - i. *Maglo* (1095 [1])
- 172. Priorato di Sale di Gussago [45°35'32"N 10°09'11"E]
 - i. *Salâ* (1095 [1])
- 173. Abbazia di San Pietro in Vallate [46°08'05"N 9°30'21"E]
 - i. *Vultulinâ* (1095 [1])
- 174. Priorato dei Santi Pietro e Paolo d'Argon [45°41'53"N 9°50'11"E]
 - i. *sancti Pauli cum his obediendiis* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *S. Petrus de Pergamo* (1100 [2]) possibly
 - iii. *S. Paulum de Bergamo* (1109)
 - iv. *S. Pauli de Argona* (1125 [1])
- 175. Priorato di Santa Maria di Sarnico [45°40'09"N 9°57'50"E]
 - i. *sanctæ Mariæ de Sarnecho* (1095 [1])
- 176. Possibly (Priorato di San Pietro di) 'Ombriano' [45°21'21"N 9°39'08"E]
AKA 'San Pietro in Pramortorio'
 - i. *sancti Petri de Umbriano* (1095 [1])
- 177. Priorato della Santissima Trinità di Crema [45°21'42"N 9°41'02"E]

- i. *sanctæ Trinitatis de Creminâ* (1095 [1])
- 178. Priorato di San Pietro di Madignano [45°20'33"N 9°43'33"E]
 - i. *sancti Petri de Madegniaco* (1095 [1])
- 179. Priorato di San Michele di Soncino [45°24'10"N 9°50'36"E]
 - i. *sancti Michaëlis de Sencino* (1095 [1])
- 180. Oratorio di San Martino di Rudiano [45°29'12"N 9°53'05"E]
 - i. *sancti Martini de Rudiliano* (1095 [1])
- 181. Priorato di Santa Giulia di Cazzago San Martino [45°34'55"N 10°01'21"E]
 - i. *sanctæ Juliæ de Cazacho* (1095 [1])
- 182. Priorato di San Tommaso di Quinzano d'Oglio [45°18'44"N 10°00'32"E]
 - i. *sancti Thomæ de Quintiano* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Quinciana* (1125 [1])
- 183. Monasterio di San Salvatore di Capo di Ponte [46°02'24"N 10°21'13"E]
 - i. *sancti Salvatoris de valle Camonichâ* (1095 [1])
- 184. Priorato di Sant'Andrea di Brignano [45°32'46"N 9°38'51"E]
 - i. *sancti Andreæ de Brignano* (1095 [1])
- 185. Priorato di Santa Maria di Cantù [45°44'08"N 9°08'06"E]
 - i. *sanctæ Mariæ de Canturi* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Canturium* (1125 [1])
- 186. Abbazia Sant'Egidio in Fontanella al Monte [45°42'59"N 9°30'56"E]
 - i. *sancti Ægidii de Vergesimâ* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Fontanella* (1125 [1])
- 187. Priorato di San Pietro di Rodengo [45°35'25"N 10°06'37"E]
 - i. *Monasterium sancti Petri de Rodingo* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Rodingum* (1125 [1])
- 188. Priorato di San Pietro in Lamosa [45°38'22"N 10°02'18"E]
 - i. *sancti Petri de Provallo cum his Cellis* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Proualium* (1125 [1]) UNCERTAIN
- 189. UNIDENTIFIED 'In Pergamensi... Trigulis'
 - i. *In Pergamensi... Trigulis* (1095 [1])
- 190. Priorato di San Cassiano di Alfianello [45°16'00"N 10°08'58"E]
 - i. *In Pergamensi... Alfianello* (1095 [1])
- 191. Priorato di San Vitale di Trigolo [45°18'21"N 9°48'53"E]
 - i. *In Pergamensi... Trigulo* (1095 [1])
- 192. Priorato di Santa Maria di Grumello Cremonese [45°11'41"N 9°52'07"E]
 - i. *In Pergamensi... Grumello* (1095 [1])
- 193. Priorato di Santa Maria di Scandolara Ravara [45°03'22"N 10°17'37"E]
 - i. *In Pergamensi... Scandolario* (1095 [1])

194. SPECULATED 'Priorato di Bassano Bresciano' [45°19'33"N 10°07'46"E]
 - i. *In Pergamensi... Brixianâ juxta Virolam* (1095 [1])
195. Priorato di San Giorgio di Piacenza [45°03'28"N 9°41'35"E]
 - i. *In Placentia, Monasterium sancti Gregorii cum his cellis* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *S. Gregorium de Placentia* (1109)
 - iii. *S. Gregorii de Placentia* (1125 [1])
196. SPECULATED Priorato di San Leo di Miradolo Terme [45°10'14"N 9°26'39"E]
 - i. *In Placentia... Ecclesia sancti Leonis de Miradolo* (1095 [1])
197. SPECULATED Priorato di San Lorenzo di Comagnano [44°53'42"N 9°32'31"E]
 - i. *In Placentia... sancti Laurentii de Cuminiaco* (1095 [1])
198. SPECULATED Priorato dei Santi Fermi e Rustico di Fratta [45°15'05"N 9°19'58"E]
 - i. *In Laudensi... sanctorum Firmi et Rustici de Fratta* (1095 [1])
199. Priorato di Santa Croce di Vidardo [45°16'10"N 9°23'53"E]
 - i. *In Laudensi... sanctæ Crucis de Vicodardo* (1095 [1])
200. Priorato di Santa Maria di Calvenzano {1090} [45°21'37"N 9°20'39"E]
 - i. *In Laudensi... sanctæ Mariæ de Calventiano* (1095 [1])
201. Abbazia di San Giovanni (Vertemate con Minoprio) [45°43'51"N 9°05'03"E]
 - i. *Monasterium sancti Joannis de Vertumade cum suis Ecclesiis* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Bertemala* (1109) POSSIBLY
202. Priorato dei Santi Cassiano e Ippolito di Olgiate Comasco {1093} [45°46'59"N 8°58'18"E]
 - i. *In Laudensi... sanctorum Martyrum Cassiani et Hippolyti de Vlzade* (1095 [1])
 - ii. *Olgia* (1125 [1])
203. Priorato di Santa Maria di Laveno [45°54'22"N 8°37'31"E]
 - i. *In Laudensi... sanctæ Mariæ de Laveno* (1095 [1])
204. Priorato di Sant'Elia a Viggiù [45°52'41"N 8°53'53"E]
 - i. *In Laudensi... et sanctæ Heliæ de monte Veglimo cum universis appendiciis et pertinentiis suis* (1095 [1])
205. Prieuré Saint-Maurice des Issarts [46°32'36"N 3°08'48"E]
 - i. *In Episcopatu Bituricensi, Monasterium sancti Mauriti* (1095 [2])
 - ii. *In Episcopatu Bituricensi Monasterium sancti Mauriti* (1152)
206. Prieuré Saint-Patrocle de Colombier [46°16'28"N 2°47'38"E]
 - i. *Monasterium Columbariense* (1095 [2])

- ii. *Monasterium Columbariense* (1152)
- 207. Prieuré-donjon de La Ferté-Hauterive [46°23'56"N 3°20'12"E]
 - i. *Monasterium de Firmitate* (1095 [2])
 - ii. *Monasterium de Firmitate* (1152)
- 208. Prieuré de Montempuis [46°45'07"N 3°21'28"E]
 - i. *Monasterium de monte Podio* (1095 [2])
 - ii. *Monasterium de monte Podio* (1152)
- 209. Prieuré Saint-Martin de Chantenay [46°44'00"N 3°11'00"E]
 - i. *de Martio* (1095 [2])
 - ii. *de Martio* (1152)
- 210. Possibly 'Prieuré Saint-Etienne de Genestines [46°00'07"N 2°53'40"E]
 - i. *de Genestina* (1095 [2])
 - ii. *de Genestinis* (1152)
- 211. UNIDENTIFIED 'Valcolomano'
 - i. *de Valcolomano* (1095 [2])
 - ii. *In Episcopatu Nivernensi... de Valcolomano* (1152)
- 212. Eglise (Prieuré) St-Pierre-ès-Liens de Neuville [46°46'10"N 3°18'55"E]
 - i. *de nova Villa* (1095 [2])
 - ii. *de nova Villa* (1152)
- 213. UNIDENTIFIED 'de Adiaco'
 - i. *de Adiaco* (1095 [2])
 - ii. *de Adiaco* (1152)
- 214. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Binson [49°05'28"N 3°45'57"E]
 - i. *Monasterio sancti Petri apud Bainsonum* (1096 [1])
- 215. Abbaye Sainte-Valérie de Chambon-sur-Voueize [46°11'22"N 2°25'33"E]
 - i. *In Lemovicensi Pago Monasterium sanctæ Valeriæ* (1096 [2])
- 216. UNIDENTIFIED 'S. Valerici' ('...In Lemovicensi Pago...')
 - i. *S. Valerici* (1096 [2])
- 217. Prieuré Notre-Dame de La Souterraine [46°14'15.2"N 1°29'10.6"E]
 - i. *sanctæ Mariæ quæ vocatur subterranean* (1096 [2])
- 218. Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Vigois [45°22'46"N 1°30'57"E]
 - i. *Abbatiam S. Petri Vosiensis* (1096 [2])
- 219. Prieuré Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Pardoux d'Arnac-Pompadour [45°23'53"N 1°23'01"E]
 - i. *Monasterium S. Petri de Arnaco* (1096 [2])
- 220. Possibly Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Chalais [45°16'29"N 0°02'17"E]

- i. *In Sanctonensi, Monasterium S. Martialis apud Castrum Colesium* (1096[2])
- 221. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Montendre [45°17'06"N 0°24'30"W]
 - i. *S. Petri de Monte Andro* (1096 [2])
- 222. Prieuré Saint-Martin de Saujon [45°40'32"N 0°55'24"W]
 - i. *S. Martini de Saliono* (1096 [2])
- 223. Prieuré St-Sauveur de St-Martial-de-Vitaterne [45°27'41"N 0°25'54"W]
 - i. *S. Salvatoris, quæ dicitur vita æterna* (1096 [2])
- 224. Prieuré Saint-Pierre d'Anais [46°11'13"N 0°54'31"W]
 - i. *S. Petri de Anesio* (1096 [2])
- 225. Prieuré Saint-Martial de Ruffec [46°37'45"N 1°10'12"E]
 - i. *In Bituricensi, Monasterium S. Martialis apud Rofiacum* (1096 [2])
- 226. Prieuré Saint-Sauveur et Saint-Benoît de Paunat [44°54'17"N 0°51'30"E]
 - i. *In Petragoricensi, Monasterium S. Martialis apud Palnatum* (1096 [2])
- 227. Abbaye Saint-Bertin de Saint-Omer {1099} [50°45'02"N 2°15'52"E]
 - i. *Monasterium S. Bertini* (1088-99)
 - ii. *S. Bertini Tarvannensis* (1100 [2])
 - iii. *Abbatiam S. Bertini* (1109)
 - iv. *In Tarvannensi Abbatia S. Bertini* (1118)
 - v. *S. Bertitini* (1125 [1])
 - vi. *sancti Bertini* (1125 [3])
 - vii. *investit de novo de Abbatia sancti Bertini* (1132 [2]) – EFFECTIVE EMANCIPATION
- 228. Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre [47°48'2"N 3°34'22"E]
 - i. *Abbatiam sancti Germani Antissiodorensis* (1097-99)
 - ii. *S. Germani Antissiodorensis* (1100 [2])
 - iii. *Abbatiam sancti Germani Antissiodorensis* (1109)
 - iv. *In civitate Antissiodorensi, Abbatiam sancti Germani* (1118)
 - v. *S. Germani Antissiodorensis* (1125 [1])
 - vi. *in Antissiodorensi sancti Germani* (1144 [3])
 - vii. *in Antissiodorensi sancti Germani* (1146 [1])
- 229. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Champvoux [47°08'06"N 3°04'34"E]
 - i. *Monasterium de Campovold* (1100 [1])
 - ii. *In Episcopatu Nivernensi Monasterium Campi Volti cum appendiciis suis* (1152)
- 230. Monasterio de San Zoilo / Prieuré Saint-Zoilo de Carrión de los Condes [42°20'25"N 4°36'40"W]
 - i. *S. Ovilus de Scarrione* (1100 [2])

- ii. *Charrionem* (1109)
- iii. *S. Zoili* (1125 [1])
- iv. *S. Zoilum de Carrione* (1144 [3])
- v. *sanctum Zoilum de Carrione* (1146 [1])
- 231. Prieuré Saint-Eutrope de Saintes [45°44'38"N 0°38'31"W]
 - i. *S. Eutropius* (1100 [2])
 - ii. *S. Eutropium* (1109)
 - iii. *S. Eutropii de Sanctonis* (1125 [1])
- 232. Prieuré Saint-Martin-d'Auxigny [47°12'12"N 2°24'59"E] UNCERTAIN
 - i. *S. Martinus de Auxia* (1100 [2])
 - ii. *S. Martini de Axia* (1125 [1])
- 233. Monasterio de Sant Pere de Casserres {1080} [42°00'07"N 2°20'27"E]
 - i. *Monasterium de Cacerris* (1100 [2])
- 234. UNIDENTIFIED 'Tyernus'
 - i. *Tyernus* (1100 [2])
- 235. Prieuré Saint-Arnould-de-Crépy {1076} [49°14'18"N 2°52'59"E]
 - i. *Crispeiacus* (1100 [2])
 - ii. *Crispejaci* (1109)
 - iii. *obedientia Crespeii* (1125 [1])
 - iv. *prioratus S. Arnulphi Crispeiensis Cluniacensis ordinis, Sylvanectensis diocesis* (1130)
- 236. UNIDENTIFIED 'Virgeius'
 - i. *Virgeius* (1100 [2])
 - ii. *Vergiaci* (1109)
 - iii. *Vergiacum* (1125 [1])
- 237. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Nantua {959} [46°09'08"N 5°36'28"E]
 - i. *Namtoacus* (1100 [2])
 - ii. *Prioratus Nantoaci* (1109)
 - iii. *Nanthoacus* (1125 [1])
- 238. The Priory of Saint Pancras, Southover near Lewes [50°52'5"N 0°0'29"E]
 - i. *S. Pancratius de Anglia* (1100 [2])
 - ii. *sanctum Pancratium de Lewis* (1109)
 - iii. *Cella S. Pancratiis de Lewis* (1125 [1])
- 239. Abbaye St-Jean de Montierneuf (Poitiers) [46°35'21"N 0°20'43"E]
 - i. *novum Monasterium* (1100 [2])
 - ii. *novum Monasterium Pictavense* (1109)
 - iii. *In civitate Pictavensi, Abbatiam quæ dicitur Monasterium novum* (1118)
 - iv. *Novi-Monasterij Pictavensis* (1125 [1])
 - v. *Monasterij novi Pictavis* (1144 [3])

- vi. *Monasterij novi Pictavis* (1146 [1])
- 240. Abbaye Saulve de Valenciennes {1103} [50°22'31"N 3°33'10"E]
 - i. *in Episcopatu Cameracensi Monasterium sancti Salvii de Valencinis* (1105)
 - ii. *S. Salvii juxta Valencenas* (1125 [1])
- 241. UNIDENTIFIED 'in Suessionensi Monasterium Bricmurci'
 - i. *in Suessionensi Monasterium Bricmurci* (1105)
- 242. Prieuré Saint-Morand d'Altkirch {1105} [47°37'28"N 7°15'11"E]
 - i. *In eodem Episcopatu Monasterium de Altichlica à Frederico Comite* (1107 [1])
 - ii. *Attaclica* (1125 [1])
- 243. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Vaucluse [47°15'29"N 6°41'11"E]
 - i. *In Bisuntino Episcopatu Monasterium Vallis clusæ* (1107 [1])
 - ii. *Monasterium de Valleclusa* (1114)
 - iii. *Valclusa* (1125 [1])
- 244. Abbaye Saint-Wulmer de Samer-aux-Bois {1107} [50°38'21"N 1°44'50"E]
 - i. *beati Vulmari Monasterium* (1107 [2])
 - ii. *Abbatiam S. Vulmari* (1109)
 - iii. *In Tarvannensi Abbatia... & S. Vulmari* (1118)
 - iv. *S. Vulmari* (1125 [1])
 - v. *in Tarvanensi sancti Wlmari* (1144 [3])
 - vi. *in Tarvanensi sancti Wlmari* (1146 [1])
- 245. Abbaye Saint-Ménelée de Menat {1118?} [46°06'14"N 2°54'16"E]
 - i. *Menatensi Monasterio* (1107 [2])
 - ii. *In pago Arvernensi, Abbatias... & Menotensem* (1118)
 - iii. *Menatensis* (1125 [1])
 - iv. *Menatensis* (1144 [3])
 - v. *Menatensis* (1146 [1])
- 246. Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Honnecourt [50°02'18"N 3°11'58"E]
 - i. *Abbatiam Unicurti* (1109)
 - ii. *In Episcopatu Cameracensi Abbatiam Hunicurtis* (1118)
 - iii. *Hunolcurti* (1125 [1])
 - iv. *in Cameracensi Hunoldicurtis* (1144 [3])
 - v. *in Cameracensi Hunostheurtis* (1146 [1])
- 247. Prieuré Saint-Gervais de Lurcy-le-Bourg [47°09'38"N 3°23'15"E]
 - i. *Luperciacum* (1109)
 - ii. *Luperciacum* (1125 [1])
- 248. Prieuré Saint-Révérien de Saint-Révérien {1055} [47°12'43"N 3°30'13"E]

- i. *sanctum Reverianum* (1109)
- ii. *S. Reveriani* (1125 [1])
- 249. Prieuré Sainte-Marie de Gaye {1079} [48°41'06"N 3°48'14"E]
 - i. *Gayas* (1109)
 - ii. *Gaya* (1125 [1])
- 250. SPECULATED 'Priorato di Rozzano' [45°22'27"N 9°08'46"E]
 - i. *Rozanum* (1109)
- 251. The Priory of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, Montacute {1078-1102}
[50°56'54"N 2°43'02"W]
 - i. *Montem-Acutum in Anglia* (1109)
 - ii. *Mons-acutus* (1125 [1])
- 252. The Priory of Saint Mary, Thetford {1104} [52°24'59"N 0°44'33"E]
 - i. *Tetfordium* (1109)
- 253. Prieuré Sainte-Foy de Morlaàs [43°20'40"N 0°15'47"W]
 - i. *sanctam fidem de Morlanis* (1109)
 - ii. *sanctæ Fidis de Morlanis* (1125 [1])
- 254. UNIDENTIFIED 'S. Mariam de Castello'
 - i. *S. Mariam de Castello* (1109)
- 255. Prieuré Saint-Pierre d'Abbeville [50°06'33"N 1°50'08"E]
 - i. *Abbevillam* (1109)
 - ii. *Abbevilla* (1125 [1])
 - iii. *Monasterium de Abbeville* (1144 [3])
 - iv. *Monasterium de Abbevilla* (1146 [1])
- 256. UNIDENTIFIED 'Cabolium'
 - i. *Cabolium* (1109)
- 257. Kloster Rüeggisberg / Prieuré St-Pierre-St-Paul de Rüeggisberg {1072}
[46°49'10"N 7°26'13"E]
 - i. *Roquespertum-Villaris* (1109)
- 258. Vallangoujard [49°08'17"N 2°06'47"E]
 - i. *S. Mariam de Valle* (1109)
- 259. UNIDENTIFIED 'Chaberos'
 - i. *Chaberos* (1109)
- 260. Prieuré Saint-André de Sail {1055} [45°44'04"N 3°58'17"E]
 - i. *Saltum* (1109)
- 261. Prieuré Sainte-Colombe de Saverdun [43°14'01"N 1°34'30"E]
 - i. *In Episcopatu Tolosano Monasterium sanctæ Columbæ* (1114)
- 262. Abbaye Saint-Cybard d'Angoulême {1075-87 conflict with Cluny until
1098/9} [45°39'11"N 0°09'00"E]

- i. *In Engolismensi, Abbatiam sancti Eparchi* (1118)
- ii. *sancti Eparchi Engolismensis* (1144 [3])
- iii. *sancti Eparchi Engolismensis* (1146 [1])
- 263. Abbaye St-Symphorien du Moutier de Thiers {1011} [45°51'02"N 3°32'41"E]
 - i. *In pago Arvernensi, Abbatias... Tiernensem* (1118)
 - ii. *Thiernensis* (1125 [1])
 - iii. *Thiernensis* (1144 [3])
 - iv. *Thiernensis* (1146 [1])
- 264. Abbaye Saint-Germain de Pontoise [49°02'32"N 2°05'35"E]
 - i. *In Rothomagensi, Abbatiam quæ dicitur Pontesia* (1118)
 - ii. *Pontisaræ* (1125 [1])
 - iii. *in Rothomagensi Abbatia apud Pontisaram* (1144 [3])
 - iv. *in Rothomagensi Abbatia apud Pontisaram* (1146 [1])
- 265. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Gournay [48°51'51"N 2°34'51"E]
 - i. *Apud Gornacum castrum Monasterium sanctæ Mariæ* (1119)
- 266. Prieuré de Saint-Nicolas-d'Acy [49°12'01"N 2°33'03"E]
 - i. *In Silvanectensi pago Monasterium sancti Nicolai de Aciaco* (1119)
- 267. Priorato de San Salvador de Villaverde de Vidriales [42°05'15"N 6°01'15"W]
 - i. *Villavert* (1125 [1])
 - ii. *villam viridem* (1144 [3])
 - iii. *Villam viridem* (1146 [1])
- 268. Priorato de Santa María de Cluny de Villafranca del Bierzo {c.1120} [42°36'34"N 6°48'34"W]
 - i. *Villafranca* (1125 [1])
 - ii. *Villam francam* (1144 [3])
 - iii. *Villam frencam* (1146 [1])
- 269. Monasterio de San Salvador de Cornellana {1122} [43°24'33"N 6°09'24"W]
 - i. *S. Salvatoris de Cornillana* (1125 [1])
 - ii. *Cornelianam* (1144 [3])
 - iii. *Cornilianam* (1146 [1])
- 270. Priorato de San Martín de Tours de Frómista {1118} [42°16'00"N 4°24'25"W]
 - i. *S. Martini de Formesta* (1125 [1])
- 271. UNIDENTIFIED 'obedientia de Astura'
 - i. *obedientia de Astura* (1125 [1])

272. Priorato de San Pedro de Valverde [43°00'43"N 7°33'19"W]
 - i. *obedientia de Valvert* (1125 [1])
 - ii. *Vallem viridem* (1144 [3])
 - iii. *Vallem viridem* (1146 [1])
273. Monasterio de San Vicente de Pombeiro {1109} [42°26'55"N 7°42'10"W]
 - i. *obedientia de Palumbera* (1125 [1])
 - ii. *Palumbarium* (1144 [3])
 - iii. *Palumbarium* (1146 [1])
274. Monasterio de San Martiño de Xuvia {1114?} [43°29'53"N 8°10'27"W]
 - i. *S. Martini de Nebda* (1125 [1])
 - ii. *sanctum Martinum de Nebda* (1144 [3])
 - iii. *sanctum Martinum de Nebda* (1146 [1])
275. Prieuré de Mont-Saint-Jean de Gourdon [44°44'23"N 1°22'25"E]
 - i. *S. Joannis de Gordon* (1125 [1])
276. Prieuré Saint-Pardoux d'Arfeuilles [46°09'23"N 3°43'42"E]
 - i. *obedientia de Arfolia* (1125 [1])
277. Prieuré Saint-Pierre d'Innimond [45°46'46"N 5°34'23"E]
 - i. *Ymnimons cum Promili* (1125 [1])
278. Abbaye Saint-Maurice de Conzano [45°02'57"N 8°27'32"E]
 - i. *Conzi cum Ecclesiis suis* (1125 [1])
279. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Rompon {977} [44°46'04"N 4°45'00"E]
 - i. *Rompon* (1125 [1])
280. Abbaye Saint-Martin de Tournai [50°36'11"N 3°23'13"E]
 - i. *Tornacum* (1125 [1])
281. Prieuré de Sorgues [44°00'43"N 4°52'22"E]
 - i. *Pontissorgiæ* (1125 [1])
282. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Piolenc {994} [44°10'41"N 4°45'42"E]
 - i. *Podiolenum* (1125 [1])
283. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Sainte-Jalle [44°20'38"N 5°17'13"E]
 - i. *sanctæ Gallæ* (1125 [1])
284. Priorato di Santa Lucia di Piave [45°51'03"N 12°17'12"E]
 - i. *S. Luciæ* (1125 [1])
285. Prieuré Saint-Maxime de Valensole {998} [43°50'14"N 5°58'58"E]
 - i. *Valensolia* (1125 [1])
286. Prieuré Saint-André-de-Rosans {998} [44°22'40"N 5°30'50"E]
 - i. *Rosans* (1125 [1])
287. UNIDENTIFIEDD 'Vigilium'
 - i. *Vigilium* (1125 [1])

288. Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Condom [43°57'28"N 0°22'21"E]
 - i. *Monasterium de Condaminis* (1125 [1])
289. UNIDENTIFIED 'obedientia de Megis'
 - i. *obedientia de Megis* (1125 [1])
290. Prieuré de Saint-Côme-du-Mont [49°20'08"N 1°16'22"W]
 - i. *S. Cosmæ de Normania* (1125 [1])
291. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Beussent [50°33'14"N 1°47'31"E]
 - i. *Borgissan* (1125 [1])
292. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Rumilly [50°34'32"N 2°00'51"E]
 - i. *Rumiliacum* (1125 [1])
293. Prieuré Saint-Pry de Béthune [50°31'44"N 2°38'14"E]
 - i. *S. Præjecti de Bethuna* (1125 [1])
294. Prieuré Notre-Dame d'Elincourt [49°31'53"N 2°48'38"E]
 - i. *sanctæ Margaretæ* (1125 [1]) – first appearance of '*sanctæ Margaretæ*' in this bull ('...*Lehunum, sanctæ Margaretæ, Britiniacum*...')
 - i. This has been identified as Elincourt, since it appears alongside other sites in North-West France. Compare with the second '*sanctæ Margaretæ*' in this bull, which appears alongside sites local to Troyes ('...*sancti Theobaldi de Vitrejo, sanctæ Margaretæ, Gaya*...'), and was thus identified as 'Prieuré Ste-Marguerite de Margerie'.
295. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Brétigny [49°34'06"N 3°06'38"E]
 - i. *Britiniacum* (1125 [1])
296. Prieuré Saint-Pierre-à-la-Chaux [49°22'52"N 3°19'42"E]
 - i. *S. Petri de Calce* (1125 [1])
297. Abbaye de Notre Dame de Turpenay {1127?} [47°14'26"N 0°20'58"E]

UNCERTAIN

 - i. *obedientia de Turpiniaco* (1125 [1])
298. Prieuré St-Pierre de Tours-sur-Marne [49°02'48"N 4°07'27"E]
 - i. *Turris, super materna* (1125 [1])
299. Prieuré St-Thiébaud de Vitry-en-Perthois {1119} [48°44'53"N 4°37'35"E]
 - i. *sancti Theobaldi de Vitrejo* (1125 [1])
300. Prieuré Saint-Sépulchre de Villacerf [48°23'44"N 3°59'33"E]
 - i. *Villare* (1125 [1])
301. Prieuré Saint-Germain de l'Isle-d'Albeau [45°36'58"N 5°12'18"E]
 - i. *Insula* (1125 [1])
302. The Priory of The Holy Trinity, Lenton {1102-8} [52°56'37"N 1°10'43"W]
 - i. *Northingham* (1125 [1])

303. Abbaye St-Pierre de Baume-les-Messieurs [46°42'30"N 5°38'52"E]
 - i. *obedientia de Balma* (1125 [1])
 - ii. *Abbatiam Balmensem* (1147 [1])
 - iii. *Abbatiam Balmensem in obedientia Abbatis Clun. sub titulo Prioratus* (1155)
304. Priorato di San Pietro di Besate [45°18'40"N 8°58'04"E]
 - i. *Beresate* (1125 [1])
305. Abbazia di San Giovanni di Vertemate con Minoprio {1086-95} [45°43'54"N 9°05'04"E]
 - i. *Vercemate* (1125 [1])
306. Priorato di San Nicola di Figina [45°47'53"N 9°23'53"E]
 - i. *Figinia* (1125 [1])
307. Priorato di San Paolo dell'Isola {1091} [45°41'36"N 10°04'17"E]
 - i. *S. Pauli Intus-lacum* (1125 [1])
308. UNIDENTIFIED 'Limantium'
 - i. *Limantium* (1132 [1])
309. Monasterio de San Facundo de Sahagún {1080-1132} [42°22'15"N 5°02'00"W]
 - i. *de Monasterio sanctorum Facundi & Primitivi in Hispania* (1132 [4])
310. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Montdidier [49°38'58"N 2°34'01"E]
 - i. *Prioratus beatæ Mariæ de Montedesiderio* (1136 [1])
 - ii. *In Francia Ecclesiam Montisdesiderii* (1144 [3])
 - iii. *In Francia Ecclesiam Montisdesiderii* (1146 [1])
311. Prieuré St-Théodore de la Rochebeaucourt [45°29'04"N 0°22'48"E]
 - i. *Prioratus de Rochabevereurti* (1136 [2])
312. Abbaye de Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey [45°57'06"N 5°26'06"E]
 - i. *Monasterio sancti Ragniberti* (1138)
 - ii. *Monasterium sanctorum Domitiani & Ragneberti* (1139)
313. Prieuré Saint-Gervais de Fos-sur-Mer {1081} [43°25'58"N 4°56'44"E]
 - i. *Monasterium S. Gervasii de Fos* (1139)
314. Monasterio de San Vincente de Salamanca [40°57'43"N 5°40'24"W]
 - i. *Monasterij sancti Vincentii de Salamantica in Hispania* (1144 [1])
 - ii. *sanctum Vincentium de Salmantica* (1144 [3])
 - iii. *sanctum Vincentium de Salamantica* (1146 [1])
315. Prieuré de Prin [46°04'35"N 5°15'10"E]
 - i. *Monasterium de Prims* (1144 [3])
 - ii. *Monasterium de Prinis* (1146 [1])
316. UNIDENTIFIED 'In Provincia Monasterium juxta montem Pessulanum'

- i. *In Provincia Monasterium juxta montem Pessulanum* (1144 [3])
- ii. *In Provincia Monasterium juxta Montempessulanum* (1146 [1])
- 317. Monasterio de San Román de Entrepeñas [42°48'57"N 4°44'04"W]
 - i. *S. Romanum de Pennis* (1144 [3])
 - ii. *sanctum Romanum de Pennis* (1146 [1])
- 318. Monasterio de San Salvador de Budiño [42°06'13"N 8°35'57"W]
 - i. *Bodunum* (1144 [3])
 - ii. *Bodinum* (1146 [1])
- 319. Convento de Santa Maria de Vimieiro {1127} [41°30'23"N 8°27'40"W]
 - i. *Vimineriam* (1144 [3])
 - ii. *Vimeneriam* (1146 [1])
- 320. Monasterio de Santa Coloma de Santa Coloma [42°22'02"N 2°39'21"W]
 - i. *sanctam Columbam de Burgiis* (1144 [3])
 - ii. *sanctam Columbam de Burgis* (1146 [1])
- 321. Prieuré Saint-Aignan d'Aubigny [47°04'03"N 3°00'48"E]
 - i. *Item in Nivernensi Episc. Monasterium de Albinico, quod ad Charitatem spectat* (1144 [3])
 - ii. *Monasterium de Albinico* (1146 [1])
- 322. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Choisy-en-Brie [48°45'31"N 3°13'10"E]
 - i. *in Francia Monasterium de Causiaco, quod ad sanctum Martinum de Campis* (1144 [3])
 - ii. *In Francia Monasterium de Causiaco* (1146 [1])
- 323. Priorato di San Saba di Roma {1144} [41°52'43"N 12°29'8"E]
 - i. *Monasterium sancti Sabæ de urbe* (1145 [2])
- 324. SPECULATIVE 'Prieuré de Chasnay' [47°14'41"N 3°11'00"E]
 - i. *obedientiam de Chasneio* (1154)
 - i. There is a village called 'Chasnay' approximately 14.6km south of Donzy.
- 325. UNIDENTIFIED 'obedientiam de Molummis'
 - i. *obedientiam de Molummis* (1154)
- 326. UNIDENTIFIED 'obedientiam de valle Dosia'
 - i. *obedientiam de valle Dosia* (1154)
- 327. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Jussa-Moutier [47°13'53"N 6°01'31"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam Visani Monasterii* (1155)
- 328. SPECULATED Prieuré de Moutherot [47°14'36"N 5°43'56"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam de Strabona* (1155)
- 329. SPECULATED Prieuré de Grandfontaine [47°11'55"N 5°54'15"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam de grandi Fonte* (1155)

330. Prieuré Saint-Pierre de Jouhe [47°08'27"N 5°29'24"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam de Galda* (1155)
331. Prieuré Saint-Lothain de Saint-Lothain [46°49'29"N 5°38'29"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam S. Lauteni* (1155)
332. SPECULATED 'Prieuré de Bréry' [46°46'59"N 5°34'41"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam de Breriaco* (1155)
333. SPECULATED Prieuré de Chavenay [46°48'16"N 5°33'41"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam Cavaniacensem* (1155)
334. Prieuré Notre-Dame de Mouthier-Vieillard [46°49'56"N 5°42'13"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam de Poloniaco* (1155)
335. SPECULATED Prieuré de Dole-sur-Doubs [47°05'33"N 5°29'39"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam de Dola* (1155)
336. Prieuré Sainte-Trinité de Bonnevent [47°23'29"N 5°55'59"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam de Benevant* (1155)
337. SPECULATED Prieuré Saint-Maurice de Grozon [46°53'25"N 5°42'04"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam S. Mauritii* (1155)
338. Prieuré de Sermesse [46°53'58"N 5°05'18"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam de Saoneres* (1155)
339. SPECULATED Prieuré de Buvilly [46°52'03"N 5°43'09"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam de Biviliaco* (1155)
340. Prieuré St-Désiré de Lons-le-Saunier [46°40'19"N 5°33'02"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam S. Agnetis* (1155)
341. SPECULATED Prieuré de La Frette [46°38'19"N 5°02'52"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam de la Fracte* (1155)
342. SPECULATED Prieuré de Monnet-la-Ville [46°42'54"N 5°47'47"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam de Munet* (1155)
343. Prieuré Saint-Etienne de Pontarlier [46°54'05"N 6°21'33"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam de Ponte* (1155)
344. Prieuré/Église Notre-Dame de Chapelle-Voland [46°48'11"N 5°22'39"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam de Capella* (1155)
345. SPECULATED Prieuré de Cesancey [46°37'31"N 5°29'58"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam de Sinziaco* (1155)
346. Prieuré de Saint-Renobert [47°05'44"N 5°53'24"E]
 - i. *Obedientiam S. Ranneberti* (1155)

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