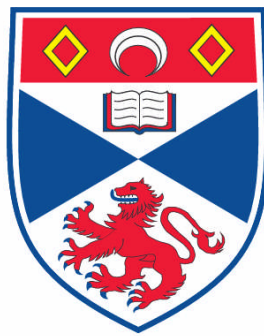


**AN ANALYSIS OF THE CORRESPONDENCE AND
HAGIOGRAPHICAL WORKS OF PHILIP OF HARVENGT**

Lynsey E. Robertson

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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31st May 2007

Abstract

For every famous author of the twelfth-century renaissance, there are numerous lesser-known writers. Despite being overshadowed by more brilliant scholars or those closer to the centre of important events, their voices add depth to the study of the intellectual history of this period. A founding member of one of the earliest Premonstratensian houses; a highly-educated and prolific author, much in demand as a hagiographer; and a vigorous defender of the clerical order, Philip of Harvengt is one such writer, and a worthy subject for study. This thesis examines two bodies of Philip's works – his letters and his hagiographical writings – analysing the predominant and recurrent concerns and ideals expressed in them, and the means by which they are expressed.

The letters are carefully crafted works, examples of the literary labour which Philip writes is incumbent upon the cleric. The first part of this thesis approaches these letters in chapters on four themes: the role of the ecclesiastical prelate; the importance of learning; the relationship between religious orders; and Philip's use of the motif of friendship. His hagiographical works, too, are examples of literary artistry, to move as well as to educate the audience. In the second part of the thesis, these will be discussed individually, with the first chapter analysing his *vita* of Oda, a nun attached to his own house, whom he portrays as a martyr. The succeeding chapters consider Philip's rewritings of earlier *vitae*, and show how he managed his sources in order to produce *vitae* depicting their subjects according to his ideal model of sanctity.

Philip's letters express concerns shared by contemporaries, reflecting anxieties surrounding roles and ideal forms of living in a period immediately following the first fervour of religious renewal. His hagiographies articulate ideals of sanctity, clarifying these when they are not made sufficiently explicit in earlier works, for the better edification of an audience pursuing this *vita perfecta*. Both letters and hagiographies are designed to exhort and instruct the reader or listener: above all, Philip is a teacher.

Declarations

I, Lynsey Emma Robertson, hereby declare that this thesis, which is approximately 93'000 words in length, has been written by me; that it is the record of work carried out by me; and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date _____ Signature of Candidate _____

I was admitted as a research student in September 2002, and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in May 2007; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 2002 and 2007.

Date _____ Signature of Candidate _____

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date _____ Signature of Supervisor _____

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University of St. Andrews

May 2007

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Abbreviations

- col. - column numbers of Philip's writings in Patrologia Cursus Completus: Series Latina vol. 203, ed. J-P. Migne (Paris, 1855).
- AASS - Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana, 68 vols., ed. Société des Bollandistes, <http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk>.
- AB - Analecta Bollandiana (1882-).
- AP - Analecta Praemonstratensia (1925-).
- Berlière, RB 9 - U. Berlière, 'Philippe de Harvengt, abbé de Bonne-Espérance,' Revue Bénédictine 9 (1892).
- St. Bernard, Opera - St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Sancti Bernardi Opera, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais (8 vols; Rome, 1957-77).
- BHL - Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis, 2 vols., ed. Socii Bollandiani (Brussels, 1898-1901; facsimile reprint, 1949).
- Bynum, Docere - C. Walker Bynum, Docere Verbo et Exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality (Harvard 1979).
- CCCM - Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis.
- Faider, Catalogue - P. Faider, Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque publique de la ville de Mons (Ghent and Paris, 1931).

Abbreviations

- Fulton, From Judgment to Passion - R. Fulton, From Judgment to Passion: Devotion Christ and the Virgin Mary 800-1200 (Columbia, 2002).
- JMH - Journal of Medieval History (1975-).
- JRH - Journal of Religious History (1960-).
- Maghe, Chronicum - E. Maghe, Chronicum Ecclesiae Beatae Mariae Virginis Bonae-Spei Ordinis Praemonstratensis (Bonae-Spei, 1704).
- Map, De Nugis Curialium - Walter Map, De Nugis Curialium, ed. and tr. M. R. James, revised by C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983).
- MGH. SS. - Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores.
- MGH. SS. R. Merov. - Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum.
- MGH. SS. R. German. - Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi.
- Petit, La Spiritualité - F. Petit, La Spiritualité des Prémontrés XIIe et XIIIe siècles (Paris, 1947).
- PL - Patrologia Cursus Completus: Series Latina, ed. J-P. Migne (221 vols; Paris, 1844-64), <http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk>.
- PS - 'Passio S. Salvii,' ed. M. Coens, AB 87

Abbreviations

(1969).

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|
| <u>RB</u> | - | <u>Revue Bénédictine</u> (1884-). |
| Sijen, 'Les Oeuvres' | - | G. P. Sijen, 'Les Oeuvres de Philippe de Harveng,' <u>AP</u> 15 (1939), pp. 129-166. |
| Sijen, 'Sa Biographie,' | - | G. P. Sijen, 'Philippe de Harveng, Abbé de Bonne-Espérance: Sa Biographie,' <u>AP</u> 14 (1938), pp. 37-52. |
| van der Essen, <u>Étude</u> | - | L. van der Essen, <u>Étude critique et littéraire sur les vitae des saints mérovingiens de l'ancienne Belgique</u> (Louvain and Paris, 1907). |



‘Germany under Frederick Barbarossa, c. 1190’

B. Arnold, ‘The western empire, 1125-1197,’ *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, part 2, ed.
D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), p. 386.

Prologue

“Philip of Harvengt is hardly a medieval celebrity.”¹ So Douglass Roby remarked in introducing a brief sketch of Philip’s life, preparatory to an investigation of letters written by Philip to St. Bernard concerning a dispute between their houses. He is not; but with a number of articles having been published on various aspects of Philip’s work,² his treatise *De Institutione Clericorum* having been consulted in discussions on the spirituality of the regular canons,³ and most recently his commentary *In Cantica Canticorum* having been studied alongside similar works by Rupert of Deutz and William of Newburgh, his profile since Roby made the comment has increasingly been raised.⁴ There has been long-standing interest in Philip’s writings on the part of monastic historians, particularly his successors as abbot such as Nicolas Chamart in the seventeenth century, who was responsible for compiling his works in one volume in 1621. It is this compilation which Jacques-Paul Migne copied as volume 203 of the *Patrologia Latina*. Another of his successors was G. P. Sijen, who in the 1930s produced two invaluable articles for the *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, one a biography of Philip, and one an examination of each of his works in turn.⁵ This is in part based on the work of Dom Ursmer Berlière in the nineteenth century, than whose voice none could be more eloquent in making the argument for Philip and his work to be more widely recognised than was the case when he wrote.⁶

A Premonstratensian canon who was probably welcomed into the order by St. Norbert himself, Philip was one of a group of brothers sent out from Prémontré to found the house of Bonne-Espérance near Mons, in the county of Hainault and diocese of Cambrai, in 1126 or 1127.⁷ Made prior in around 1130, he succeeded Odo

¹ D. Roby, ‘Philip of Harvengt’s Contribution to the Question of Passage from One Religious Order to Another,’ *AP* 49 (1973) p. 71.

² For example C. Neel, ‘Philip of Harvengt’s *Vita Augustini*: The Medieval Premonstratensians and the Patristic Model,’ *AP* 71 (1995), pp. and ‘Philip of Harvengt and Anselm of Havelberg: The Premonstratensian Vision of Time,’ *Church History* 62, ed. J. C. Brauer and M. E. Marty (1993), pp. 483-493.

³ Bynum, *Docere*.

⁴ Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*.

⁵ Sijen, ‘Sa Biographie’ and ‘Les Oeuvres’.

⁶ Berlière, *RB* 9, pp. 24-5.

⁷ Sijen, ‘Sa Biographie,’ p. 41. C. Neel (‘Philip of Harvengt and Anselm of Havelberg,’ p. 483) states that Bonne-Espérance was in the duchy of Brabant, but hers is a lone voice. On the map on page vi, Bonne-Espérance lies on a straight line between Cambrai and Liège, approximately 40 miles north east

as the house's second abbot in 1158 and resigned in December 1182 shortly before his death. Well-educated although probably not, as has been pointed out, a product of the schools at the intellectual hubs of Paris and Laon,⁸ Philip's writings are a testament to his love of learning – not only in the concern prominent throughout them to encourage others in the pursuit of learning, but also in the literary craftsmanship which distinguishes his works. Philip's literary accomplishment is evident in the six saints' *Lives* which he composed, all bar one of which are polished reworkings of earlier *Lives*, and all bar one of which were written at the request of brothers or sisters in a house dedicated to that saint. This last exception is a *Life of St. Augustine*, which was written after discussion with fellow canons, although of which house cannot be determined. One *Life* explicitly refers to the fact that it had been requested of Philip because the prior who asked for it had seen and admired this *Life of St. Augustine*.⁹

In examining Philip's letters and saints' *Lives* in close detail, the intention is to take the two collections, one epistolary, the other hagiographical, and discover in them something both of Philip's preoccupations and concerns, and of his stylistic methods and intentions. The thesis will be presented in two parts, the first on the letters, and the second on the saints' *Lives*. From the letters four themes have emerged as being of particular interest to Philip, and so the first part will be divided into four chapters corresponding with these themes. These are: the role of the ecclesiastical prelate; the importance of learning for secular rulers and clerics; the relationship between the religious orders, and friendship. The questions of theology with which

of Cambrai, or one third of the distance from Cambrai to Liège. Similarly, Petit, *La Spiritualité* (p. 131) is alone in assuming that Philip's monastery was in the diocese of Tournai. The map generated by M. Parisse and J. Leuridan in their *Atlas de la France de l'An Mil* (Paris, 1994), clearly shows that the site where Bonne-Espérance would be built (17 miles north east of Maubeuge) was in the diocese of Cambrai. Maghe, *Chronicum*, records a number of grants of churches over the years to Bonne-Espérance from the bishop of Cambrai, with no mention ever made of the bishop of Tournai; P. Pierrard (*Histoire des Diocèses de Cambrai et de Lille* (Paris, 1978), p. 49) names Bonne-Espérance as one of the first thirteen Premonstratensian houses to be founded in Cambrai in the early history of that order.

⁸ Sijen ('Sa Biographie,' pp. 39-40) disputed prevailing ideas that Philip studied at one or other of these places, the argument for Paris being based on his praise of Paris in one letter, and the argument for Laon being based on his correspondence with a man who had studied at Laon. Apparently unaware of the work of Sijen, Petit (*La Spiritualité*, p. 129) wrote that Philip 'probably' studied at Laon. Roby in 1973 (p. 72) concurred with Sijen, and their reasons remain the most convincing. Despite this, the idea of Paris/Laon persists, with S. Ferruolo in 1985 (*The Origins of the University* (Stanford, 1985), p. 89) informing his readers that Philip "had himself been educated in the cathedral school of Cambrai and in Paris."

⁹ cols. 1311C-1314A.

the letters to John, Wederic and Heroald are concerned will not be dealt with here.¹⁰ Although very often one concern is predominant in a letter, naturally these themes may be integrated, as for example when the language of friendship is applied to the relationship between the orders, or when learning is praised in an ecclesiastical prelate. Yet it is hoped that by approaching the letters thematically, and studying them not only in the context of Philip's own aims and intentions but also alongside works by other authors concerned with the same issues, a fuller picture of Philip's thought may be built up. The second part of the thesis will look at Philip's hagiographical works individually, devoting a chapter each to the *Lives* of Saints Oda, Salvius, Landelin and Foillan. These will analyse Philip's approach to the composition of each *Life*, focussing in particular on the relationship between his work and the source or sources on which he based it. Attention will also be paid to the language and imagery which he uses in these works, and to questions which arise from his portrayal of certain aspects of these hagiographies, in particular that of the "martyrdom" of Saints Oda and Salvius.

¹⁰ On the question of the corporeal suffering of Christ with which the letters to John are concerned, see G. P. Sijen, 'La Passibilité du Christ chez Philippe de Harveng,' *AP* 14 (1938), pp. 189-208.

Part One: Introduction

Philip's letters survive only in Chamart's compilation. The fate of the library of Bonne-Espérance is described by Paul Faider in his introduction to the Catalogue of the Public Library at Mons, which was the recipient of many works from the monastic library after it was broken up at the time of the French Revolution.¹ The catalogue of Bonne-Espérance which Faider consulted was also Chamart's work.² Faider writes that many of the manuscripts which could not be taken to Mons were hidden by the monks or dispersed among the local population, and were eventually purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps in "une véritable rafle."³ It must have been at this period that some of the manuscripts which Chamart had had at his disposal, evading Phillipps' "swoop," were lost. Sijen bemoans the fact, and draws attention to imperfections of the seventeenth-century editing procedure which led to the loss of some valuable information. Without any commentary from Chamart – whose preface to the collection consists of a panegyric to Albert and Isabella of Austria – it cannot be known whether the order in which he presents the letters was the order in which he discovered them, or indeed whether he had found them grouped together at all.⁴ Sijen cites Molinier, who wrote that:

[the first editors rarely] took the trouble to complete the abbreviations which signify the correspondents or the persons cited in each letter.⁵

Thus the recipients of the letters are introduced in the collection only by their Christian names, with letters typically prefaced with: "Philippi ad Henricum" or "Philippi ad Bernardum." Only "Philippi ad Eugenium III Papam" is more specific. Nonetheless, Sijen doubts the authenticity of only two letters, to Pope Alexander III and to Brother William. On the grounds both of style and content he posits that they ought rather to be attributed to Philip of l'Aumône.⁶ Despite this relative lack of

¹ Faider, *Catalogue*, pp. xiii-xvii.

² Faider, *Catalogue*, p. xiii; N. Chamart, 'Index Librorum Manuscriptorum, qui exstant in Bibliotheca Incltyti Monasterii Bonae Spei,' in A. Sanderus, *Bibliotheca Belgica Manuscripta* (Lille, 1641; facsimile: Farmborough, 1969), pp. 305-312.

³ Faider, *Catalogue*, p. xv.

⁴ N. Chamart (ed.), *Philippi Abbatis Bonae-Spei Opera* (Douai, 1621).

⁵ A. Molinier, 'Les Sources de l'Histoire de France,' vol. 5 (Paris, 1904), p. 80, n. 115, cited in Sijen, 'Les Oeuvres,' p. 134.

⁶ Sijen, 'Les Oeuvres,' pp. 141-2.

information, the contents of some letters make the identity of their recipients clear, so that of the fourteen recipients of Philip's letters, six can be positively identified.

With the two falsely attributed letters discounted, the collection consists of twenty written by Philip, three addressed to Philip from a Brother John, and one from Brother Hunald to Brother John concerning the theological question disputed between Philip and John. Like any other collection of letters of this period, a wider audience than the one man addressed would be envisaged, and it is interesting to read that John returned Philip's letters to him, having added to them marginal notations and glosses. Giles Constable writes of "real" and "fictional" letters in medieval letter collections, denoting those which were sent and those which were not, but in Philip's case it is not always possible to tell into which of these two categories a given letter might fall.⁷ Only the three letters to John can be read alongside the replies they received, but a number of other letters refer to letters to which they are themselves responses. Philip wrote two letters to St. Bernard, in the second complaining that the first had received no reply, and two to the cleric Richer, referring in the second letter to a communication he had received from him since writing the first one. Some letters are written to friends or known acquaintances, others, notably those to Count Henry of Champagne and Count Philip of Flanders, to men whom he had never met. These last could well be "fictional," but it is impossible to tell. None of the letters are to women.

The collection comprises: two letters to counts, one letter to the Pope, one to an archbishop, two to bishops, two to St. Bernard, eleven to men in the cloister or in the schools, and one to a man whose status is unclear but who was clearly learned. For some of the recipients of the group of eleven letters, it cannot be determined whether at the time when Philip wrote to them they were in the schools or in the cloister. At least one man, Engelbert, seems to have been a canon of Philip's house who was studying in Paris for a time.⁸ Philip writes to him that: "when you have returned whole to us, by God's will, and brought back with you not money but literary knowledge, I will esteem you although shipwrecked, yet not a pauper, but weighed

⁷ G. Constable, 'Letters and Letter-Collections,' *Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental* fasc. 17 (Turnhout, 1976), p. 13.

⁸ Sijen, 'Les Oeuvres,' p. 136.

down with honest goods.”⁹ It is thus possible that other students to whom Philip wrote at Paris, between them the recipients of three or perhaps four letters,¹⁰ were also regular canons or monks.¹¹ The remaining six letters, all bar one of which instruct or debate with the recipient on matters of theology, all seem to be addressed to men in the cloister. Yet Brother John, the recipient of three of these letters, is revealed to have studied under Anselm of Laon before entering the cloister, and Sijen observes of Wederic, the recipient of the first epistle in the collection, that “he participated in the debates of the schools on the story of the Creation.”¹² The relationship between the cloister and schools outwith the cloister is evident in Philip’s letters, even characteristic of them, and is a subject with which he is deeply concerned.

The majority of the letters are exhortatory in nature, be it an exhortation to a newly-elected bishop to exercise his authority rightly, or to an elderly cleric to persevere in Scriptural study. A significant group are concerned with his dispute with St. Bernard and with the period when as prior he was accused of mismanagement and sent into exile from Bonne-Espérance. The topic of ‘friendship’ in the letters is both a theme for discussion in its own right and a means by which Philip introduces a letter on the role of the prelate. How Philip expresses his concerns in relation to these exhortations – the imagery he uses and the techniques he employs in addressing these interests – will be of first importance to the analysis of his letters which ensues. For whom Philip wrote; what his intentions were in writing; how he used literary techniques and imagery; and to what ends, will all come under consideration. In this way both the individual topics outlined and concerns which recur across the letters will be brought together in the concluding section of this part. It is hoped that from this, a fuller understanding of Philip’s use of and interest in the four themes to which the four chapters are dedicated will be reached.

⁹ col. 33C.

¹⁰ Sijen surmises that the recipients of epistles 2 and 3, Hervard and Heroald, are the same person. Epistle 3 refers to Heroald’s study at Paris. ‘Les Oeuvres,’ p. 135; Philip, col. 31C-D.

¹¹ Rachel Fulton believes that such was the case for Richer, the recipient of epistles 18 and 20. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, pp. 366-7.

¹² Sijen, ‘Les Oeuvres,’ p. 135.

Exhortations on the Role of the Ecclesiastical Prelate.

In his letters, Philip shows a marked concern for the correct performance of the office of ruler, in both a secular and ecclesiastical context. This chapter will discuss his letters to two church leaders – an anonymous friend of his schooldays recently made bishop, and Rainald of Dassel, Chancellor to the emperor, and Archbishop of Cologne and Archchancellor for Italy from 1159 – in which he expounds on the nature of the task they have to undertake. The next chapter will go on to examine how Philip undertook the task of offering his advice to Counts Henry of Champagne and Philip of Flanders on the virtues of the Christian ruler in the secular sphere. The differences in both content and tone of the letters to the two ecclesiastical prelates reflect the differences of circumstance and character of the two men, and consequently what Philip could hope to achieve by writing to them. His intentions and methods will be examined here, with an attempt to understand his concerns about the role of the prelate in the context of the writings of contemporaries on the subject.

In his letter to his anonymous friend, which is explicitly also intended for a wider audience, much of what Philip writes concerning the role of the prelate is an ideal presentation of a way of life to which all bishops should aspire. In it he discusses the qualities which a bishop should possess both in dealing with his subjects and in his own life; qualities which must be nurtured and with which he must persevere in order to progress spiritually. He advances the idea, familiar from St. Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*, that the prelate can only hope to preach to his people with God's support if he endeavours to live a perfect life and proceed to a more spiritual plane. His letter to Rainald, on the other hand, has rather more limited aims, being more specific to Rainald's situation. This letter is a response to one received from Rainald, in which the chancellor and archbishop discussed a recent victory. Most of Philip's letter refers to this fact of Rainald being involved in war on behalf of the emperor, and shows his concern that Rainald both balance and reconcile this with his position as a servant of God. Writing in the *Revue Bénédictine* of 1892, Dom Berlière neatly summarised what it is that Philip does in this letter:

The abbot of Bonne-Espérance congratulates him on his elevation to the episcopal dignity, and praises his knowledge, but at the same

time is not afraid to recall to him his obligations to God and the Church.¹

This interpretation is far preferable to that offered by Peter Munz, who wrote that Philip “had fallen a total victim to Rainald’s propaganda and wrote to Rainald in the most flattering terms as a wise servant of the Christian religion whose victory was due to humility (sic!).”² Philip does commend Rainald for the humility which the archbishop professes in the letter to which Philip is replying, but such commendation is part of the subtle approach which Philip takes in addressing Rainald. At the beginning of the letter his manner of address is rather more like that to the two counts than that to the two other bishops to whom he writes, a recognition that Rainald’s life and pursuits have been more in keeping with those of a secular than an ecclesiastical nobleman:

The divine goodness ordained well from the beginning, and its providence did not deny its benefit to the Empire, to the Church, when it both bestowed the clerical profession on you, a noble man, and with a liberal hand added literary knowledge beyond the custom of nobles.³

He talks of Rainald’s learning in terms of admiration for his pursuit of learning despite being so occupied with worldly affairs, and praises Rainald for being more learned than he believes is common in noblemen. The thrust of Philip’s letter is to impress upon Rainald that while being grateful to the emperor, he must remember that his elevation is due ultimately to God. To this end he lists what is needful for Rainald to be a good prelate whilst serving the emperor:

Modesty of behaviour, meditation on the Scriptures, maturity of prudent honesty, care for the altar, reverence for the Church, worthy consideration of your dignity ...⁴

In contrast to his attitude towards his anonymous friend, for whom he weeps because he does not enter the monastery, Philip does not condemn the worldly role which the archbishop has been called upon to play, but rather whilst accepting it, seeks to teach Rainald how to perform it without compromising his soul. He here

¹ Berlière, *RB* 9, p. 134.

² P. Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa* (London, 1969), p. 250.

³ col. 160C.

⁴ col. 163B.

positively encourages Rainald's dual position as archbishop and leader of soldiers, provided that the leadership is in forms other than the actual taking up of arms. He writes that:

Very often we see some men proceeding on an expedition who delight not to shed blood, but to reach peace in victory. The rage of malice does not gird them with the sword belt, but the law of obedience. Nor do they rejoice in the defeat of the enemy, but in the triumphant end. It is proper that you yourself should be such a man in the acts of war which are undertaken, to be involved in worldly occupations with that form, that view.⁵

In so saying, Philip acknowledges an existing situation in which the German bishops were called upon to serve the emperor in this way, and seeks while working within these limits to encourage prelates who engage more enthusiastically with the worldly aspects of their position, to serve God and the Church with an equal enthusiasm. From a positive viewpoint, they can also use their position to influence the soldiers by reminding them of the eternal life and showing them an example of a spiritual way of living. With Rainald's dual purpose as his central focus, Philip perhaps more realistically does not engage in lengthy and discursive expositions on the advanced and vigorous spiritual training necessary to become his ideal prelate, of the sort which characterise his letter to his anonymous friend.

Some disagreement exists about the dating of this letter to Rainald, with Abbot Sijen suggesting that the victory referred to in it was that which Frederick Barbarossa won over Milan in 1162, and Peter Munz countering that it "was written after the battle of Tusculum, not as Sinjen [sic], *Les oeuvres de Philippe de Harveng*, p. 149f. assumes, after the destruction of Milan."⁶ At first sight, the few details which the letter contains about the nature of the battle do have more in common with the defeat of the Romans outside Tusculum than the siege and destruction of Milan. The letter suggests that the victory to which it refers had been presented to Philip as the work of Rainald alone, and that it was won by Rainald with a smaller force against a much larger one, which fled. The *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, begun, according to its editor, George Waitz, during Rainald's archiepiscopate, is extremely partisan towards

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, p. 250, n. 1.

Rainald. Whereas according to the *Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* Tusculum was won by Christian of Mainz and Rainald together, the Cologne chronicler describes Rainald's heroic stand. He tells how Rainald, besieged inside Tusculum, was almost relieved by Christian and the imperial Chancellor, but they were forced to flee under the Romans' assault. So with only 140 men, Rainald burst out of the city and attacked the besiegers, putting them to flight, killing 9'000 and capturing 5'000. It is described as a "divine, not a human, victory," just as Philip writes that Rainald attributed his victory not to himself, but to God. Even in the Cologne chronicle nothing so individually spectacular is attributed to Rainald at Milan, even though it says that he was the leader of the princes there.

But as the Battle of Tusculum took place in 1167, this does not take into account the way in which Philip writes of Rainald's elevation to the episcopate – in 1159 – as a new occurrence. The line of summary with which Chamart prefaced the letter in his collection: "He rejoices that the noble, learned and pious man is raised to ecclesiastical preferment," is a misleading synopsis of the principal import of the letter, but does show that Chamart read it as being a comment on a recent event. Berlière too understood that the letter was written because Rainald "had announced to him his nomination to the see of Cologne, and had made known to him the victories won by the imperial army of which he had command."⁷ Although a concern that Rainald reconcile his two roles could have been expressed at any point in his career after his election, with Philip writing at length about the conferring of the episcopal dignity on Rainald, exhorting him to consider to whom he owes it most, the clear implication is that he has recently received the honour.

If this is the case, as this took place in 1159 it is perhaps also unlikely that the first opportunity Philip had to write to him about it, and about him combining it with the role of military leader, was three years later after Milan had surrendered. The detailed account of Rainald's doings in the *Chronica* offer another possibility. It could be that Philip is referring to events in 1158, in which Rainald with Count Otto of Wittelsbach acted as imperial envoy preparing the way for Frederick Barbarossa's expedition into Italy. The *Chronica*, for this section based on the two envoys' letter to

⁷ Berlière, *RB* 9, p. 134.

Frederick, gives an account of the events at Ravenna and Ancona which, described to Philip in this way, could certainly have led him to write as he did about Rainald's "victorious deeds."⁸ When Philip mentions the enemy's flight, in which "more men were shown to have been overthrown by fewer men," it could be a reference to this skirmish, in which Rainald and Otto met men of Ravenna coming out of Ancona, who had made a pact with, and accepted money from, the Greeks there. According to the *Chronica* account (and hence to Rainald), these approximately three hundred men were beaten by Rainald with only ten men. The prefect of Ravenna, his son, and six noblemen of the city were captured and the rest fled.⁹ It is noticeable that in the *Chronica*, Otto is not mentioned and the action is attributed entirely to Rainald, whereas in Rahewin's continuation of *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* it is Otto who is responsible for the victory, with Rainald taking no part in it. However, this need not be explained solely by the Cologne chronicler's partisanship, as Rahewin's description of the two envoys contains a portrayal of Rainald which precludes admitting that he had participated in battle:

They were young and their eloquence wonderful; they were almost equal in manner, except that one had the mildness and mercy needful for his office and clerical order, whereas the severity of the sword, which he did not bear without cause, added dignity to the other.¹⁰

The Cologne chronicler does not record in which month of 1158 this took place, but its position in the *Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* shows that it must have been June or July. With Rainald's nomination to Cologne occurring in January 1159, it is possible that it was this victory over these men of Ravenna to which he referred.

Philip not only discusses the victory about which Rainald has written to him, he also includes passages in the future tense when he considers Rainald as archbishop and military leader. Thus, looking ahead, he writes that:

The Church will perceive you as its defender, and peace as its

⁸ col. 162B.

⁹ *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, ed. G. Waitz (*MGH. SS. R. German.*; Hanover, 1880), pp. 95-102, and introduction p. v.

¹⁰ Rahewin, *Bischof Otto von Freising und Rahewin: Die Taten Friedrichs, oder richtiger Cronica*, ed. and tr. F-J. Schmale (Darmstadt, 1965), p. 440.

lover: the soldier will perceive you as a vigorous leader, and the Field of Mars as its warrior. Thus you will appear a father to sons, a soldier to soldiers, an enemy to enemies, and finally in a way difficult enough, but possible, you will show yourself to be all things to all men.¹¹

Understanding Rainald's position, Philip could very well have been both responding to a letter about the events of 1158, and looking ahead to the further military undertakings with which Rainald would inevitably be faced.

Philip seems to have maintained his friendly relationship with Rainald of Dassel. In 1165 at the emperor's Christmas court at Aachen, Bonne-Espérance, like many other monasteries in the Empire, was placed under Frederick's protection.¹² As well as being a witness to the charter, Rainald is especially mentioned in it as the abbey's advocate with the emperor:

... moved by respect for divine grace, and the affectionate intervention of our most beloved prince the venerable Rainald, archbishop of Cologne, also by the devout supplication of our most faithful Brother Arnold of Bonne-Espérance we, being mercifully inclined, receive our most dutiful Philip, abbot of Bonne-Espérance and all his successors and brothers, the same abbey wholly with all its appurtenances, under our imperial protection.¹³

Sijen also notes the list in Maghe's early eighteenth-century *Chronicum* of Bonne-Espérance of the saints and martyrs whose bodies were given to the abbey by Rainald, an entry which Maghe made under the year 1164.¹⁴

Referring to the Battle of Tusculum, Peter Munz draws attention to the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*' inclusion of accounts of battles based on Rainald's letters, noting that they were greatly exaggerated by their author. He goes so far as to say, in an article printed in the *Journal of Religious History*, that in the account of Tusculum:

¹¹ col. 163C.

¹² Sijen, 'Sa Biographie,' p. 50.

¹³ *MGH. Diplomata* 10;2, ed. H. Appelt (Hanover, 1979), pp. 427-9.

¹⁴ Sijen, 'Sa Biographie,' p. 50; Maghe, *Chronicum*, p. 94.

[Rainald] considered himself invested with special divine magic to win the Lord's battles – a megalomania not unreminiscent of Constantine at the Milvian Bridge.¹⁵

In his later book on Frederick Barbarossa, he states that Rainald “appears to have been obsessed by his own military prowess and wanted it to be looked upon as a direct sign of the divinely ordained invincibility of his cause.”¹⁶ Even if this were the case, just because Philip's letter encourages Rainald in equating the defence of the Empire with the protection of the Church it does not mean, as Munz asserts, that he has “fallen victim” to Rainald's “propaganda.” Rather, in its concern for Rainald's spiritual health and ability to balance the two roles allocated to him, it shows quite the reverse.

Writing in this letter that Rainald fights for the peace of the Church as well as for the safeguarding of the Empire, Philip portrays the emperor as the Church's guardian, with the Church's welfare dependent on the Empire's strength and stability. This is provisional upon the emperor, as would be the case with any ruler, ruling wisely:

When he [the emperor] is understood to be commanding truly on behalf of the Church, well on behalf of the country [pro patria], his subject should hear a command which without doubt pertains to salvation [mandatum procul dubio salutare].¹⁷

Rainald's dual responsibility is, then, in no way unfitting. Perhaps the emperor's current undertaking against rebellious Italian communes furthers Philip's approbation of Rainald's military endeavours, given the not infrequently troubled history of communal uprisings in Philip's own region. Henri Pirenne relates the story told in the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* of the revolt of the townspeople of Cambrai against Bishop Gerard II in 1077, around 25 years before Philip's birth. The bishop, who had left the town accompanied by his knights, regained entry under pretence of negotiation and put down the revolt violently, its leader being burned at the stake. Pirenne regards this as the first in-depth account of such an event:

¹⁵ Munz, ‘Frederick Barbarossa and the “Holy Empire”’, *JRH* 3 (1964), p. 30.

¹⁶ Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, p. 95.

¹⁷ col. 163A.

It ends in this way, trampled down in blood, the first commune of which the municipal history of the Middle Ages might make mention.¹⁸

Guibert of Nogent's account of the uprising of the Laon commune, in the diocese bordering Philip's, describes in vivid detail the violence occasioned by the conflict between the commune and the bishop, although he by no means exempts the bishop from blame.¹⁹ Gilbert of Mons' 1195-6 account of the Laon commune's 1177 revolt shows the commune used by King Louis VII against the bishop, and recounts how the bishop rode against the rebelling townsmen.²⁰ Whatever the actual political intricacies of the situation in Italy, in Rainald assisting the emperor to put down communal revolts Philip would see nothing that was not praiseworthy, save the idea that the bishop might be taking part in the physical action.

Philip's equation of the good of the Church with that of the Empire in this letter, even taken alongside the gift of relics he received from Rainald in 1164 and his action of placing his abbey under the emperor's protection in 1165, does not necessarily determine his position in the Alexandrine schism. If, as seems likely, the letter refers to Rainald's nomination to the archbishopric in January of 1159, it is quite probable that it was written before the schism in September of that year. And as well as placing Bonne-Espérance under imperial protection in 1165, he also in that year obtained for it an exemption from Pope Alexander III from paying tithes on "newly-tilled land which we cultivate with our own hands, and on food for our animals."²¹ In 1171, six years before the Treaty of Venice between Barbarossa and Alexander, Alexander confirmed Bonne-Espérance in its way of life and its goods, and gave it various "beneficia."²² The *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*, as Pierrard notes, describes Bishop Nicholas of Cambrai's dilemma when the schism occurred, faced as he was with the situation of owing obedience both to the emperor and to his metropolitan (the archbishop of Rheims), who supported Alexander:²³

Bishop Nicholas, of worthy memory, so bore himself in the

¹⁸ H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique* vol. 1 (Brussels, 1900; 5th edn., 1929), p. 199.

¹⁹ Guibert of Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. and tr. E-R. Labande, pp. 268-469.

²⁰ Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainault*, tr. L. Napran (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 70.

²¹ Maghe, *Chronicum*, p. 94.

²² *ibid.*, p. 100.

²³ P. Pierrard, *Histoire des Diocèses de Cambrai et de Lille* (Paris, 1978), p. 46.

middle, that subject to Alexander, he did not shrink from obedience to Rheims, to which he owed obedience in spiritual matters, nor did he offend the emperor's faction, to which by his regalia he was held to be devoted and faithful.²⁴

Philip, who makes no mention of the schism in his works, appears to have been in a similar situation.

Given Rainald's reputation, it is likely that Philip's praise of his virtues in this letter is a tactic borne of a realisation that a more gentle persuasion is needed when dealing with the prelate. He uses the future indicative tense in such a way that it could not be doubted that Rainald will behave in a godly fashion: by his presence at a battle Rainald will ensure that the soldiers are reminded of their duty to God and the righteousness of their cause. He is careful to assert that Rainald "will not according to the laws of princes draw the arrow from the quiver, the sword from its sheath."²⁵ Rainald's dual role shows that he can be that which Philip consistently prizes most highly, "all things to all men."²⁶ He does not use the same type of symbolism and allegory when writing to the man entrusted with safeguarding the Empire as he does to his anonymous friend. No use is made in the letter to Rainald of the writings of pagan authors, but rather all analogies are biblical, and designed to provide examples of how a man of God ought to behave in war. One such example is that of Judas Maccabeus, whom he mentions at the earliest opportunity. This occurs in the opening paragraph, after he has made his customary plea that such a busy man should devote some attention to Philip's letter, for the benefit that he will accrue from it. Whilst using Judas Maccabeus to show that it is not wrong to fight for a just cause, however, Philip actually casts Rainald in the role of Judas' brother, Simon. It was he who provided counsel to the warrior, and it is as a counsellor in war that Philip sees the archbishop. In his position as chief counsellor, Rainald's role has not been to fight, but to "support them with money, advance them with counsel, strengthen them with probity."²⁷ By referring to his probity in this manner Philip characterises Rainald's virtue as in itself an aid to the emperor's troops.

²⁴ 'Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium. Continuatio,' *MGH. SS.* 7, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hanover, 1846), p. 508.

²⁵ col. 163B.

²⁶ col. 163C.

²⁷ col. 160D.

Philip urges Rainald to remember other figures in the Old Testament who by virtue of being fighting men were in situations similar to his own. The aspect of their life to which he draws the archbishop's attention is that of the combination of prayer with battle. He cites Moses, who as well as being "a mild man who conversed with God," was "accustomed to the harsh exercises of war."²⁸ In his role as prelate Rainald has a duty to intercede for his people with God, as Moses did, a role not incompatible with that of fighter:

Now he advances, ordains and arranges the battleline of war,
now prays, and brings himself before an angry God on behalf
of the sinning people.²⁹

In the next sentence he gives the example of Moses' brother Aaron – "in whose place you perform the office of bishop" – who by prayer averted the wrath of God from his people.³⁰ The sin of the people for whom Rainald must pray is presumably therefore that of murder committed in battle.

For a prelate to follow the example of Aaron is especially significant, with Aaron being seen as the progenitor of priests and the prototype of bishops. Philip describes him carefully in his *De Dignitate Clericorum* as the first high priest in the Bible to be chosen by God rather than by his own desire. His election by God rather than his self-election is what makes him the first real bishop. Rupert of Deutz, while demonstrating the origins of the clerical and monastic orders, calls him "the first and highest bishop."³¹ In Philip's *De Dignitate*, the date of which is unknown but which if Berlière is correct was written whilst Philip was prior, and therefore before he wrote this letter, Philip dwells at some length on Aaron as the first high priest, and continually refers back to it.³² Being appointed by God to serve at the tabernacle housing the Ark of the Covenant, Aaron is pre-eminent in dignity, is given special robes made by Moses to denote his status, and along with his sons is given the Levites to minister under him. If clerics are pre-eminent in dignity, the high priest or bishop,

²⁸ col. 163D.

²⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰ col. 164A.

³¹ Rupert of Deutz, 'Super Quaedam Capitula Regulae Divi Benedicti Abbas,' *PL* 170 (1854), col. 528A.

³² Berlière, *RB* 9, p. 30.

whose responsibility it is to elect and oversee clerics, is of the very highest dignity. Philip is at pains to teach that even the bishops who were the first to be appointed after Aaron's death were chosen because of divine approval and not, as happened to be the case, because they were his sons. For, Philip writes, Aaron had two other sons, Nadab and Abihu, who were older than Eleazar, who yet were not chosen as high priests. As he says:

Moses did not know who ought to be promoted to the high priesthood after Aaron his brother, and had necessarily to be taught by heaven.³³

All bishops, therefore, if chosen correctly – and this correct choosing through God, both of bishops and of clergy of a lower rank, is the focus of much of this treatise – should be the spiritual sons of Aaron. To liken Rainald in any aspect of his ministry to Aaron is therefore a great compliment, as well as a justification for his actions.

Stories from the Old Testament also provide examples to sustain Rainald in his pursuit of victory without recourse to arms, and are used by Philip to demonstrate righteous behaviour in war. He recalls how Joshua famously brought down the city of Jericho by having his men sound their trumpets outside its walls, and in a similar episode, how Gideon defeated the Midianites by selecting three hundred of his men to sound their trumpets and display their lamps, smashing the jars in which the lamps were hidden. These actions Philip sees as patterns for future leaders to follow; characterising Rainald as such a leader, he assures him that such means of victory are meritorious:

He [Gideon] triumphed over an innumerable crowd of the enemy, and demonstrated to you who are about to succeed him a not contemptible form of victory.³⁴

Interpreting these stories for Rainald a little further, Philip suggests to him that the sounding of the trumpets represents a prelate's preaching, the broken jars the castigation of the flesh, and the shining of the lamps the prelate's good reputation. For each of these three interpretations he provides another biblical quotation to support his

³³ col. 676D.

³⁴ col. 164B.

analysis. In this passage, Philip also gives biblical examples of mercy in war, and bids Rainald follow these examples.

Rainald has written to Philip correctly attributing his victory not to his men's strength, but to God, for which common act of piety Philip greatly praises him, and as he does in the rest of the letter, cites an Old Testament model for Rainald's action. In this case it is David, who "when he exulted in the honours of victory, asked that glory be given not to him, but to the Lord."³⁵ Philip writes that Rainald "knows well" (*bene sapis*), in acknowledging that victory belongs to God. He repeats this phrase, using it at the beginning of two consecutive sentences, by this repetition emphasizing Rainald's correct understanding. This understanding is proof that the dignity of archbishop has been bestowed upon a worthy subject in Rainald – "neither your knowledge nor your dignity is unfitting."³⁶ Philip eulogises Rainald's correct use of understanding in three sentences, using either the phrase "*bene sapis*" or "*sapiens sane*" in each, in each showing one of the ways in which Rainald has understood the victory rightly, and has behaved appropriately. The first is that he proclaims that the victory belongs to God – this, Philip says, is no more than truth, in the same way that it is true that God and not man causes the sun to rise each day. The second is that he rejoices in the correct way, not "as the soldier and the people" do, but rather with "due maturity." Maturity, as can be seen in Philip's *Life of the Blessed Virgin Oda*, is one of the marks of one who lives a holy life. This leads to the third correct use of understanding, that is, to pray. Where the people rejoice freely, Rainald rejoices with a devout heart, focussing his thanks on God, and praying for his aid. Philip takes this as a model of how he would have Rainald always behave in the execution of his new role of archbishop.

In the letter to Rainald it is with Rainald's role as a leader that Philip is most concerned, and this is also the case in his letter to his anonymous friend, although the issues of leadership or oversight with which he is concerned here have no military element. Here he favours the noun "*praelatus*," preferring it on the whole to "*episcopus*." This is symptomatic of his primary concern in this letter with the bishop's relationship with those subordinate to him, and the impact of his influence on

³⁵ Ps. 113; col. 162B.

³⁶ col. 162C.

them. He is most anxious that this authority not be abused, but executed justly, and for this reason draws a comparison between “ruling” and “overseeing,” describing the former as “tyrannical” and the latter as “paternal:”

Bishop is interpreted *overseeing* [superintendens] ... so that a bishop may be possessed not with a tyrannical love of ruling those under him, but with the fatherly care of helping them.³⁷

Advice to secular and sacred rulers could overlap, and this can be seen in Philip’s letters by the similarity of some of the advice which he gives to men who are rulers in different spheres. The language which Philip chooses to use to designate the ecclesiastical ruler is used by others to denote a secular ruler, as when in his *Sententiae*, for example, Isidore of Seville discusses a king’s exercise of power in the chapter “de praelatis”.³⁸ Much of what Isidore says here has resonances of the advice given to bishops by St. Gregory, such as his warning of the harm inflicted on the soul by too much worldly care. Gregory chose to refer to the bishop as “rector.”³⁹ Philip reserves the use of “praelatus” for the ecclesiastical leaders to whom he writes, never applying it to Counts Philip and Henry, in letters to whom he consistently uses “princeps.” While derivatives of “princeps” occasionally appear in the letter to his anonymous friend, in the letter to Rainald “princeps” is used to refer to the emperor, and Rainald is a “praelatus” or “episcopus.”

In contrast to his letter to Rainald, in the letter to his anonymous friend Philip’s concerns are of a similar type to those addressed by Gregory the Great in his *Pastoral Care*. Although by no means covering the depth and range of possibilities of St. Gregory’s work, there are certain themes contained within it which Philip also considers. These are primarily those of the importance of the example which the prelate gives to his people, which means that he must be pure in spirit as well as in behaviour in order to rule well. St. Ambrose’s *De Officiis*, directed to priests and bishops, is more broadly based in its aspirations for the servants of God, instructing them on topics such as humility, chastity, mercy, and moderation in speech. While the

³⁷ col. 106A.

³⁸ Isidore of Seville, *Isidorus Hispalensis: Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier (*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 111; Turnhout, 1998), pp. 296-299.

³⁹ St. Gregory the Great, *Règle Pastorale*, ed. and tr. F. Rommel, C. Morel and B. Judic. (*Sources Chrétiennes* 381 and 382; 2 vols; Paris, 1992).

work is about the relationship between the priest or prelate and the people, and he is concerned that the priest or prelate behaves rightly, the emphases are different, and it does not seem to have been a model for Philip's letter. In a sense, Ambrose's work is more positive in tone, when he considers what is honourable and what is beneficial; when he writes in book two about how the priest can go about making himself loved by his people. Philip's letter, and works such as chapters of Peter the Chanter's *Verbum Adbreviatum*, are acutely aware of the harm that can be done when the prelate does not behave in the right way, or have the right qualities, and resemble warnings more than advice. The issues with which Philip deals in this letter bear most resemblance to books one and two of the *Pastoral Care*, book three of which is concerned with how the prelate should admonish different types of people. Philip is anxious to impress upon his friend the imperative necessity that, in his new position, he lead a holy life. In the comments which are to be found scattered throughout his letters Philip's concern that prelates should not automatically be judged to be perfect, or even good, because of their position echoes that of St. Jerome, who wrote:

Not all bishops are bishops. You [Heliodorus, the recipient of the letter] attend to Peter, but also consider Judas. You admire Stephen, but look also at Nicolas, whom the Lord hates in his Apocalypse ... For ecclesiastical dignity does not make a Christian.⁴⁰

Philip's concerns about the correct performance of the role of prelate are of course also expressed in the *De Institutione Clericorum*, a compendium of which the *De Dignitate* is only one treatise. One aspect of his anxiety about the impact of bishops whose lives are not in keeping with the position with which they have been honoured appears in a chapter of another work in the *De Institutione*, the *De Obedientia Clericorum*.⁴¹ In this explanation of the obedience owed by a cleric to his superior, he warns against giving obedience to a prelate who issues commands in violation of the Rule and in accordance with his own desires. His slightly caustic statement is that St. Augustine gave one Rule to be obeyed by both "praelati" and "subditi," with no special dispensation to the prelate. His wish for his anonymous friend is that he be a true bishop, not complacent because of his ecclesiastical dignity, and fulfilling his duties to his flock. He expresses this through a combination of straightforward

⁴⁰ St. Jerome, *Lettres*, ed. and tr. J. Labourt (8 vols; Paris, 1949-63), 1, ep. 14, pp. 42-3.

⁴¹ Chpt. 39: cols. 927B-929B.

preaching and detailed allegorical analysis of the symbolism of the staff which a bishop carries.

The use of the dignity which a bishop is granted is one which was of enduring concern to Philip, and is mentioned by him in both these letters, as well as in his other works. He refers to “*dignitas*” often in these letters, meaning by it the dignity of office. In Rainald’s case, dignity has been bestowed upon him both by Frederick Barbarossa and by God. Philip does not suggest that the emperor has bestowed the see of Cologne on him. Rather, he talks of the “prince by whose hand and command honours are given, also the clergy and people to whom it belongs to choose clerics for themselves as primates.”⁴² Dignity, be it ecclesiastical or secular, is a visible honour which can be used for good or ill, and it is Philip’s intention to ensure that the recipients of his letters realise its potential for good, and thus enhance the reputation of the Church rather than detract from it.

The choice of man on whom to bestow this dignity is one fraught with danger, as St. Gregory demonstrates. The man who is most attracted to this dignity is the one most unsuited to it, as he necessarily lacks the humility which is requisite for a man of God. As Philip expresses it to his anonymous friend:

Dignity, which gives to one wishing to sin a not insignificant increase in the opportunity to fulfil it ...⁴³

It is for this reason that he discusses the perfect and necessary partnership between “*dignitas*” and “*sanctitas*,” urging his friend to strive to attain the latter so that the former may not ruin him. To do this he points out the negative aspects of the acquisition of dignity, in support of which points he cites many classical authorities, choosing to name these authors rather than employ the formula “*quidam ethnicus*” which he uses on other occasions. He quotes from the works of Sallust, Cicero and Seneca, as well as Boethius. To both Rainald and his anonymous friend Philip emphasizes that dignity, in the form of an honour which is bestowed, in itself is of no

⁴² col. 160D.

⁴³ col. 107A.

intrinsic benefit, and only brings to public view whatever qualities the recipient of the dignity possesses:

Dignity, sometimes conferred on the bad, does not make the worthless lovely, but shows him to be worthless.⁴⁴

To his anonymous friend he writes that dignity renders the person who holds it visible to all, and that this visibility gives him a new responsibility, in that he is now responsible for all those who follow his example. This is a point which Philip explains at some length. The prelate who lives wickedly “not only does not invite his subjects to a better life, but opens to them a larger way of sinning.”⁴⁵ Furthermore, if the prelate should feel impelled to chastise his subjects, either because he was forgetful of his own behaviour or because he was compelled by his position, they would not listen to him. If the primary negative impact of high office which Philip discusses is that of the increased exposure of all the office-holder’s failings, the second problem is provoked by the power which he wields. The unquestioning obedience of those beneath him encourages the unworthy man to believe that his desires are justified, and his power enables him to enact them. Dignity thus makes the unworthy man more unworthy:

The burden of more perfect sanctity is enjoined on him who is raised on the throne of greater dignity in the Church. And let him be commanded to be as more perfect as he is higher, and let him be held to live justly, by the bond of a stricter law.⁴⁶

This demonstrates how dignity is not only worthless, but positively dangerous, without sanctity. In his letter to Rainald it is “probity” that he links with “dignity,” perhaps a more realistic expectation of that prelate than sanctity. His other writings show that it is more usually sanctity that Philip preaches must be sought to complement dignity, and it is sanctity that he urges his anonymous friend to pursue.

To be able to begin to seek sanctity, Philip writes, the prelate should first understand himself:

⁴⁴ col. 161B.

⁴⁵ col. 108A.

⁴⁶ col. 107D.

He is most able to obtain this [the merit of sanctity], if he judges himself sensibly, if he knows with discernment of which grade or order he is held to be.⁴⁷

In this particular instance he intends not so much the spiritual inner examination which St. Gregory writes is essential for the prelate, but rather that the prelate should fully understand the dignity of the clerical order, and its concomitant responsibilities. Ordination sets the clergy apart from the people, so that their service to God is expected to be more perfectly performed. The prelate's service should be doubly great because not only is he anointed, he bears the staff, and so rules "by order of dignity."⁴⁸ Philip makes it clear here that the ability to consecrate and administer the sacraments sets the one who is ordained above he who is not. The importance of the example that the abbot sets is acknowledged to be less wide-ranging than that of the bishop:

The former of whom ought to be an example and instruction of living in the regular discipline to their monks, the latter ought to be so as for monks, so for all others [tam claustralibus quam caeteris omnibus].⁴⁹

The need for a person of ecclesiastical dignity also to have sanctity is the central topic of the second chapter of Philip's *De Dignitate Clericorum*. His central concerns are the same in both, and although he does not repeat his own words, the similarities between the two extend to the use of two identical quotations. In both, he cites "that prudent man, Boethius," and Sallust, although the latter is named in the letter but referred to as the "historiographus" in the treatise. The quotation from Sallust is slightly longer in the treatise than in the letter, but the wording of the citation up to that point is exactly the same. Philip's expression of the need for a partnership of dignity and sanctity is far more concise in the chapter of the *De Dignitate* than the letter, and contains far fewer quotations. In both, he wishes that the reader understand the dignity which pertains to the clerical order, a point to which he

⁴⁷ col. 104C.

⁴⁸ In addressing the topic of the role of prelate Philip does include the abbot, but it seems that he refers only to the abbot who was first a priest: "Priests who, having taken up the staff are named abbots or bishops, rule by order of dignity," col. 105D.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

is insistent that his anonymous friend attend. However, his consideration of the need for sanctity to be joined to dignity is approached from a different perspective in each of the two works. Whereas in the letter this takes the form of a terrible warning directed at the bishop, in the treatise the coupling explains why it is that clerics should be regarded as possessing more sanctity than laymen. He explains that the clergy are the pattern for the laity to imitate, that they are seen as leaders whom laymen, as their flock, follow. Therefore, “God arranged it well when he conferred pleasing [gratuitam] dignity on them, enjoined fitting sanctity on dignity, that by as much as they would be worthier than the people, by so much they would be holier than them.”⁵⁰ As well as instructing the clergy, part of the purpose of this work is a defence of the clerical order, as this combination of expectation of the clergy and assertion of their divine ordination aptly demonstrates.

In his letter to his anonymous friend, however, Philip is determined that his friend understand the responsibility that has been placed on him. His role as an example to his people makes him responsible for the misdeeds of those under him. This means that at the Final Judgement he is punished for their sins as well as for his own:

Whatever the subjects do not fear to commit by the example of the prelate, whatever damnation they deserve by an offence of such a kind, without doubt the just judge most strictly demands from the prelate, who thus either impelled them towards sin, or at least did not repel them from it ... and since he may have been covered with the many winding-sheets of sins, he may be punished most atrociously, sunk down into deeper darkness.⁵¹

This warning is also given by St. Gregory:

If a man brought to the appearance of holiness destroys others by word or by example, it had been better that his earthly acts bound him to death in a worldly habit, than that his sacred offices pointed him out to others as imitable in his sin. Because doubtless if he fell alone, the punishment of Hell would torment him more bearably.⁵²

⁵⁰ col. 670B.

⁵¹ col. 108B-C.

⁵² St. Gregory the Great, *Règle Pastorale* 1, p. 136.

Philip is able to give this advice strongly through the use of interpretation of the Song of Songs, the truth of which “thunders terribly.”⁵³ This threatens that if the woman of the *Song* does not understand, she must pasture her young goats rather than the sheep: in other words, that she will fall among the wicked rather than the righteous. Philip uses the analogy to warn the prelate that if he does not understand the “gradus,” or degree, to which he has been promoted, he will suffer spiritual death. Philip proves this point with the irrefutable evidence of Scripture, quoting at length from the Book of Wisdom. Usually when Philip introduces a biblical quotation he does so with the briefest form of words, such as “and thus Holy Scripture,” or, “as it is written.” Here he quite baldly states that he is using Scripture to ensure that the prelate is as frightened by these threats as is possible:

Lest it seem that I thunder threateningly too much, and falsely assert so grave a punishment of the prelate, hear Holy Scripture threaten so terribly, which bears witness to this as truly as it does threateningly.⁵⁴

This “thundering” of Holy Scripture contrasts with the relative caution with which Philip made his first approaches to his old friend, which emphasized the chasm between them in wealth and status. No social boundaries can prevent Philip from teaching through Scripture, and the ability to do so highlights the inversion of power in the spiritual and secular realms. Having first quoted three short sayings from the Book of Wisdom on the greater severity of punishment given to rulers, Philip then advises that prelates read the whole chapter, and helpfully cites a large portion of it for them. He wishes that they might commit it to memory but in a rather barbed fashion remarks that he knows that:

Not all care, or indeed have time, to read divine letters often.⁵⁵

It is for this reason, to remind them of their responsibility, that they are provided with the pastoral staff, an explanation of the symbolism of which is the burden of the rest of the letter.

⁵³ col. 104D.

⁵⁴ col. 108C.

⁵⁵ col. 109B.

The theme of the need for sanctity to be joined to dignity also ends his letter to his anonymous friend, thus framing his analysis of the symbolism of the bishop's crosier, to which just under half of the letter is devoted. He intends to teach his friend how he ought to live as a bishop by drawing on this symbolism. The basic premise of his teaching is that of many other writers who approached this topic: the threefold design of the staff (hook, shaft and point) has a threefold symbolism. There seems to be no other contemporary writer, however, who embarks on so lengthy and detailed an explanation of this symbolism. On the subject of which, Abbot Sijen wrote that:

This letter was written with much art and care: it contains excellent instruction, but that is drowned in a flood of words, repetitions, and allegories.⁵⁶

In essence, the hook represents mildness, the shaft uprightness, and the point the administering of discipline. The origins of this attribution of significance are hard to find, but there is broad agreement on the symbolism of the staff in the works of other contemporary authors. The explanation continues to be the accepted one. The early twentieth-century Catholic Encyclopaedia's entry on the crosier includes the following explanation of its symbolism, utilising the works of later medieval authors:

The crosier is symbol of authority and jurisdiction. This idea is clearly expressed in the words of the Roman Pontifical with which the staff is presented to the bishop elect: "Accipe baculum pastoralis officii; et sis in corrigendis vitiis saeviens, iudicium sine ira tenens, in fovendis virtutibus auditorum animos mulcens, in tranquillitate severitatis censuram non deserens" (Pont. Rom. 77).⁵⁷ It is then, as Durandus (*Rationale Divin. Off.*, III, xv) says, borne by prelates to signify their authority to correct vices, stimulate piety, administer punishment, and thus rule and govern with a gentleness that is tempered with severity ... Barbosa (*Pastoralis Sollicitudinis*, etc., Tit. I, ch. v) alluding to the prevalent form of the staff, says that the end is sharp and pointed wherewith to prick and goad the slothful, the middle is straight to signify righteous rule, while the head is bent or crooked in order to draw in and attract souls to God ...⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Sijen, 'Les Oeuvres,' p. 139.

⁵⁷ "Take the staff of the pastoral office; and may you be fierce in correcting vices, passing judgement without anger, in cherishing virtues softening the hearts of your listeners, not forsaking the censure of severity in tranquility."

⁵⁸ Catholic Encyclopedia, online edition, www.newadvent.org/cathen.

Within this scheme there are slight variations, and Philip's contemporaries do not concur on all points. Some introduce concepts which others do not consider, with Sicard of Cremona, for example, finding significance in the materials of bone and wood of which the staff is composed, which other authors do not mention.

Although many pre-twelfth century works incorporate biblical quotations regarding the staff, it is usually from the perspective of the bishop as shepherd, and close examination of the symbolism of the physical staff itself is difficult to find in earlier works. Rupert of Deutz wonders about the form of the staff which Aaron carried, with a tone of hope that he can find a way of justifying the beauty of that which abbots and bishops carry. He concludes that as it is not described in the Bible, all that can be said with certainty is that it would have had a hook, as it was intended to help in controlling sheep. He decides, however, that as Moses was the adopted son of Pharaoh's daughter, and the son-in-law of a rich priest, he would have "wished or was able to bear a finely formed staff rather than a misshapen one. For then it was not the duty of the poor to pasture a flock of sheep, for their greatest wealth was in sheep."⁵⁹ He then looks into Virgil to find evidence that a shepherd's crook of ancient times might be jewelled, and is satisfied. What the various components of the staff might signify in the hands of a prelate, however, is not considered. Some of those who, like Philip, are concerned with the physical attributes of the staff are Peter the Chanter, Honorius Augustodunensis, Sicard of Cremona, Adam of Dryburgh, and the anonymous author of the *Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiae*. Hugh of St. Victor mentions the physical form of the staff briefly in his *De Sacramentis Christianiae Fidei*. This interest is expressed in different contexts, with works such as the *Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiae* and the *De Sacramentis Christianiae Fidei* looking at the staff as one item of the accoutrement of the bishop, and seeking to explain its significance as part of a didactic work concerned with the mysteries of the Church. Like Philip, Peter incorporates the symbolism of the staff in a passage concerned with the correct performance of the office of prelate, although he expresses the intention to include priests who are not bishops in this:

To repel and confute the unworthy promotion – yes, more truly,
intrusion – of unworthy men, it is fitting to consider the duty of

⁵⁹ Rupert, 'Super Quaedam Capitula,' col. 528D.

prelates, in which name the rural priest [ruralis sacerdos] is also included.⁶⁰

In this chapter of his *Verbum Adbreviatum*, entitled “Concerning the Office of Prelates and what is incumbent on them because of this Office,” Peter voices many of the concerns about the attitude and obligations of the prelate towards those under him that also characterise Philip’s letter. The staff is the symbol of these duties which are incumbent on the prelate.

Philip makes the staff the focus of his strictures on how the role of prelate should be performed, but makes no mention of the other symbolic dress of a bishop. By some others, however, the symbolism of the staff is often discussed as just one aspect of symbolic vesture. In the *Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiae* the symbolism of the crosier is mentioned briefly in a chapter entitled “De vestimentis sacris,” and follows consideration of the significance of a whole range of vestments: tunics, for both upper and lower body; the dalmatic; stole; maniple; mitre; girdle; ring; and eventually, crosier. Hugh of St. Victor’s analysis of the staff is very similar to Philip’s in essence, but is brief:

The staff by its straightness signifies the justice of prelates, with which they ought to rule their subjects. It therefore has a point below, so that it might prick the rebellious with a rebuke; above, it is curved back on itself, that it might draw the mild with consolation.⁶¹

The author of the *Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiae*’s own comment on the staff is equally short and to the point, although he then follows it with a series of quotations:

The pastoral staff [baculus pastoralis] signifies right rule by its uprightness. Yet because one part is curved, the other pointed, it shows that he has charge over subjects and vanquishes rebels.

Whence it is written:

The curved point draws mild men, the pointed part pierces rebels.

And again:

The curved part draws those whom the staff rules, the lowest part pierces.

And again:

Draw through the curve, rule by the middle, pierce through the lowest.

⁶⁰ Peter the Chanter, *Petri Cantoris Parisiensis: Verbum Adbreviatum*, ed. M. Boutry (CCCCM 196; Turnhout, 2004), p. 361.

⁶¹ Hugh of St. Victor, ‘De Sacramentis Christianiae Fidei,’ *PL* 176 (1854), cols. 438B-C.

And again:

*Through the right staff may you teach, oh bishop, how to live
rightly. Through the winding of iron you should hasten to be
merciful.*⁶²

Lines from this verse are cited frequently when the staff is commented on, but its origins are obscure. It does not seem to have been current before the late eleventh century. The first two lines used by the author of the *Speculum* quoted here are also used by another contemporary, Sicard of Cremona, although they each interpret the staff in different ways and so utilise the verse in whatever way they see fit.⁶³ The third line is used by Honorius and Peter. Honorius devotes two very small chapters to it in the first book of his *Gemma Animae*, “De Missae Sacrificio et de Ministris Ecclesiae.”⁶⁴ In these he considers only the hook and the point, like Philip, Hugh and the author of the *Speculum* understanding them as the hook which draws men back to penitence, and the point which punishes the wicked. In Peter’s case, the line is put in the context of a verse:

Shepherd, care for the sheep, just as this figure teaches,
Gather, sustain, spur on, the wandering, the sick, the slow;
Draw with the first, rule with the middle, pierce with the end,
This belongs to the shepherd, this figures the staff of honour.⁶⁵

Editing the *Corpus Christianorum* edition of Peter’s work, Monique Boutry finds that the second line of this verse is also in Rupert of Deutz’s *Super Quaedam Capitula Regulae Divi Benedicti Abbatis*, and in a work in the same volume of the *Patrologia Latina* as the *Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiae*, but which like it cannot be attributed with certainty.⁶⁶ This last, the *De Consecratione Ecclesiae et De Sacramentis Ecclesiasticis*, quotes the second and fourth lines of the above quotation, and attributes them to Hildebert of Lavardin, bishop of Le Mans, whose death occurred in 1133-4. A search of Hildebert’s works printed in the *Patrologia Latina*, however, yields no results, nor are the lines to be found in A. B. Scott’s edition of Hildebert’s

⁶² ‘Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiae,’ *PL* 177 (1854), col. 354C.

⁶³ Sicard of Cremona, ‘Mitrale sive de officiis ecclesiasticis summa,’ bk 2, chpt. 5, *PL* 213 (1855), col. 80C.

⁶⁴ Honorius Augustodunensis, ‘Gemma Animae,’ bk. 1, chpts. 217-218, *PL* 172 (1854), cols. 609D-610B.

⁶⁵ Peter the Chanter, *Verbum Adbreviatum*, p. 372.

⁶⁶ M. Boutry (ed.), *Verbum Adbreviatum*, p. 372.

Carmina Minora.⁶⁷ The verse then either belongs to a work of Hildebert's which is no longer extant, or was attributed to him mistakenly by the author of the *De Consecratione Ecclesiae et De Sacramentis Ecclesiasticis*. C. H. Haskins wrote of Hildebert that:

Best known of the poets of his century, he is called 'the divine Hildebert,' *egregius versificator*, a second Homer; but naturally his works were soon confused with those of others, and it was not until 1882 that Hauréau introduced order into the mass of writings ascribed to him.⁶⁸

Such a misattribution is, therefore, not improbable.

Honorius adds different interpretations of the nouns *baculus* and *virga* to denote the pastoral staff, deciding that the *baculus* is the name to use when it supports the weak through teaching, *virga* when it corrects through power. Sicard of Cremona is also interested in the names given to the pastoral staff, citing five, although like the other authors the ones he uses in the body of the text are "virga" and "baculus." Whilst like Honorius he chooses the noun "baculus" when writing that the staff represents the authority of teaching, he does not seem to restrict that noun to that meaning, as Honorius does. Rather, there is a sense that he uses "baculus" and "virga" interchangeably. Only "pedum" is carefully explained, and this is because it refers specifically to the staff which a shepherd carries. The bishop's staff may be called the "pedum," he explains – as also does Rupert of Deutz – because it is used to draw back those who are wandering, as the shepherd uses his "pedum" to draw back the feet of straying animals.⁶⁹ The other authors mentioned do not observe these differences in terminology, and Philip adheres to the typical "baculus" or "virga," without attempting to differentiate between them. He also uses "baculus" when recounting the miracle of St. Landelin restoring the fountain at Crespin.⁷⁰ Philip does not use the quotations discussed, even though they seem to be well-known, and chooses a different format, the epistolary one, for his exposition.

⁶⁷ Hildebert of Lavardin, *Hildeburtus Cenomannensis Episcopus Carmina Minora*, ed. A. B. Scott (Leipzig, 2nd ed. 2001).

⁶⁸ C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1927; repr. 1971), p. 163.

⁶⁹ Sicard of Cremona, 'Mitrale,' col. 80A.

⁷⁰ col. 1359C.

In an example of another context in which the symbolism of the staff is discussed, Philip's fellow Premonstratensian Adam of Dryburgh incorporates his reading of the significance of the pastoral staff into his expansive interpretation of the appearance of a tabernacle. A column of fire and a column of smoke appear on this tabernacle, the cloud on the right, the fire on the left. This is because prelates show the mildness of cloud to those who choose to live a holy life, and the fire of terror to those who insist on continuing in their depravity. The pastoral staff, says Adam:

which is both curved in the higher part, and pointed in the lower, denotes this cloud and this fire; since the pastor both pierces those who lie in earthly things through desire, and inclines a feeling of compassion towards those who adhere to heavenly things.⁷¹

Adam is in effect adding another layer of symbolism to an already complex picture, but his basic premise in interpreting the staff is the same as Philip's, Honorius', the author of the *Speculum's*, Hugh's, and Peter's.

Sicard of Cremona adds other dimensions to the physical appearance of the staff, which are not considered by others:

This staff is made out of bone and wood, which are joined with crystals or little decorated spheres. The bone at the top is curved back, the wood at the bottom is pointed with iron, yet is slightly blunted.⁷²

The other authors neither mention these little decorated spheres, nor the blunted point. Although Philip refers to the wood of the staff, he does not mention the bone. For Sicard, the dual qualities of mildness and severity in the prelate are symbolised through the staff in a number of ways. The bone represents the "hardness of the law," and thus severity; the wood represents "the mildness of the Gospel," and thus leniency. Again, the point represents severity, as it does for the other authors, but the blunting of the point represents the blunting of this severity with mercy. In other respects he both differs from Philip (the shaft represents the authority of teaching for

⁷¹ Adam of Dryburgh, 'De Tripartito Tabernaculo,' *PL* 198 (1855), cols. 784C-784D.

⁷² Sicard of Cremona, 'Mitræ,' cols. 79D-80A.

Sicard, the uprightness of the prelate for Philip), and includes more elaborate elements. The little spheres, for example, not only symbolise the divinity of Christ where they join the bone and the wood, but also have inscriptions on them. According to Sicard, although not to the others, inscriptions are also sometimes to be found on the hook, or near the point. These tend to be imperatives, which concurs with Philip's contention that the staff is intended to act as a reminder to the bishop of what is expected of him.

Philip is concerned that the prelate understands the meaning of the staff for two reasons: that he understands through it what he owes to his subjects, but also what he owes to himself. The two are naturally connected, as the example the prelate sets by his life is of paramount importance, and it is for this reason that he emphasizes at the beginning of the passage that the presence of the staff makes him visible to all around him. This is another reminder of Philip's earlier contention that dignity exposes a man's deeds as surely as if they were illuminated. His conviction, however, is naturally that this outward example must proceed from true cleanness of heart and life. Being aimed at educating a specific bishop about his role, Philip's tone is more didactic than that of the other authors discussed here, his concentration on the exposition of the symbolism of the staff to its holder lending it potency, if not concision. Because of this audience, Philip gives more emphasis to the necessity of the prelate's personal spiritual advancement than do the other authors. For the prelate, he analyses the three main components of the staff with respect to what they tell the bearer about his own life.

It is the significance of the staff with regards to how he should exercise his oversight that Philip considers first, however. In picturing the staff and deciding what each part means, he approaches his subject from the top, the hook, and descends to the point: the inverse of the order in which he treats it when considering its significance for the prelate's own life. By so doing, he begins with the mercy which the prelate must show to his people, which he frames in terms of "mildness" - "mansuetudo." This mildness is essential in the relationship between prelate and people, to induce "filial affection" in them, and so move them to listen to the prelate's words. The point is proven by reference to Scripture, and Philip writes that it is imposed on the prelate by divine authority. As with his comments on dignity, however, by remarking that the

pagan authors had made the same observation Philip acknowledges that the conclusion is also one arrived at by simple knowledge of human nature. The pagan “doctores” urged their rulers to mildness by citing the examples of gods who showed mercy by not sending a thunderbolt on every occasion that a man transgressed. Philip even goes so far as to suggest that St. Paul, “Seneca’s friend,” was encouraged in leniency by having read his writings:

Perhaps having read this, Seneca’s friend Paul showed himself to have had mildness of this kind, and to have drawn the souls of the Thessalonians to him as though with his hook, wisely understanding that it is not possible for him to incite subjects to obedience, if he should desire solely to be feared by them, not loved.⁷³

This is one of those commonplaces when regarding the ideal relationship between ruler and ruled that may be found in many sources, including Ambrose’s *De Officiis* mentioned above, where the saint writes that:

David ... was dear to everyone, and he thought it preferable to be loved rather than feared by his subjects. Fear can provide the sort of vigilance that offers temporary security, but it is unable to give the kind of protection that lasts. Once fear has subsided, boldness soon creeps in; for confidence cannot be compelled by fear, it can only be guaranteed by affection.⁷⁴

Moving down to the next of the staff’s three components, Philip explains its metaphorical function as the support of the hook of mildness. Its support is in the form of uprightness in the character of the prelate, as without this check he would be excessively lenient towards those who have sinned. True love of his people consists not only in mildness, but of not indulging them in their sins. Philip does not shirk from suggesting that there is a possibility of this last fault existing because of financial corruption on the part of the prelate:

He holds the upright shaft when he ... does not, with avarice ruling, strive after their money, when he so loves them that he would not refuse to say that which is true and holy.⁷⁵

⁷³ col. 110D-111A.

⁷⁴ St. Ambrose of Milan, *De Officiis*, ed. and tr. I. J. Davidson (2 vols; Oxford, 2001), 1, p. 291.

⁷⁵ col. 111C.

The threefold design of the staff also has a threefold significance in respect of the prelate's own life. The threefold nature of the staff adds to its mystery, and is also seen by Philip as a sign of its strength. To suggest this, he alludes to the image in Ecclesiastes of the threefold cord which cannot be broken.⁷⁶ This was an image used by others, including Peter of Celle, to denote the strength of a connection. Peter's letters show that the image could sometimes be used without the cord's threefold nature being relevant to the point being made. Sometimes, however, he makes full use of the image's potentiality with regards to a combination of three elements, as when he uses the "threefold cord" to describe friendship's "three principal maidservants, companions and attendants without whom she cannot live: justice, patience, and constancy."⁷⁷ It is in a similar fashion that Philip uses this image, carefully and to its fullest effect.

In Philip's scheme for the prelate's own spiritual advancement, the point of the staff again represents punishment, in this case the necessity for the prelate to practise self-mortification. The shaft in this context represents chastity, which Philip discusses at length before coming to the hook, which here signifies love of God, without which the preceding self-chastisement and chastity is worthless. Philip introduces to this basic outline biblical imagery and classical quotations, like Adam of Dryburgh layering these images in quite a complex manner. The biblical imagery alone forms quite extensive passages of exegesis, particularly of the Song of Songs, but through this sometimes laboured approach it can be seen that Philip believes he is unravelling, in the form of the staff, a divine mystery.

Philip's interpretation of the staff is, as has been said, somewhat more detailed than the analyses found in the works of other authors. He notes that the staff has a point at its base because it signifies the punishment of sins which are earthly, and therefore closest to the ground. The prelate's whole progression in the spiritual life begins with the suppression of earthly desires through the self-punishment symbolised at the base of the staff, and proceeds upwards in stages through the shaft and onto the hook. Without the initial mortification of the body the prelate cannot advance

⁷⁶ col. 113A. Eccles 4:12: "A cord of three strands is not quickly broken."

⁷⁷ Peter of Celle, *The Letters of Peter of Celle*, ed. and tr. J. Haseldine (Oxford, 2001), ep. 145, pp. 532-3.

spiritually, and consequently cannot adequately exercise his office. In support of this he cites both St. Paul and the Psalms, asserting that the dire consequence of the absence of bodily mortification is that God will not listen to the prelate, and thus will not support his preaching:

He [God] does not care that his judgements be declared by him in whom he understands that fitting chastisement of the body does not dwell. "Why," he said, "do you declare my judgements, and take my covenant in your mouth? Seeing you have hated discipline."⁷⁸

Above all, Philip here sees the prelate's primary role as that of preacher. His concern is that the prelate has divine aid and inspiration when he preaches, so that it is truly God's word that he speaks. It is imperative that when he does speak the truth, the people believe him, and this will only happen if they already believe in the prelate's sanctity because of his way of life.

Philip's image of the spiritual growth of the prelate is an organic one, with each stage arising naturally out of the former. From the "castigatio" of the sharp point, "castitas" of living arises in the form of the shaft, eventually to be surmounted by "charitas" in the form of the hook. The alliteration of these nouns underlines the relationship between these elements, and the dependence of each element on the former stage of development. The verbs which he uses to describe this process are also resonant of natural processes, such as when he writes that chastity "having arisen may be brought forth [producetur],"⁷⁹ or that chastity is "generated [generatur] from the restraining of carnal desires." In this he suggests that when self-chastisement has been practised, become loved for the right reasons, and is now a way of life, all else will follow by a natural progression. At the same time, the process of becoming more spiritually perfect is a struggle against nature and natural desires:

Flesh ... which immersed in earthly things does not restrain natural desires, and does not distance itself from carnal and harmful delights, certainly is hardly ever or never very able to obtain the beauty of due chastity, which excellence of

⁷⁸ col. 113C. Ps. 49:16-17.

⁷⁹ col. 113D.

pastoral dignity greatly requires.⁸⁰

This is further symbolised in the shaft of the pastoral staff, which, having been the bough of a tree, has first to be stripped of all that nature has covered it with (“bough, flower, bark, shoots”) before being prepared for its new role. The smooth polished surface of the shaft conveys much meaning to Philip, who notes that “with the bark having been rubbed off it presents no obstacles to the one holding it” – in other words, that with earthly desires having been subdued the prelate is more able to perform his task. The polished surface is also a beautiful sight which should remind the prelate of the beauty of mystery. Furthermore, chastity as represented by the shaft of the staff is slender through the privations required to achieve that state, and made smooth “by great frequency of prayers and by use.”⁸¹ Determined to extract every ounce of symbolism from the staff, Philip sees in the shaft’s various qualities yet further proofs of its significance as an emblem of the prelate’s chastity. He describes it as “white and polished” (“candida vel polita”), which naturally symbolises chastity – similarly, Peter the Chanter’s symbolic staff is made of ivory, so that it is “ivory and white to denote the innocence and chastity of the one bearing it, because ivory is from an animal that is without ardour and chaste.”⁸² But Philip does not stop there, for to him its length and inflexibility also have their place in this symbolic scheme. Its length represents the length of perseverance that is required to obtain perfection in chastity, and, he says, “because it is inflexible, strength of chastity is signified.”⁸³ No other author analyses the potentiality of the staff as a symbol in such great detail.

Philip’s love of applying the imagery of the Song of Songs to any given situation finds another outlet here. In a chain of rather loose connections, he moves from the shaft to another image in a similar shape to the shaft which can therefore also symbolise chastity. This is the image of the thin column of smoke rising to heaven used in the Song of Songs to describe Solomon’s approach through the desert. Pleased with this, Philip takes the analogy further. As the shaft symbolises the rise from earthly desires which the point must discipline, so the column of smoke rises from lower to higher things. However, from the column of smoke representing chastity, he

⁸⁰ col. 114B.

⁸¹ col. 114A.

⁸² Peter the Chanter, *Verbum Abbreviatum*, p. 372.

⁸³ col. 114B.

moves to a consideration of how the smoke may be used to symbolise fame or reputation. This image of reputation as an odour is one which Philip uses throughout his works, but explains most fully in this letter, using a range of biblical examples. On this occasion his comment that the smell of the smoke can be sensed from far off, the smell being either a scent or a stench depending on the nature of the smoke, is presumably intended to be analogous to the attention which the staff draws to the prelate. Indeed, bad smoke is that such as was produced when God rained down fire on Sodom, “which, overthrown by the slippery slope of bodily desire had stepped far over the bounds of proper chastity.”⁸⁴ This smoke may symbolise the bad reputation which is occasioned by an unchaste life. As a second example of such bad smoke Philip introduces the image of the smoke in Apocalypse arising from the pit, making this a metaphor for reputation, which being black blocks out the light, as well as contaminating all those near it:

while the manifestation of his crime dishonours not only the prelate himself, but also, with contagion of either example or of merit having been spread, disgraces those subject to him.⁸⁵

Given these considerations, and returning to his original image from the Song of Songs, Philip decides that chastity may not be represented by smoke in general, but only that from this book. For this smoke, as it says, arises from myrrh, spices and incense, and thus has a lovely aroma, just as chastity produces a good reputation. Philip explains that this image is appropriate because the beautifully scented smoke of chastity arises from spices that represent chastisement of the body:

The bodies of the dead are preserved by myrrh and by the benefit of this spice are not corrupted by any rottenness; and thus the chastisement of the flesh is not described unsuitably by it, by the merit of which the flesh itself is preserved from the eternal rottenness of damnation.⁸⁶

Although he does not mention the staff, this is consistent with his explanation of that symbol, with the shaft of chastity arising from the sharp point of self-mortification.

⁸⁴ col. 115A.

⁸⁵ col. 115C.

⁸⁶ col. 115D.

Having considered, in what may be considered a lengthy diversion, how smell may be used as a symbol for chastity, Philip then returns to the symbolism of the staff. Whilst his explanations are themselves clever and carefully constructed, the way in which he moves between them lends itself to accusations of long-windedness and obscurity. He does, however, when he returns at this juncture to the staff, return in due order to the hook, seeing that he has already dealt with the point and the shaft. The Christian love (“*charitas*”) that this hook represents is the essential final component in the ascent to a spiritual way of life. Without this, the life lived may be good, but it is not holy. Even some pagans, Philip points out, have practised both self-chastisement and chastity, but this is not enough for their salvation. As he does with the other elements of the staff, Philip examines this component closely. He describes the shape, which curves down before twisting back towards heaven, in which he sees great meaning. The shape of the hook, curving down towards itself and then bending back upwards, suggests the reciprocal loving relationship between God and his loving subject. Again, this is the product of the symbolic elements of the staff on which the hook is supported – the hook being drawn towards the shaft shows that God is drawn to the one who loves him because of his chastity. When the hook curves back up, it symbolises that love of God draws the prelate towards Heaven. Whereas in the prelate’s role as guardian of his flock the hook symbolises the need to draw back through mercy those who stray, what it symbolises for himself is the need to “draw God to him through the affection of loving which hooks in.”⁸⁷

Philip has thus in this letter explored every aspect of the symbolism of the staff, supporting each statement with a quotation, or series of quotations, from Scripture. This close and detailed analysis is perhaps designed to appeal to his friend from their days in school by its cleverness, in a way that his letter to Rainald is not. Although his letter to his friend begins with a lament that their friendship has lapsed, and suggests that he has been cast aside, it is in many ways more forthright and impassioned than that to Rainald, with whom by contrast he was presently engaged in a cordial correspondence. This must be attributed not only to the relative positions of the two recipients of his letters, but also to the reality of his hopes for them. The greater severity of the “terrible thundering” of Scripture in his letter to his old friend

⁸⁷ col. 118A-B.

does not seem to be made against any crime that his friend has committed, but correlates with the greater expectation which Philip holds of his potential to fulfil his role well. Philip is also using his friend's elevation to the episcopate to take his part in a current analytical trend.

Ultimately, his concern is always that the dignity of the clerical order be observed and understood. His anxiety that this dignity, and the dignity of the office of bishop, is being devalued, is revealed in small asides as much as in the greater sweep of his arguments. Comments that the crosier is such a common sight that men fail to appreciate its great mystery, and that most bishops hardly care to read the Bible, disclose disquiet in his mind about the men that have been appointed to this role. His open letters to men over whom he may have some influence are one way in which he hopes, perhaps in a small way, to remedy this decline. He is anxious to impart to both of them, albeit in different degrees, the great and important responsibility which they now have, not only over the discipline of the clergy in their diocese, but actually over men's souls. To Rainald he relies on Scriptural examples to emphasize that the position in which he stands is that of the successor of Old Testament men of God, and to encourage him to at least execute his office after their example. To his anonymous friend he encourages the spiritual progress which his friend must make to enable him to rule rightly, and details the qualities which he must show towards his flock. To do this he portrays and explains the beautiful and divine mystery of the symbolism of his office, the pastoral staff.

Exhortations on the Importance of Learning for Secular Rulers and Clerics.

Writing to his anonymous friend on the importance of “understanding,” Philip addresses appropriately one whose high level of education and intelligence is well known to him. His praise of Rainald’s learning, although it is in the context of his election to the archbishopric of Cologne, is couched, as has been said, in terms similar to those employed in letters to secular rulers. The majority of Philip’s letters which are concerned to encourage the recipient in the pursuit of learning are those addressed to secular rulers and to clerics, men outside the cloister. A concern with education lies at the heart of Philip’s letters, and he saw it as vital for both clerics and the lay nobility. Two letters, those to Counts Philip of Flanders and Henry of Champagne,¹ praise these noblemen for their literary accomplishment and regard this as a key aspect of what makes them good lords. Four more letters are addressed to the clerics Engelbert, Richer and Heroald, exhorting them to labour in literary study, the occupation most fitting for clerics, in pursuit of the knowledge of God. Rachel Fulton, in her book *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200*, has discussed aspects of the letters to these clerics in conjunction with her analysis of Philip’s *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, and so this chapter will focus primarily on his letters to the two secular lords.² Consideration of the letters to clerics does, however, throw into relief those addressed to the noblemen, and they will therefore be referred to for comparative purposes.

Of the two letters, that to Count Philip is more vital to our impression of the man and his pursuits than is the letter to Count Henry, for whose literary inclinations there is ample evidence. Henry’s learning was celebrated, as John F. Benton demonstrates in *The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center*,³ and effusive praise of his erudition is common in letters addressed to him. Nicholas of Clairvaux, for example, wrote that:

To you it was given to preserve the prince in the philosopher,

¹ Benton comments that “all commentators agree” that the Count Henry to whom the letter is addressed is Henry the Liberal: J. F. Benton, ‘The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center,’ *Speculum* 36 (1961), p. 576. Internal references confirm that the Count Philip in question is Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders from 1168-1191.

² Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, especially pp. 365-372.

³ Benton, ‘The Court of Champagne,’ pp. 551-591.

the philosopher in the prince,

and sends Henry his letters to read, “since I know that your excellence bestows care on liberal studies, especially eloquence, with all labour.”⁴ John of Salisbury’s letter responding to requests from Henry for commentary on certain theological and philosophical questions relates how Peter of Celle assured him of Count Henry’s literary interests.⁵ Philip of Flanders’ reputation for learning concentrates on his patronage of poets, on which Henri Pirenne and H. van Werveke after him have remarked. His reputation for the pursuit of liberal studies is not so well-documented as Henry’s, and rests in large part on Philip of Harvengt’s letter, making the importance of the letter as evidence of his participation in Latin literary culture clear. Pirenne took this interest in poetry, Philip’s letter, and evidence that he loaned manuscripts to poets, to make a rather lyrical judgement of Philip’s court:

The court of this unpolished fighter, of this founder of towns, of this builder of dykes, was a centre of letters, and the thick walls of his castles harboured all the elegance and all the *gentilleses* of the era.⁶

David Nicholas adds to the picture that Count Philip is described in the Chronicle of Richard of Devizes (in the only mention of Philip of Flanders in the Chronicle) as “eloquent” – the same quality which Nicholas of Clairvaux valued in Count Henry. In his evaluation of Philip’s learning Professor Nicholas has asserted that Philip “could read and write both Latin and French:”

Philip’s court was renowned for its large number of literate laymen. An English chronicler [Richard] described him as ‘a most eloquent man, with a tongue on which he set a high price.’ Philip could read and write both Latin and French and was a patron of French poets and authors, including Chrétien de Troyes, who dedicated *Perceval* or *Le Conte du Graal* to him.⁷

It is not proven, however, that Philip could write. A letter from him to Hildegard of Bingen (not mentioned by Professor Nicholas), requesting her prayers for his

⁴ Nicholas of Clairvaux, ‘Epistle 56,’ *PL* 196 (1855) cols. 1651B and 1652A.

⁵ Benton, ‘The Court of Champagne,’ p. 573-5. John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. and tr. W. J. Millor, H. E. Butler and C. N. L. Brooke (2 vols; Oxford 1955 (revised edn. 1986) and 1979), 2, ep. 209.

⁶ H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique* (Brussels, 1900; 5th edn., 1929), p. 348.

⁷ D. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London and New York, 1992), p. 94.

forthcoming crusade, does not mean that he physically wrote it.⁸ Professor Nicholas acknowledges three works in his footnote to this passage, two of which make no mention of the count's ability to write. The third, a chapter of van Werveke's *Filips van de Elzas*, makes the throw-away comment, "Philip was learned, in the twofold sense of the word: he could read (and evidently also write); he had an interest in literature."⁹ The subsequent work of Michael Clanchy demonstrates, however, that the ability to read did not necessarily entail the ability to write. He refers to a passage of Philip's *De Continentia Clericorum*, in which Philip describes what it means for a nobleman to be so learned that he is known as *clericus*, as evidence of this:

Writing is not included among the skills which cause Philip of Harvengt's knight who is *litteratus* to be described as a *clericus* ... reading and writing were not automatically coupled at the end of the twelfth century, nor was a minimal ability to perform these actions described as literacy.¹⁰

While Count Philip may have been able to write in Latin and French, Philip of Harvengt's letter to him does not serve as proof of this, nor does the dedication to him of Chrétien de Troyes' poem. Philip's letter adds an invaluable extra dimension to the picture of Count Philip's literary interests, suggesting that beyond the practical literacy of administration, and the love of courtly romance on which Pirenne focusses, the count was interested in learning about the theory of ruling. Philip links the count's learning with his administration of justice, a feature of his rule to which Philip pays special attention. It is noticeable that he follows one piece of advice to the count with the comment that: "the prince noble in mind does not disdain to read or hear these things," a suggestion that while he would not expect all princes to have Philip's level of literary accomplishment, all in his view should at least have these works read to them.

In his letter to Henry the Liberal, Philip's praise of the count's learning is integral to his defence of Henry's practice of founding colleges of secular canons, a clear indication of the equation of the cleric as servant of the Church and as man of

⁸ Philip, Count of Flanders, 'Philippi Comitis Flandriae ad Hildegardem,' *Hildegardis Bingensis: Epistolarum* part 3, ed. L. van Acker and M. Klaes-Hachmöller (CCCM 91B; Turnhout, 2001), p. 82, ep. 324.

⁹ H. van Werveke, *Filips van de Elzas* (Haarlem, 1976), p. 76.

¹⁰ M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* (London, 1979; 2nd edn. Oxford, 1993), p. 232.

letters. The nobility's growing interest in using their patronage to further learning by making such foundations is one of three "traits" which Georges Duby identifies when examining their imitation of the king and desire to "participate in some way in high culture,"¹¹ using the counts of Champagne as examples of this. Examining the reasons for the burgeoning desire for a literary education among the nobility, Duby suggests that imitating the king in this way was one means of appropriating something of his prestige and authority, replicating their relationship with the king in that with their own vassals. He sees it also as a function of the flourishing of the concept of chivalry, with the relationship between literacy and a fuller participation in the religious life leading by a natural progression to those who saw themselves as part of the "order" of knights desiring the corollary of literary knowledge:

The cultural monopolies until then retained by the Church were now clearly challenged: the chivalric society too intended to participate in high culture. Its dream was to appropriate "clerisy" – meaning the knowledge of the schools.¹²

In his letters to Counts Henry and Philip there is, however, no sense that Philip resents this participation or saw it as challenge. Rather, he encouraged and praised the acquisition of literary knowledge amongst the nobility, writing to Philip of Flanders that:

Knowledge of letters belongs not merely to clerics, for many in the grade or order [gradu vel ordine] of the laity know letters.¹³

He does not see learning as the province solely of the cleric, to be closely guarded and not shared, but he does see it as having different purposes for the nobleman and the cleric. Whilst he encourages laymen to read and be well educated, he would never for example have thought it possible that laymen could or would desire to go on to take the clerical role to themselves by teaching as well as learning.

¹¹ G. Duby, 'The Culture of the Knightly Class. Audience and Patronage,' trans. from the French by C. Craig, in R. L. Benson, G. Constable and C. D. Lanham (eds.), Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century (Toronto, 1991), p. 255.

¹² *ibid.* p. 250.

¹³ col. 149A.

A key element in Philip's letters to the princes is the invocation of the example of their ancestors or predecessors in the practice of learning, and the praiseworthiness of their intention that their sons be educated. It is noticeable that of the two, Count Philip's father receives only a fleeting mention when Philip writes that: "the care of your parents allowed you to know letters from childhood,"¹⁴ whereas Count Henry's father is the subject of much praise. Philip looks elsewhere for examples to hold out to Count Philip. To Henry he writes that his father "wished that you should be raised above other counts in knowledge of letters," although as Georges Duby amongst others has shown, there is plentiful evidence for the fashion for literacy among the knightly classes. Rather than meaning he should be educated where other counts were not, Count Theobald intended – with an element of competition – that his son should be better educated than other counts. To the count of Flanders, Philip recalls having seen personally his predecessor Charles serving at the altar, and having conversed in Latin with a Count Ayulf. This Count Charles must be Charles the Good, murdered in 1127, whose cousin Count Philip's father was. This murder took place three years before Philip became prior of Bonne-Espérance, when he was a canon in the monastery under Abbot Odo, making it perfectly possible that he had seen Charles the Good. Charles was of course praised posthumously by Galbert of Bruges, in his account of the murder, for his piety, and was killed in church "prostrate before the altar as was his custom, on a humble stool, where he was singing psalms and devout prayers to God and at the same time giving out pennies to the poor."¹⁵ When recalling to Count Philip that he had seen Count Charles in church, Philip emphasizes Charles' piety, particularly his insistence on reading the Psalms. Van Werveke points out that the ability to read the Psalms was seen as a "basic" form of literacy, and that not much can be taken from this as evidence of Charles' literary prowess.¹⁶ The point Philip is making, however, concerns the fittingness of reading as an occupation for the nobility at suitable moments, and he juxtaposes two sentences which both use a word for "small book." The noble prince does not listen to fables, he:

presents himself with a *codicellus*, at least in private, at a suitable hour. I saw, as I recall, when Count Charles assisted at the altar, he insisted on reading the Psalms reverently and

¹⁴ col. 149C.

¹⁵ Galbert of Bruges, *Galbertus Notarius Brugensis: De Multro, Traditione, et Occasione Gloriosi Karoli Comitis Flandriarum*, ed. J. Rider (CCCM 131; Turnhout, 1994), pp. 29-30.

¹⁶ van Werveke, *Filips van de Elzas*, p. 77.

decently. And as the sharp filed point of the sword was fitting when the time of taking vengeance was at hand, so a *libellus* was fitting for the devout prince at the time of reading.¹⁷

Alongside this reference to the murder of Charles the Good, is another to a Count “Ayulf.” Van Werveke argues for the identification of Count “Ayulf” with Arnold of Holstein, who “fell, in the service of the same prince [Henry the Lion], in 1164, near Demmin (Pomerania) in the struggle against the Slavs.”¹⁸

In both letters, reminding the counts of his acquaintance with or knowledge of former counts is a way of subtly claiming the respect and attention due to an older man of high ecclesiastical status. As Berlière wrote of Philip’s letter to Rainald of Dassel, “his age and his dignity gave him the right, and the experience which he had acquired in the practice of the religious life suggested the most opportune counsels to him.”¹⁹ To Count Henry he writes at length of the virtues of his father in providing for the sick, widows and orphans, as well as his care for his son in providing him with a fine education. Including the education of the heir in this context suggests that this is another Christian duty, and another way to ensure that his people are properly cared for. One of the effects of praising the piety and erudition of the predecessors and ancestors of the recipients of these letters, and the recipients themselves, is to demonstrate that Philip is sufficiently superior in learning for his praise to be valuable and consequently that he himself is to be respected. He had been made prior of Bonne-Espérance thirty eight years before Philip of Flanders’ accession, and twenty two before Henry’s. Philip begins his letter to Count Henry by acknowledging that the letter is more in the nature of a brief treatise than the “little speeches” [*oratiunculae*] and “small leaves of paper” [*viles schedulae*] that would be customary for one who is unknown to a man of the count’s status to send, and asks pardon for the presumption. This prepares the count for the receipt of an important document “of difficult purpose” – “ad ardua” – whilst avowing the expected meek humility of the author. Philip has taken it upon himself, apparently unsolicited, to write to these counts advising them on the duties of the Christian prince, but he amply justifies his right to do so.

¹⁷ col. 149B.

¹⁸ van Werveke, *Filips van de Elzas*, p. 77.

¹⁹ Berlière, *RB* 9, p. 135.

Both letters follow a tradition of instructions to princes, and it is in this capacity that Robert Ziomkowski translated approximately the first third of the letter to Henry for Nederman and Forhan's *Medieval Political Theory – A Reader*.²⁰ Of the two, the tone of the letter to Philip perhaps suggests more concern that the recipient stands in need of counsel, and in it he voices the pessimism also expressed by others, such as Gerald of Wales in the Preface to his *On the Instruction of Princes*, concerning the conduct of most princes.²¹ Sijen quotes an earlier author, Brial, likening the letter to “un petit traité de l'institution d'un prince.”²² A prince who does not consort with prostitutes and who does not oppress the poor is, says Philip, “a wondrous thing to be marvelled at, and is not easily found.”²³ He describes the good prince as one who:

If he feels that anyone mutters against the laws, if any rich man dares to rage against the poor, if the robber dares to rage against the Church, in order that the noxious poison may not creep in if discipline is weakly languid, draws forth his sword from its sheath with an agile hand.²⁴

In this letter, literary study is discussed as a tool which aids princes to understand how to rule well, as an element of a whole body of advice for good government. In it, Philip dwells on moral values and justice, on the protection of orphans and widows, but especially on the protection and defence of the Church. Repeating that Count Philip is a young prince, he talks of grace having brought him through childhood to shine on him in youth, and later opines that:

Happy are they who have deserved to have a defender in the years of tender youth, but who has the character and prudence of mature old age.²⁵

²⁰ C. J. Nederman and K. Langdon Forhan (eds.) *Medieval Political Theory – A Reader* (London and New York, 1993), pp. 64-66.

²¹ Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner (*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* 21; 8 vols; London, 1861-91), 8, pp. 5-8.

²² Brial, *Histoire Littéraire de la France* vol. 14 (Paris, 1869), p. 280, cited in Sijen, ‘Les Oeuvres,’ p. 139.

²³ col. 148A.

²⁴ col. 148B.

²⁵ col. 150A.

Philip has seen the count begin his reign well and is anxious to see that he continues on the same course.

Philip's insistence that the acquisition of learning is essential for a ruler is commonly expressed by contemporary writers on the subject of good governance. The prince derives his knowledge of what righteous and proper lordship entails from works of literature which his youthful education has allowed him to read. To Henry he writes of the benefits of learning for a lord's understanding of the obligations of his position: "for you discover what your highness owes to greater men, what to equals, what to lesser men."²⁶ The education which Henry's father gave him is described as part of the legacy of a devout and conscientious ruler to his son and heir to enable him to be both a good man and a good lord. He writes of Theobald's education of his son as having "protected" him with "honest knowledge." In a similar vein, John of Salisbury in the *Policraticus* teaches that the prince should be educated in order to rule his country well, so that he can apply the law as dictated by the Bible to his own government:

It is clearly established that knowledge of letters is necessary for princes, who are commanded to reflect daily upon the text of the law of the Lord ... the day on which has not read the law is not the day of his life, but of his death.²⁷

Later in the same passage he considers the consequences of a prince being ill-educated, describing the damaging effects of a lack of learning and therefore a lack of the wisdom which education may bring:

And I do not know how it happens that, by the languishing of the virtue of letters among princes, the hand of the armed soldiery is weakened, and government itself is as though cut off at the root. Yet it is no wonder, since without wisdom no government is able to endure or exist.²⁸

In a letter to Count Henry of Champagne, John links military competence clearly with a learned prince, when he refers to a saying of the Roman author on military matters,

²⁶ col. 153A.

²⁷ John of Salisbury, *Joannis Saresberiensis: Policraticus I-IV*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, (CCCM 118; Turnhout, 1993), p. 251.

²⁸ *ibid*, pp. 252-3.

Vegetius (whom he calls “your Vegetius”), that: “no-one ought to have greater or better knowledge than a prince, whose knowledge can benefit all his subjects.”²⁹

John’s focus is on the Bible in this passage of the *Policraticus*, but Philip writes that understanding of what it means to be a lord over others can be reached through classical pagan authors as well as through the reading of Scripture: with the proviso that the reader discern the sound from the unsound in these writings. Philip refers to this attitude towards the use of pagan authors in other works, so that it may be said that this was a general principle which he held to be true for all scholars. In his *Life of St. Ghislain*, an adaptation of an earlier work yet which adheres closely to it, he makes an addition regarding the saint’s education, writing that:

For having read the books which pagan poets or philosophers wrote, who not knowing God, wrote about worldly and transitory things, and having revealed in them the error in which their blindness groped about, he held most carefully to what the truth proclaimed through them.³⁰

What these truths may be in the context of the education of a future monastic founder and saint, Philip does not elaborate. Rachel Fulton also observes Philip’s approval of the cleric Engelbert’s study of pagan authors whilst at Paris, so long as he realised that, as she puts it:

The trick was never to lose sight of the reason why one had taken up such learning in the first place, namely, the better to understand the Scriptures.³¹

Philip’s letter to Engelbert, whom he intends to inspire to greater efforts in learning, discusses one attribute of pagan authors which leads him to revere them and acknowledge their measured usefulness even for clerics: they are proponents of the pursuit of knowledge. It is a testament to his love for these classical authors that although the letter to Engelbert is concerned with the knowledge of truth and of God, the examples he gives to the cleric to motivate him are those of pagans. He cites Plato, who left Athens to go to Egypt and Italy to further his knowledge; Socrates and Themistocles whom he said lived to a great age and never tired of learning; Cato, who

²⁹ John of Salisbury, *Letters* 2, ep. 209.

³⁰ col. 1339A

³¹ Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, p. 367.

in his old age became a pupil of the Greeks. If these men at their advanced age (he says that Themistocles was 107) were still eager for learning, then Engelbert too can do as they did and not weaken. Furthermore, he writes, if philosophy shows a man the acuteness, eloquence, examples and arguments of Plato, Cicero, Socrates and Aristotle, then it desires not that he should “be sprinkled with a drop or tiny dew-drop [of the fountain Helicon], but to lie longer or be immersed in this living fountain.”³² In these letters at least Philip displays none of the doubts which others at some point felt about the Christian’s knowledge and use of pagan writings, excepting when he calls the knowledge of the pagans “ragged” [pannosus].³³ This adjective is also used in his letter to Heroald, perhaps signifying that because this knowledge is without God, it is ragged because inherently incomplete. In his claim that during his sojourn in Egypt, Plato heard what Moses had taught, he concurs with a common belief which he had no cause or interest in questioning. This belief had come about by a desire to, as Jean Leclercq puts it, “find a good intention” in the works of pagan authors whom Christian writers loved to use, but this pursuit is not one with which Philip appears to be particularly concerned.³⁴ The aim of the passage in question is to prove Plato’s thirst for knowledge of all sorts, and his alleged keenness to probe into the teachings of Moses is praised no more than his studies with Pythagoras, save that it is mentioned first. Philip’s use of imagery also in some cases suggests the benefits of supplementing Christian works with pagan ones. In a theme common with him, he uses images of water and fountains to illustrate his ideas, but when in the quotation cited above from the letter to Engelbert he uses the phrase “living fountain” [fons vividus], it is to the mythological fountain of Helicon that he refers.³⁵ The philosophy which shows students the works of the great philosophers does not wish them merely to look at the fountain, but to be immersed in it. The fountain of philosophy and knowledge is approached with undisguised reverence and awe, in an almost religious fashion. At the close of the letter his wish for all those who would study is that “their inner eye be cleansed by the poured eye-salve of knowledge and be turned back more ready and cleansed to see God.”³⁶ While the end for the cleric is always God, there is

³² col. 33A-B.

³³ See for example the examples of Honorius Augustodunensis, Peter Abelard and Nicholas of Clairvaux in C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Harvard, 1927; repr. 1971), p. 96.

³⁴ J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. by C. Misrahi (Paris, 1961; 3rd edn, New York, 1982; originally published in French in 1957), p. 116.

³⁵ col. 33B.

³⁶ col. 34C.

a sense in which the “eye-salve of knowledge” in this letter comes in part from Helicon, and thus that pagan knowledge plays its part in the acquisition of the knowledge that enables a man to focus on God.

In the context of the schooling of a nobleman, when Philip demonstrates to Henry that a lord’s position is granted to him as part of a higher purpose, the reason for which may be discerned through reading, he accords the pagan classical authors and Scripture an equal weight in this research into why a lord is given his power:

For should you re-read works whether of pagans or of Catholics, should you examine these books, if the prudent reader according to the Prophet be not burdened by separating the valuable counsel from the worthless: you discover what may be fitting for the people, what for the soldier, for the prince or the prelate, to what purpose either fortune according to the pagans, or the grace of God according to Catholics, gave you the pre-eminence above others.³⁷

This ability to distinguish the good from the bad in the writings of pagan authors is an example of what Philip expects of a nobleman when he writes of his possession of “literary knowledge.” Although he believed that the count’s position was a gift of grace, so long as the pagan authorities’ misconception in attributing the origin of power to fortune is recognised, it may be set aside so that the benefits of their wisdom on the subject may be reaped. While the count’s authority is unquestionably God-given, in his letter to the count of Flanders Philip also recommends reading both Christian and pagan works on the proper exercise of that authority:

Indeed there are polished tracts or letters or commentaries of pagans as of the orthodox, which offer warnings of no little usefulness to noble men: they honour dignity, they order the military, they strengthen youth; they build good morals, they arouse minds, they advance them to virtue: they reprove idleness, arouse zeal, describe fairness, temper anger, commend clemency, suggest mildness.³⁸

Philip here acknowledges that the concept of what constitutes good lordship is the same in the works of pagan and Christian authors on all levels bar the spiritual. Works

³⁷ col. 153A.

³⁸ col. 149A.

of pagan authors equally with Christians can even recommend the morals and virtues expected of a prince.

An aquatic image of biblical origin is a feature which two of Philip's letters – one to a nobleman, one to a cleric – have in common. It is not unusual for Philip to find an appropriate Scriptural metaphor for a topic which concerns him, and repeat it to different recipients of his letters. In the book of Isaiah the waters of Shiloah “that go softly” are rejected by the people of Judah in favour of King Rezin and Pekah the son of Remaliah, and for this the people are punished by the invasion of the king of Assyria. The image which is used in the Bible for this invasion is that of a river which bursts its banks and floods the plain of Judah.³⁹ In Philip's letter to Count Henry this becomes a metaphor in which Henry's love of learning is like the deep and calm waters of Shiloah, whereas “the sloth of the people brings the turbulent waters of foreigners on Rezin ... the flood of these waters is a servile condition of mind, and bestial men are overpowered in the gate.”⁴⁰ Lack of literary knowledge or understanding is equated with servility. The image is used again in a letter to Richer in which the decision of those in the schools to follow only classical learning is likened to a rejection of “the waters of Shiloah, which go with silence.”⁴¹ The image of the waters of Shiloah to represent learning suggests not only divine approval for learning, but also the peace and calm of learning, reminding the reader of the peaceful and ordered rising above the multitude that is portrayed earlier in the letter to Henry and is to be discussed below.

In the letters to both counts Philip discourses on the merits of the busy man of the world making time to study, as does John of Salisbury in his letter to Count Henry.⁴² Like John, he also believes that the study of literature and military leadership are not incompatible, indeed are desirable, as when he invokes the memory of Count Philip's warlike ancestor Ayulf, who “died fighting the pagans for his homeland:”

For knowledge in the military and of the military is not
prejudicial to the honest knowledge of letters, indeed in the
prince the bond of the two is so useful, so fitting that, as the

³⁹ Isa. 8:5-8.

⁴⁰ col. 153B-C.

⁴¹ col. 158A.

⁴² John of Salisbury, *Letters* 2, ep. 209, p. 317.

aforesaid Ayulf asserted, the prince whom literary knowledge does not ennoble, degenerating not a little is like a rustic and in a certain manner, bestial.⁴³

In this way these authors tap into the desire of the nobility, identified by Duby, to combine their military and secular power with literary culture in a whole which amounts to chivalry. Their warfare is not condemned, and indeed is seen as a worthy duty which it is necessary to perform. The sentiment that the combination of military prowess and literary knowledge is desirable in a prince is repeated in many clerical quarters, with Gerald of Wales citing the examples of past rulers such as Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar and Charlemagne. He remarks that: “the example of chosen princes teaches that knowledge of letters, and liberal studies, should be worthy of desire for princes ... who the more literary and learned they were, the more courageous and active they were in matters of war.”⁴⁴ Philip’s focus is on love of learning as an attribute which contrasts the noble and the rustic, and he does not even consider the possibility of such literary study being advisable for anyone other than the higher ranks of the laity. Like Nicholas, he writes of Henry having been “instructed in liberal studies,” and to describe this he uses “liberalis scientia” and “literalis scientia” apparently interchangeably. Learning, he believes, sets one free, so that a lord may have noble lineage, possessions, vassals,⁴⁵ and still not be free if he has no knowledge of letters:

it was fitting that literary knowledge should lead you away from the ignorance of the vulgar and the dull blindness of brutish men, and should yield the aforesaid man [noble, rich, with clients] with glorious liberty.⁴⁶

The educated man is set apart from his uneducated fellows, “free from the disorderly society of the masses and from the public multitude.”⁴⁷ Michael Clanchy, analysing Walter Map’s comments on the subject, observes another aspect of the equation of liberty and learning. Map deplores the attempts of the socially unfree to aspire to this occupation of the free:

⁴³ col. 149C.

⁴⁴ Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8, p. 7.

⁴⁵ To which Philip here refers as “clients”: “clientaelae”, col. 152B.

⁴⁶ col. 152B.

⁴⁷ col. 152C.

serfs, whom we call peasants [rustici], are eager to educate their ignominious and degenerate children in the [liberal] arts,

leading Clanchy to remark that:

Walter deplored this because a liberal education was appropriate only for freedom.⁴⁸

Both Walter and Philip would agree that education brings order to society and to individual behaviour, in contrast to those turbulent waters of Rezin, so long as it is retained for the use of those in the upper strata of society. So long, also, as this order is translated amongst the clergy into the “scholarly discipline” to which Philip refers in his letter to Henry: the determination and self-denial which is required to achieve this learning.

Philip not only does not restrict learning to clerics by actively encouraging the lay nobility to improve themselves and their rule by learning, he also does not deny that women can be well-educated (in the proper circumstances). He writes in the one hundred and seventh chapter of his *De Continentia Clericorum* that nuns do not serve at the altar “not because there is no sanctity or literary knowledge in them, but because ecclesiastical authority ... does not allow the female sex to carry it out.”⁴⁹ This is not to say that Philip disagrees with the long-held judgement of ecclesiastical authority in any way – rather, this justification for the restriction on the role of women is incontrovertible. In another chapter of the *De Continentia*, not concerned with learning as a topic, but with the claim of a monk (whom Petit identifies as Rupert of Deutz⁵⁰) that monks could be ordained, Philip cites the examples of not one, but two women who having been taken for men entered monasteries, and rather than being condemned for their duplicity by the time of Philip’s writing were indeed revered. These two, Saints Marina and Eugenia, the latter even being made “abbot,” were skilled in letters due to their monastic education but were of such sanctity that, Philip argues, (neatly sidestepping the questionable morality of deceiving the monks) they

⁴⁸ Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, bk. 1, chpt. 10, cited in Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 236.

⁴⁹ col. 812A.

⁵⁰ Petit, *La Spiritualité*, p. 141.

would never have agreed to being ordained and serving at the altar, knowing it would be a sin:

For since the virgin Marina was brought to a house of monks as a little girl by her father, a monk, not saying that she was a little girl, she was made a monk with the others, and there was educated as a child, and taught sacred letters ... nor can it be believed that she, who both lived at such a time among monks, and was acknowledged to have been of such sanctity, of such patience, either having been called to orders would have presumed contumaciously to shrink back from the command, or having forgotten her feminine sex, would have presumed by an illicit attempt to obey such a command.⁵¹

Where literature and reading are not only useful for the nobility, but also something to be enjoyed at leisure in moments of release from worldly cares, in his letters to fellow-clerics on the subject of learning Philip's tone is somewhat different. He paints for Count Henry an image of himself when he pauses from his duties as a soldier:

... claiming yourself for yourself, you return to clerical leisure:
and taking up a book you rejoice in the rotating series of readings,
in which your freed face shines forth to you as in a mirror.⁵²

Although the time set aside for this reading is not, as Philip is at pains to point out, to be equated with idleness, it is still done for pleasure as well as instruction in times when duty can be laid aside; whereas for the cleric, this learning is his duty. It must, of course, be the right type of learning and for the right motives, as Fulton discusses when she describes Philip's comments in the *De Justitia Clericorum* on the exertions of scholars in search of knowledge for the sake of worldly glory.⁵³ The cleric, as Philip writes to Engelbert, "exposes himself to struggle in the scholarly gymnasium," and throughout his works literary labour is seen by Philip as an integral part of the clerical order. As he says to Engelbert, "not save by labour and zeal is a height of knowledge reached."⁵⁴ One of the ways in which clerics served in the churches which Henry built was by "literary labour":

⁵¹ col. 777D.

⁵² col. 153A.

⁵³ Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, p. 366.

⁵⁴ col. 32B.

Let it not be that any wise man should presume thus to blame these clerics, that he should even judge those men who wished to gather in churches, since the intention of congregating declares this, the purpose of congregating is directed to this, that it might serve God in the churches by clerical ministry and literary labour [clericali ministerio et labore litterario].⁵⁵

He admits that many clerics are ignorant, something which no doubt his reforming ideals abhorred. His description of Henry as better educated than many clerics is not only praise of the count, but also criticism of ignorant clergy. Although he at one point in the *De Continentia Clericorum* states that “the truth of the clerical state does not consist in knowledge of letters,” this is to reinforce to the monk against whose statement that monks may be “clerici” he is contending, that not everyone who is called “clericus” (because he is literate) is actually a cleric.⁵⁶ As mentioned above, the correlated usage of the words *clericus* and *litteratus* is discussed by Michael Clanchy in *From Memory to Written Record*, where he uses Philip’s contention in the *De Continentia* as a primary source of evidence.⁵⁷ In every other respect, learning is characteristic of those in clerical orders and should be incumbent upon them as a duty. Philip suggests that one reason why men who have joined the clerical order leave is because they find the literary study too difficult.⁵⁸ In another chapter of the same work, in discoursing on the origins of the monastic profession prior to the establishment of a rule which he says was given to monks by Mark the Evangelist, he distinguishes the monastic from the clerical order by the monks’ acceptance of the illiterate whereas “the clerical dignity admitted none save the literate.”⁵⁹ Indeed, literacy appears to be seen by Philip as more integral to the clerical order than ordination, as he protests at some length in the *De Continentia* that not only is it possible for a man to be a cleric and not a priest, it is perfectly admissible. He cites himself as an example, describing how in the ceremony in which he was made a cleric (Sijen believed by St. Norbert) he knelt before the bishop, who “sang out over my head those little psalms which he knew were fitting for that office,” was tonsured, dressed in a clerical habit and proclaimed to be a cleric, prayed over and blessed.⁶⁰ He was not ordained deacon or priest for some years, nor strove for these offices. Philip is

⁵⁵ col. 155A.

⁵⁶ col. 817B.

⁵⁷ Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp. 226-230.

⁵⁸ col. 831A.

⁵⁹ col. 772A.

⁶⁰ col. 828A.

determined to emphasize to the clerical audience of this work that it is the profession of the clerical office which makes a man a cleric, and that ordination is not a requirement. Literacy, however, is nigh on essential:

You know that to give attention to knowledge of the Scriptures thus belongs to clerics, that whoever wished to become a cleric, must be trained in letters and anyone without however small a knowledge of them, is held either to scarcely be a cleric, or not to be one at all.⁶¹

The connection in Philip's thought between literacy and serving God leads to some interesting phrases in which he uses literary terminology as a way of expressing this service. For example in discussing the ways in which devotion to the altar can be enacted in ways other than by the priest performing Mass, he says that clerics, monks and nuns as well as priests can serve at the altar by singing psalms and chants and saying the hours:

in which manner not only clerics, or monks, but *monachae* or *sanctimoniales* are found to be devoted to the altar, on account of which they also claim for themselves that they do not come together unduly ... for which spiritual duty, that is with a literary melody they serve just as clerics serve.⁶²

The love of letters which Philip portrays in Henry leads by a natural extension to the count's patronage of clerics, in this case in the form of endowing colleges of secular canons. In building churches and "gathering clerics in them: whom custom wished to call secular, on account of a certain freedom of living," Henry has apparently made himself the subject of criticism, presumably from those reformers who protest at this "freedom of living."⁶³ While Henry was far from ungenerous to houses of all orders, and founded a Benedictine and a Cistercian abbey, his gifts to monks and canons regular "paled in comparison with those that the secular clergy received from him, through the foundation of six collegiate churches."⁶⁴ They also paled in comparison with the foundations of houses of the new orders undertaken by his father, Count Theobald. Michel Bur describes Theobald as "a friend of St. Norbert

⁶¹ col. 816A-B.

⁶² col. 812A.

⁶³ col. 154D.

⁶⁴ H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des Ducs et des Comtes de Champagne* (7 vols; Paris, 1859-69), 3, p. 177. Henry made donations to five Premonstratensian houses, two in 1154, one in 1157, and two in 1178: *ibid.*, p. 175.

and of St. Bernard ... the joint influence of these two persons would make of Theobald II the reformer of the principal churches of his county.”⁶⁵ In the main, Henry’s foundations of chapters of secular canons were intended to serve the palace chapels of his various castles. Bur, whose *La Formation du Comté de Champagne* is primarily concerned with the political and economic growth of the county, is especially interested in the relationship of “avouerie” between an abbey and its noble protector, and the benefits accruing to the latter as a result of that bond. He writes that one feature which distinguished old houses from new foundations in Champagne was that the new received the protection of their patron without the formerly concomitant obligation of receiving the count’s approval of the election of a new abbot.⁶⁶ Focussing in this way on the more political aspects of the count’s relationship with the churches in his borders, Bur ascribes to Henry a more prosaic reason for his preference for founding chapters of secular canons:

That the Cistercians spread through the West a reputation for piety, justice, generosity towards the poor and the churches of Count Theobald II, that St. Bernard himself in the name of justice and for the peace of the Church intervened in his favour in the conflict of 1142 [when poor relations between Theobald and King Louis VII came to a head over the election of rival bishops to the see of Bourges] does not imply that the count had been able to bend to his particular interests the universal power that Cîteaux represented. All that he was able to hope for in placing several houses at the edge of his domain, was to become their protector. Without neglecting this increase of power, Henry the Liberal rapidly understood its limits. From the death of St. Bernard, he turned away from the Cistercians.⁶⁷

Philip is both more generous and more idealistic in his attribution of motives to Count Henry, interpreting Henry’s actions as a product of his love of learning as well as of God. Whether this is as a form of flattery and persuasion or whether through genuine pleasure in, and encouragement of, Henry’s literary pursuits can only be surmised. The two are not mutually exclusive, indeed may be complementary when he undertakes to encourage Henry’s learning and his patronage of the clerical order. He comments at some length on Henry’s knowledge of Latin, the language which he believes God had given the Church, and draws from this the view that Henry

⁶⁵ M. Bur, *La Formation du Comté de Champagne*, v. 950 – v. 1150 (Nancy, 1977), p. 355.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 388.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 478.

gathers together “literary men” as a result of this love. When Philip writes of Henry gathering together “litterati” he may be referring not only to the clerics who people his new foundations, but also to learned men who attended his court, as studied by J. F. Benton. The maintenance and patronage of both was greatly to be encouraged.

Whilst Philip acknowledges the ignorance of some clergy he energetically defends the order of the clergy, differentiating between the fallible individual and the ideal institution. He regards secular clergy as inferior to regulars and clearly states as much, referring frequently to their slack mode of living in comparison with those who live according to a rule. At the close of one of his letters to Richer he elaborates on this further, dwelling on the preferability of the cloistered life to life in the schools, using a nautical metaphor to illustrate the difference between the two:

Since [the cleric in the schools] not having, or having insufficient, fare does not board the ship of the cloister, lest he be shipwrecked desperately, he seizes a nearby skiff or a plank.⁶⁸

He who abandons even that way of life and goes back to the laity, floats away and the shipwreck is complete. To that end he urges Richer to cling on to his plank. However, the “dignitas” of the order, in whatever fashion that order is served, concerns him most, and one of the chief concerns of his letter to Count Henry is to defend that “dignitas” against those who criticise Henry for his patronage of colleges of secular clergy. No doubt he intended that this written defence should be brought to the notice of those – sadly unnamed – who gave voice to this criticism. Intriguingly, an episode most likely to have given rise to such criticism was that in which in 1157 Henry transferred Augustinian canons in the house of Saint-Quiriace in Provins to the hospital of St. James, and replaced them in Saint-Quiriace with secular canons.⁶⁹ Yet in spite of this, in the attack against them Philip saw the clerical order as a whole spoken against. In his letter to Henry, as in other works such as the *Life of St. Landelin*, Philip reminds his audience of the apostolic origin of the clerical order. So to defend the patronage of secular clerics he emphasizes the ancient origins of the clerical order, the approval given it by “authority,” by history and tradition:

⁶⁸ col. 159C.

⁶⁹ d’Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des Comtes de Champagne* 3, pp. 177 and 243.

From the beginnings right up to the ends of the earth antiquity has extolled the clerical order, and authority has conferred the principal status on it among all the rest.⁷⁰

Acknowledging individual failings and weaknesses, he yet defends and maintains that it is right to support the order, which is greater than individuals within it. He in effect recognises and admits that one cannot trust a man simply because he wears the religious habit, choosing in this case to use the noun “pallium” rather than “habitus” or another word signifying religion. He uses the strongest proof to argue thus that one cannot judge by appearances, that of Scripture rather than of a classical work:

Just as Judas Iscariot was among saints and chosen apostles and was seduced by abandoned wickedness, so the centurion was among worldly pagans and was found to be more pleasing to God. So no just person must trust too greatly in the assumed pallium of religion, nor be distrustful about those who, having forsaken the fine linen, seem to walk rashly before judgement.⁷¹

Just because Judas Iscariot failed does not mean that the apostles as a body are to be condemned.

Philip does not reserve his warnings about judging by appearance to outwardly pious clerics, but in his letter to Philip of Flanders he also writes frankly that nobility of birth does not necessarily entail nobility of character.⁷² In so saying, he reinforces the assertion that Count Philip owes his success in his position to God’s grace, not to man, as noble status alone would not confer on him the gifts which in conjunction with his nobility have enabled him to rule well. Philip is always eager that it be understood that any good attribute in man is brought about by a combination of factors. Here the combination on which he remarks is that of intellectual endeavour and grace:

what letters proclaimed and commended, supernal grace allowed to be possible.⁷³

⁷⁰ col. 155B.

⁷¹ col. 156A.

⁷² col. 147D.

⁷³ col. 149C.

In the case of clerics, the ideal combination is that of dignity and sanctity, which again is dependent on grace:

Sanctity being appropriate for clerics, who command by the dignity of sanctity, it was enjoined by a command on all. But it is not firmly adjoined like an inseparable companion to each of them, since there is not sanctity, whether in a cleric or a layman, unless it is from the grace of God.⁷⁴

Philip's letter does not deny a need for reform of the secular clergy, whose way of life is more lax, but it nonetheless forms a robust defence of the institution of the clergy, and the fitness of the nobility offering them patronage and support.

Philip expresses his love of Latin to Henry, as the language which has been granted by God so that he may be known through it, and is to be revered because given by him:

For indeed everyone ought to venerate that language with affectionate reverence, through which he hears for himself the true God preached most plainly: through which our redemption, the resurrection of all, the glorification of the saints, most truly becomes known. And, as I may conclude briefly, for those reading and not neglecting to read, knowledge itself of God and of those things which are of God begins to shine.⁷⁵

Part of the importance of Latin for Philip is that it is the language in which things are written down and preserved for posterity, designated as such, he tells us, by God who gave it for this reason to the Church. In this preservation lies the instruction and core of knowledge for all succeeding generations, and it is for them as well as for his immediate audience that Philip writes, even if this is less explicitly stated than in his saints' lives, where he often declares this intention in the prologue. For the very fact that for people not yet born they are the custodians of precious writings, clerics are worthy of respect. Philip's reverence for the Latin language is evidenced in his own elegant writing. His fascination is also shown in his application of his knowledge of etymology to the arguments in some of his letters. He teaches Engelbert that the interpretation of "cherubim" is "plenitude of knowledge," demonstrating that whilst

⁷⁴ col. 155C.

⁷⁵ col. 154B.

demons and cherubim both know God, they have knowledge of him in different ways. He dwells in his letter to Count Philip on the translation of their shared baptismal name, and despite there being two possibilities, he divines meaning in both which show why “Divine Providence ... assigned your own name to you.”⁷⁶ Real despair at the careless attitude, indifference, or lack of opportunity which leads to ignorance of letters in some of the clerical order is evident in many of his writings.

In writing to Henry about feeling love for Latin and learning in this fashion, Philip distinguishes him from the mass of noblemen who, even if they know letters, do not regard or understand them in this way. Those who do love them are “rare enough among the great multitude of those spoken of before.”⁷⁷ He writes disparagingly of those who “understand [letters], but while understanding, are negligent by disposition: they know and yet being languid with fastidiousness [fastidium] they do not feel with love, as the ass feeding on thistles does not draw succour or flavour.”⁷⁸ Those rare men with a true love of letters care for learning and preserve books. He is particularly admiring of the few such as Henry who are “occupied with external cares”⁷⁹ and yet make time for study. In so saying, he is not only praising Henry for being of their number, he is also advising others who may read or hear the letter to emulate him. While reading brings some gains to noblemen which do not pertain to clerics, both share the profit of an increased knowledge and love of God which may be reached through letters. Whereas this is one of a number of benefits of reading for the nobleman, it is the chief benefit and focus for clerics, and Philip’s letters reflect this.

His letter to Richer is another vehicle for Philip to express that, for a cleric, reading involves fully feeling the sense of what he reads, in order to arrive finally at wisdom, the true wisdom which is from God. Zeal for learning facilitates this attainment of knowledge, but labour alone does not accomplish this, it must be granted by grace. It is because the purpose of the acquisition of knowledge is the better to know God that Philip writes of clerics engaged in “literary labour.” As he writes to Engelbert, to strive for knowledge, and to know hardship in pursuit of this

⁷⁶ col. 151A-B.

⁷⁷ col. 153C.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*

⁷⁹ col. 153D.

goal, is a worthy struggle for the man striving for Heaven. He also writes, to Engelbert and Richer, of the importance of the right intention, without which learning is worthless. He quotes from St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians: "Has not God made foolish the wisdom of the world?"⁸⁰ This holy intention is the most fundamental aspect of Philip's concern that the scholar "feel" what he is learning. If the scholar is engaged in learning in order to know God, then through what he is learning he must begin to feel God, or the acquisition of knowledge is barren and futile. One must use knowledge to arrive at the truth, and:

the knowledge of truth is to know God, with the benefit of knowing him more fully, and to feel him ...⁸¹

To "feel" God, or to "taste" him, as Philip portrays this engagement in his letter to Heroald, is the *raison d'être* of the cleric, be he in the schools or in the cloister – and while Philip is clear that when it comes to the pursuit of holiness the schools are in second place to the cloister, he also believes that the school "ought to be called another cloister ... which distracts and diverts those most studiously devoted to reading from lay things, and either weakens the state of mind of reprobate men, or converts them."⁸² While undoubtedly the nobleman is to learn in order to enrich himself spiritually as well as to rule more fairly, in general these emotive words of "feeling" and "tasting" are verbs which belong to a higher stage of spiritual progress, which is striven for and gained by those whose purpose in life it is to achieve this spiritual union. Henry's love of Latin, the language which Philip portrays as "noble" so that "if other vulgar languages, not Latin, are there for him, asinine dullness holds him," leads him to patronise clerics. It is as though by patronising clerics, he is doing his duty by the God-given language:

You, rightly considering this, do not ignore the Latin language and literary knowledge, and you especially gather those men who are literary, you love and honour them.⁸³

This has overtones of the clerics whom he gathers and cares for personifying Latin, so that by protecting them, he is protecting learning.

⁸⁰ 1 Cor. 1:20, col. 33D.

⁸¹ col. 34B.

⁸² cols. 158D-159A.

⁸³ col. 154B-C.

Philip writes often that a combination of attributes is required to progress spiritually. Knowledge is worthless without holiness, but the importance he places on learning and knowledge in this context is such that he also states to Richer that holiness can go astray without knowledge to guide it:

For both holiness without knowledge very often errs and turns aside, [deviat] or does not shine forth so fully, and knowledge without holiness swarms with the worms of vices and is filthy. When indeed a bond as if undivided endures to unite them, we are able to discover nothing more useful, nothing more honest in human life.⁸⁴

It is because knowledge and learning are not ends in themselves, but are the foundation of what is needed to be saved, that Philip says the cloistered life is to be preferred to, and is more holy than, the schools. The central intention of learning in a monastic setting is to contemplate the Scriptures: it is the place in which “contemplative perfection is forged.”⁸⁵ However, as Rachel Fulton explains, Philip also saw in Paris the best place to study because of its attention to the Scriptures, and she cites his letter to Heroald, in which he praises the schools of Paris for this attribute.⁸⁶ The central intention of the first of the two extant letters which Philip wrote to Richer is to urge Richer to continue in study, through which he will come to salvation. Philip is also particularly concerned with the theme of age in this letter, referring frequently to the effect of learning on those of all generations. Although Fulton refers to Richer as “one young friend” of Philip’s, Abbot Sijen calls him a “homme d’un certain âge,” which seems the more accurate interpretation of the two.⁸⁷ Expressing his wish that he see Richer in person, Philip writes that he desires “to contemplate your face ... to venerate your white hair, [which is] attaining the reverence of old age.”⁸⁸ It seems clear from this that Richer is an older man, rather than that references to old age are purely metaphorical. That Richer is ageing serves Philip’s purpose in constructing certain images in this letter, and is not a concern when Philip writes his second letter to the cleric, in which no mention of his age is made. At several points in the first letter Philip emphasizes that learning is a life-long

⁸⁴ col. 158B.

⁸⁵ col. 159C.

⁸⁶ Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, citing Philip col. 31, pp. 367-8.

⁸⁷ Sijen, ‘Les Oeuvres,’ p. 140.

⁸⁸ col. 157A. “cupio ... venerari canos tuos obtinentes reverentiam senectutis.”

pursuit for the cleric, to be engaged in at the various stages of life, describing the cleric studying letters when old as doing so “far more freely, more sweetly.”⁸⁹ In so doing he depicts the study of letters as a process which, laboured at throughout one’s life, in which one advances through life, culminates in a death for which one is not only spiritually prepared, but also longs. At the conclusion to the letter Philip advises Richer to:

read and re-read the holy books, which treat of and set forth for you the ship or the chariot of virtues, of which they put as leader and pilot not a figurative Elijah, but Christ: if you end the evening and last day of old age raised up by him, you will come to the desired reward, to the goal of life and of salvation.⁹⁰

This letter shows Philip’s ideal construct of how a cleric should use his learning, a process of immersion and absorption, study and contemplation of the eternal, which differentiates “clerici” and “laici” more clearly than does the ability to read. In discussing Philip’s comment on the appropriation of the word “clericus” to describe someone who is literate regardless of status,⁹¹ Michael Clanchy, noting that Philip does not approve of this slack usage and calls it “improper” [improprio], concludes that he “deplored the way real knights and clergy no longer fitted the traditional roles assigned to them.”⁹² This is not wholly clear from what Philip says, however. He certainly did deplore the ignorance of some clergy, but his negative comments on knights being regarded as “clerici” seems to be entirely to do with the incorrect use of the term rather than any other aspect of their behaviour: he does not remark, as does another author whom Clanchy discusses, on knights who do not practise deeds of arms. It is presumably a symptom of this aversion to the incorrect use of the word “cleric” that in his letter to Henry, Philip forbears from applying it to the count when praising him, saying instead that:

You were instructed in such letters that you exceed many clerics, among whose number you were in no way counted.⁹³

⁸⁹ col. 159B.

⁹⁰ col. 159D.

⁹¹ Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p 227.

⁹² *ibid.*

⁹³ col. 152D.

He is not concerned that clerics should hold a monopoly on learning, but is anxious that the special status of the cleric should not be undermined or confused. His careful use of the terms “clericus” and “laicus” help his meaning at the end of his letter to Henry to be quite clear when he writes of the desirable cooperation between layman and cleric, of the “devotus laicus” who “joins and helps” the “clericus” to perform his mission. These laymen it is whom God loves and takes into Heaven to share with the clerics, so that “he grants that those whom he causes to rejoice in each other in the time of exile, glory eternally in Him when the world ends.”⁹⁴ In this context it is clear that he is not talking of a cooperation between literate and illiterate men, but of one who has taken a vow to serve God as a cleric and one who is a man of the world but is highly literate, and in Henry’s case famously so.

Philip’s letters, then, taken together formulate a learned plea for learning. In them he exhorts and encourages the nobleman to the pursuit of learning for the sake of ruling righteously and well, and urges the cleric to the pursuit of learning not only to fulfil the promise of the dignity of their order with its ancient claims to predominance, but most importantly for the sake of their souls. In this concluding passage to Count Henry he envisages the ideal relationship between the Church and the secular powers, in which a highly educated nobility act as loyal servants of the Church, protecting it, keeping order and justice, and assisting the Church in its work. His concern is that the learning which he so prizes, not excluding the knowledge of the “ethnici,” should be put to right use: he condemns riches as worthless without knowledge, knowledge as worthless without the intention to use it as a means to seek God. But knowledge is so fundamental to Philip’s spiritual understanding that he believes not only that knowledge is vile unless accompanied by holiness, but that holiness itself is apt to go astray without knowledge to guide it.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ col. 156C.

⁹⁵ col. 158B.

The Relationship between Religious Orders, and Relationships of Power.

A clutch of Philip's letters deal with one of the most pressing issues facing the new monastic orders of the twelfth century. They concern the relationship between the orders, and reveal a disunity which causes Philip deep distress. Two of his letters, written three years apart, are addressed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and in these he brings the issue of the deterioration of the relationship between Premonstratensians and Cistercians to the fore. The focus of disagreement in this case was the illicit *transitus* of one of Philip's monks to Clairvaux, but Philip broadens his argument to encompass wider issues of disharmony between the two orders. Written in the period 1147-1152, the other pressing problem which Philip addresses in this group of letters is the personal one of his condemnation by men of his order for malpractice in his office of prior. This condemnation led to a period of exile in another monastery, in the course of which he wrote concerning these events to a friend, Bishop Bartholomew of Laon. In this letter he describes, often in allegorical terms, his feelings about the unjust treatment meted out to him. Following his acquittal by a general chapter meeting at Prémontré he wrote again on the subject, on this occasion to Pope Eugenius III. The letter recites the events from his perspective, implicitly asking for at least some recognition that he had been wronged. In these letters the opposite of Christian unity is described, both between orders and within a single one, revealing, in Philip's opinion at least, a descent from the ideals with which these movements had begun.

Of all Philip's letters, it is these which have been most closely studied, especially the first to St. Bernard. It is particularly useful in the construction of Philip's biography, such as that which A. Erens composed for the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*.¹ Abbot Sijen also concentrated on this letter, summarizing it in his short biography of Philip which is published in the *Analecta Praemonstratensia*.² The facts of Philip's case, so far as they can be established, have thus been examined thoroughly elsewhere. Philippe Delhay took the two letters to Bernard and formed from them the narrative of a case of conflict with St. Bernard, from which Philip

¹ A. Erens, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 12 part 1 (Paris, 1933), cols. 1407-1411.

² Sijen, 'Sa Biographie,' pp. 43-7.

emerges as the saint and Bernard the sinner.³ The importance of the letters to Bernard for the light they cast on an aspect of how the relationship between religious orders worked in practice has also been recognised and discussed: the issue of the *transitus* of a brother between orders was a controversial one, the occasion of much debate and disunity, as Giles Constable considers in *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*.⁴ Philip's particular role in the debate, based on this letter, is the focus of Douglass Roby's article *Philip of Harvengt's contribution to the question of passage from one religious order to another*.⁵ In his first letter to Bernard, Philip refers to Pope Innocent II's ruling on the question with regard to Bonne-Espérance, the ruling being that such movement away from the house was not permitted without the abbot and chapter's licence (1137⁶). Philip goes on to refer to an agreement "between the abbots of our order and yours" that neither order should receive a brother of the other order without first receiving permission from the brother's abbot.⁷ The concern underlying this preoccupation with movement between orders was that of precedence in the hierarchy of forms of religious life. *Transitus* was theoretically permitted from a less strict order to a stricter one, and certainly the canons regular would be vehemently opposed to being described as less strict than, and implicitly inferior to, the Cistercians.⁸

While these aspects of Philip's exchange with Bernard have been examined in detail elsewhere, it is still of interest to consider the manner in which he approaches these issues in his letters; in the midst of considerable troubles he forms these epistles elegantly, with an eye to posterity and the opinions of contemporaries who might hear them read aloud. His choice of expression, his use of imagery and his language are all therefore designed to obtain a particular effect. Reading the letter to Bishop Bartholomew alongside those to Pope Eugenius and St. Bernard reveals the effect to which he uses this imagery to express the circumstances of his exile to those involved in it in different ways. Naturally, the theme of the relationship between the powerful and the less powerful is prominent in these letters, and also resonates in his letters

³ P. Delhaye, 'Saint Bernard et Philippe de Harveng,' *Bulletin de la Société Historique et Archéologique de Langres* 12 (1953), pp. 129-138.

⁴ G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 102-7 and 116.

⁵ D. Roby, 'Philip of Harvengt's Contribution to the Question of Passage from One Religious Order to Another,' *AP* 49 (1973), pp. 69-100.

⁶ Delhaye, 'Saint Bernard et Philippe de Harveng,' p. 132 dates this charter and five more of the same nature granted to other Premonstratensian houses in a six year period.

⁷ col. 78C.

⁸ Constable, *Reformation*, pp. 102-7.

concerning the brother who transferred to Clairvaux. The letter he wrote to the young monk Gregory preaching harmony between religious orders may be read in conjunction with those to St. Bernard, to form a clearer picture of his anxieties, his hopes, and (certainly in the case of Gregory) his teachings, on the subject and the situation.

Roby aptly describes the tone of Philip's first letter to St. Bernard, in which he objects to Bernard's decision to accept the canon of Bonne-Espérance, as one that "combines indignation and humility."⁹ It hints also of reproof, disappointment and betrayal. Referring to himself as "mea parvitas" throughout, he both reveres Bernard's greatness, and uses this greatness as a reproach to him for his unworthy actions. The relationship between the powerful and the less powerful is a quite considerable theme in these letters, be the "powerful" referred to St. Bernard, or the Premonstratensian abbots who deposed Philip. In a well-known letter to Hugh of Fosses, abbot of Prémontré, which discusses various wrongs of which Hugh has accused the Cistercians, Bernard lists the many ways in which he has been the Premonstratensians' friend. In spite of his protestations that he doesn't like to remind the Premonstratensians of all he has done for them, the letter is a clear warning to Hugh to remember which of them has the greater authority:

When have you or yours ever wanted our help and been refused it? First Prémontré itself, that place where you now live, was ours, and you had it by our gift. For brother Guido – that was the name of the first inhabitant of the place – had first given it to us by the hand of the bishop ... At Jerusalem, King Baldwin, when he was still alive, gave us the site of St. Samuel and a thousand gold pieces, with which it was built: you have the site, and had the gold pieces, by our gift.¹⁰

Philip would have needed no such reminding of Bernard's position, and was prudently anxious not only to ensure that Bernard knew he appreciated his greatness, but also to appeal to that greatness by couching his reproof in such terms as to suggest that he was asking for assistance.

⁹ Roby, 'Philip of Harvengt's Contribution,' p. 74.

¹⁰ St. Bernard, *Opera*, 8, ep. 253, p 150.

To this end, Philip, in his opening appeal addressing Bernard as “reverend Father” and writing that his church looked to Bernard for protection, portrays Bonne-Espérance as a woman. Naturally the woman is powerless compared to Bernard, and to augment this idea Philip uses two of the weakest positions in which he could conceive of a woman as being, describing her variously as a woman in labour, and a widow. Portraying himself as the son of this woman in distress, who cannot in all humanity ignore her suffering, the personification of his church is intended to appeal to Bernard on an emotional level. Not least by inducing feelings of guilt, for as the letter progresses, it transpires that Bernard is the cause of the woman’s distress, but that it is within his power to alleviate her distress if he chooses to do so. Philip writes that he is certain the mother/widow would not feel her suffering so much had it not been Bernard who had inflicted it on her. The pathos which the opening of this letter contains, with its vocabulary of suffering – “conqueritur ... doleat ... contristatur ...” – is heightened by the image of the helpless, trusting, woman who “wonders, uncomprehending, at when or where she may have deserved this from you.”¹¹

Personal imagery is also used to express the relationship between members of a religious order, most obviously that of the abbot as father and the church as mother of the brothers in their care. The effect is made all the more striking by the image of Philip’s canon leaving the monastery where “he drank in the rudiments of religion as though milk.”¹² When the runaway canon is earlier likened to a sheep that has strayed from the fold, it is no ordinary sheep, but the dearly loved pet lamb of the second book of Samuel:

She [the church] had a little sheep, which grew with her, eating of her bread, and drinking from her cup, and was like a daughter to her.¹³

And when the sheep strays, the “cord of obedience is broken,” a metaphor resonant of the umbilical cord. Philip suggests that one reason why a brother might wish to leave his monastery is that “the inconstant soul does not know how to stand firm, and the

¹¹ col. 77D-78A.

¹² col. 81D.

¹³ 2 Sam. 12:3, col. 78A.

childish eye rejoices to gaze at new things more than old ones.”¹⁴ In every respect, then, the canon who leaves is a child, in terms of being raised by the new family of religious he received when he entered the monastery, but also in the spiritual sense. His desire to leave shows that he has not spiritually matured, is not yet capable of enduring obedience, and is childlike in outlook. By receiving him, therefore, Bernard is not assisting this child, but stunting his spiritual growth.

The relationship between the orders as neighbours is equally important. There are senses in which as neighbours they are equal, as in the terms of Pope Innocent II’s directive cited in Philip’s letter. Yet Bernard is acknowledged the more powerful, capable of damaging his weaker neighbour. This power is manifested by his action in retaining Philip’s canon of Bonne-Espérance, which brings scandal to Philip’s church. The brethren (“this little flock”) had believed, he writes, that Bernard would not thus oppress his neighbours, and they had been disappointed in their hope.¹⁵ In so saying, Philip gives an impression of unity within Bonne-Espérance, a situation which if it did exist then, certainly did not three years later. By writing thus to Bernard, Philip accuses him of being in this case neither just nor charitable, portraying him as an oppressor rather than a protector of their church. To impress upon Bernard the unrighteousness of his action, Philip employs biblical quotation on the subject of the treatment of neighbours, citing the apostle James, and saying:

James did not believe that it belonged to justice or charity to oppress a guiltless neighbour, and drag him to a tribunal of power, since the more powerful man ought not to be troublesome to the powerless, not the greater man troublesome to the innocent.¹⁶

This expression of the need for a man in a position of power to understand the responsibilities and the obligations of that power is resonant of the comments Philip made to Counts Henry of Champagne and Philip of Flanders, and to his anonymous friend when exhorting him to perform his duties as prelate well. Here, however, being accusatory rather than exhortatory, and concrete rather than theoretical, the language is more blunt, and in some ways the impact stronger. In the whole letter there is not a single mention of pagan authors, and certainly no suggestion that Bernard examine a

¹⁴ col. 78B.

¹⁵ col. 80A.

¹⁶ *ibid.*

variety of writings to educate him in the exercise of power. Being of, as Philip puts it, “such peace, such sanctity,” he needs no guidance other than the Bible (passages of which he of course recites every day), by which it need hardly be said that his life should be ruled. To emphasize the theme of good neighbourliness, which runs through the letter, in a later paragraph Philip employs the technique of casting a volley of scriptural missiles at the reader in rapid succession. He introduces the passage by commenting that:

He does not show himself to be pleasing to God unless he, as far as is in him, does not offend his neighbour. But he who ... would be eager to meet with his neighbours through peace, is pleasing to God, and is approved by men.¹⁷

In supporting this with a series of eight biblical quotations, Philip reinforces a statement which to any man of God would not normally require reinforcement. In reminding his reader of the biblical imperative, he again suggests that Bernard’s behaviour is such that he has moved away from what Scripture expects of him.

It is noticeable that of the eight quotations used here, seven are from the letters of St. Paul. Indeed, Philip’s use of the Pauline epistles in this letter can itself be seen as a theme of the work. Of the thirty biblical quotations employed in it, seventeen are taken from the Pauline epistles, in comparison with one out of the thirty-three biblical quotations used in his letter to Bishop Bartholomew, and one out of the twenty-three used in the letter to Pope Eugenius. None are used in his second letter to St. Bernard, but it is only about half as long. In this first letter as a whole St. Paul is featured both as a reprimand and an example to Bernard. In this manner he demonstrates that St. Paul possessed an awareness of the effect that his behaviour would have on others, and so behaved accordingly:

He [Paul] does not want to give the opportunity to those who love the opportunity for offending, who assume the opportunity for themselves from the deeds of greater men ... “But what I do, that I will do, that I may cut off occasion from those who desire occasion.”¹⁸

¹⁷ col. 82B.

¹⁸ col. 81B-C. 2 Cor. 11:12.

This is the same concern which Philip expressed to his anonymous friend, that the misdeeds of the prelate be seen by those beneath him and taken as permission to do likewise. The echoes of St. Gregory the Great's expositions in the *Pastoral Care* could not have escaped Bernard, and would have acted as a twofold reproof, reminding him that his behaviour was contrary to the precepts of both St. Paul and the Church Fathers. And so having set forth this example of apostolic restraint, Philip proceeds in the next paragraph to tell Bernard explicitly that he ought not to receive the monk of Bonne-Espérance because of the precedent it sets:

Which evil man hearing that, whether our church wills it or not,
you receive its fugitive, would not conceive from you, or increase
when conceived, an incentive to harm in a similar fashion:
rejoicing that it might be possible to fulfil the conceived
wickedness, and glorying in this act as if seeming to be like you?¹⁹

When Philip complains of discord between the religious orders he cites St. Paul's advice about living in unity, and deprecating that "those who seem to live somewhat more religiously are found to scorn somewhat men of a lighter intention," he quotes the Apostle's stricture that one should "consider others better than yourself."²⁰ By the succeeding paragraph it becomes clear that he regards the Cistercians as one body of men who consider themselves to live more religiously than others, and that the implied rebuke is directed at them. In this way Philip employs the words of St. Paul to castigate both the Cistercian order and St. Bernard himself; comparing unfavourably this most influential religious of his day with the man many would regard as the most influential follower of Christ ever.

In these letters Philip makes a plea for monks and canons to advance together as friends; to accept that their ways are different but that as disciples of Christ they both have their roles to play. As he writes to Gregory:

Although distance of place separates them [clerics and monks]
from each other, or diversity of profession or habit makes them

¹⁹ col. 81C.

²⁰ Philipp. 2:3, col. 83B.

outwardly dissimilar: yet one spirit, one love, ought so to
ignite them, that a spiritual kindling might be found to unite the
spirits of diverse men.²¹

Although Gregory's identity is unknown, Abbot Sijen surmised that he was a young religious entering the cloister, perhaps a Premonstratensian from an abbey other than Philip's own.²² The unanimity for which Philip expresses his longing is his ideal of the relationship between the orders, but seems to him far distant from the reality. It is this same desire which motivates a contemporary author, that of the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in Ecclesia*, to write. This author was, like Philip, a regular canon, although of precisely which order is unknown. The manuscript's late medieval provenance is Liège, and although its modern editors write that it cannot on that account be proved to have been written by a canon from Liège, they are certain that he was writing in either north-eastern France or the Low Countries.²³ The "historical context" to the work which its editors describe therefore applies equally to Philip, also writing in the archdiocese of Rheims in the twelfth century, and explains equally the background to his concerns:

The diocese of Liège was a recognized centre of religious and intellectual activity at that time, and together with its neighbouring dioceses in the province of Rheims showed a degree of ferment in the life of its religious institutions hardly equalled anywhere else in Europe.²⁴

The author of the *Libellus* is acutely aware of the discord between the orders and so from the outset of his work is anxious to neither judge nor offend men of the various orders. His awareness of the sensitivity of the orders to claims of supremacy is such that he outlines to the recipient of his work the care which he has put into deciding which of all the orders he should discuss first. Although his work does not detail the arguments between orders, it is based on the premise that the differences between and within orders must be explained in order to promote an understanding and tolerance between them, which is at present absent. His aim is to "show that, though they [the

²¹ col. 66D.

²² Sijen, 'Les Oeuvres,' p. 137.

²³ G. Constable and B. Smith (eds.), *Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in Ecclesia*, (Oxford, 1972), pp. xiv-xviii.

²⁴ *Libellus*, p. xviii.

different orders] live differently, they aspire from one beginning to the one end which is Christ.”²⁵

Philip expresses similar sentiments in his letter to Gregory. He singles out no order for specific blame, but writes sorrowfully of the imperfection in their work which is occasioned by this lack of harmony. In an image familiar in his works, he writes of the workshop or the forge of the cloistered life. Brothers of all orders enter the forge together when they enter the cloister, but because they do not love each other, they do not work together in the forge, and so the work they begin is not perfectly finished.²⁶ With the emphasis on neighbourliness and brotherly love he deplores in the first letter to Bernard that some in a less strict way of life “dare” to move to a stricter one, just as much as he denounces the contrary movement.²⁷ He warns Gregory against considering his own order to be better than others, and reminds him that there are elements of good and bad in all orders. He has already been seen to defend Count Henry’s patronage of secular clerics. Like the author of the *Libellus*, he argues for acceptance, co-operation, understanding and love between the orders. Whatever the difference in merit of their chosen ways of life, no difference in severity of observance between them is sufficiently vital to merit disobedience and the abnegation of stability.

One strand of his protest against the unchristian and destructive attitude of the orders to one another stems from his knowledge that monks regard the canons regular as an inferior order, something with which he confronts Bernard:

Perhaps God has so great a love of monks? And not of clerics?
Yes, of clerics, whose one God might justify clerics even as he
does monks ...²⁸

Although his belief that the Cistercians regarded themselves as superior to other orders is based on many factors, Philip later presents Bernard with a concrete example, in connection with the case of the disobedient brother who was the cause of his letter. Bernard’s messengers, Philip says,

²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 27.

²⁶ col. 67D.

²⁷ col. 83B.

²⁸ col. 82D.

linger in our parts, they glory to boast in the ears of the people, that our brother, since he was made a monk, will be sent back to them, whose presence there will be glory to them, and our church will be confounded in shame.²⁹

Here is proof of an instance of the attitude of individual Cistercian monks towards another order, symptomatic of the thinking of their order as a whole. Philip uses the word “provocation” [provocatio] to describe their action, demonstrating the resentment he evidently felt at the incident. The Cistercians are not the only order to receive Philip’s strongly-expressed censure of the invidious inclination of some orders to pass judgement on others which they consider to be beneath their own standard, but they are subject to specific notice. They demonstrate a lack of sympathy towards the old Benedictines because of their less austere way of life:

The Cistercians ... who, because they take possession of the height of frugal living and dress, do not stoop down enough, so it is said, to the infirmities of others.³⁰

The author of the *Libellus* is less straightforward than Philip when it comes to the Cistercians’ self-belief, but one reading of his comments on their order may support Philip’s point. He devotes a section of his work to: “Monks who remove themselves far from men, such as Cistercians and the like,” and is unstinting in his praise for their way of life. His final sentence of the chapter, however, is a hope that as they are so holy, they will remain humble, and in expressing this hope he uses language similar to Philip’s, that of the Cistercians as looking down on others from a lofty height:

They will take care, we believe, since they are God’s servants, not to look down on other orders of men in the church, even though they are less strong, not think themselves higher, but will feel united with the humble.³¹

Using the future tense in the indicative mood [“observabunt”] he admits of no doubt that this is how they will behave, in keeping with the non-judgemental tone of his

²⁹ col. 84C.

³⁰ col. 83D.

³¹ *Libellus*, p. 55.

work, but given the background to the work, it is likely that this is more in the nature of a polite rebuke.

Roby has discussed comprehensively Philip's endeavours to prove to Bernard that the canons regular could not possibly be seen as inferior to monks because St. Augustine's way of life was one "which even monastic authors saw as the historical and spiritual foundation of monasticism."³² However, Philip's concerns about the state of the relations between orders extend beyond this defence of his own order in the face of the monastic prejudice against canons, to take into account all facets of the various orders' attitudes towards one another. In letters to both Bernard and Gregory he writes that the old Benedictine monks deride those who live more strictly for the novelty of their life.³³ Their complaint about the Cistercians is attributed to their fear that the new monks' popularity causes the old to be "diminished in reputation and number."³⁴ So long as brothers of any order disobey the commands of Jesus by failing to love one another, indeed by openly displaying animosity towards one another, they cannot fulfil their commitment to the full religious life and thus to God. In his letter to Bernard, Philip uses the vocabulary of "religio" when expressing his wish that they act in harmony, and of their "ordines" when discussing what divides them. He feels that on a more basic level, enmity between orders can be attributed to baser motives of greed:

The one strives to seize either the lands or the spirit of another, narrowing the boundaries of the other in order to widen more greedily its own, commending its own institutions to detract from the reputation or the name of the other: diminishing those things, which belong to the other, to arrogate rather more to itself.³⁵

There is greed, then, for many things – not just for land and money, but also for greater numbers of recruits and for a more renowned reputation. They even strive to seize the "animus" of other orders, striking at their very being. Considering the accusations and counter-accusations of the orders against each other, Philip writes in condemnation of the pride which religious have in their own order and its reputation.

³² Roby, 'Philip of Harvengt's Contribution,' p. 76.

³³ For their "superfluous inventions" in the letter to Gregory (col. 68A) and for their "austere novelty" in the letter to Bernard (col. 83C).

³⁴ col. 83C.

³⁵ *ibid.*

It is this pride to which the author of the *Libellus* also refers when in the chapter on “monks who live close to men, such as the Cluniacs and the like” he warns that praising one’s own order does not build it up, but simply derogates from another’s. It is this form of attack on another order of which Philip accuses the Cistercian monks when he makes his complaint to St. Bernard. The specific element of religious living of which the author of the *Libellus* speaks is the variation between orders in their rules concerning fasting:

I have heard someone, and (except that it is shameful to say so) several people swollen with empty bombast, slandering the customs of another church and saying: “What kind of rule is that, where there is so much eating and so little fasting ...?” They think they speak in praise of their own church and order, but see what it leads them to. First they are led to the mountain and, as I might say, the very peak of pride ...³⁶

It is perhaps this disaffection with a concern he has observed amongst religious for their appearance of sanctity and for primacy of place that leads to Philip’s warning to Gregory not to put faith in a man because of the height of his ecclesiastical rank. In his letter to the young brother, Philip encourages Gregory to persist in the labour he has begun, and makes general points which he hopes will lead Gregory to a holier life in the cloister. He should concentrate not on the external trappings of his religious profession, but on his inner life. He should recognise that even bad men have some good in them, and that good men too are capable of bad qualities. Furthermore, simply because a man keeps company with the just, this does not automatically make him just too, unless he behaves as they do. In this way Philip admonishes Gregory not to fall into the trap of making generalisations about men in the various orders. A similar point is the focus of the *Libellus*, the author of which is most concerned that it be recognised that within the broad categories of “monk” and “canon” lie a variety of observances and practices, each of which have their own merits and are loved by God for them. In essentially telling Gregory to keep an open mind, or heart, Philip asserts that very often those who obtain higher ecclesiastical dignities are of inferior merit, and sometimes those of an inferior order are of higher merit. This point is one of some concern to Philip, and as has already been seen, was one he also made in his letter to Count Henry of Champagne. It is interesting that “very often” [plerumque] he who

³⁶ *Libellus*, p. 35.

obtains higher rank in the church is of lesser merit, and only “sometimes” [nonnunquam] one of lower rank is of greater merit. Evidently those who are of great merit are rare. He is also anxious in his letter to Gregory to ensure that the young brother does not try to assert his own superiority over other orders. In letters to both Bernard and Gregory, Philip writes of those who engage in a less strict form of the religious life as being of a “lighter” or a “softer” intention [levioris / lenioris propositi]. In keeping with his warning to Gregory not to judge a man’s inner spirituality by his outer dress, and not to assume that just because a man is generally good, his every action is good, Philip is also wary of generalising about so-called harsher and softer orders. By saying that those with claims to greater sanctity of living “seem to live somewhat more religiously,” or “seem to themselves to be employed in something more maturely and strictly”³⁷ he is careful to be circumspect about their assertion.

In Philip’s letters to both Gregory and Bernard the disunity between orders is symbolised by the metaphor of biting and consuming. In a powerful juxtaposition he writes to Gregory that:

Although they ought to be cherished in a holy kiss, in a mutual embrace, biting and consuming each other they can hardly be sustained by one another.³⁸

The image is one of uncontained rage and violence, and expresses the sorrow bordering on horror which he feels at a situation which is so altered from the ideal. In the letter to Bernard the image of biting is used for the same purpose, but is supported by biblical quotations from both the Old and New Testaments. The prophet Isaiah foresees God’s judgement on the people of Israel, in which they eat each other, and Habakkuk complains to the Lord that the wicked are allowed to consume those who are more just. St. Paul warns that:

If you bite and devour one another, watch lest you be eaten by one another.³⁹

³⁷ cols 83B and 68A.

³⁸ col. 67D.

³⁹ Gal. 5:15, col. 84A.

Following these citations, Philip expresses his wish to St. Bernard that “bites of such a kind were in no wise found in our order and yours,” again using St. Paul’s words as a warning that the situation exists in defiance of scriptural precepts.⁴⁰

At the end of his first letter to St. Bernard, Philip asks for a reply giving advice to himself and his brothers. Roby describes it as “a few words of conciliation.”⁴¹ Whilst this does, as Roby says, follow epistolary convention, the subject matter is nonetheless a little surprising in that it does not reiterate the plea for the return of the brother with which the letter began. Rather than make a final request concerning the deserter he instead asks for advice on the topic which the course of the letter had taken him to: the discord between orders. He returns to his humble tone as would be expected, but it may be questioned how much of real humility it contains. He writes in this final paragraph that as he does not know “whence this division among brothers came,” it would be a great favour to him if Bernard could instruct him on this. He presents this in terms of Bernard being admitted to the secrets of God to which Philip does not have access, yet given that in much of the body of the letter he has accused the Cistercians of fomenting this discord, this request seems barbed. It may be couched in terms of great humility, but in crediting Bernard with knowledge of the origins of disunity, and his own order with ignorance of it, is in fact little to Bernard’s credit:

As I might confess truly, you would have conferred no little favour if you would have spoken to me on this, indeed if you would say anything to us ignorant men of how it is that many may be found to agree in serving God, and yet dissent thus from each other.⁴²

With the canons regular in this letter portrayed as the victims of the Cistercians’ power and “provocation,” this last request is not so much to ask his advice on the discord as to demonstrate that it lies in his power to end it. In this way Philip does return to the essential point with which his letter had begun, when he used the image of his church as a mother who could not understand why Abbot Bernard had hurt her so.

⁴⁰ col. 84A.

⁴¹ Roby, ‘Philip of Harvengt’s Contribution,’ p.77.

⁴² col. 85B.

Bernard did not reply to Philip's letter, but there are several of Bernard's surviving letters which show the manner in which he answered angry letters from abbots whose monks had deserted their vows of obedience and joined the Cistercians. The letter to Abbot Hugh of Prémontré, responding to Hugh's letter of complaint to Bernard, amongst other allegations answers accusations about his actions in receiving Premonstratensian deserters.⁴³ It is generally believed that the runaway brother in this letter, Robert, is the same man about whom Philip wrote. Indeed, Berlière was so certain of it that he informed his readers that the brother's name was Robert without ever indicating that it could be questioned, and Delhayé followed his example.⁴⁴ It is a most plausible suggestion, although of course cannot be proved absolutely in the absence of Hugh's letter and of the naming in Bernard's letter of the monastery from which Robert had fled. From Bernard's letter, as Roby says, we can "reconstruct [Hugh's letter] almost in its entirety."⁴⁵ A close comparison of it and Philip's letter shows discrepancies between the sequences of events reported in them. These problems are based on two points which Bernard makes about Robert's case:

Now listen, since you wish to hear it again, how at length I received brother Robert. The lord Pope commanded it, having certainly been asked by him and his friends. He said that your assent and that of his abbot had been granted in answer to his prayer, so that no one might say that he wrested it from you by a command.⁴⁶

It is these two questions – of the Pope's involvement, and of who told Bernard that the brother had his abbot's consent – which engage Philip. On both points, his statements flatly contradict those of Bernard quoted above. He denies absolutely that the Pope commanded Bernard to receive the brother, recording instead how the Pope summoned the abbot of Bonne-Espérance to him and asked that he give the brother licence to go to the Cistercians. Odo refused, and the Pope did not press the issue, for which Philip naturally praises him. Regarding who told Bernard that the brother had

⁴³ St. Bernard *Opera*, 8, ep. 253, pp. 149-155.

⁴⁴ Berlière, *RB* 9, p. 70; Delhayé, 'Saint Bernard et Philippe de Harveng,' pp. 132-3.

⁴⁵ Roby, 'Philip of Harveng's Contribution,' p.78.

⁴⁶ St. Bernard, *Opera*, 8, ep. 253, p. 151. B. Scott James translates this as: "The lord Pope, after he had been asked by him and his friends, commanded me to receive him. Brother Robert said that the consent of yourself and of his abbot had been granted in answer to his requests and had not wrung from you by a papal command."

his abbot's consent to leave, Philip writes that he has heard Bernard's claim that "someone" [quemdam] told him the abbots of both Prémontré and Bonne-Espérance had given the brother licence, but that this person had been lying. That "someone" is said to be a messenger who claimed to have been sent by the abbots of Prémontré, Laon, Braine and Steinfeld, rather than the brother himself. He also writes that these abbots had in Bernard's presence denied giving the brother permission or sending the messenger. Why the abbots of the last three monasteries should have been involved is unclear. Nowhere in Bernard's letter is such a face to face meeting referred to. One further discrepancy is Bernard's reference to a Premonstratensian abbot who "had been appointed by the Pope to look into this matter."⁴⁷

These different versions of events might suggest that what is being referred to in these two letters is in fact not the same case, but two separate ones. Bernard does not mention the name of the house from which the Premonstratensian brother fled, and his letter collection shows that Robert was by no means the only brother to leave his order and go to Clairvaux. Bernard's letter to Hugh names another, Fremund, whom he insists came to him with his abbot's consent from an unnamed Premonstratensian abbey, although he has still been censured by Hugh for receiving him. However, it seems too great a coincidence that Bernard should be referring to a different case of a Premonstratensian who was argued over before the Pope, and that both letters should refer to Bernard's claim that the Pope gave his consent to him receiving the brother. Delhayé was in no doubt about how to account for the discrepancies between Philip and Bernard's accounts of the case, writing that as it was impossible to reconcile the two different accounts, Bernard must be accused of twisting the truth to suit his own ends.⁴⁸ It is difficult to escape this conclusion, particularly when the consequences of the disagreement are considered, for Philip must have had good reason to tangle with a man whom he knew to be so powerful. It is interesting in this context to note letters 32 to 34 in Leclercq and Rochais' edition of Bernard's letters, a sequence of epistles on the subject of one brother Drogo, who left a Benedictine house in Rheims to join the Cistercians (although at Pontigny, not Clairvaux).⁴⁹ The first letter commiserates with the abbot of Drogo's house, admitting

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Delhayé, 'St. Bernard de Clairvaux et Philippe de Harveng,' pp. 133-134.

⁴⁹ St. Bernard, *Opera*, 7, eps. 32-34, pp. 86-91.

that Bernard himself would not have received Drogo, but advising him to wait patiently and hope that Drogo decides to return to him, accepting it as God's will if he does not. Bernard has, he says, "done what I could by immediately, as you know, writing to the abbot who received him."⁵⁰ In the second letter, he writes to the abbot of Pontigny clarifying a previous letter he had sent him about Drogo – the letter referred to in the previous quotation. In essence, he had written that letter because he had promised Drogo's abbot and the archbishop of Rheims that he would, but what he had hoped the abbot of Pontigny would understand by it was that he wanted him to know there would be "consequences" for accepting the monk, but nonetheless he wanted him to keep him. The third letter is to Drogo himself, praising him for having left the Benedictines, warning him that he would be criticised because of it, but urging him to stand firm. Bernard's manner of dealing with the various parties in this case of *transitus* are seen clearly here, where they cannot be in the case of Robert because Hugh of Fosses' letter is not extant. It shows all the more clearly the challenge with which Philip would have been faced.

Given the contradictions in the two accounts of the case of the brother of Bonne-Espérance, it is inevitable that accusations of lying are never far from the surface. Yet neither quite accuses the other directly of lying. As Roby says:

Philip ... was careful to suggest that Bernard had been misinformed; it would never do to suggest that Bernard was a liar.⁵¹

A usual tactic between them is that in a rather complicated tacit code of conduct, each accuses the other of accusing a third party of lying. The writer is in no doubt about the complete truthfulness of this third party, and so this is a more subtle means of attacking the trustworthiness of the third party's accuser.

Philip writes to Bernard that:

The abbots of Prémontré, Laon, Braine and Steinfeld denied this, as you know, in an oral statement in your presence ... and their truthfulness ought, as may be seen, to provide sufficient testimony.⁵²

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, ep. 32, p. 86.

⁵¹ Roby, 'Philip of Harvengt's Contribution,' p. 75.

⁵² col. 79B.

To accuse Bernard of casting doubt on the veracity of these four abbots' statements is to cast him in a very bad light, but Bernard's own accusation that Abbot Hugh distrusted the word of the Pope himself is an even worse reflection on Abbot Hugh. Bernard is no doubt expanding somewhat spitefully whatever Hugh's original remark was when he says that:

If it pleases you to accuse the Most High and Holy Pontiff
of falsehood, forgive us, if we consider it wickedness
not to believe such sanctity or obey such majesty.⁵³

but the effect is a similar yet stronger one to that of Philip's above. Who could be less open to accusations of falsehood than the Pope? Maligning the person to whom one is writing is done in a circumlocutory but nonetheless damaging way, in which the recipient of the letter can be in no doubt of what is being implied.

Underlying Philip's concern in the case of the disobedient brother is his emphasis on the paramount importance of the impartial fairness of the Pope, and on the absolute adherence to papal pronouncements such as Pope Innocent's mandate concerning the movement between orders. With Bernard claiming that the Pope had assented to him receiving the brother, and Philip claiming that while Eugenius had teetered on the brink of doing so he had not in the end forced Odo's submission, what emerges is a picture of Philip seeing Eugenius in thrall to Bernard, but for once not granting his request. Not only did Bernard not adhere to Innocent's mandate (claiming initially not to have known of it, and then now having 'learned' of it, saying he would abide by it next time), he also tried to exert as much power over Eugenius as possible. Philip is unambiguous on the last point:

Since you were worthy to find favour with him [Eugenius], he
seems to consent to your desire or the desire of your men not by
commanding, but by suffering [non jubendo, sed patiendo].⁵⁴

As on this occasion Eugenius had not conformed to Bernard's wishes, Bernard simply claimed that he had done. In this context, Philip's exclamations against the misuse of

⁵³ St. Bernard, *Opera*, 8, ep. 253, p. 151.

⁵⁴ col. 81A.

power are all the more poignant as the reader can sense his frustration, and a feeling that with Bernard using the Pope for his own ends he is in some way corrupting the ideal of the institution of the papacy.

At some point after Philip sent this letter to St. Bernard accusations were made against him by some of the brethren of his monastery, the eventual result of which was that he was persuaded the only option left open to him was to go into exile. Sijen calculated backwards from Pope Eugenius' death in July 1153, with Philip's letter to him being written a little after his return from a two-year exile, his second letter to Bernard being written during that exile, and the first three years before the second (but after Eugenius' stay in Paris in mid-1147), to work out that the exile must have begun in 1150 or 1151.⁵⁵ To Bartholomew from exile he writes thanking him for his words of comfort, seeking solace, and likening his sufferings at length with those of famous biblical figures. To Bernard he asks that the abbot of Clairvaux revise his bad opinion of him, which Philip attributes to Bernard having given uncritical credence to dishonest men. The letter to Pope Eugenius explains Philip's version of these events, not necessarily asking for some sort of redress against those who thus persecuted him, but certainly expressing a desire to ensure that the Pope knows the truth of what happened.

The preservation of Philip's letter to Bartholomew ensures that his condemnation of those who condemned him reaches not only the bishop, but also posterity. He is more outspoken to Bartholomew, his friend, in this condemnation than to the Pope. In his letter to Bartholomew the central theme is that of the abuse of power. Those who believed the monk who spread insidious rumours about Philip showed grave error of judgement, but those who actually condemned him in council were guilty of graver sin. In judging Philip these greater men have ignored biblical precepts and have shown partiality against him because of his insignificant status. Their actions are contrary even to the Law of Moses:

And since the law says through Moses: "You should not judge a man with partiality," so you should hear the great man as the small one equally ... those men rejected the written rule of justice

⁵⁵ Sijen, 'Sa Biographie,' p. 46.

in me or for me [in me vel pro me], and showing partiality, they refused to hear my little self.⁵⁶

Their actions are motivated not by truth, but power, and Philip opposes “truth” or “justice” and “power” on a number of occasions in letters on his troubles. It is useful to read the letter to Bartholomew and the second letter to Bernard together on this topic, as censure which is aimed at the unnamed group of persecutors in the letter to the former is sometimes aimed at Bernard specifically in the letter to him. In the letter to Pope Eugenius, Bernard is specified as one of the men who acted against Philip, and the language used in the letters to Bernard and Bartholomew reinforces this. As Moses’ support of the lowly man is ignored by the group of persecutors, so the same law is ignored by Bernard:

“You should listen,” says Moses, “to the small man as to the great, because it is the Lord’s judgement.” But yet when a certain one of your brothers at Clairvaux would have spoken the truth about us to you, and a more powerful person spoke in opposition to him, your paternity rather inclined a credulous ear to him.⁵⁷

In both Philip’s letters to St. Bernard, Bernard is the persecutor, in the first instance of Philip’s house and in the second of him personally. Whilst in reality Bernard’s power and Philip’s powerlessness were to the material detriment of the latter, rhetorically they could be of some advantage. As demonstrated by the quotation above, there are senses in which, when it comes to making his case, Philip’s lowliness was his greatest weapon.

In his letter to Bartholomew, Philip likens his situation to that of a number of famously persecuted biblical figures. Necessarily, this equates his own persecutors – amongst whom he numbered Bernard and the archbishop of Rheims – with those biblical persecutors. Thus when he draws a parallel between his story and that of Susannah and the elders, when he is “led out like Susannah to the disgrace of grave infamy,”⁵⁸ his persecutors must be like the elders, their power meant that their false word was believed:

⁵⁶ col. 72D-73A; Deut. 16:19.

⁵⁷ col. 86B.

⁵⁸ col. 73A.

Not truth, but accepted power caused those men to be heard,
there was no one who refuted anything the testimony of those
men asserted.⁵⁹

This simile is immediately followed by another from the Old Testament when he compares his persecution to that faced by Joseph when he was wrongly imprisoned in Egypt due to Potiphar's wife's false accusations. The image is taken further when he discourses on the circumstance of Joseph having been sold into slavery by his brothers in the first place. Philip regards himself in this letter as having been betrayed by superiors of his own kind, just as Joseph's betrayal by his older brothers shows that:

In this the height of wickedness is perfected, that the lesser
brother [minor frater] may be destroyed by the command of
the greater [majoris].⁶⁰

In a more complex metaphor, Philip compares his situation with that of St. Paul, and his persecutors with the men of Jerusalem. St. Paul, Philip emphasizes, was persecuted by his own people – “Saul, since he afterwards became Paul, excited his own race against him, and became an enemy speaking the truth.”⁶¹ It is this sense of betrayal by a council of the great men of his own order which draws Philip to St. Paul in this letter, and is dwelt on throughout the epistle. Philip draws on the episode in Acts when St. Paul is arrested in Jerusalem, whence he is taken to Caesarea. Asked if he would go back to Jerusalem to stand trial before the Jews, Paul refuses and appeals instead to Caesar. Philip explains Paul's decision in passionate terms in a passage in which it becomes clear that he considers the image an apt one to apply to his own situation. Jerusalem – where “the princes of your [Paul's] race live” – ought to be the seat of justice, law and mercy. But it is not:

Paul does not want to go up to Jerusalem that he may be judged
there, lest when he ought to be judged, rather he might be stoned,
since the Scribes, the Pharisees, the princes of the priests, the
chief people, had been more prompt to stone than to judge rightly.⁶²

⁵⁹ col. 73B.

⁶⁰ col. 74A.

⁶¹ col. 71D.

⁶² col. 75B.

Stoning is an image which Philip has employed before in this letter, when he wrote of Stephen the protomartyr being stoned to death, emphasizing that this was done by men of his own race. He would use it again in the letter to the Pope written after his exile, referring to those persecuting him as ones who threw stones.⁶³ Jerusalem ought to be the place where Paul finds justice among great men of his own people, but instead it is where they are most likely to turn against him and kill him. If a brother turning against his brother is to be condemned, says Philip, is not a city which turns against its own citizen not to be all the more censured? The Premonstratensians are to Philip what Jerusalem was to Paul. Where he should have received protection he found he was attacked, and his bitterness in this letter is palpable. In accordance with his concern about the misuse of power, he acknowledges the power of his oppressors (as he terms them) by giving them the appellation of “princes,” although once he refers to “*mei seniores*.”⁶⁴ “Princes” can mean simply “chief men,” as it does in Philip’s *Life of St. Landelin* when he writes of the “*duces et principes*” of the clerics, but the concentration of the vocabulary of “*principes*” in this letter and in the letter to Pope Eugenius puts the emphasis on their power. He writes that he bears much unjustly from “the princes of the people,” and that he was judged by the “gathered princes.”⁶⁵ Terming these men the “*principes populi*” gives a strong impression that they were secular princes, but the rest of the letter does not bear this out. In his letter to Pope Eugenius the men who acted against him are also referred to as princes, although not of the people. Rather they are usually simply “the princes” or “our princes,” and once “our princes of priests.” The image used is again of worldly power, however, when he writes of Bonne-Espérance oppressed by “the powerful men and princes of our church,” and says that he and seven others were exiled because they “were not acceptable enough for the majesty of princes.”⁶⁶ In this letter the term “*majores*” is also applied to those above Philip in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but does not carry the same threatening overtones.

In writing to the Pope and to Bartholomew on the subject of those who condemned him, Philip’s language and emphases are somewhat different. He does not shrink from saying to Bartholomew that men in the assembly in which he was

⁶³ col. 92C.

⁶⁴ col. 75C.

⁶⁵ cols. 72A and 73A.

⁶⁶ cols. 94A and 73D.

condemned were motivated by personal animosity and that the assembly was one in which only the powerful and rich had a voice. This is an assembly in which, he says, “hardly anyone is heard, unless he is marked by an equal or more powerful height of name.”⁶⁷ These are not accusations which he repeats directly to the Pope. In that letter he dwells on the nature of the brother who instigated the rumours about him, and describes how the rumours spread and were believed even by some bishops and abbots. Unnamed “princes” also came to believe these rumours and pushed for his exile. He seems to suggest some sort of conspiracy of these “princes” when he writes that in his exile they commanded that he be watched:

fearing lest I might do what I knew would have weakened their plan,
and lest anyone coming to me might say something useful to me.⁶⁸

In both letters he is angry about the treatment received at the hands of the council – especially as he was not present at it – but only in that to Bartholomew does he refer to members of the council having other reasons to wish him harm:

certain men not unmindful of an old anger having reached the
preferred time produced me, living in retirement, so far unknown
to many present there. They forced me to be named in the sight
of all, and to be strung up before the sun to be known to all,
indeed to be shown as notorious.⁶⁹

Bartholomew had already written to Philip: the letter we have from Philip is his reply to it. It should follow that Bartholomew knew of the role of this one brother in starting the rumours about Philip, but by this stage in their correspondence he is referred to no more. The letter to Bartholomew was written during the exile, the letter to the Pope afterwards, and yet this individual has great prominence in the later letter and not in the earlier. It is possible that Philip did not learn of his involvement until later. However it is more probable that Philip gives him prominence in his letter to the Pope and does not mention this group of men who bore “an old anger” towards him for reasons of discretion. Unfortunately we do not know who they were or what their reason for this old anger was.

⁶⁷ col. 75D.

⁶⁸ col. 95B.

⁶⁹ col. 76A.

In Philip's letter to the Pope, the devil incites the rumours spread about him. Although in his second letter to St. Bernard Philip writes of the "inimical man" who instigated these rumours, nowhere other than in the letter to Eugenius does he dwell on the diabolical impetus of his defamation. By declaring that the devil put it into the mind of his accuser to act thus, he effectively puts himself in the tradition of the saints whom the devil attacked because he envied their sanctity. He gives as a reason for this envy his own humility in his lack of ambition to a higher office than that of prior:

I was content thus (as I would confess) with the honour and burden of the priorate taken up among the brothers, so that I may not have been driven to strive after the heights of a greater prelacy ... I would have preferred to keep diligence cherished in a quiet hiding place than exhibited in the tumultuous occupations of public affairs. Doubtless this our wicked enemy of all men sees and envies this.⁷⁰

In this way not only are the rumours about him false, they are the result of his goodness, and so he hopes to find more favour with the Pope. Philip has two different approaches in the one letter to the manner in which the devil acted through the monk. Initially he says that the devil ("the serpent") lighted upon the monk as a suitable vehicle for his intentions. The monk's weakness, which makes him vulnerable to the devil's approaches, is exacerbated by his insincere outward expressions of piety:

When a man was found whom he [the devil] believed to be useful to him, whom the outward appearance of religion made pale, he formed him in his behaviour and in his intention and ordained him to carry out that first and special thing he had determined.⁷¹

Philip is keen when writing to the Pope not to be perceived as vengeful or vindictive. The "princes" who were so determined to act on these rumours and have him incarcerated and spied on are the only ones apart from the monk whom he does not excuse in any way. Thus he says that most men who believed the monk had no wicked intention, but rather were deceived, as such is human nature. Similarly when writing to St. Bernard he claims to believe that Bernard was hasty in his condemnation rather than malicious. It is doubtful that such magnanimity was

⁷⁰ cols. 89D-90A.

⁷¹ col. 90C.

appeasing to Bernard. It seems to be this attempt not to appear bitter which leads him to suggest his second hypothesis concerning the devil's involvement in the monk's actions:

I do not presume to assert that the perpetrator of the lie is a religious, lest I should offend religious ... if it was not that man, it was at least like that man. For the evil one, "Satan, transfigures into an angel of light," in such a way that he might not enlighten those whom he shone down on, but set them on fire. It does not jar with faith if it be said that he transforms into a man ...⁷²

The devil, as Jeffrey Burton Russell tells us, "can disguise himself in any form he pleases," and Philip suggests that when the devil appeared to Christ in the wilderness it was in human form.⁷³ Examples of the devil disguising himself as a recognised individual are harder to find than those of him transforming himself into an animal or a stranger. Two of Walter Map's numerous tales in his *De Nugis Curialium* tell of demons who make such transformations into known persons, but in both cases it is a demon rather than the devil himself who performs the trickery.⁷⁴ Indeed in one of the stories the apparition who presents himself explains, in an attempt to win the man over:

Now I am one of those exiles from heaven who, without abetting or consenting to the crime of Lucifer, were foolishly and unthinkingly carried away in the train of his accomplices.⁷⁵

The first of Philip's two insinuations about the devil's influence on the monk is couched in far more certain terms than the second, which has been offered as a palliative to any who may be offended by his first assertion. Unlike in one of Walter Map's stories, the living person is not brought into the presence of the diabolic imitation to prove the deception. In either case, Philip is determined to show that the instigation of his persecution was the devil's, who "with subtle artifice composed a deceptive verisimilitude of truth."⁷⁶

⁷² col. 91A-B.

⁷³ J. Burton Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Cornell, 1984), p. 211; col. 91B.

⁷⁴ Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, pp. 161-3 and 315-329.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 321

⁷⁶ col. 90B.

In his letter to the Pope, Philip employs a different genre of biblical similes to those which feature in the letter to Bartholomew. Where in the latter the images showed him as victim in relation to his persecutors, in the former they show him as the victim whom the Pope rescues. They are reserved for the final paragraph of his letter to the Pope as the clinching argument for his plea for aid. So here he is the man, “half-dead, abandoned,” whom the good Samaritan in the person of the Pope can restore to life, and in the penultimate sentence of the letter, Lazarus whom only the Pope can raise from the dead.⁷⁷ Thus he appeals not only to the Pope’s compassion but also to his greatness. It is in this that the purpose of the letter is revealed as not only his desire to give an accurate account of what happened in order to clear his name fully, but also to enlist the pontiff’s aid in restoring his reputation. He asks for no redress, but his repetition of the reluctance of the council which acquitted him to “offend their equals and superiors” shows that he condemns what he views as their timidity.⁷⁸ He believes the manner of his restoration to be an unequal compensation for the disgrace of his original condemnation.

Philip also uses the phrase “half-dead abandoned man” to describe himself in his second letter to Bernard, although it would be inappropriate in the circumstances to suggest that Bernard play the role of the good Samaritan.⁷⁹ Rather he suggests more equivocally that “if you did not wish to harm him [i.e. Philip himself] and do not wish to give him aid, you deign at least to instruct his ignorance.”⁸⁰ Once again Philip has undertaken to reprove Bernard in a letter and used as a more fittingly humble cover for his presumption a request for instruction from the abbot. He writes here that he is a half-dead abandoned man “whom the multitude of the powerful raged to wound so grievously,” with both author and recipient fully aware that Bernard is one of the multitude referred to. He is one of the “priests and Levites” of whom Philip is the metaphorical victim in his letter to the Pope. In ending the letter which began with the topic of his defamation with a request that Bernard instruct him on the disharmony between the orders Philip makes it clear that he regards the latter as a cause of the former. The request has layers of implied meaning. The final sentence may be regarded as ambivalent. Having written in the letter of the ungodliness of prejudice

⁷⁷ col. 97C.

⁷⁸ cols. 96B and 97A.

⁷⁹ col. 87A “relictus seminecis.”

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

against the truth when it is spoken by a poor man, he concludes it by saying that he hopes for Bernard's reply, unless:

because you know that I am filthy in the worms of poverty
[paupertatis] and in a dung-pit, you scorn to respond to one
filthy and breeding worms. Farewell.⁸¹

Philip's humility is thus once again a mask for his condemnation of the man who has been instrumental in much of the troubles that have beset his order and himself.

There are many specifics with which Philip does not deal, such as the particulars of the accusations made against him, but through the medium of these letters he nonetheless defends his reputation. Using language and imagery resonant of power and humility, oppression and subjection, Philip ensures that posterity as well as contemporaries understand the balance of the various relationships under discussion, be they of himself and his superiors, or the Cistercians and Premonstratensians. All the letters deal with broader concerns than Philip's immediate circumstances. Their preoccupations are with power and its misuse; with the injustice which the poor man can suffer at the hands of the great; with the diminution of the ideals of Christian unity and love. His personal experiences are mirrored by the situation he sees around him where rivalry and animosity take the place of brotherhood and forgiveness, and his own trials are seen as symptomatic of a greater problem. Thus, both of his letters to Bernard begin with a local and specific issue but end with a discussion of the greater issues of disharmony which lie behind it. At the heart of much of what Philip has cause to lament is the absence of an adherence to Christian precepts, a falling away from God. So it is that much of the imagery in these letters is designed to remind the reader of what is owed to God, and of the example of St. Paul which ought to be followed. This serves not only as advice to some, but as a reprimand to others. The figure of St. Bernard is never far from the centre of Philip's concerns, yet in the greatest trouble of Philip's life it is his own order which fails him. A variety of emotions lie beneath the surface of these letters, of sadness and anger behind the careful words. The preservation of these powerfully written, sometimes moving, letters bears witness to an aspect of reformed monasticism in this period which

⁸¹ col. 88C.

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brought it in one respect a long way from the ideal of the common apostolic life which men like Philip held dear.

Friendship in the Letters of Philip of Harvengt

Although the theme of friendship is neither so potently expressed nor so frequently invoked in the letters of Philip of Harvengt as in the collections of contemporaries such as Peter of Celle, or of the early Church Fathers such as St. Jerome, it is nonetheless an element of some of his letters which is worthy of investigation. There are, for example, aspects of a letter to Richer which echo Cicero, when he wrote in the *De Amicitia* that one must love virtue in a man before one makes him a friend.¹ Philip's declaration in the same letter that never having met Richer in person he sees in him not the old man, but the fine mind, is also reminiscent of St. Augustine's sermon 385 on the "amor gratuitus" of friendship. In this letter to Richer and in other small examples Philip uses the language of love in a way expressive of ideas of friendship. But extensive use of the specific vocabulary of friendship – of "amicitia" rather than of "diligo" or "amo" – and the use of the theme of friendship as a central focus of a letter, is a feature of only one letter, that to a friend whom he declines to name.² This is the letter, number thirteen in the collection, discussed in chapter one for its exhortations on the role of the ecclesiastical prelate.

Philip engages with the topic at length in this letter not because it is one of "pure friendship," as Adele Fiske terms letters which are written solely for the purpose of contacting a friend and expressing one's love or longing for that friend, but rather with the intention of utilising it for a further specific end.³ It is an expression of a friendship past, retained on Philip's part but not reciprocated, and there is no evidence that the letter formed part of an ongoing correspondence. This letter will form the basis of an investigation of Philip's use of the language of friendship, but will be considered alongside his other letters. How Philip used this language, for what purpose, and to whom will also be discussed. The form of the imagery used will be examined in detail, and his use of the language of friendship compared with that of other authors.

¹ cols. 157A-159D.

² cols. 98A-119B.

³ A. Fiske, Friends and Friendship in the Monastic Tradition (Cidoc Cuaderno 51; Cuernavaca, Mexico, 1970), p. 4/1.

One function of Philip's use of the language of friendship in this letter is as a preliminary to offering advice on the role of the prelate to this friend of his childhood. He expects it to be seen by a wider audience – expressly stating that it is for this reason he names neither the recipient nor himself – and uses a long-standing friendship to justify his presumption in advising this great man. His consideration of their friendship, however, occupies six columns in the *Patrologia Latina*, almost one third of the letter, which even taking into account Philip's notorious prolixity is more than a preamble. Although his extended dwelling on their friendship is a form of persuasion to encourage this man to read Philip's warning, that their friendship has disintegrated to the point where such persuasion is necessary is a source of great regret to Philip, and leads him to make some very pointed comments. In all his letters to high-ranking men, Philip acknowledges humbly the great weight of affairs pressing on them which could lead them to cast his writing aside unread, and begs that despite this they find time to read it. Yet when he makes a similar remark in this letter, it is cast as a rebuke, with him imagining the new bishop so overwhelmed by a great crowd of new 'friends' drawn by his power that he has no time to give to a heartfelt letter from an old friend. The contrast between old and new friends is a concern of Philip's in this letter. The context of Philip's concern with friendship here, not as a theoretical but as a live issue, makes the examination of his use of the ideals and imagery of friendship in the letter especially interesting.

Philip implies that he does not believe his friend to be spiritually strong enough to fulfil the duty he now has for the spiritual welfare of his flock. His initial anxiety for his friend lay in the friend's decision as they finished their schooling not to enter into the monastic life, and this separation seems to have initiated the disintegration of their friendship. He envisages his friend remaining outside the abbey walls, exposed to all the dangers of the world. To portray these dangers he uses a pagan image, perhaps in keeping with these worldly perils:

The deadly sweetness of the Sirens kept you in the dangerous sea
of this world.⁴

⁴ col. 100B.

There is a sense in which Philip regarded his friend's unwillingness to enter the cloister as a failure. The early references to the virtue and probity of character which drew him to his friend when they were boys explain Philip's disappointment that his friend did not, as Philip would have seen it, realise his potential by entering the cloister. He weeps for this, as he later weeps when his friend is elevated to the episcopate. In becoming a bishop, the exposure to these dangers is intensified, as exemplified by the appearance of new friends seeking a connection with a powerful man. In lamenting the promotion he remarks once again, as he has done in letters to Count Henry and the young monk Gregory, his unwillingness to assume holiness in those in power in the Church:

I feared lest, as is wont to happen, the high dignity should have besmeared your spirit, so that through this it despised the rough lowliness of religion and sanctity. For although "all power is from God," yet some people seduced by the allure of power refuse to be bent to the load of sanctity to be endured: and by as much as they obtain worthier grades in the Church, by so much they make longer digressions from sanctity.⁵

He worries that his new external cares will divert his friend from concentration on inner matters of the spirit, feeling for his friend the same concern that drove men like St. Anselm to attempt to refuse such posts. Some letters to newly elected bishops accompany their expressions of congratulation with recognition of the burdens which the administration of a see imposed. Although joyful that his great friend Gundulf has been made a bishop, and confident of his ability to navigate the difficulties that the position presents, Anselm writes that he has heard of the "labour" and "tribulation" which it has brought. He decides, on consideration, that these should be viewed as trials through which a bishop may be strengthened, so that rather than be commiserated with in his tribulation, Gundulf is "to be congratulated on account of the perfection and hope to which you are advancing through it."⁶ Unlike Anselm, Philip seems completely unable to believe that his friend is capable of surviving his new position unscathed. At the end of his discourse he is uncompromising in his warning about what will happen if his friend does not approach his position in the right spirit:

⁵ col. 102B.

⁶ St. Anselm, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia* ed. F. S. Schmitt (6 vols; Edinburgh, 1946-61), 3, ep. 78, pp. 200-1.

Solomon says: "When the wicked reign, men are ruined."
And again: "When the wicked shall bear rule, the people shall
mourn."⁷

Nearer comparisons to Philip's epistle thirteen are letters from St. Bernard of Clairvaux to two bishops concerning whose suitability for the post he had doubts. In both cases letters written to the men before and after their consecration have survived. Bruno, who would become archbishop of Cologne, had written to Bernard confessing the faults of his past life and expressing his own doubts about whether he should accept the position, given these failings. In response Bernard considers the problem from all angles and concludes only that they must pray, and suggests he consult St. Norbert, who lives nearby. Writing again after Bruno had accepted the bishopric and been consecrated, he warns him, as Philip warns the recipient of epistle thirteen, of the penalty that will befall him if he fails in his duty. He uses, as Philip does, the scriptural quotation that "a most severe judgement shall be for them that rule."⁸ The second of these men is Arduio, bishop of Geneva, concerning Bernard's first letter to whom Bruno Scott James remarked: "It is difficult to say whether this is a letter of congratulation or a warning."⁹ In his letter to Arduio following his consecration, Bernard expresses his pleasure at Arduio's apparent change in way of life, which he likens to that of St. Paul following his conversion on the road to Damascus. Yet he nonetheless continues to remind the bishop of his past sins and admonish him to persevere on this new course. The theme of friendship is not central to these letters as it is to Philip's epistle thirteen, but it is known that Bruno was a friend of Bernard's, who ends the letter by explaining that he speaks to him thus because he is a friend:

Do I seem hard, because I do not flatter you, because I instill fear,
because for my friend I desire the beginning of wisdom? It is my
wont always to bless my friends thus, that is, by frightening them
beneficially, not flattering them falsely.¹⁰

So, in writing to his old friend, does Philip act. Philip not only speaks bluntly because his friendship permits him to, but feels he must speak bluntly because friendship

⁷ col. 118B, Prov. 28:12 and 29:2.

⁸ St. Bernard, *Opera*, 7, ep. 9, p. 50.

⁹ B. Scott James (tr.), *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux* (Stroud, 2nd edn., 1998), p. 61.

¹⁰ St. Bernard, *Opera*, 7, ep. 9, pp. 50-1.

demands it of him. Philip does not use here the biblical Proverb, “Faithful are the wounds of one who loves, but the kisses of the flatterer are deceitful,” which he uses in his epistle five when receiving another friend’s criticism of him with good grace, but it would be appropriate.¹¹ Brian McGuire writes of how St. Ambrose used this sentence in his *De Officiis* to explain that it is a duty of friendship to correct one’s friends,¹² and other twelfth-century instances of its employment may be found.¹³

Given the importance Philip places on recognition of the enormous responsibility inherent in the episcopal office, and his frequent complaint that not all those in authority are possessed of the requisite sanctity to accompany their dignity, his vehement language in this letter is unsurprising. That his friend has not maintained their friendship, one which Philip engaged in as a deep and spiritual bond, suggests an imperfection in life which is unworthy of a bishop. Hence Philip’s employment of the language of “amicitia” in this letter, and his concern with their friendship, is integral both to his duty to correct his friend, and to the bishop’s performance of his own duties.

Philip feels keenly in his letter to his anonymous friend the concept of the two friends being one soul in two bodies. James McEvoy explains that the idea had its beginnings in the classical world, as when Pythagoras, believing that all components of the universe are pieces of the divine soul, instituted his brotherhood where members lived in unity with each other as parts of the divine soul.¹⁴ He goes on to suggest that St. Luke derived his expression that the community described in Acts were of “one heart and soul”¹⁵ from the currents produced by such ideas:

Luke, the only Hellenist among the writers of the New Testament, chose deliberately to evoke hallowed Greek expressions of the unity of friends.¹⁶

¹¹ Prov. 27:6. col. 45C.

¹² B. P. McGuire, *Friendship and Community: Monastic Experience, 350-1250* (Kalamazoo, 1988), p. 43.

¹³ For example Aelred of Rievaulx, ‘De Spiritali Amicitia,’ *Aelredi Rievallensis: Opera Omnia*, ed. A. Hoste and C. H. Talbot (CCCM 1; Turnhout, 1971), p. 341.

¹⁴ J. McEvoy, ‘Friendship in the Latin Middle Ages,’ in J. Haseldine (ed.), *Friendship in Medieval Europe* (Stroud, c. 1999), p. 5.

¹⁵ Acts 2:42.

¹⁶ McEvoy, ‘Friendship in the Latin Middle Ages,’ p. 8.

Carolinne White too traces the long tradition of this idea throughout the pre-Christian and into the Christian era:

The view that there could be an ideal, or at least superior, kind of relationship, based on some form of spiritual unity, is also to be found in the pre-Christian period, as evidenced by the common use, throughout antiquity, of the phrase *mia psyche*, one soul, to apply to two close friends; but it would seem that with Christianity – and probably under the influence of the Neoplatonists too – an increasingly spiritual view of friendship had been developing. For Christians this concept received added support from the use of the phrase ‘one heart and one soul’ to refer to the early Christian community at Jerusalem, as described in Acts 4:32.¹⁷

Philip uses the language of “cor unum, anima una” in his letter to Gregory to emphasize the community which should exist between religious orders. He also uses it on an individual basis, representing himself and his friend as a united soul – “in unam quasi animam”¹⁸ – or as two halves of one soul. He writes, for example, that “at that point you seemed [mihi ... videbaris] to me half of my soul.”¹⁹ Philip never writes of the “laws of friendship” as McGuire describes Aelred, Peter of Celle, Peter the Venerable, Hildebert of Lavardin and others as doing, but it is implicit when he writes that: “two friends are held [perhibentur] to depend on the same soul,” that he was aware of the expectations of a true friendship.²⁰

Wishing as a true friend to progress with him to heaven, Philip could not rest while his friend still lived a worldly life. Rather than using the personal pronoun, he writes of “my soul” as the protagonist, so emphasizing the spiritual nature of the affection, at least on his part. In the rift which opened up between them there is a correlation between Philip’s desire to maintain the friendship and the fact that it is he, rather than his friend, who has had a spiritual awakening. His soul believed that it was joined to the other, and it is his soul which feels the rent. Using the imperfect tense to show that he felt these things continually, Philip writes that while his friend was still in the world his own soul felt as though a part of it were still in the world. Whilst his friend was in the world, Philip could find no peace:

¹⁷ C. White, ‘Friendship in Absence,’ in J. Haseldine (ed.), *Friendship in Medieval Europe* (Stroud, c. 1999), pp. 76-7.

¹⁸ col. 99C.

¹⁹ col. 100A.

²⁰ McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, pp. 299, 273 and 242; col. 100B.

My entire soul was unable to restrain itself within me, nor completely to remove from itself whatever was in the world, since it was being compelled to remember you very often.²¹

He uses “compelled” (cogeretur) twice in this sentence, reinforcing the idea that it was not so much a bond between their souls as one soul divided between them. In completing the above sentence he writes that:

It was compelled to remember very often you, who were a part of it [pars ejus] not to be condemned [non contemnenda].²²

Sharing the same soul as they do, they are almost one in a “loving union” to the extent that Philip must love his friend as himself, a notion often found in writings on friendship and which Philip writes that he “first learned of in the works of the pagans.”²³ It is because he loves him in this way, he writes – bringing it into the present tense – that he cannot desert him. Despite the nature of this declaration, he makes it in the third rather than the first person, writing that if a friend is as one’s other self it is as difficult to cast him away as it would be to cast oneself into oblivion. Here again, Philip voices his understanding of what is expected of true friendship.

The view of many who thought about friendship was that when two men share the same spirit in friendship, it endures eternally. R. W. Southern wrote of St. Anselm’s vision of this type of friendship as being “an indissoluble union here and in heaven.”²⁴ Aelred of Rievaulx expressed the difficult concept that when a man has been abandoned by a friend yet continues to love him, it is still a true friendship. He nonetheless advocated “dissolving” this friendship, “little by little,” while continuing to love the friend.²⁵ Philip, in the position in which he describes himself in epistle thirteen, fits the mould of the protagonist in this theoretical situation of which Aelred wrote. If Sijen’s surmise that Philip wrote epistle thirteen before he was made abbot in 1157 is correct, he did not see Aelred’s treatise *On Spiritual Friendship*, which

²¹ col. 100B.

²² *ibid.*

²³ col. 100B-C.

²⁴ R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape*, (Cambridge, 1995), p. 156.

²⁵ Aelred of Rievaulx, ‘De Spirituali Amicitia,’ pp. 324-327.

contains a reference to 1159.²⁶ Had he been able to read it, he would have found in it a moving validation for his spiritual loyalty towards the friend who had deserted him. Whilst accepting Jerome's contention that "the friendship which can cease, was never true,"²⁷ Aelred maintained in more than one place in the treatise that in this situation the love which existed, even with all other marks of friendship withdrawn, must remain:

He has not tasted the delights of true friendship who, having been offended, ceased to love him whom he once loved.²⁸

In this way, so long as love towards a friend is retained, it is still a true friendship. Philip likewise expresses the hope he had while he held his friend in his heart, after he had ceased to see or hear from him, that they would be together in heaven.²⁹ Philip laboured for some years, he tells us, for his friend's salvation, with this vision of their shared "eternal seat" in heaven before him. Unlike his friend, Philip has no wish to dispense with an old friend: "for what new man will I be able to find like you ... in whom ... the commendation of age is absent?"³⁰

His love, although springing from the natural love of his youth for his friend, is not maintained in these circumstances without effort, and its purpose is the salvation of his friend. It is this that differentiates it from the earlier love of the two students. In an extension of the concept of their shared soul, Philip writes of his ability to feel the presence of his friend even in absence. Almost as though he were searching for a method to deal with grief, he writes of how he made a place for him in his heart and conversed with him there. Philip's interaction in spirit with the absent man is described, and explained by him as happening "in a marvellous way" – "mirum in modum."³¹ There is an element of the miraculous in it, effected by love:

²⁶ Sijen makes the suggestion, based on the "teneur et le ton" of the letter ('Les Oeuvres,' p. 138). Certainly Philip makes much of the liberty which he may seem to take in addressing so august a person, and of the distance between them in social status. The emphasis which he places on these points is far greater than when as abbot he begins his letter to the count of Champagne, and his letter to Count Philip of Flanders written after 1168 hardly defers to these points at all.

²⁷ St. Jerome, *Lettres*, ed. and tr. J. Labourt (8 vols; Paris, 1949-63), 1, ep. 3, p. 16; Aelred of Rievaulx, 'De Spirituali Amicitia,' p. 293.

²⁸ Aelred of Rievaulx, *ibid.*

²⁹ col. 101D.

³⁰ col. 103B.

³¹ col. 101B.

I would not have been able to be with you save for the aid of loving.³²

In making this space for him in his heart, Philip pursues a twofold aim: to assuage his longing for his friend's companionship, and to protect him. In the last respect by constantly being with his friend in spirit he acts almost like a guardian angel. Philip "followed" him and is "anxious" for him, yet the friend "neither saw me, nor believed me to be with you."³³ Philip seems to be saying that his feelings for his friend are second only to his love of God, and the creation in his heart of a "seat" or "throne" for his friend gives weight to this impression.³⁴ Despite his love for his friend being one of the spirit, unlike in Aelred's writing there is no suggestion of a three-way relationship between the two friends and Christ. Where Aelred initiates the discussion that forms his work with the famous statement to Ivo that:

Here we are, you and I, and I hope that Christ will be a third
between us,³⁵

the figure of Christ does not feature in Philip's letter. Aelred sets out to explain how "friendship is a stage bordering upon that perfection which consists in the love and knowledge of God,"³⁶ but this is not how Philip views his friendship with the man to whom he writes. Rather, Philip came to love of God independently and in advance of his friend, which fact is at the very heart of his letter.

When Philip dwells at some length on the contrast between his poverty and his old friend's riches, he uses an image to express the difficulty in reaching his friend which is no doubt intended to evoke a comparison between how the two men treat each other. He asks how he, such a poor man, could ever approach this man through all the doors, past the door-keepers, and finally:

either to reach the inner chamber, or to find you there rather than
this empty space ...?³⁷

³² tamen beneficio diligendi nonnisi poteram tecum esse – *ibid.*

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ tu aequalem illic partem obtinebas privilegio sociali, soli Deo postpositus quem sequi proposueram desiderio principali – col. 101C.

³⁵ Aelred of Rievaulx, 'De Spirituali Amicitia,' p. 289.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 305.

³⁷ col. 103D.

Where Philip keeps him always close in the secret inner chamber of his heart, his friend's life seems here to be spiritually empty, fixed in the physical world of the palace, inaccessible to his old friend: and even if he could gain entrance, Philip does not expect to find him there. Although he reaches the point where communicating in his heart with his friend is not sufficient, and he has to write to him in order to express his exhortation, "since that inner speech very often does not satisfy the desiring soul, unless outer speech is joined to it to carry out what the inner began," Philip does not express longing to see his friend.³⁸ In spite of his eloquence in describing the love he felt for his friend, and the effort of prayers and tears for his friend's sake, he does not plead to see his friend again, as do so many twelfth-century authors of letters of friendship, but seems to accept that this will never happen and so does not long for it.

Thus it is that this man sits spiritually in Philip's heart by the sheer strength of will of Philip's spirit:

The spirit is powerful to show to itself him whom it would have loved, and by virtue of remembering to retain him, willing as unwilling ... since I laboured in this for some years without intermission ...³⁹

And so an important part of this is the element of self-sacrifice which is involved in the salvation of his friend which is the focus of this labour and spiritual befriending. His friendship is such that he not only wishes for his friend whatever good happens to himself, but even beyond this he wishes more for his friend than for himself. In the beginning of the letter when writing of the friendship of their schooldays he may be referring in an oblique fashion to his friend receiving academic honours due to some sacrifice on Philip's part. Having written of his friend's higher noble status and thus condescension in accepting Philip as a friend, he then says:

And because things were as they were, considering carefully, I felt that you were more fitting for honours, so I sought them for you rather than for me: believing as if for a certainty that your advance would have been in no way weakening our intention if with me remaining in humility, any dignity should have been raising the superior man.⁴⁰

³⁸ col. 104B.

³⁹ col. 102A.

⁴⁰ col. 99B-C.

Now the sacrifice is of a different sort, as in his desire for his friend's salvation, when praying he prays for his friend more than for himself. To emphasize the gravity of this he describes it as "as if neglecting myself."⁴¹ His language suggests that he wants the recipient of the letter to know what pains he is taking over him. He writes that every good thing he did he thought of as belonging to his friend, and adds that he:

did not fear to incur any harm [quidquam damni] through this.⁴²

This is in part an explicatory note to his audience, and is in part designed to emphasize the unselfish love which Philip shows to this man. He suggests that some might think that by giving his own spiritual gifts away, he does not keep them for himself, and so puts himself in danger of damnation. Although he goes on to explain why this is untrue, its presence here is designed to prick his friend's conscience, and although he would deny it, may serve to demonstrate his own praiseworthiness.

Although many patristic authors wrote on the subject of friendship, Philip always prefers to cite Cicero. Both he and Aelred of Rievaulx sought to examine whether what they had read in Cicero could be supported by the Bible, but whereas Aelred's quest led him to compose his treatise on friendship, Philip's progressed no further. A marked difference between them is that Aelred continued to search because he did not consider himself capable of the exalted friendship about which he read, whereas Philip, after having found what he sought in Scripture, considered that his friendship fulfilled these expectations. Aelred wrote that:

Turning these same things [Cicero's writings] over again and again, I began to ask whether they could perhaps be supported by the authority of the Scriptures. Since however I had already read many things concerning friendship in the writings of the holy fathers, wishing to love spiritually but not being very able to, I decided to write about spiritual friendship, and to write down for myself the rules of a chaste and holy love.⁴³

Philip, on the other hand, is more easily satisfied:

⁴¹ col. 101C.

⁴² col. 101D.

⁴³ Aelred of Rievaulx, 'De Spirituali Amicitia,' p. 288.

the authority of Holy Scripture which, with former things having been banished I read frequently in my free time, is also seen to praise as commendable this union of those who love [dilectorum] of which I first learned in the works of the pagans, on which, with you, I expended care in the schools for some years.⁴⁴

Aelred and Philip's descriptions of their experiences of childhood friendship are also very different, in part because of their purpose in the works in which they appeared, but also because Aelred's friendships were formed before his reading of Cicero, whereas Philip's friendship was formed after it. Aelred recognises in his childhood the folly of (unlike Philip), "fluctuating between various loves and friendships, my spirit seized now here, now there,"⁴⁵ which is consciously reminiscent of St. Augustine's recollection of his childhood friendships in the *Confessions*, when he wrote of the group of friends with whom he stole the pears.⁴⁶ Aelred's view of friendship changed in principle when he read Cicero, but when "it truly pleased my good Lord to correct the wanderer" he entered the cloister and found in Scripture what he had not received from Cicero.⁴⁷ For both Augustine and Aelred these childhood friendships were sources of regret, but mistakes to be learned from in their quest for spiritual growth. Philip describes his childhood friendship in terms of near perfection, in which he and his friend were one in spirit and intention. He believes that their friendship differed from that of other boys in that they were constant and never quarrelled, and that the friendship begun as children matured and became stronger as they progressed into adolescence. This depiction is not of a friendship to be moved away from, but one to be built on. The impression he gives of it in his desire to appeal to the bishop's nostalgic feeling is one of an idealised past. Philip writes that at the time he felt as though his friendship was just as the ideal one described by Cicero:

just as he described the lines of friendship, so my conscience felt we were loved by each other,⁴⁸

and that it was worthy to be numbered amongst the famous friendships. The friendships he lists here are those from Greek mythology, frequently cited when

⁴⁴ col. 100B-C.

⁴⁵ Aelred of Rievaulx, 'De Spiritali Amicitia,' p. 287.

⁴⁶ St. Augustine, *Confessiones*, ed. M. Skutella (Leipzig, 1934); revised by H. Jürgens and W. Schaub (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1996), p. 35.

⁴⁷ Aelred of Rievaulx, 'De Spiritali Amicitia,' p. 287.

⁴⁸ col. 99A.

friendship was written of, and naturally include that of Pylades and Orestes which was mentioned by Cicero himself in the *De Amicitia*. Philip uses these examples at this stage of his letter when he is writing of his pleasure in the friendship whilst they were at school. At this point in his life he and his friend were occupied in the study of classical authors, before the close study of Scripture became his chief delight after his entry to the monastery, and he may have wished to emphasize that their friendship lacked the spiritual cohesion of Christian friends. The introduction of the examples of Jacob and Benjamin, David and Jonathan, comes at the point in his letter when he describes how, having “fled” to the monastery, he was anxious for the friend he had left behind in the world. It is as though he re-examines his friendship in the light of this life-changing event, and re-validates it with examples from Scripture in place of examples from mythology.

In epistle thirteen Philip makes frequent references to the disparity between himself and his old friend in wealth and social status. This seems to have caused him some disquiet, due to a concern that others might suspect him of seeking worldly advancement through the connection. Referring now to the period after his entry to the cloister, he writes that he found in the story of David and Jonathan that it “was not at all removed from religion” that men of disparate social status should be friends. This comment suggests that even now in the monastery the circumstance continued to cause him unease.⁴⁹ He seems almost to be adopting a defensive stance, searching for justification of their friendship. One of the friend’s greatest virtues was that when they met he did not reject Philip as a friend because they were not on an equal social footing. Philip compares this to the standard behaviour of others in his friend’s position:

An adolescent from a noble family is wont to be proud, and disdains the company of those whom he would have seen as inferior, judging it unbecoming to bestow familiar allegiance on lesser men, when they ought, so he believes, to subject themselves to him.⁵⁰

His concern with the attitude of the greater nobility towards men of lesser rank was one which was to remain with Philip, and was one of his chief commendations of

⁴⁹ cols. 100D-101A.

⁵⁰ col. 98C.

Count Henry of Champagne.⁵¹ Philip discerned kindness as well as lack of pride in his friend's behaviour towards him, and perceived as other marks of good character that he was "of good nature, and amiable to all."⁵² Yet despite his appreciation of the man's kindness in befriending him, and his indignation that others might doubt the sincerity of his own affection for him, he seems for that very reason not to have completely trusted that his friend too would not doubt his motives. After having written of how their friendship resembled that of "raros et praeclaros dilectores," his certainty suddenly wavers when, retaining the imperfect tense, he writes that as a young man he decided not to tell his friend of his decision to step back and allow the honours to go to him:

lest I, a common man [plebeius], might seem to fawn on a more noble man, and seem to snare your favour rather in word than in deed.⁵³

Following this, he writes, he decided "that our love should not show itself outwardly in word and speech, but should occupy the inner spirit, firm in both truth and deed."⁵⁴ With Philip already resolved when they were still in the schools together that their friendship should be one of a deep spiritual attachment, his later ability to converse with his now absent friend in his heart would have been well-honed. He was convinced at school that their friendship should be an inner one, he says, by a "moral" reading of the pagans, as well as "what is greater, reason itself [ipsa ratio]."⁵⁵ This "ratio" was contrasted by Augustine with "custom" in the love of friends. He described friendship through "custom" as when two men fall in together on a journey and become friends because they are accustomed to each other. Friendship through "reason" on the other hand is that "by which we love a man because of faith and mutual good-will in this mortal life. Whatever superior thing we may have found here, is divine. Man may begin to love God, and will not love a man unless God is in him."⁵⁶

⁵¹ col. 153B.

⁵² col. 98D.

⁵³ col. 99C.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶ St. Augustine, 'Sermon 385: De Amore Hominis in Hominem,' *PL* 39 (1846), col. 1691.

That Philip's friendship be perceived as pure is especially important when he inveighs against the new friends whom the bishop has gained upon his elevation to the episcopate, and whose overtures he has accepted. He uses his letter to warn him against them, employing biblical quotations primarily from the Book of Proverbs and from Wisdom. It is these new friends that have led to Philip being cast aside, and whilst he professes to understand how this has come about, the letter is nonetheless a rebuke to his friend for having allowed this to happen:

He offends against the ancient command of Scripture, who with an unstable spirit abandons him whom old history commends. "Forsake not an old friend," says Scripture, "for a new will not be like him."⁵⁷

Using scriptural and classical imagery of the sweetness of aging wine compared with the sting of new, Philip reminds his friend that while he may have "poured out" Philip to make room for the new wine of new friends, Philip has not poured out him likewise.

The letter is introduced with references to Philip's poverty and his friend's wealth. In the first paragraph he writes that by the disposition of God some men were poor and others rich and, significantly, those poor men who would have been loved [dilecti fuerint] are "rejected because of their poverty."⁵⁸ This sets the tone for what is to follow, for although Philip praises his friend's magnanimity as a youth, Philip believes that as an adult he does indeed reject the poor. One point Philip seeks to make in this letter is to demonstrate that, in the correct ordering of things, it is he who is wealthy and his friend poor, because true wealth is that of the spirit. Thus his friend is occupied "foolishly" with things concerning wealth. Implicitly, Philip is reminding his audience as well as his friend that in terms of what is really important – eternal salvation – it is he who is wealthy:

For this is certainly the character of spiritual benefits, that although one man may have conferred them on another, yet he would not through this see himself to be in want. Indeed by as much as with a more liberal spirit he will make his neighbour more fruitful in them, by so much he will abound in them more freely and fruitfully.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ col. 103B.

⁵⁸ col. 98A.

⁵⁹ col. 101D.

The superiority of the regular life as opposed to that of a secular cleric, however high the position, makes Philip spiritually wealthy. When Philip enters the cloister and laments that his friend as his other half remains in the world, it is Philip who is the prow of the ship and his friend who is the stern.⁶⁰ Philip is moved to weep and pray for him, and focusses his inner being on him, whilst his friend's inner chamber is empty. When he writes of how he put his friend before him in his prayers, the reader is reminded of how he had earlier put his friend before himself in receiving honours at school. This is an important theme which he wishes to impress on his audience. Philip paints a vivid picture of the difficulties which his letter may face in reaching its intended target, by so doing giving a negative emphasis to his friend's greatness. It is at this point that he begins to refer to his friend's "majestas," and contrasts his "ergastulum" [workhouse] with his friend's "palatium."⁶¹ This is no longer a reference to his schoolboy unease at their social inequality, but is an image of holy poverty contrasted with worldly wealth and power, designed to provoke in his friend feelings of contrition which will force him to hear what Philip has to say. Philip drew the same contrast when writing to the Pope, when he talked of the wealth and power of his accusers. At the end of epistle thirteen he writes that it is because his censure is so bold that he has chosen not to reveal the names of either himself or the one whom he addresses, so that anger at having written thus to such a great man may not be directed towards him.

In the letter to Richer, the language of love is addressed to a man whom Philip has never met, but to whom he offers his friendship and advice. That this is the first of the two letters to Richer to have been written is suggested by Philip opening the letter with an explanation of what brought Richer to his attention; a suggestion furthered by the fact that it is only in the second letter that Philip refers to any earlier communication. It has been abundantly demonstrated that the use of the language of true friendship between men who communicated only by letter and had never met was by no means unusual. Cicero wrote that, "on account of virtue and good character, we

⁶⁰ col. 100A.

⁶¹ col. 103D.

may even in a certain sense love those whom we have never seen.”⁶² Carolinne White discusses this phenomenon in the early Christian period in *Friendship in Absence – Some Patristic Views*, citing as one example of such a friendship that between St. Jerome and St. Augustine.⁶³ A twelfth-century example is that which Julian Haseldine considers between St. Bernard and Brother William.⁶⁴ Although sadly Richer’s reply to Philip is not extant, Philip’s second letter shows that his advice was welcomed and accepted. Philip reveals that in this letter, Richer had written to him asking that he write something for him which would encourage and revive him spiritually, saying that the gift would be especially precious because it was Philip who sent it.

In letters to known friends – Bishop Bartholomew of Laon, and Brother John, whose responses to Philip’s letters provide the only extant exchange in the collection – Philip’s language of friendship is more muted. The phenomenon of the vocabulary of friendship being used less frequently, or not at all, in letters of this period addressed to men known to be friends of the author has been observed in individual case studies. Julian Haseldine made this observation in a detailed study of the letters of Peter of Celle, and Yoko Hirata reached the same conclusion when examining the letters of John of Salisbury.⁶⁵ Given the volume of letters in Peter of Celle’s collection and the recurrence of friendship as a theme in them, Dr Haseldine is able to draw more positive conclusions about the ways in which Peter uses this language in his letters than may be achieved in a study of Philip’s correspondence. The range of Peter’s use of *amicitia* and *amicus* is great, encompassing many kinds of friendship. Haseldine’s study also shows that letters of friendship could be written with no use being made of the words “amicus” or “amicitia,” with Peter often preferring to write in terms of “amor,” “dilectio,” and “charitas.” In a quantitative study which involved dividing and sub-dividing Peter’s letters into artificial categories for the sake of analysis, one of many noteworthy statistics to have emerged was that in the group “letters of friendship”⁶⁶ there are ten which use the vocabulary of “amicitia/amicus,”

⁶² Cicero, *On Friendship; and The Dream of Scipio*, ed. and tr. J. G. F. Powell (Warminster, 1990) p. 43.

⁶³ White, ‘Friendship in Absence,’ p. 69.

⁶⁴ J. Haseldine, ‘Understanding the language of *amicitia*. The friendship circle of Peter of Celle,’ *JMH* 20 (1994) p. 238.

⁶⁵ Haseldine, ‘Understanding *amicitia*,’ pp. 237-60; Y. Hirata, ‘John of Salisbury, Gerard Pucelle and *Amicitia*,’ in J. Haseldine (ed.), *Friendship in Medieval Europe* (Stroud, c. 1999), pp. 153-66.

⁶⁶ These are defined as: “those occasioned by no specific event and written with no other evident purpose than to make contact with the recipient. These letters typically contain messages of spiritual

and thirty three which do not. His study also shows that the vocabulary of “amicitia/amicus” was by no means reserved for personal friends; nor, even when Peter’s letters were to personal friends about the topic of friendship, were they especially likely to contain the vocabulary of friendship. Of the thirty three “letters of friendship” which did not contain this vocabulary, seventeen were to personal friends.

It is interesting to read Philip’s letters in the light of the pattern which emerges from Haseldine’s investigations. Although the sample of Philip’s letters is very small in comparison to Peter’s, being only twenty in total, it is still noticeable that very often in his letters to personal friends he does not use the vocabulary of “amicus” and “amicitia.” On the whole, he prefers to express his love for his friends using derivatives of “dilige,” which makes the contrasting frequent use of “amicus/amicitia” in epistle thirteen conspicuous. Although “amicus,” “amicalis” and “amicabilis” appear occasionally in other letters, “amicitia” appears only in epistle thirteen, and does so three times. Furthermore, “amicus/amicalis/amicabilis” are used on fourteen occasions outwith epistle thirteen in the entire collection, and in epistle thirteen itself sixteen times. (In both cases, four of these occurrences are biblical quotations). Thus it is evident that the topic of friendship, and the vocabulary of “amicitia” as opposed to Philip’s conventional “dilectio,” is proportionally far greater in this letter than in the rest of his collection, including in letters to known friends.

A most clear example of a letter to a personal friend in which the vocabulary of “amicitia” is not used is that to a man to whom he was evidently very close, Bishop Bartholomew of Laon.⁶⁷ Philip’s only surviving letter to him was written during Philip’s time in exile, and in it he thanks the bishop for his support, his consolatory words, his visit, and his gift. In this way he expresses gratitude for the bishop’s friendship, yet the letter contains no vocabulary of “amicitia/amicus” or of their adjectival derivatives. Nor does Philip use the vocabulary of “dilige/dilectio” in this letter, although there is one use of “charitas.” He begins the letter with a metaphor which describes the effect of his friend’s visit as that of the morning star which precedes the sun – it cannot lift the darkness completely, but yet brings light and

exhortation, admonitions stressing adherence to the correct monastic life, messages to newly appointed abbots or bishops, consolations or requests for and discussions of friendship.” Haseldine,

‘Understanding *amicitia*,’ p. 250.

⁶⁷ cols. 70D-77B.

hope. This in turn he even likens to the light of Christ preventing the darkness of the devil from overcoming him. Bartholomew sent him the symbolic gift of a girdle, reminding him to gird himself with strength in the face of tribulation, and Philip thanks him for his “*charitas*” in doing this, writing that the gift is precious as the one who gave it to him is precious. As in his second letter to Richer, the giving of a gift, whether a girdle or a piece of writing, is valued for the person who gave it as much as for its intrinsic worth. All of which demonstrates the closeness of the friendship and the esteem in which Philip holds Bartholomew, yet is expressed without recourse to the vocabulary of “*amicus/amicitia*.” In epistle thirteen Philip is not certain of his friendship as he is certain of Bishop Bartholomew’s, and his use of the vocabulary of friendship in this letter reflects that. As Hirata puts it:

the less solid the bond is between two people, and the less certain the support of one another, the more fiery the rhetoric of *amicitia* becomes.⁶⁸

There is also a striking lack of the vocabulary of “*amicus/amicitia*” in the correspondence between Philip and John, whom Sijen observed must be a relation of Philip’s, as he calls him “*cognatus*” on one occasion.⁶⁹ Little else may be gleaned about John, save that he is also addressed as “*praepositus*,” and was evidently cloistered, although whether as a monk or regular canon cannot be said. Philip’s frequent references in these letters to “*meus Augustinus*” might suggest that his correspondent did not follow the Rule of St. Augustine. Their correspondence records a disagreement over Philip’s championing of a work by St. Hilary which argued that Christ did not receive the origin of the body from Mary [*corporis initium non accepisse ex Maria*⁷⁰], and that Christ did not by his nature feel suffering, but rather chose to do so. John came to the conclusion that these contentions had elements of the heretical about them and advised Philip to reject them. In all six letters there are only two occurrences of “*amicus/amicitia*”: once when John addresses Philip as “*amicitissime*,” and once when Philip uses a quotation from the Song of Songs (“*Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te*”) in a context not concerned with friendship, a reference to Mary’s purity. There is plentiful language of love in the correspondence, primarily in Philip’s letters (although this balance may be because

⁶⁸ Hirata, ‘John of Salisbury, Gerard Pucelle,’ p. 155.

⁶⁹ Sijen, ‘Les Oeuvres,’ p. 136.

⁷⁰ John, *PL* 203 (1855), col. 170B.

his letters are far longer than John's), as in the opening of the letters they seek to reassure each other that their friendship endures despite their disagreement. The correspondence ends with Philip's last letter on the subject and the inclusion in the collection of a letter to John from one Hunald, whose opinion John had sought on the question. It is Hunald who addresses John as "praepositus." There are no more letters between John and Philip after Philip ends the last in the sequence with the pious hope that these matters may be revealed to them so that they might "contemplate God with his face revealed."⁷¹

Philip's final extant letter to John is most interesting, as he refers to John having returned Philip's first two letters to him, covered in notes. Although there are only three letters from each man in the collection, the sequence of letters is not so straightforward as a simple alternating correspondence. Rather, the first letter is from John and Philip replies to it. Then John sends two letters in response to this, one after the other because the first was written in haste, but they reach Philip on the same day. Philip replies to these in one letter. Then he sends John the final letter, complaining that John has covered his letters with so much marginal comment and overwriting (in a different colour) that the original can barely be seen, both physically and conceptually:

Although the gloss to a text should customarily be put on it so that that text might not be darkened, but be laid open, your gloss on the contrary obscured those letters, and upset as the outer document, so the inner sense.⁷²

Because these letters exist only in Chamart's printed copy, all that is known of what John's notes contained is what Philip reveals by responding to them. What Philip defends himself against seem petty concerns in comparison with the weighty theological arguments which form the substance of the letters. In the first of Philip's letters to John, he commented that John "learned holy letters in the cloister from infancy."⁷³ In Philip's final letter we learn that when John sent Philip's letter back to him he had written a note on it protesting that he had been educated in the schools as well as the cloister, and by Anselm of Laon at that. Philip spends some time in his

⁷¹ col. 66C.

⁷² col. 57A.

⁷³ col. 35D.

final letter to John outlining why he should not be offended by Philip's mistake, commending the praiseworthiness of the life of the cloister in comparison with that of the schools, and in effect reprimanding John for placing such a high value on his scholastic education. John's two separate responses to the same letter – the one in the form of a letter, the other in a gloss – may suggest that in his letter he wished to engage in a debate about St. Hilary's work in a form that would be preserved alongside Philip's letter for posterity; but that these lesser issues with which he glosses Philip's letters are ones he was not concerned to have made public or be preserved.

Dr Hirata's observation of a careful use of the vocabulary of "amicitia/amicus" in the letters of John of Salisbury shows that the language of friendship could be used as a tool in persuasive correspondence. Her study intends to show how the language of friendship was "exploited by men in politics as a way to extend their influence"⁷⁴ and in it she demonstrates that John utilised the language of "amicitia" in an attempt to persuade Gerard Pucelle to support Thomas Becket in his exile. In the course of her discussion she observes that in letters written during the Becket conflict:

the vocabulary of *amicitia* tended to appear much less frequently in John's letters to his close friends such as Bartholomew of Exeter and John of Canterbury and more frequently in his letters to those who did not, so far as we know, reply.⁷⁵

In approaching Count Philip of Flanders, Philip does not use the vocabulary of "amicitia," but he does use imagery associated with friendship, employing it as a means to introduce himself and the issue on which he wishes to address himself to the count. He commences the epistle by declaring that it is his qualities and virtues that have impelled him to establish a connection. It is these virtues, Philip writes, that "made you mine, that is, made you pleasing to be embraced by me, made you commendable."⁷⁶ This is very similar to the language he uses when reminding his anonymous friend of the qualities which first drew him to him in the schools. As in the letters both to the anonymous friend and to Richer, he emphasizes interiority and

⁷⁴ Hirata, 'John of Salisbury, Gerard Pucelle,' p. 153.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 155.

⁷⁶ col. 147C.

shared feeling, but with one who, in this case, possibly has not even heard his name. The closeness of this in reality unformed relationship is signified from the very beginning of the epistle by the use of the reflexive adjective to address the count, emphasising in the process their shared Christian name: “Suo Philippo suus Philippus.”⁷⁷ The accident of their shared name provides Philip with the opportunity to assume a bond between them. He uses the familiar topoi not only of the formation of a bond based on virtue and learning, but also of a connection with the inner self although the outer man is not known, and describes Count Philip as another self. Yet this is not really an attempt to initiate a “friendship in absence” such as White describes. Rather, it shows Philip borrowing imagery associated with spiritual friendships (such as the connection between inner spirits rather than outer forms) to express his love for the count, a love induced by the count’s benevolence towards the Church. Proceeding to exhort the count to pursue learning as a means of understanding how to rule well, and encouraging him in his care for the poor and orphans and in protection of the Church, it may be seen that Philip here uses imagery associated with friendship in a manner not dissimilar to John of Salisbury’s.

Like Peter of Celle, even when instigating a friendship with someone he has never met Philip does not use the vocabulary of “amicus/amicitia,” but prefers to use the language of love (with a preference for “diligo” above “amo,” although both are used) and imagery associated with friendship. Although Philip’s initial letter to Richer is not effusive, he begins by expressing a common motif of friendship, the desire to see his correspondent. In then referring to the report of Richer’s virtue which recommended the cleric to him he demonstrates an approach to friendship based on that initially recommended by Cicero in his *De Amicitia*. It is a mature and calculated inception of friendship which contrasts with the immature and unpremeditated friendship of the two schoolboys he portrays in epistle thirteen. Such commendation of a correspondent’s reputation for virtue was the beginning of many letters of friendship, such as that which Julian Haseldine cites from Nicholas of Clairvaux to Peter of Celle.⁷⁸ Unable to meet Richer in person, Philip contents himself with

⁷⁷ col. 147B.

⁷⁸ Haseldine, ‘Understanding *amicitia*,’ p. 238.

contemplating “not your external but your internal face,”⁷⁹ which is after all the true indicator of a person’s nature.

Philip uses the language of love in connection with the establishment of a relationship with Richer once at the beginning of the letter, writing that he loves [diligō] the face he sees, but in the rest of this letter the language of love is reserved for the love of a scholar for study. The premise of the letter is that it is from one scholar reaching out to another scholar, whose reputation for virtue and love of learning combined have attracted Philip’s attention. Like epistle thirteen, the letters to Richer are essentially exhortatory in character, in this case encouraging Richer both to greater love of learning and, as the final paragraph discloses, steering him away from worldly scholarship to learning out of love for God. McGuire writes that many letters of friendship were also letters aiming to persuade the recipient to enter the cloister.⁸⁰ Although this letter does not do that, as Philip recognises that Richer will not enter the cloister even though it is the most perfect way of life, he admonishes him nonetheless that “for love of the scholarly life ... the sensible cleric chooses to reject lay things.”⁸¹ A bond of friendship formed between two scholars motivated by love of learning through the love of God is a strong one for Philip.

In responding to Richer’s request for some writing of Philip’s which might encourage his soul, and in encouraging him to pursue learning in order to pursue virtue and ultimately God, Philip engages in an “educative friendship,” as James McEvoy terms such relationships. McEvoy sees the master-pupil form of friendship, in which the master guides the pupil to increased spiritual awareness, as typified in the twelfth century in the relationship between Aelred of Rievaulx and his pupils displayed in Aelred’s treatise *On Spiritual Friendship*.⁸² To this type of friendship, McEvoy observes both pre-Christian precedents in the writings of Seneca and Socrates and early Christian precedents in the practices of the desert fathers, although he emphasizes that a connection between the pre-Christian and Christian practices of this type of friendship remains to be investigated more thoroughly.⁸³ While Philip is

⁷⁹ col. 157A-B.

⁸⁰ McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, p. 232.

⁸¹ col. 159C.

⁸² McEvoy, ‘Friendship in the Latin Middle Ages,’ p. 11.

⁸³ *ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

addressing one senior in years when writing to Richer, it is clear from his tone that Philip is senior in position and authority, and his chief concern is to advise Richer on his spiritual progress through learning. Richer's love for Philip is suggested as the reason for his request for teaching from Philip, who professes that he cannot understand why Richer should want some work of his, unless it be that "intemperate love judges that nothing suffices for it until it sees that thing from which it is separated."⁸⁴ In a final validation of the friendship between the two men, Philip ends the letter by proclaiming his certainty that Richer will go to heaven, and asks that when he does, he pray there for Philip. He also asked for Bartholomew's prayers, and yet does not ask for those of the childhood friend to whom he wrote of friendship.

In this letter, then, Philip uses the language of friendship as a tool with which to approach this man and exhort him about the duties of his position, in accordance with what Philip saw as the duties of his own. In this way he demonstrates the sincerity of his motivation and his genuine concern for his friend's spiritual well-being, contrasted with the more shallow offers of friendship from those who are attracted to his wealth and status. As well as lamenting the decline in their friendship which his friend's decision not to enter the cloister brought about, he emphasizes the language and imagery of friendship in a way which he does not when writing to those with whom he maintains an unquestioned friendship, such as Brother John and Bishop Bartholomew. The imagery which he uses to express his friendship follows familiar lines, stemming in origin from even pre-Christian ideas, brought into a Christian context and used by the early Church Fathers. So, when describing his feelings of friendship for this man, Philip uses imagery of their being one spirit in two bodies; of each being one half of the other; and of his friend being as another self. Like Cicero and all influenced by his work he writes of the other's virtues which inspired his friendship. One of the chief virtues he can imagine is the love of study, particularly of Scripture, and his letter collection shows him approaching men whom he has heard love study, addressing them in terms of friendship, and exhorting them to yet greater love of study. His preliminary approach to Richer uses the language of friendship, but his most fervent language of love is used when discussing a scholar's love for letters. It is this, more than an ideal of friendship itself, which unites two men in their mutual

⁸⁴ col. 165D.

love of God and helps them to progress towards him. In this, Philip is very different from Aelred of Rievaulx.

Whereas Richer welcomes Philip's approach and invites his advice, Philip's letter to the new bishop is an attempt to offer guidance in the face of various circumstances which combine to oppose his approach. The language of friendship is forcibly used to remind the new bishop of his obligation to hear his old friend as well as to remind him of his duties. If he cannot maintain a friendship with one who loves him and whom he loved, how can he act as is right towards his subordinates? The office of bishop was one Philip viewed as of the highest importance, as not only the rest of this letter, but also comments throughout his works about the desirability of sanctity in a prelate, show. The vehemence with which he speaks of the responsibilities of a bishop in this letter is matched by the vehemence with which he speaks of his friendship and love for this particular bishop. As he does not doubt the love of Richer, John and Bartholomew, there is less need for their friendship to be articulated. With the presence of an element of doubt in his friendship with the new bishop, and the vital importance of his exhortations on the duties of the prelate being heard, Philip uses the language and imagery of friendship in this letter to the full.

Part One: Conclusion

Philip's letters, then, function on many different levels, and are often in the nature of epistolary treatises. He uses them not only to communicate with friends and acquaintances, but also to instigate new friendships and to address a wider readership. While some letters are responses, often to requests from fellow canons for religious instruction, others are unsought, and in these may be found a blend of varying degrees of didacticism, remonstrance and appeal. With each letter intended for both the individual recipient and a general audience, when Philip uses a letter to teach one man about the value of education, he also aims to teach others, and when he admonishes one brother to respect all the various orders of religious, he so admonishes others. When received by a wider audience, his letters not only have the potential to benefit others through their teaching, they may also be used to set out his case in an argument. Thus his letter to Pope Eugenius, in which after his reinstatement as prior he recounts the background to his deposition, may act as a more public account of his version of events. Similarly, a letter to Bishop Bartholomew expressing gratitude for his support becomes one in which, as he puts it, "I pursue my misery in words," which is largely accomplished by the use of imagery associating himself with persecuted biblical figures.¹ Having created this impassioned defence of his reputation, when Philip closes the letter he "bid[s] farewell both to you and to those with you, who do not refuse to feel pain with me at my tribulations."² A more subtle use of the epistolary medium to these ends may also be detected. When to both Bernard and his anonymous friend he writes of his poverty and humility as factors in them not giving him a hearing, while apparently intending only to be self-deprecatory, in effect his humility appears admirable while they are shown as ungenerous and unworthy. There is also often a sense that Philip aims even beyond a contemporary broader audience, to posterity.

In pursuing a line of argument in his letters Philip naturally often uses biblical imagery as illustrations of his exhortations, including the technique of drawing analogies between biblical figures and himself or his correspondents. These analogies may operate on more than one level, sometimes openly, sometimes by implication.

¹ col. 77B.

² *ibid.*

Not unmindful of the high ideals of the Cistercians, Philip admonishes St. Bernard by citing the sayings and example of St. Paul. Not unusual in itself, the frequency with which he does this, particularly in one passage where there is a concentration of such allusions, is a means of almost directly comparing Bernard unfavourably with St. Paul. Such biblical analogies are especially useful when representing his relations with others, in particular when he writes of the circumstances leading to his exile. It could not be said, however, that in every instance when he likens his situation to that which a biblical figure endured he is likening himself to that figure in other respects outwith that particular episode. Where his similes may be understood to bear an extended interpretation it is in connection with the other party whose relationship with Philip is under discussion. This may be seen in biblical analogies he uses concerning those persecuting him at the time of his exile and concerning his friendship with the anonymous bishop. Philip comforts himself in his letter to Bartholomew by seeing similarities in his own troubles with the trials undergone by St. Paul, Susannah and Joseph. Beyond comforting him, these analogies liken his persecutors to those biblical persecutors. Thus his accusers are the “princes of the people,” men who attack Paul even though he is one of their own race, just as fellow-Premonstratensians attacked Philip; the elders who were believed when accusing Susannah not because they spoke the truth but because in their powerful positions no one dared to gainsay them; Potiphar, who punished Joseph through “the dexterity of the one accusing, and the ignorance of the one judging.”³ In applying the traditional analogy of the friendship of David and Jonathan to his relationship with his schoolfriend, Philip exploits the potential of the simile to the full. Not only were they one in spirit, as Philip believes he and his friend had been, but the disparity in their wealth and status allows Philip a further insight. He writes that it was by the example of David and Jonathan that he believed it to be possible and acceptable that he, of lower status, should have this man as his friend. Communicating with two learned bishops, Philip cleverly uses these biblical episodes as allegories for situations concerning him in ways which would be appreciated by these men as well as adding righteous validation to his words.

The letters show that Philip is concerned with relationships and with a person's understanding of his position and obligations. He is anxious that the two

³ col. 73C.

counts understand what they “owe” to those above them in the social hierarchy, those of equal status, and those below them. He is equally anxious that a prelate of the church understand what is required of him and the heavy responsibility he bears. The warning from the Book of Wisdom, “a most severe judgement shall be for them that bear rule,” is given to both Count Henry and the anonymous newly-appointed bishop.⁴ Even when writing to St. Bernard from a less than advantageous position his letter is substantially concerned less with the brother who left Bonne-Espérance than with Bernard’s misuse of his position in his dealings with Bonne-Espérance. When Philip is later deposed as prior he names Bernard as one of the “oppressors” who brought about his prosecution, and whom, according to those sympathetic to Philip, “none of us will oppose.”⁵ Those in authority in the order who deposed him he consistently refers to as “princes,” in contrast to the terminology he uses in his letters to Rainald and his anonymous friend when referring to ecclesiastical prelates. In this last letter he emphasizes that “he who loves not to oversee [superintendere] but rather to rule [dominari] does not know how to be a bishop.”⁶ In ruling his subjects well, the prelate – ecclesiastical or secular – is fulfilling his obligations not only to them, but also to his office. Philip writes to Count Philip that a nobleman’s title does not make him truly noble, but how he lives, and he writes to more than one person that just because a bishop wears a pallium it does not mean that he is holy. He is positively scathing in writing to his anonymous friend of how infrequently some bishops read the Scriptures, so that they must have the physical symbol of the crosier to remind them of their duties. The obligation of a bishop to “understand” the dignity of his office is often at the forefront of Philip’s mind, and is a theme which he emphasizes in writing to Rainald of Dassel.

Such understanding is made possible only through learning. A bishop must of necessity have a good knowledge of letters. As Philip writes to Rainald – “some nobles ... think nothing harder than to study longer and to be taught, and render themselves unworthy to be promoted to ecclesiastical height.”⁷ To Philip a literary education is an essential attribute of the secular ruler if he is to understand the obligations of his position rightly. This leads him to praise and exhort the counts in

⁴ Wis. 6:6. Cols. 155D and 108C.

⁵ col. 93C.

⁶ col. 106B-C.

⁷ cols. 160C-D.

their literary studies, commending to them both Christian and pagan works. The caveat to this is that they discern the good from the bad in the pagan works, an exercise which itself could only be accomplished by the well-educated, as the unwary could be led into error in this way. It is very likely no coincidence that despite his praise of Rainald's learning he makes no mention of studying pagan authors to that prelate, nor quotes from any such works. His letter aims to guide Rainald, occupied with worldly ventures on the emperor's behalf, in the religious and spiritual obligations of his position. He does this through the use of strictly biblical allegories.

The knowledge which Philip hopes the counts may glean from pre-Christian authors, in combination with the study of Scripture, concerns good government. Philip's thoughts on clerics studying the pagan authors have been discussed elsewhere, and his comments on the futility of vainglorious learning for the sake of wealth and fame oft-cited.⁸ Although he writes to John that he wishes he had always learned in the cloister and not gone to the schools, having studied and acquired this knowledge he does not abandon it. Rather, he uses it, and encourages others to use it, with the right intention and to the best purpose. Quotations from these authors feature in most of his letters, and Plato, Socrates and Cato are presented to Engelbert as indefatigable scholars whose example in perseverance he should follow. With their friendship based on their shared youth in the schools, Philip does draw on the works of pre-Christian authors in his letter to the unnamed newly-appointed bishop. Generally these works are used to augment arguments based on Scripture or Patristic writings. Discoursing on friendship in this letter, he refers to the famous friendships in pagan works they had read together, before writing that he then went on to seek in Scripture the validation for such friendships. Having described the implications of the impact of a prelate's behaviour on his flock, in a passage clearly based on St. Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*, Philip reinforces his warning with quotations from the works of Sallust and Boethius.⁹ While writing to Richer that the cloister is a more perfect form of life than that spent in the schools, he accepts that that is the life Richer has chosen and advises him on how to pursue that life in the best way. Thus he urges on him stability and the constant reading of Scripture. Again emphasizing the importance of the right intention of learning, he uses an image taken from Persius to

⁸ See for example Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, pp. 366-8.

⁹ cols. 106C-107A.

condemn those who “moisten their lips only, as at a horse trough,” when they study divine works. The works must be engaged with fully and deeply, tasted and felt, if the study is to be of worth. In this letter he articulates clearly the relationship between knowledge and holiness:

For both holiness without knowledge very often errs and turns aside, or does not shine forth so fully, and knowledge without holiness swarms with the worms of vices and is filthy. When an undivided bond endures and unites them, we are able to find nothing more useful, nothing more honest, in human life.¹⁰

This in many ways encapsulates Philip’s attitude towards the pursuit of knowledge, and explains his belief that the works of pagan authors may be used well providing that the study of them is accompanied by holiness in the student.

Regardless of expressions of meekness and humility, Philip is fearless in addressing, and if necessary rebuking, men of all ranks. In delivering a harsh warning to the new bishop he is able to draw on the justification of an old friendship, resulting in a complex combination of thundering invective and expressions of a united soul. Other letters do not have this justification, although some draw on concepts related to friendship by suggesting that the recipient’s reputation for virtue encouraged Philip to write. In the case of Count Philip the language of friendship is more direct – “suo Philippo suus Philippus” – creating associations in the mind of the reader with Cicero’s advice on the establishment of a friendship only with one whose virtue recommends him. His first letter to St. Bernard is direct in his condemnation of Bernard’s actions but adopts a tone of wounded bemusement at how so holy a man could behave so. In other letters, mainly those of advice rather than reprimand, he is paternal. Praise of the fathers or predecessors of the two secular rulers not only inclines the recipient to read on, in the case of Philip of Flanders it also reminds him of Philip’s seniority in age and experience which allows him to have met these men. It also allows Philip to set out through their example the attributes which he believes make a good ruler. In both letters the ruler’s protection of the church is key to his good government, as it is in the view of other authors such as John of Salisbury and Gerald of Wales, but in the letter to Count Henry this takes the specific form of

¹⁰ col. 158B.

concern for the welfare and reputation of the order of canons. Philip writes that he has heard Henry has been criticised for his patronage of colleges of secular canons, and so offers Henry a justification for this patronage. This justification, probably aimed as much at the detractors as at Henry, conceives of the secular canons as men gathered together to “serve God in the churches by clerical ministry and literary labour.”¹¹ This is also an opportunity for Philip to expound on the special status he believes clerics have by virtue of the “ecclesiastical dignity” with which the “divine disposition” wishes to “favour” them.¹²

This is a theme which is discussed in the greatest depth in the *De Institutione Clericorum*, and naturally other issues are addressed both in the letters and in Philip’s other works. The same may be observed of certain images which are favourites with Philip, the prevalence of imagery from the Song of Songs in his letters reflecting his keen interest in that work which also resulted in a treatise on the same. Uncertainty about precisely when Philip composed many of his works does not allow conclusions to be drawn about the evolution of his ideas. Yet it may be interesting to speculate that the *De Dignitate* and the letter to his anonymous friend (both supposed to have been written during his priorate), with their identical quotations from Sallust, may have been written quite close together in time. Certainly there is a sense that, whether certain arguments and ideas were first considered in a letter and treated in more depth in a treatise, or first discussed in a treatise and then condensed in a letter, Philip did express some of his more pressing concerns in a variety of formats, perhaps with the intention of reaching as wide an audience as possible. This could be worthy of further investigation.

Philip’s zeal when communicating his beliefs and ideas, be it for the promotion of the pursuit of learning or the dignity of the clerical order, finds expression in his carefully constructed, if self-confessedly prolix, intricate and loving use of language. His love of Latin, a language he regards as granted by God to the Church, is not only proclaimed when he writes on the topic to Count Henry, but is manifest in the way he uses it in all his letters. His interest in semantics is almost a theme of the letters in itself. Philip’s employment and description of the symbolism of

¹¹ col. 155A.

¹² col. 155B.

the pastoral staff is an example, albeit perhaps an extreme one, of his facility for the use of multifaceted imagery and allegory.

Employing these literary and linguistic techniques, in letters addressed to a variety of men in a variety of circumstances, Philip addresses eloquently those issues of concern to him. One of these literary techniques, the employment of the language of friendship, is the better understood for the individual prosopographical studies of other writers with whose use of this technique Philip's own may be compared. The coincidence of concerns expressed in his letters with those which Peter the Chanter, John of Salisbury, Gerald of Wales, the author of the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus qui sunt in Ecclesiae*, and many others discussed in treatises, shows that he was both aware of and engaged in current topics of interest and debate. If he was not a "celebrity," he certainly was not a non-entity, and the value as well as the interest of his letters is clear.

Part Two: Introduction

Like his epistles, Philip's hagiographical works display his love of letters and language, and so this second part of the thesis will examine his techniques, and his purposes in using them, in this genre. The *Patrologia Latina* contains nine works of hagiography attributed to Philip. Of these, however, three were ascribed to him incorrectly. Berlière, drawing on his own observations and those of the editors of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, the *Acta Sanctorum* and the *Acta Sanctorum Belgii*, attributes two of these on very good grounds to Philip of l'Aumône, and one to an author writing earlier than Philip. He adds that: "It would be superfluous to add that the style is quite different."¹ The only one of Philip's six saints' *Lives* which is not of a saint local to his monastery is that of Augustine; having made an analysis of this the subject of my M.Litt. dissertation, it will not be examined here. Of the other five saints, all bar St. Oda were male saints of the seventh and eighth centuries, the great period of evangelisation of what is now Belgium. With the exception of the *Life of St. Oda*, which survived only through Chamart's copy, medieval manuscripts of the *Lives* do exist, ranging in date from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. One manuscript is definitely dated to the twelfth century, that of the *Life of St. Ghislain*, the other manuscript of which dates from the fifteenth century. Of the other *Lives*, the *Life of St. Salvius* exists in one twelfth- or thirteenth-century manuscript, one thirteenth-century and one fifteenth-century manuscript; that of Landelin dates to the fourteenth, through having been copied into Jacques de Guise's *Annales Hannoniae*; and the *Life of St. Foillan* in two thirteenth-century manuscripts.² These manuscripts of Philip's *Life of St. Ghislain* are to be found in London and Namur; those of the *Life of St. Salvius* in Paris, Mons and Cologne; and those of the *Life of St. Foillan* in Mons and Paris. A chapter each will be devoted to the *Lives* of Saints Oda, Salvius, Landelin and Foillan. With Philip's *Life of St. Ghislain* adhering very closely to its source it will not be the subject of a separate chapter, but aspects of it will be referred to in relation to points made concerning other *Lives*.

¹ Berlière, *RB* 9, p. 252.

² Sackur's edition of the *Annales Hannoniae* printed in *MGH SS.* 30, part 1, does not print the *Life of St. Landelin*, but under book 10, chapters CXI-CXX, refers the reader to Philip's work in the *Patrologia Latina*.

In every case, Philip wrote these *Lives* for the brothers or sisters of a house dedicated to that saint, and it may be supposed that were the work read out on that saint's feast day, it would be heard by laypeople attending the special service. Mindful of this audience, how Philip presents the saint and the events in the *Life* will be considered carefully. Where he uses techniques such as alliteration, repetition or rhyme, the effect to which they are put will be examined. While the *Life of St. Oda* was completely original, the other five *Lives* were all based on earlier works, and in all cases it has been possible to identify the version which Philip used. Editions published in the *Acta Sanctorum* and the *Analecta Bollandiana*, with the invaluable work done by their editors, are used here so that a comparison may be made between Philip's works and his sources for them. It is hoped that this comparison, made with close attention to detail and focussing on any alterations, omissions or additions he makes in his reworking of the earlier texts, may reveal something of Philip's intentions and sensibilities.

Philip of Harvengt's *Life of the Blessed Virgin Oda*.

The *Life of the Blessed Virgin Oda* is unique among Philip's hagiographical works in being an original composition rather than a reworking of an earlier *Life*. Oda was not only a contemporary of Philip's, but was known to him personally as the prioress of the neighbouring house of nuns, Rivreulle.¹ Noting this, Berlière believed he saw that:

Here it [Philip's work] is truly personal, and his pen has never been better inspired than in this touching biography of a virgin whom he has known and of whom he has been the spiritual father.²

The story is a dramatic one, in which Oda, having since childhood vowed herself to be the bride of Christ, rejects at the altar the husband intended for her by her parents, then mutilates herself by cutting off her nose in order to prevent an earthly marriage. The deed having been done and the bridegroom having departed, Oda's father still does not give up hope of seeing his only child married, until with the help of two monks sent by Philip's predecessor, Abbot Odo, she persuades her father to let her leave and take the veil. Once in Rivreulle and practising physical austerities she contracts a disease whose deforming lesions lead the sisters to believe she has contracted leprosy, and is banished to a small home in the grounds of the convent. Enduring this suffering with patience and even joy, she is healed, and on returning to the convent is shortly afterwards made prioress by Odo. Philip describes her qualities as mistress, which bring the nuns to love and respect her whilst she enforces discipline, and records her generosity towards the poor and the spread of her reputation. He then describes her final illness and death at some length, finishing by praising her, imagining her in heavenly rest, and asking for her intercessions.

The *Life* of Oda was written, Philip tells us, for the nuns at their request. Like the letters, it is known only through Chamart's 1621 volume. It is possible that Philip also intended it to advertise the presence of a saint at Rivreulle, as his reference to what may have been a relic at the house suggests (having cut off her nose, she

¹ On this house, see Berlière, 'L' Ancien Monastère des Norbertines de Rivreulle,' Messenger des Sciences Historiques de Belgique 67 (1893), pp. 381-391.

² Berlière, RB 9, p. 245.

thoughtfully “distilled the precious river of rosy blood in a basin.”³). His eagerness to show that she should be regarded as a martyr suggests that he would have liked her status as a martyr to have been recognised further afield, but the absence of any other manuscript indicates that the work did not achieve popularity.

Philip is concerned in the work to press his claim that Oda be regarded as a martyr because of her self-mutilation, a claim in which he has plenty of support. Henschenius, in his preface to the copy of the *Life* in the *Acta Sanctorum*, records the abstract which one E. Autbertus Miraeus entered in the *Fastis Belgicis et Burgundicis* in 1623:

... she rejected carnal marriage. In order that she might not be dragged to this by her father, she cut off her nose, with her name being deservedly added to the martyrs.⁴

Henschenius himself, however, writing in the eighteenth century, seems less certain, running through a list of the appellations granted her by various authors, noting that several of them use the title ‘blessed,’ but that he, with another writer, prefer to use ‘the venerable.’ Her cult has not been officially recognised, and her status therefore not officially categorised.⁵ Yet in the early twentieth century Agnes Dunbar in her *Dictionary of Saintly Women* agrees with Philip and Miraeus’ assessment, writing of Oda’s deed that, “on this account, the Church places her among the martyrs.”⁶

Philip makes his claim that Oda is a martyr in two ways. Firstly, at the point in the narrative at which she cuts off her nose he breaks off in order to praise her act and to explain to the audience why she is to be recognised in this way. Secondly, throughout the *Life* he uses imagery associated with martyrdom when describing Oda’s deeds and thoughts. In the passage which follows Oda’s self-mutilation Philip begins by comparing her to well-known examples of women who committed suicide to avoid rape and so preserve their chastity, and because of this are accounted by the Church as martyrs. He says of them:

³ col. 1366C.

⁴ G. Henschenius, ‘De Venerabili Oda Ordinis Praemonstratensis in Hannonia: Praefatio,’ *AASS* 20th April, col. 772F.

⁵ Benedictine monks of St. Augustine’s Abbey, Ramsgate, *The Book of Saints*, (London, 1921; 4th edn, 1939), p. 446.

⁶ A. B. C. Dunbar, *A Dictionary of Saintly Women* (2 vols; London, 1904-5), 2, p. 114.

Certain holy women, married as well as virgins, when their chastity was attacked by lewd men, are read to have thrown the sword into the firm trembling breast, others to have plunged themselves into the depth of the waters, some to have died by fire or a fall, and to have prevented the audacious attempts of those men by a voluntary death, and thus to have purchased the venerable name of martyrdom with a glorious death.⁷

The instances he gives here suggest that his source was Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, discussed by Alexander Murray in his *Suicide in the Middle Ages*. In this, one woman and her daughters drowned themselves, another killed herself with the sword, and others in Anatolia and Cappadocia jumped from tall buildings, all to escape male persecutors.⁸ His method of comparing Oda with these women does not involve condemning suicide as a course of action in escaping rape; rather he accepts it as a legitimate defence. Both Alexander Murray and Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg have discussed how the question of whether a woman threatened with violation should kill herself vexed scholars throughout the medieval period, with most notably SS. Jerome and Augustine taking opposing viewpoints.⁹ Saints Jerome and Ambrose both believed that suicide was permissible when the woman knew she would otherwise be raped, whereas St. Augustine argued that as the act was perpetrated on an unwilling victim, she was still spiritually a virgin and should not kill herself. Neither argument seems to have achieved precedence over the other, and both continued to be used when the situation invited it. Philip did not even consider the possibility of making the argument that Oda was right not to kill herself because to do so would be a mortal sin, rather, he prefers to try and align her on a spiritual level with these suicide-martyrs.

Schulenburg, in a chapter of her *Forgetful of their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society ca. 500-1100*, which argues for the centrality of virginal integrity in female as opposed to male religious, includes Oda in her discussion of the lengths to which some avowed religious women would go to maintain their chastity. In summarising

⁷ col. 1366D.

⁸ A. Murray, *Suicide in the Middle Ages*, (2 vols; Oxford, 1998 and 2000), 2, pp. 111-112; Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, tr. H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton (London, 1954), bk. 8, chapters 12:2; 12:4 and 14:17.

⁹ See Murray, *Suicide* 2, pp. 110-117; J. T. Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society ca. 500-1100* (Chicago and London, 1998), pp. 131-3.

the *Life*, she notes Philip's citation of these early Christian women who killed themselves to avoid rape, and completes her synopsis of the passage by writing:

Her hagiographer then argues that the virgin Oda's act of self-disfigurement for the love of Christ and the maintenance of chastity was also a major type of martyrdom. She was both virgin and martyr because virginity cannot be without martyrdom.¹⁰

This is a very neat summary of Philip's position, but one which may be expanded on a little when examining the intricate way in which Philip makes this argument, which he develops through several stages.

He begins by implicitly acknowledging that some would think Oda's form of martyrdom to be not as great as that of the women written of by Eusebius, because she did not die. However, he then argues that in fact she should not be thought of as less worthy than them:

Yet I seem to understand that the virgin Oda nonetheless has endured nothing less of martyrdom than they, who, although she did not cast off the covering of her flesh either with her own blow or with the brief blow of the persecutor, and although the penal austerity of torments did not consume her, yet she washed herself in the blood of the Lamb, and preserved her white garments ...¹¹

So although she did not die for Christ, she did suffer for him. He then goes on to beg the question: if she was prepared to maim herself in this painful way, how much more would she have killed herself had that been necessary? Finally, he proceeds to argue that living with the pain and disfigurement is a greater trial than being killed outright, no doubt using the word "brief" [momentaneus] to describe the "blow of the persecutor" quite deliberately in order to emphasize this conclusion. He does use the comparative adjective, "greater," to describe her form of martyrdom:

For I consider that type of martyrdom to be greater [majus], and to go beyond all manner of tortures, if anyone in the flesh lives beyond the flesh [praeter carnem], if she mutilated herself on account of the kingdom of heaven.¹²

¹⁰ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their Sex*, p. 148.

¹¹ col. 1366D-1367A.

¹² col. 1367A.

Philip therefore develops his argument from being that in spite of not having died she should be regarded as a martyr, to that because she did not die she should be regarded as a martyr.

He then emphasizes that consecrated virginity is an entirely voluntary state, quoting directly in support of this first Christ, then St. Paul (“Concerning virginity I have no commandment of the Lord”¹³) and finally Fulgentius.¹⁴ This is part of his concern to ensure that his audience understands that her entire volition was behind her act of self-mutilation: it was one that she willed, and was more than a response to a situation which threatened her vow. Sarah Salih writes that it was common for those who wrote about consecrated virginity to regard it as “the new martyrdom,”¹⁵ and, as Schulenburg noted in her synopsis cited above, this is certainly the case for Philip, who said:

Therefore Oda is a martyr, and a virgin, since virginity cannot be without martyrdom. She repressed the provoking rebellion of the centre of her body [umbilici] with a girdle of strong purity, and was displeased with herself on account of her beauty ...¹⁶

Oda, therefore, was not only reacting against threats to her chastity from external forces, in the form of her parents and Simon, but was also taking action against herself to subdue internal forces. This short passage exemplifies the belief that virginity was a form of martyrdom because of the self-sacrifice that a woman in particular had to make in order to protect herself from herself in the struggle to remain chaste; and that a woman’s beauty could be regarded as a temptation to men in a way which was somehow her own fault. In the introduction to her book *Versions of Virginity*, Sarah Salih has discussed two types of virginity, bodily and spiritual, and the various ways in which scholars have interpreted them, concluding that they cannot be cleanly separated in any text; that: “they always and necessarily co-exist: virginity is never perceived as a purely bodily state.”¹⁷ This concept, of “total virginity,”

¹³ 1 Cor. 7:25.

¹⁴ col. 1367B.

¹⁵ S. Salih, *Versions of Virginity in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 21.

¹⁶ col. 1367C.

¹⁷ Salih, *Versions of Virginity*, p. 13.

explains how Philip can regard the state of virginity itself as a form of martyrdom, because he sees that to preserve total chastity of body and mind Oda must never be tempted by receiving an admiring glance or entertaining an impure thought. At the beginning of the *Life* he introduced the topic of the high status of sacred virginity by not only placing it alongside “those who exhausted their bodies in the pressure of this wine-press,” and underwent other voluntary torments, but by claiming that it exceeds these forms of asceticism, writing that:

With all these things virginal chastity rules in a higher degree
and with a certain prerogative of dignity.¹⁸

In constructing a case for Oda’s martyrdom, then, Philip takes both physical and spiritual virginity into account, and regards her action in mutilating her face as a defence of them both. Although at first glance it seems as though he is using the concept of her spiritual martyrdom as an afterthought or as an additional factor to bolster his claim to her status as martyr, in fact it is very necessary to show that her action was not a sudden or erratic impulse, but a way of maintaining her total virginal integrity on every level.

Philip’s concern to show that Oda acted willingly, and not just out of desperation, was most important in demonstrating that she was a martyr, with the issue of volition underpinning many of the various broader interpretations of the concept of martyrdom which existed. Discussing the Katherine Group, Salih wrote that all three virgin martyr saints in it “make a conscious decision to seek torture and martyrdom,” and this seems to have been the case for both women and men. St. Vincent, for example, urges his torturers on to inflict even worse injuries on him in order to demonstrate his divinely-granted ability to withstand the pain:

Up then, wretch, and revel with all your spirit of malice!
You will see that by God’s power I am stronger while
being tortured than you while you are torturing!¹⁹

¹⁸ cols. 1359D-1360C.

¹⁹ Jacobus de Voragine, ‘De Sancto Vincentio,’ *Legenda Aurea*, ed. G. P. Maggioni. (*Millennio Medievale* 6; 2 vols; Tarnuzze, Firenze, 1998), 1, p. 175.

Many saints' *lives*, including that of St. Agatha, show that it was considered virtuous to seek after martyrdom, and as has been discussed by Schulenburg among others, many hagiographers argued that the self-imposed asceticism of their subject was a legitimate form of martyrdom. Venantius Fortunatus, the sixth-century author of the *Life of St. Radegund*, claimed her as a martyr because of her horrific acts of self-mortification, which Schulenburg refers to as "self-inflicted acts of ascetic martyrdom."²⁰ A twelfth-century example is that of St. Jutta, the mentor of St. Hildegard of Bingen, of whom it was said at the end of her *life*:

But although she finished her life in peace, yet she did not pass over the palm of martyrdom completely, because the sword pierced her spirit also, since for Christ she subjected her body to so many and such great injuries and sufferings while living here.²¹

The criteria for martyrdom were, then, much wider than the straightforward death of a persecuted saint who was killed for refusing to renounce God. In all these cases, however, it is noticeable that when their cults were later officially recognised, it was not as a martyr that they were styled, and that their hagiographers always have to go through the process of making the case for their saint to be thought of in this way. As in Philip's case for Oda, a variation on the formula "although he/she was not killed by a persecutor, yet he/she is a martyr" always appears. The very fact that a hagiographer had to explain why they should think of the saint as a martyr suggests that the author could not feel secure that his audience would reach the same conclusion as he or she had.

Not only extreme acts of self-punishment such as those imposed on herself by St. Radegund lead a hagiographer to claim that their subject is a martyr. Sometimes when the person venerated has put themselves in harm's way in some other manner the writer describes them as a martyr, as Fortunatus did when writing of St. Hilary, in his case for denouncing heresy in front of an heretical emperor. Fortunatus – using the formula "although the sword of the persecutor did not slay the most holy soul, yet he did not lose the palm of martyrdom" – explains that the emperor might have had

²⁰ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their Sex*, p. 173.

²¹ 'Vita domnae Juttae inclusae,' ed. F. Staab, in S. Weinfurter (ed.), *Reformidee und Reformpolitik im Spätsalisch – Frühstauischen Reich* (Mainz, 1992), p. 187.

Hilary punished had his friends not hustled him away.²² In his book on Frederick Barbarossa, Marcel Pacaut describes the emperor at the canonisation of Charlemagne explaining that the great emperor was a “true martyr” because “although no blade pierced his soul” he had suffered, and had been prepared to die fighting the pagans.²³ Not all of these examples are of authors so concerned to present their saint as a martyr as is Philip. While for all these saints the concept of their “martyrdom” is one aspect of a whole picture of sanctity, it is a greater part of some saints’ *lives* than others.

As well as in this passage laying out his reasons why Oda should be regarded as a martyr, Philip uses the language and imagery of martyrdom throughout the *Life* to underpin his assertion. The amputation of the nose itself is one of the most potent of these images. In chronicling “a number of rather extraordinary cases of ‘the heroics of virginity’ found in hagiographic literature and chronicles of this period,”²⁴ Schulenburg gathers five examples of nuns who disfigured their faces to escape violation, in four of which the injury is that of nasal amputation. These cases are those of St. Eusebia and her nuns, St. Ebba of Coldingham and hers, nuns near Jerusalem to whom Peter the Chanter briefly referred, and Oda. The fifth example is that of a community of nuns in Spain who lacerated their faces to escape violation by the Saracens.²⁵ St. Margaret of Hungary is also mentioned, as twice in her life she threatens to take this extreme action – once when it is suggested that she accept an offer of marriage, and once when there is the threat of the Tartars invading Hungary and so attacking the convents. Of these six cases, Margaret never had to carry out her threat, and Eusebia, Ebba and the nuns of Spain were all murdered by their attackers. Peter the Chanter does not record what happened to the nuns near Jerusalem, but when he writes that “I do not know whether this was drawn to its conclusion,”²⁶ or in Schulenburg’s paraphrase, “the consecrated virgins adopted this strategy without knowing the consequences of their acts,”²⁷ it sounds as though they too were murdered by their attackers. This being the case, Oda stands alone among these cases

²² Venantius Fortunatus, ‘Vita S. Hilarii,’ *PL* 88 (1850), col. 444C.

²³ M. Pacaut, *Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. by A. Pomerans (London, 1970; originally published in French in 1967), p. 119.

²⁴ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their Sex*, p. 145.

²⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 145-8.

²⁶ “sed nescio utrum hoc sit tradendum ad consequentiam,” Peter the Chanter, *Commentary to Psalm 136*, MS Paris BN 14426, fol. 199ra, rb, cited in J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants* (2 vols; Princeton, 1970), 2, p. 183.

²⁷ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their Sex*, p. 147.

as someone who cut off her own nose and was not subsequently murdered. This shows that her specific injury in these circumstances is of a type which was associated with martyrdom. St. Margaret also made this instinctive connection when she firstly talked of cutting off her nose should the Tartars invade, and then later proclaimed that there was a sense in which she wished that they would invade so that she could suffer martyrdom:

When rumour ran that the Tartars were coming into Hungary, the Virgin said, with the desire for martyrdom: "I shall pray that they might not come, so that they might not harm the Christian people: but as for me, I would wish that they might have come now, that I might suffer martyrdom at their hands."²⁸

It is possible that in some cases the nuns intended that their attackers be so angered by their actions that they kill them, in so doing making them martyrs. Whilst Ebba of Coldingham is said to have declared she hoped to "escape the rage of the barbarians and preserve our chastity,"²⁹ Eusebia's intention is clear: she not only wanted their attackers to be so repulsed by their appearance that they would not rape them, but she also wanted to provoke them to anger. It was said that she:

urged the holy virgins, caring more for preserving their purity than their life, to cut off their noses in order to irritate by this bloody spectacle the rage of the barbarians and to extinguish their passions.³⁰

Her intention, then, was twofold, and when she was killed she had succeeded in both her aims. The hagiographer of the nuns of St. Florentine also suggests that cutting off their own noses was an intentional prelude to martyrdom:

Their strategy and rather extraordinary plan turned out very well because with it they accomplished their intention: they triumphed over the Moors. For when the barbarians saw the virgins bloody and ugly, they became angry because of this. They therefore killed all of the nuns with the sword, and to

²⁸ 'The Life of St. Margaret of Hungary,' *AASS*, Jan. 28th, p. 903.

²⁹ Roger of Wendover, 'Flowers of History,' vol. 1, tr. J. A. Giles (London, 1849), pp. 191-2, cited in Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their Sex*, p. 146.

³⁰ 'Lessons of the Office of St. Eusebia,' G. de Rey, 'Les saints de l'église de Marseille' (Marseille, 1885), pp. 227-8, cited in Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their Sex*, p. 145.

the halo and crown of virginity was added that of martyrdom.³¹

The hagiographical model, then, was that women who cut off their noses did so to escape violation and achieve martyrdom, and for Oda to have taken the same action was, for those hearing her *Life*, to associate her immediately with these martyrs.

In another potent image which aligns Oda with the virgin martyrs, Philip reinforces his claim that she is physically martyred by her action by introducing a reference to St. Agnes, with which he ends the passage. Karen A. Winstead has said that “writers of sacred biography had traditionally certified their subjects’ holiness by comparing them with well-established saints,” and this is exactly what Philip does here.³² In cutting off her nose Oda not only deters the man her parents would have her marry, or any other potential suitor, she also shows to all who see her that she is faithful to Christ. St. Agnes, having been miraculously delivered both from rape in the brothel into which she had been flung and from death by burning, was eventually murdered by being stabbed in the throat. The impetus for this persecution was her refusal of the proposal of the pagan prefect’s son, to whom she declared that she already had a lover, Christ, who had marked her for his own:

I am prevented by another lover, who has offered me better ornaments than yours and has espoused me with the ring of his faith ... He has placed his sign upon my face so that I might admit no lover besides him.³³

Philip makes a reference to this his final comment in the passage in which he defends Oda’s right to be known as a martyr, using an image of the sword as a branding-iron with which she marks herself as Christ’s, “saying, not by word but by deed, that of Agnes: ‘I place a sign on my face that I shall admit no lover but Christ.’”³⁴ This mutilation is then to be a source of pride, not shame, to her, although as Schulenburg has described, this particular form of mutilation was used as a punishment for adulteresses and prostitutes.³⁵ Discussing St. Paul’s imitation of Christ

³¹ F. A. de Yepes, ‘Cronica general de la Orden de San Benito’ (Madrid, 1959), 1:138, tr. V. J. Meyer, cited in Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their Sex*, p. 147.

³² K. A. Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca and London, 1997), p. 19.

³³ St. Ambrose, ‘Vita S. Agnetis,’ BHL no. 156, *AASS* Jan. 21st, p. 351.

³⁴ col. 1367C.

³⁵ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their Sex*, pp. 148-9.

in declaring “I bear the marks (stigmata) of Christ on my body,” Giles Constable makes the very interesting observation that:

The term ‘stigmata’ is the plural of stigma, which meant a tattoo or brand, such as those imposed on slaves or criminals.³⁶

From this it may be seen that for Oda to bear a mark traditionally of shame or criminality as a bold declaration of Christianity was in fact to follow and emulate Christ and St. Paul, and to absorb Christ’s teaching in the Beatitudes when he says:

Blessed are those who are persecuted because of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.³⁷

The manner in which Oda suffered, miraculously enduring without flinching, let alone joining in the general lament which her action occasioned, bears all the hallmarks of the martyr’s journey. In a scene of chaos and loud wailing Oda sits, unmoved, “without a tear.”³⁸ The early virgin martyrs suffered horrific torments whilst being granted the strength by God to endure them apparently without feeling pain, and as Sarah Salih has discussed, the importance of this invulnerability lies in the effect it has on the witnesses to the martyrdom:³⁹

To be a spectacle can be a position of power. By enduring the torture, [St.] Margaret [of Antioch] uses it for her own purposes, to display her invulnerability and to horrify her persecutors.⁴⁰

Many of the early virgin martyrs also made speeches during their torture which not only highlighted that they were unaffected by these torments, but enabled them to convert some of their onlookers. Oda, by contrast, made no speech, but her silence is quite eloquent, being amongst other things a powerful testimony of the strength that has been given her by Christ. When Eusebius wrote of St. Theodosia that her persecutor, Urban “drove into the very bone and entrails; so perseveringly did he punish the girl, who received his torture in silence,” her silence has the effect of rendering Urban powerless, in so far as he cannot achieve what he has set out to

³⁶ G. Constable, ‘The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ,’ *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 195.

³⁷ Matt. 5:10.

³⁸ col. 1368B.

³⁹ Salih, *Versions of Virginity*, pp. 74-87.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 81.

accomplish.⁴¹ Oda, likewise, confounds her persecutors, in this case her parents, by receiving in silence the martyrdom that she has inflicted on herself. Remaining silent when others would expect her to speak is one of her modes of resistance, as when at the wedding she does not answer when the priest asks her to make her vow. At her wedding the noblewoman who berates her, using the language of Ecclesiastes, says that “there is a time for speaking, and a time for being silent.”⁴² In keeping silent when she does, Oda shows that she is fully aware of when, in societal terms, these times are, and of the effect that she will achieve by subverting them.

Oda’s father, Wibert, is in some respects portrayed in a manner akin to the pagan persecutors of an early Christian virgin martyr. The speeches that he twice makes to persuade her to marry bear similarities to the reasoning of such tyrants who torture the virgin saint because she will not marry them. In outlining the typical basic structure of an early Christian virgin martyr’s *life* both Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and Karen Winstead show that the saint’s father was often her persecutor, and Wogan-Browne demonstrates the similarity between the roles of the father in the *Life of Christina of Markyate* and the Katherine Group’s version of the *Life of St. Juliana*.⁴³ A similar pattern can be seen in the *Life of Oda*, except that as at no point does Wibert threaten Oda with violence, the similarity in the narrative is found only in the attempt at persuasion. Wibert tells her that “it is not becoming that the flower of your youth should fail and wither in its infancy ... but rather you should rejoice in your adolescence, and many possessions, and with the cloudy sky having been cleansed of sadness, be clothed in the costume of joy.”⁴⁴ Youth and affluence are something of a topos in the persecutor’s argument in virgin martyr saints’ *lives*, with the pagan tyrant often beginning by praising the virgin’s beauty, reminding her of her youth, and offering her wealth in an attempt to secure her capitulation. Examples of this in English vernacular versions of the early *lives*, which are contemporary to or slightly later than Philip’s work, and which he would never have seen or understood, show that the usage was common, drawing on the same familiar tradition. In the Katherine

⁴¹ Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, p. 359.

⁴² Eccl. 3:7.

⁴³ J. Wogan-Browne, ‘Saints’ Lives and the Female Reader,’ *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 27 (1991), pp. 318-9.

⁴⁴ col. 1364B.

Group version of the *Life of St. Margaret*, for example, Margaret's persecutor, Olibrius, says to her:

Maiden, relent and take pity on yourself. Think of your youth
and your comely figure, of your beautiful face. Do what I want
and worship my idols and you shall be well rewarded, more than
the highest in rank in my court, with all the possessions I have in
the world.⁴⁵

Burgess and Wogan-Browne's translation of Clemence of Barking's *Life of St. Catherine* show her persecutor, the Emperor Maxentius, trying the same tactic:

Oh, fair maiden, how lovely your face is ... consider your youth
and follow our true path ... if you were to take my advice, you
would sacrifice to our gods ... You will be in second place in my
palace, and together with the queen you will possess all my realm ...⁴⁶

Philip's *Life of the Blessed Virgin Oda* and the anonymous *Life of Christina of Markyate*, both twelfth-century hagiographies of a contemporary woman, when faced with the figure of a father who is persecuting his daughter naturally therefore use this type of the earlier pagan tyrant in describing him, so that the familiar image would resonate with their audience. Philip calls Wibert's "a charming speech ... concealed with a deceptive covering,"⁴⁷ and although Wibert is by no means portrayed as an evil tyrant on the scale of Olibrius, being a somewhat more nuanced figure, Philip is nonetheless using language associated with the legends of the early virgin martyrs in order to convey to his audience the idea that Oda is a martyr.

Her father's deception is one of the betrayals which Oda suffers on her path to the monastic life. Of her parents, it is Oda's father on whom Philip focusses and whose thoughts and actions are dwelt on in most detail. When Oda rejects Simon at the altar by declaring her love for Christ, Simon rushes off and Wibert immediately follows him, accompanied by a group of friends and relatives, in an attempt to bring him back and accomplish the marriage. His motives in doing so are quite closely examined: it is not just that he wants the marriage to go ahead, he is also fearful for

⁴⁵ Teochimus, 'Saint Margaret,' *Medieval English Prose for Women*, tr. B. Millet and J. Wogan-Browne (Oxford, 1990), p. 51.

⁴⁶ Clemence of Barking, 'The Life of St. Catherine,' trans. from the Anglo-Norman by J. Wogan-Browne and G. S. Burgess, *Virgin Lives and Holy Deaths* (London and Vermont, 1996), p. 22.

⁴⁷ col. 1364B.

his reputation, concerned lest it should be thought that he had engineered the refusal so that he could go back on his word (and presumably save the money that would have been used for her dowry):

... her father, fearing lest he be accused of lying or perjury, lest the mark of blame be brought onto his name ...⁴⁸

It is also with a declaration of a fear of public embarrassment, albeit with a different reason for that embarrassment envisaged, that Christina of Markyate's father approaches the prior of St. Albans Abbey and asks him to persuade Christina to proceed with the marriage that her parents have arranged for her:

if she resists our authority and rejects it, we shall be the laughing-stock of our neighbours, a mockery and derision to those who are round about.⁴⁹

Philip's portrayal of Wibert's fear for his reputation is more sympathetic than that of Christina's hagiographer, his concern being that he should not be seen as a liar. The importance of reputation is a consideration in many of Philip's works, especially, as has been seen, in letters concerning his own reputation and that of his order. This serves, then, to highlight the shame which Oda is knowingly bringing upon her family for the sake of her love of Christ, reminiscent of the scriptural command that one must forsake one's family to follow Christ. It is a motif which will recur again in the *Life* when Oda's own reputation is sullied.

It is with great dramatic flare that Philip depicts the reaction of Oda's father when he returns from pursuing Simon to be confronted with what she has done to herself. A messenger was sent to him with the news, and he, "touched inwardly with grief of heart, returned home on a fast horse."⁵⁰ It is through his eyes that the audience sees the scene: Oda with blood pouring down her face, his wife on the floor wailing and tearing out her white hair. His anguish is movingly portrayed:

Not being able to bear it he bursts forth in tears and is oppressed with
inconsolable grief, and does not alleviate the sorrow of his manly heart

⁴⁸ col. 1366A-B.

⁴⁹ *The Life of Christina of Markyate*, ed. and tr. C. H. Talbot (Oxford, 1959; 2nd edn. Toronto, 1997; repr. Toronto, 2001), p. 59.

⁵⁰ col. 1368A.

with moderation or moderate his tears.⁵¹

Astonishingly, in spite of what Oda has done her father still cannot accept that she should truly wish to be a consecrated virgin. When she asks his permission to leave his house and join the convent, Philip writes that he:

considers it silly [frivolus] that she should seek most narrowly to go into a small refuge of voluntary poverty and religion, since the heir of many possessions ought rather to be distinguished by a renowned name, and blooming and green youth should be united to a youthful man by the law appropriate to wives.⁵²

It takes a very harsh speech from his daughter, coupled with her threat of even greater mutilation, to make him accede to her request and accept that he will never have an heir. Where earlier in the *Life* Oda was prepared to approach the abbot secretly in her desire to enter the cloister, having made her declaration like a martyr in the arena, she will now only go openly. She asks for her father's blessing, but roundly declares that if he does not give it she shall reject him utterly. To convince him of this she uses surprisingly vigorous imagery, presenting a very different picture of herself from the earlier one of a frightened girl:

Indeed, father, you should have known that if no other hope smiled wholly on my vows, if this condition alone would offer the success of my way – namely, that with you spread at my feet in the mud you should provide a bridge for me with your body, if you should bend yourself over for me to cross over; I confess openly, I would not hesitate to cross over by you. And with you condemned, yes, crushed underfoot, I would hasten, congratulating, to the place which I have chosen.⁵³

This is a personal rejection, and it is only when she has made this declaration that Wibert eventually lets her go. He did not give up hope of seeing her married even when she cut off her nose, but it is only when she makes this speech that he really believes her intention. It acts as a second martyr-like declaration of defiance. Philip writes that “his heart was violently disturbed at this, and at length, despite sadness, he approved her vows.”⁵⁴

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² col. 1368D.

⁵³ col. 1369A.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

Oda's mother as an individual is not so prominent a figure in this story as her husband, appearing in her own right on only one occasion, when with Wibert away chasing after Simon she is the first of the two to see her daughter after she has harmed herself. She is portrayed very much as an old woman, described as beating her breast, which was "bowed with loose skins in old age [pectus tundit, laxis senectute pelliibus incurvatum]," and then as "his old wife, tearing out the grey hairs of her head" – "anumque sociam canos capitis ... evellentem."⁵⁵ That Philip's depiction of Oda's parents is not straightforward is revealed in his portrayal of the emotional depth of their response to her self-mutilation and determination to adhere to her vocation. On the one hand their obstruction of her entry to the holy life and the deceit of Wibert in particular in engineering her wedding casts them in the typical role of the persecutor of the virgin martyr. Without their persecution, the whole episode of the nasal mutilation and the claim of martyrdom based on this would not exist. Yet on the other hand, they do not, as the pagan tyrants do, take pleasure in the physical pain of the young woman – unlike Christina's parents, who beat her – and in the end Wibert does allow her to leave, unlike Christina's parents, from whom she remained in hiding after she ran away. It is difficult not to feel sympathy for Oda's parents in their grief. However, rather than rendering Philip's portrayal of Oda's parents ambiguous, this feeling of sympathy may have several functions in the narrative. Wogan-Browne comments on Christina's *Life* that the problems of her parents are "understandable," but that this does not alter the "rightness" of her action: the persecutor's "is not the side to be on in a saint's life."⁵⁶ That the position of the parents is understandable is also very much the case in Oda's *Life*, except that a comparative reading of the two works serves to highlight the contrast between the two sets of parents and so evoke further sympathy for Oda's. However, having had some understanding of Wibert and Thescelina's motives, and felt sympathy for them in their "inconsolable grief" when they viewed their daughter's mutilated face, this sympathy rapidly evaporates when we see that what one would expect to be a moment of redemption for them comes to nothing. The evident sorrow they feel when she has shockingly injured herself ought to be the moment when they repent of their actions, but instead Oda's father keeps her at the house and continues in his plans to have her married. This inability to repent

⁵⁵ 1368A.

⁵⁶ Wogan-Browne, 'Saints' Lives and the Female Reader,' p. 319.

and seek forgiveness and absolution when it is most appropriate shows them to be blinkered. From another viewpoint, the pitiable image of the old woman, so devastated by her daughter's action, has the effect of emphasizing to Philip's audience the strength of Oda's resolve to remain a dedicated virgin, entailing as it did the wounding of her elderly mother and desperate father. She was schooled in obedience to them, as Philip remarks with approval when she goes with them to her wedding as she is bidden, but there is no contradiction in her eventually disobeying them so that she can serve God. As Philip writes in epistle fourteen, to Radulphus: "it is not always just to obey parents, but it is always just to obey parents in the Lord."⁵⁷ This action which she takes in defying them, and the language which she used to do so, must nonetheless have seemed remarkable to the nuns for whom the work was written. When these two are introduced by Philip at the beginning of the *Life* he writes that they "shone, both for the piety of their divine way of life and for their genuine nobility," and from this it is easy to feel that had Oda felt no vocation to the cloistered life they would have been thought of as perfectly decent and God-fearing people.⁵⁸ This, and the sympathy that the audience feels for them on occasions in the *Life*, may demonstrate to the audience how easy it is to fall into sin.

The incident of the false suspicion of leprosy forms an interesting parallel to that of the mutilation, one happening when she is in the world and the other after she has left it. They both represent important stages in her spiritual life, the amputation of the nose marking the stage at which her entry to the cloistered life becomes inevitable (in spite of her father's delaying tactics), and the supposed leprosy marking the point at which she has overcome all temptations of the flesh. Both are disfigurements which show her love for God and her affiliation to the next world and not to this. A linguistic link between the two incidents is formed by Philip describing her face in both as being of "an icy pallor" [pallor gelidus]. In both she is the centre of discussion and scandal yet remains calm and unmoved herself, thus displaying, as has been described, the demeanour of a martyr. And in both he uses the language of martyrdom. The illness is described as "this harsh instrument of torture," and her experience that of being "tossed in the threshing of this threshing-floor," a description similar to that used by St. Agatha, so that by invoking this imagery he suggests that

⁵⁷ col. 140D.

⁵⁸ col. 1361A.

she possesses the same qualities as the martyrs.⁵⁹ Agatha uses the image of threshing to persuade her torturers that by torturing her they are in fact purifying her, by taking out the bad and leaving only the good. In Jacobus de Voragine's version she says:

The wheat cannot be stored in the barn unless its husks have been thoroughly threshed and made into chaff. So my soul cannot enter paradise with the palm of martyrdom unless you have diligently caused my body to be treated harshly by the executioners.⁶⁰

By using the same image Philip shows that Oda too understood her sufferings as a process of purification, cleansing her to be a perfect bride of Christ. It is this same notion that leads him to describe her final fatal illness with another image of purification, that of the furnace that extracts iron:

And thus death, sowing and extending its roots by degrees, advanced through the days. Thus assuredly it was fitting that this slag should be melted out to pure metal in the melting-furnace, so that having been thus tried, thus melted out, it should worthily deserve to be fashioned into the high points in the diadem of the king.⁶¹

The "diadem of the king" in the Song of Songs refers to God, "wearing the crown, the crown with which his mother crowned him on the day of his wedding."⁶² Throughout the *Life* Oda is described as the woman of the Song, and Christ the lover, of whom Solomon is the type. Philip not only sees her in the episode of the leprosy as being martyred by the suffering of illness, but also by the suffering of the loss of reputation which accompanied it.

Discussing the Book of Margery Kempe and Margery's search for a form of martyrdom, Sarah Salih has written, in a section entitled *Martyrdom by Slander*, about the destructive effects of a stained reputation, emphasizing that:

Reputation is not, as it is in modern thought, something distinct from the true person; it is a category as fundamental to the person as age, gender, or estate; it is not other than the self, but the social aspect of the self.⁶³

⁵⁹ col. 1371B.

⁶⁰ Jacobus de Voragine, 'De Sancta Agatha,' *Legenda Aurea* 1, p. 258.

⁶¹ col. 1372D-1373A.

⁶² Songs 3:11.

⁶³ Salih, *Versions of Virginity*, p. 214.

With this in mind, Philip's statement that Oda "was made the refuse of all, and like the useless sweepings of the house," cannot be read as mere hyperbole, but rather as an affirmation of the severity of her position. It is the foundation for a claim to another kind of martyrdom. Although her martyrdom by slander is not easily separated from her martyrdom by the pain of illness because the two are part of the same episode, it is nonetheless possible to discern that it was considered as a distinct way in which she is martyred. The rejection and denigration of her by her fellows that Philip regards as one of the sufferings through which she is exalted would not have occurred had it been an ordinary illness that she had contracted, rather than the false allegation of "the contagion of leprosy," so that it is the slander here that leads to this form of suffering. The element of volition is again present, as because the rejection is another means of perfecting her holiness through suffering, knowing this she makes no attempt to plead her innocence and so rescue her reputation:

The humble servant of Christ bore the dishonour of this contempt with no displeasure at all: knowing that virtue is made perfect in weakness, she sustained with joy the unjust rejection of her reputation. And disdaining to oppose by any means the false suspicion which was forged about her, she did not delay withdrawing to the designated place.⁶⁴

This embracing of unfair reprobation again evokes the commands of Christ, when he says: "Blessed are you when people insult you, persecute you and falsely say all kinds of evil against you because of me."⁶⁵

To endure the illness and the rumours which were spread about her because of it, Philip tells us that Oda fixed her mind on the image of Christ suffering on the cross, who "did not refuse to submit to the torment of the cross."⁶⁶ She is thus comforted and strengthened by the idea that she is imitating Christ, in that she too suffers what God has ordained for her. By imitating Christ she is also identifying with his suffering, and being brought closer to him through this identification. Reasoning in this way, she is able to rejoice in her suffering, even "contemplating that hand ... which the condemned tumour had attacked," as an aid to meditation, as one would

⁶⁴ col. 1370C-D.

⁶⁵ Matt. 5:11.

⁶⁶ col. 1371A.

meditate on a crucifix or an icon.⁶⁷ Philip's depiction of her contemplating her own wounded hand is a deliberate echo of the contemplation of Christ's wounded hand, nailed to the cross, as when he tells the disciples: "Behold my hands and my feet."⁶⁸ Giles Constable has written of the growth of writings in the eleventh and twelfth centuries which exhorted the reader to concentrate on a visual image of the Passion in their meditation,⁶⁹ and of the "growing sense of personal participation in the passion of Christ."⁷⁰ Oda is participating in both these trends, identifying with Christ through suffering to the extent that she is able to meditate on her own hand as though meditating on a visual image of Christ crucified. Oda is depicted as visualising Christ in another sense on another occasion when she is suffering from bodily pain: as she is dying. Rather than his wounded hand, now her focus is on his face and his eyes, because the language is that of penitence and confession, and he is looking at, and into, her. The "progressive internalization of medieval spirituality" on which Constable comments is most evident here, where there is no mention of a confessor at her bedside, but rather where she is depicted as positioning herself before Christ the Judge and confessing her sins.⁷¹ The way in which she identifies her sins and then reproves herself for them is most striking, as it is as though she needs the stimulus of an image of a "severe" Christ, but is then able to chastise herself. Much as physically she punished herself with the sword when she "raised herself up against herself,"⁷² here she is punishing herself spiritually:

[she] seized upon the face of the Lord in confession: and positioning herself before that same face, she decided her cause with careful discussion under the eyes of that severe judge, and correcting with a stern invective whichever things displeased her about herself, with Mary she watered his feet with tears.⁷³

Her penitential spirit is emphasized here when Philip likens her to the Magdalen, and he goes on to underscore her humility by recounting how, when the nuns ask her to

⁶⁷ *ibid.*

⁶⁸ Luke 24:40.

⁶⁹ Constable, 'The ideal of the imitation of Christ,' pp. 204-211.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 197.

⁷¹ *ibid.*

⁷² col. 1366C.

⁷³ col. 1373A.

intercede for them when she goes to heaven, she burst into tears and asked rather that they pray for her, “that forgiveness be given for my transgressions.”⁷⁴

Oda suffered various setbacks in her ambition to become a nun, which naturally were characterised by Philip as part of a process by which God tested and thus strengthened her, so that she would increase in holiness. Rather than violence, these obstacles take the form of betrayal and deceit. The first occurs when the relative to whom she entrusted the task of approaching Abbot Odo and declaring her intention to take the veil under him betrays her to her parents. It is this revelation which incites her parents to set in motion the process of searching for a suitable bridegroom for her. The image of the young girl as friendless and alone is paralleled in the contemporary *Life of Christina of Markyate*, whose best friend Helisen was persuaded to act against her, trying through subtle suggestions to turn Christina’s mind so that she would wish to marry. Christina’s clerical friend, the canon Sueno, also temporarily deserted her when he believed the rumours he had heard that she was to marry. In some ways reminiscent of the solitariness of Christ before the Passion when the disciples slept, so that he asked “could you not watch with me one hour?”⁷⁵ this isolation emphasizes the struggle they have to endure, and the fact that their strength comes from God alone. In Christina’s *Life* her abandonment by her friends is explicitly depicted as something that aligns her with Christ:

Indeed just as Christ was rejected by the Jews, afterwards denied by the prince of the Apostles, Peter, who loved Him more than the rest ... so this maiden was afflicted first by her parents, then abandoned by her only friend, Sueno.⁷⁶

In this situation Oda’s first, most human, reaction had been to acquiesce to her parents’ will. To have objected would have exposed her to the same pressure that many others before her had been unable to resist, and must have seemed inconceivable. Even Christina, after resisting for some time, eventually weakened enough to agree to betrothal, although she then resumed her opposition and succeeded in running away. It is at this point, when she is in trouble and afraid, that Philip portrays Oda, as Christ’s bride, knocking on his door, as the beloved of the Song

⁷⁴ col. 1373C.

⁷⁵ Matt. 26:40.

⁷⁶ *The Life of Christina of Markyate*, p. 57.

knocks on the door of the woman, only to disappear. In the *Life*, however, Oda's call is answered and Christ opens the door to her, "and he kindly consoled the soft heart, impressing on her a kiss of charity."⁷⁷ As in the Song, she is fed by her beloved, and senses it as an aroma or spice, but where the food in the Song is fruit, here it is bread, "bread of strength holding all delight and all flavour of sweetness," that is to say, an image of the Eucharist.⁷⁸ Caroline Walker Bynum has discussed examples of mainly thirteenth-century women who were strengthened by receiving the Eucharist from Christ in visions.⁷⁹ Philip's exposition of Oda's experience suggests that he is writing in metaphorical terms rather than recounting a vision, but it demonstrates the thread of an idea that was to become for some women a potent and vivid experienced vision. The strength that Oda receives from the kiss and the bread renew and prepare her in a way that is miraculous. Philip writes that, whereas before the slightest breeze could sway her, now she stands firm against "the violence of the air, the noise of the sea, the storms of the winds." He uses the metaphor of her new steadfastness as a fortress or tower of solid stone, which perhaps echoes the images in the Song of the woman, to whom it is said: "your neck is like an ivory tower ... your nose is like the tower of Lebanon ...," and who herself says: "I am a wall and my breasts are like towers."⁸⁰ She is now portrayed as a soldier, "the woman skilled in fighting... challenging the enemy ... fearless."⁸¹ So her situation, in which she is abandoned by her worldly friends, has been transformed from a position of weakness to one of strength, with all her help coming from Christ alone, undiluted by the intervention of any other person. Philip describes her as being like David when fighting Goliath, alone, but with strength that is from God.⁸²

Although Oda does not die when she strikes off her own nose with a sword, she is dead to the world, as she herself later puts it to her father, and as is her intention. In worldly terms, therefore, the music and joy of the wedding is turned into wailing and sorrow after she has committed her awful act, and Philip contrasts the two accordingly:

⁷⁷ col. 1363C.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*

⁷⁹ C. Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (California, 1987), p. 118.

⁸⁰ Songs 7:4 and 8:10.

⁸¹ col. 1363D.

⁸² col. 1363B.

The cithar is turned to mourning and the voice of joy to grief ...
all that splendid preparation of nuptials becomes dark with filthy
soot and covered with mourning garb.⁸³

It is perhaps symbolic that when she should have entered the worldly bridal chamber, the chamber which she does enter on that day is one in which she will die to the world, when she takes up the sword. And at the end of the *Life* another direct inversion is depicted, to parallel that cited above, when having died in the body she goes on to marry Christ in the spirit. The whole of Philip's imagining of Oda's heavenly life is an inversion of her life on earth – in heaven she rests and sleeps as she could not in life whilst she kept vigils; she is “drunk from the plenty of the house of God” as she could not be in life with her constant abstemiousness and fasting. And above all the consecrated virgin, able to be both virgin and bride, “sleeps in happy sleep in the embraces of her heavenly husband.”⁸⁴

Other metaphorical inversions are used in the text, symbolising the way in which the heavenly life is in complete contrast to all worldly expectations. In the passage where Oda is thought to have contracted leprosy there are two instances of such contrasts between worldly perception and heavenly reality. Philip makes it clear that contrary to appearances Oda does not have leprosy, but rather is afflicted by sores brought on by “corrupt humours” due to the austere fasting and asceticism to which she had not been accustomed. The lesions, which the world thinks are a symptom of leprosy and thus her moral uncleanness, are in fact incurred by her otherworldly purity. Oda understands the illness as a way in which she is tested by God, like Job, and not only accepts but actively welcomes it. This attitude reveals a spiritual maturity which is at odds with her youth, and is emphasized by Philip by contrasting her with another, older, nun who is deputed to look after her in the little cottage to which she has been banished, who is to “console the young woman with maternal affection.”⁸⁵ Philip focusses on Oda's youth in the language he uses here, writing of how she “submitted her young, pliant neck to the yoke of obedience,” and that “harsh garb and sparingness of food weakened the tender and delicate body.”⁸⁶ The older nun

⁸³ col. 1368A-B.

⁸⁴ col. 1374C.

⁸⁵ col. 1370D.

⁸⁶ col. 1370B.

is “of a very prudent age ... with a face as though creased,” but where the young Oda exhibits wisdom and maturity, this older woman lacks understanding and refuses to undertake the task assigned to her, through fear that she would be contaminated. Philip writes with indignation of this disobedience, terming it “rebellious contumacy” and noting (doubtless as a warning to his audience) that she was duly punished for her disobedience, according to the Rule. The opposition of the two nuns’ physical ages and their spiritual ages provides another example of the direct opposition of the earthly and the heavenly, epitomised by Oda. Philip writes of the contrast thus, referring to their obedience to the Rule:

and that [i.e. the Rule] to which white-haired childishness would deny its obedience, the girlish age of virgins in turn showed ready servitude.

(et cui suum cana infantilitas obsequium denegarat, promptum deinceps exhibuit famulatum aetas virginum puellaris.)⁸⁷

Philip intends, naturally, that the nuns who are the principal audience of this work should find in the *Life* of their departed prioress an example of virtues for which they too should strive. In the Prologue he praises writers who recorded the lives of “women who shone marvellously above their sex in virtue, to the extent that the one whom the healthful air of such report blows over, is stirred to live similarly by virtue of zeal.”⁸⁸ By undertaking the *Life* of Oda, Philip adds himself to their number, and the *Life* is replete with instances of Oda displaying the virtues to which all should aspire. Obedience is one such virtue, lauded by Philip both when he approves Oda’s decision to obey her parents by at least attending her planned wedding, and when he disapproves of the old nun who was supposed to attend to her. That she recovers from this illness, is able therefore to return to the nunnery, and is spiritually strengthened by the experience, is attributed to her obedience as well as to patience. She is obedient to God’s commands and so suffers cheerfully the pain that he has commanded that she endures:

... she frequented the lecture-hall of obedience, so that she suffered herself to be inferior to none in this discipline, whose laws she embraced the guardianship of, in order that she might

⁸⁷ col. 1370D.

⁸⁸ col. 1359A-B.

reckon nothing harsh, nothing insupportable, but pleasing and light, if she was commanded to do anything.⁸⁹

A whole book of Philip's major treatise, the *De Institutione Clericorum*, was devoted to the theme of obedience in the cloister, and it was a subject close to his heart. The language used here shows that he saw it as something to be worked on, learned and perfected as much as any scholar endeavours to master his or her subject. As well as obedience, Oda also displayed great patience in the way in which she accepted her illness and denigration, in support of which quality Philip employs quotations from three authorities: Horace, St. Paul, and Symmachus. He writes, for the benefit of the nuns, that Oda "was certain that she might be bringing back the fruits of labour and patience, eternal life."⁹⁰ Her patience is also rewarded by God relieving her of her suffering, so allowing her to be received back into the community.

It is due to the inspirational display of these virtues, patience and obedience, that Odo chooses Oda to be prioress:

She was now chosen by the Father as mistress over her fellow-disciples by right of her virtues; she was set before others as though as a mirror or a Rule [quasi pro speculo vel regula].⁹¹

She is then depicted as the ideal prioress, and Philip enumerates the qualities expected in such a one. The very first thing he tells us about Oda as prioress is that she became even more humble, devout, and servile as a result of her new role. In this he is undoubtedly warning against pride, perhaps also hoping to quash any feelings of ambition among his audience. She is also described as a "mother" to her nuns, one with "mature discretion:" an expression of the ideal situation in a house of monastic women, and thus a lesson to the current community of Rivreulle. It is because she acts as she preaches that she has the "authority" [auctoritas] to chastise them when they slip. He briefly describes how she was successful in dealing with the nuns because she had the skill of moulding herself to individuals so that she might gain their trust and affection, from which favoured position she might help them to grow in their spiritual

⁸⁹ col. 1371C.

⁹⁰ col. 1371B.

⁹¹ col. 1371C.

life, or as he puts it: “might form Christ in their breasts more fully.”⁹² Philip thus sees the prioress as fulfilling the symbolic spiritual roles of mother, teacher and doctor. In the latter role she cuts off the faults of her nuns as though cutting off a tumour, so that she might “put on a benign poultice and apply healing medicine to the inflicted wound.”⁹³ By ministering to the poor, as Philip goes on to say that she does, she is also acting as a physical healer, saving them from the poverty that leads to starvation, and helping Christ in the figure of the beggar.

It is Oda’s status as a dedicated virgin, and her fight to retain this status, which is the central focus of the story, and so Philip refers to her simply as “virgo” twenty times in the *Life*, as “virgo Oda” four times, and once to reinforce her claim to martyrdom he places “Oda” and “virgo” in apposition.⁹⁴ On only one occasion does he call her simply by her name, “Oda,” without the accompanying “virgo,” and this is because, suggesting that the reader praise her memory, he is equating her name with praise: “truly, Oda is emphatically *praise*.”⁹⁵ Philip’s emphasis on Oda’s status as virgin is most pronounced in the first part of the work, before her entry to the monastery. Even though the period after she has taken the veil occupies just under half of the work, only two of the total nineteen simple designations of “virgo” to refer to her are found here. Two reasons may be found for this. In the first place, when she still lived in the world her status as a virgin dedicated to Christ was the quality which marked her out for sanctity, which, when she left the world, was no longer so remarkable. In the second place, after a certain portion of the second half, Oda is made prioress. This section of the *Life*, in which her deeds as prioress are discussed, is relatively small, but it is noticeable that in the course of it she is not referred to as “virgo” as she was before her elevation, but is given the title again after death. Rather, the emphasis in that section is on her as mother, and whilst “virgo” refers to a state, it also has implications of youth and naïvety – the “girlish age of virgins” which he used in the episode of the leprosy – which do not fit the image of wisdom and maturity in her role as mistress of the nuns which Philip wished to project.

⁹² col. 1371D.

⁹³ col. 1372A.

⁹⁴ “martyr igitur et virgo Oda est,” col. 1367C.

⁹⁵ col. 1374C.

By reverting to the name of “virgo Oda” after her death and burial, the audience sees her in the persona which defines her: freed from the cares of the world and maternal care for the nuns, it is as though she has reverted to the point at which she left her father’s house to join the convent, but instead has joined her celestial husband. In both instances she is described as leaving Egypt, although the theme is more positive in the second case. In the first, Egypt is mentioned because like the Israelites she is fleeing from slavery and godlessness. In the second, when Philip dwells on the flight from Egypt he is most focussed on where she is fleeing to, rather than from: to “where the true Paschal Lamb gave back freedom to the true Israelites, where Christ who rose again from the dead was about to taste no more of the bitter fruit of this vine.”⁹⁶ The union with Christ is a true one, showing life in the convent, however holy, as but a pale imitation – she sees him “not as through a glass and in darkness,”⁹⁷ an appropriate quotation from a passage concerned with the brilliance of feeling the true love of God.

In another image in this passage Philip sees Oda as the bride of the Song of Songs, who has achieved her ultimate end by seeing King Solomon, in this case a figure for Christ, “when his mother crowned him on the day of celebration and joy, on the day of his betrothal.”⁹⁸ Throughout the *Life* Philip employed imagery from the Song of Songs, a technique common to authors of *lives* of virgin saints, and a subject of especial interest to him, as the author of a commentary on the Song of Songs. Dom Berlière believed that Philip commenced this work before his exile, continued writing during it, and completed it when he returned to his post.⁹⁹ With his exile ending in 1152 or 1153, the Commentary must therefore have been completed before Oda’s death. The Song of Song’s influence is felt heavily throughout Philip’s work, with imagery taken from it featuring prominently in, for example, his letter to the anonymous newly-appointed bishop. The versatility of a book which is open to almost infinite interpretation is shown when in that letter the incense and spices of the Song are used as metaphors for, amongst other things, the spread of fame and reputation. In the *Life of the Blessed Virgin Oda* he naturally applies the biblical imagery of the bride of Christ in the Song to the bride of Christ who is the subject of his own work.

⁹⁶ col. 1374B.

⁹⁷ col. 1374C; 1 Cor. 13:12.

⁹⁸ col. 1374B; Songs 3:11.

⁹⁹ Berlière, *RB* 9, p. 197.

Thus when he imagines her thoughts as she vows her intention to remain dedicated to Christ near the beginning of the *Life*, Philip envisages her meditating on the image of the woman of the Song as a dove which flies to the mountain to hide, who in the fourth chapter of the book is called down by her lover from the mountains of Lebanon. With these passages, Philip incorporates exegesis into his work, presenting the nuns of Rivreulle with one interpretation of these passages:

And now she aspired with all vows to that in the Song of Songs:
“I will go myself to the Mount of Myrrh, that is, to the hills of Lebanon.”¹⁰⁰ For she saw that many men on the plain of secular life were unbridled with harmful liberty, through licentiousness of behaviour, and knowing that bad things are not corrected save by a Rule, she chose to be elevated to the Mount of Myrrh, that is, to the arduous discipline of a Rule.¹⁰¹

Taking the metaphor further, Philip uses the hills of Lebanon in this instance to symbolise “little gatherings [conventicula] of religious women.” The woman of the Song is “like a lily among thorns,”¹⁰² and so Philip adopts the image for his *sponsa Christi*, expanding the image further by seeing Oda as “the lily of chastity ... forced to be devoured among the thorns of transitory vanity.”¹⁰³

Among many other images replete with biblical references, Philip later in the *Life* uses the image of the tower again, this time to represent Oda’s spiritual life, the foundations of which she was building when she entered the convent. Philip uses the metaphor to demonstrate to the nuns that the act of taking the veil was not the consummation of spiritual endeavour, but the beginning of a life-long process with which the religious had actively to engage. The foundation had to be laid correctly for the tower to be able to stand as she intended:

the improvidently constructed foundation of the tower might answer not so much for the building, as be seen to provide a cave for robbers, or an apt monument for concealing the corpses of the dead.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Songs 4:6.

¹⁰¹ col. 1361B.

¹⁰² Songs 2:2.

¹⁰³ col. 1361C.

¹⁰⁴ col. 1369C-D.

The foundation on which Philip tells us she builds is that of humility, and no doubt this is intended as another instruction to the nuns, in this case in the correct way of thinking when living the religious life, and as a warning of the spiritual consequences of pride. In using a metaphor of building he naturally borrows from the parable of the men who built their respective houses on sand and rock, so that in laying a foundation of humility she is described as “shunning ... the sand that drinks up water,” which in this case is as bad as “the highest point of the mountain,” namely, pride.¹⁰⁵ The image is actually taken from Boethius, so that when Philip writes:

Eapropter montis cacumen altum, bibulasque vitans arenas ...¹⁰⁶

(On that account shunning the highest point of the mountain,
and the sand that drinks up water ...)

he is incorporating language from the *Consolation of Philosophy*:

montis cacumen alti, bibulas vitet arenas ...¹⁰⁷

Philip draws on Boethius on more than one occasion in the *Life*, with the imagery of Oda withstanding the “violent south wind” and “the Thracian north wind” after she has been comforted by Christ also being clearly influenced by the *Consolation*. Philip’s “quam vel protervus auster totis viribus non urget”¹⁰⁸ here is closely modelled on Boethius’ “illud protervus Auster, totis viribus urget.”¹⁰⁹ Other authors whom he quotes in the *Life* include Horace, Symmachus and Fulgentius, although in the case of the last-mentioned the quotation ought to have been attributed to St. Ambrose.¹¹⁰ Like the authors of other saints’ *lives* of this genre, Philip also makes use of symbolism from the other favourite biblical reference for such a work, the Book of Revelation. He therefore numbers Oda among the one hundred and forty four thousand virgins: in the same passage as she metaphorically begins to build her tower of religion upon entering the cloister, “the Lord sent into her mouth a new song which no one can sing

¹⁰⁵ col. 1369D.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, bk 2, metrum 4, ll. 7-8, ed. J. O’Donnell (Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, 2nd edn, 1990), based on Latin edition of G. Weinberger, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 67 (1935): www.ccat.sas.upenn.edu.

¹⁰⁸ col. 1369D; “so either the violent south wind does not urge with all its strength ...”

¹⁰⁹ Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, bk 2, metrum 4, ll. 9-10.

¹¹⁰ col. 1367B - “Virginity cannot be commanded, but chosen,” St. Ambrose of Milan, ‘De Virginitate,’ *PL* 16 (1845), col. 195.

upon the earth, save those in Apocalypse ‘under the number of the hundred thousand virgins.’”¹¹¹

The *Life*, then, is educative on many levels, incorporating lessons of biblical exegesis as well as spiritual and moral instruction into the text. It runs the gamut of the numerous and diverse interpretations of the concept of martyrdom, in a comprehensive explanation of how Oda, in her various forms of suffering for Christ, deserved to be recognised as one of his martyrs. As well as claiming for her the great reverence which was her due on account of this sacrifice for Christ, Philip also ensures that the holiness of all aspects of her life is laid out, so that the self-mutilation is seen not as an isolated act, but as part of a whole way of life dedicated to God. Peter Brown has talked about the *Passio* as the culmination of the *Life* of a martyr:

For the sufferings of the martyrs were miracles in themselves. The accounts of their deaths, in the *Passiones* and *Gesta martyrum*, was one point only in a long chain of manifestations of the power of God throughout their lives, continued up to the present at their shrines.¹¹²

Philip described how she “lived her life as a sermon,” so exemplary and instructive was it, and in feeding the poor and bearing her suffering with patience she was presented as a model for all to follow. Caring for the sisters as a mother so that “she might draw those women with love, bind them with affection,” she is depicted as the ideal type of a prioress. Whereas few could hope to attain the “palm of martyrdom,” the holiness of these aspects of her life suggested something to which all the nuns could aspire, and Philip uses her as an example of the qualities of patience and obedience on which he places so much emphasis. There was a period of some twenty five years in which Philip could have written the *Life*, so that when it was written some nuns would remember Oda, and others of a new generation may have heard of her from them. For both, the *Life* would act as a reminder that they had been privileged to have had a martyr in their midst, on whose intercessions, as their special advocate, they could rely. Whether or not the work ever reached beyond the walls of Bonne-Espérance, it was one means by which Philip could enact his role as abbot in the instruction and inspiring of the nuns.

¹¹¹ col. 1369D; Rev. 14:3.

¹¹² P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* (Chicago, 1981), p. 79.

Philip of Harvengt's *Life of St. Salvius*

All commentators on Philip's work agree that his *Life of St. Salvius* is based closely on a much earlier version, with Philip himself writing at the beginning of the first chapter that he has acquired his information "through the disclosure of a true narrative."¹ This early work exists in seven manuscripts, ranging in production from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries,² and an edition is printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*.³ Arguing the need for improvements on this, however, Maurice Coens produced his own excellent edition for the *Analecta Bollandiana* of 1969, footnoting meticulously the slight variations found in five of the seven existing manuscripts of this first *Life*. The two he decided to take less closely into consideration are a thirteenth-century copy of the tenth-century manuscript, bound in the same volume and incomplete, and the fifteenth-century manuscript. The story was obviously a popular one: Coens points to a different version which existed in six manuscripts composed in Cistercian houses between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries; three manuscripts of Jacques de Guise's edition incorporated into his *Annales Hannoniae*; and a further three manuscripts of the *Life* from German or Brabant houses of canons regular from the fifteenth century. Henschenius in the *Acta Sanctorum* and Coens after him observe that in the Cistercian group of manuscripts the story of this St. Salvius and another of the same name become confused in the first part of these *Lives*. Philip, not falling into this error, clearly therefore did not use these Cistercian manuscripts, and so must have seen a copy of the earliest *Life*. Abbot Sijen had cited two surviving manuscripts of Philip's version of the *Life*, held in Paris and Mons, to which Coens adds the discovery of another, a fifteenth-century manuscript hailing from Cologne.⁴ Both the Paris and Mons manuscripts are dated in their catalogues to the thirteenth century, meaning that either Coens' attribution of the Paris manuscript to the twelfth century, or the catalogue entry itself, must be mistaken. If Coens did reconsider the catalogue's dating of this manuscript, however, he did not discuss this in his work.

¹ col. 1313A.

² M. Coens, 'La Passion de Saint Sauve,' *AB* 87 (1969), pp. 138-140.

³ 'De SS. Salvio episcopo, et Superio ejus discipulo, martyribus prope Valencenas in Belgio: Vita auctore coaevo hactenus inedita, ex septem codicibus Mss,' BHL no. 7472, *AASS* June 26th, ed. G. Henschenius and D. Papebrochius, cols. 198F-204D.

⁴ Sijen, 'Les Oeuvres,' p. 161; Coens, 'La Passion,' pp. 149-50.

A comparison of Philip's *Life* with the original version shows that this was his sole source, and his own composition a reworking of it. For this reason Abbot Sijen is rather dismissive of it:

This "Passion" is not an original work by Philip, because he is content to re-write in rhymed prose a life of St. Salvius composed in the eighth century, slipping in here and there some ascetic reflections with which to edify the reader.⁵

The relationship between Philip's work and his source still repays some investigation, however. To the content of the text he makes slight alterations which sit more happily with his ideal construct for this genre, and are worthy topics of examination for that reason. His stylistic reworking of the text is a substantial improvement on the original work, and makes it immensely more readable. Writing about Gerald of Wales as hagiographer, Robert Bartlett has discussed the "evidence, throughout the medieval period and beyond, of a persistent demand for saints' lives to be rewritten in accordance with contemporary literary and stylistic canons," and quotes Gerald's explanation in the *Life of St. Ethelbert* that he is writing in response to requests for "a shorter and clearer version" of the existing *Life*.⁶ Like Gerald's, Philip's re-renderings of existing saints' *lives* are more polished and less prolix than the originals, although his comments on the earlier works are less blunt than Gerald's. Philip's *Life of St. Salvius* was written, as he says in the introduction to the *Life*, at the request of the prior of the abbey of St. Salvius (or Saint-Sauve) in Valenciennes, Hugh, who was supported in his desire by Philip's own abbot. Dom Berlière demonstrated that the work must have been written between 1144, the earliest date at which Hugh could have been prior of Saint-Sauve, and 1157, after which Philip was no longer prior, but abbot, of Bonne-Espérance.⁷ Philip tells Hugh that he is aware Hugh's desire that he write the *Life* was stimulated by having been told about Philip's version of the *Life of St. Augustine*. This work was a cleverly constructed amalgam of sections of the saint's autobiographical *Confessions* and Possidius' hagiography. As the *Confessions* and Possidius' *Life* were so well-known, whoever recommended Philip to Hugh would have recognised the technique. So warm was their praise that on the strength of it

⁵ Sijen, *ibid.*

⁶ R. Bartlett, 'Rewriting Saints' Lives: The Case of Gerald of Wales,' *Speculum* 58 (1983), pp. 598 and 601.

⁷ Berlière, *RB* 9, p. 247.

Hugh asked Philip to compose the *Life* of the saint to whom his monastery was dedicated. A reworking of an earlier and familiar text may therefore be disappointing to a modern audience, but was not only perfectly acceptable, but even desirable, to some of Philip's contemporaries.

In the original *Life* the author plunges straight into the events leading up to the martyrdom, and so Salvius enters the narrative with not even the most cursory of background detail, already a bishop approaching Valenciennes to preach to the people. It is only in the ninth of the nineteen chapters of this work that the audience is told the place of his birth, which as Coens puts it, is “contrairement au procédé habituel de l’hagiographie.”⁸ Philip prefers a more ordered structure, and makes this factual statement the first line of the first chapter of his work after the Prologue. The author of the first *Life* makes no reference to Salvius’ progression through the ranks of clergy to the episcopate, but as it must have happened Philip incorporates this into the tiny amount of biographical detail he has at his disposal with which to form an introduction to the saint. Thus to commence the story he tells his audience that Salvius was born somewhere in the Auvergne, “in the region of Aquitaine,”⁹ made a priest, and then due to the holiness of his life, made bishop. This first instance of Philip restructuring the order of the earlier text enables the hagiography to follow the convention of a saint’s *life*, the vast majority of which begin with a typical brief biography of parents and birthplace. Other instances of such restructuring occur throughout the *Life*, for various reasons, all of which contain an element of repairing the relative lack of sophistication of the earlier text.

Most of these alterations are similarly minor adjustments, but they have the overall effect of simply telling a better story. One example occurs when Philip alters the order of the speech which the servant Winegarius makes to his master Winegard, on having found himself unable to bring himself to obey the latter’s command and kill Salvius. Winegarius is brought before Winegard to explain why he has not done as he was ordered. In the version of the earlier author, Winegarius opens his response by exclaiming: “Would that it might please our liberator and redeemer Christ the son of

⁸ Coens, ‘La Passion,’ p. 152.

⁹ *PS*, p. 175, l. 25 and Philip, col. 1313B.

God that the eyes of the heart of my lord might be opened!”¹⁰ Having kindled his lord’s anger, he then asks Winegard not to be angry with him, and having received some assurance, proceeds with his tale, which serves of course to make Winegard very angry. Philip rearranges this and makes it far more naturalistic. As he tells it, Winegarius begins by asking Winegard that “with your anger calmed, give me, your servant, freedom and space to speak,” and then explains what happened, makes his exclamation that God might open Winegard’s eyes, at which Winegard is predictably furious and reacts accordingly. Philip’s rearrangement improves both the flow and the credibility of the narrative.

A similar stylistic shift can be seen when the circumstances are described in which Winegard, the son of a locally important man, Genard, first sees the richly-ornamented Mass vessels for which he has Salvius killed. Having preached to the people at Valenciennes, Salvius moved on to the basilica of St. Martin, where he performed Mass and (after a break for refreshment) spent the night in prayer. In the morning he preached again and said Mass, after which he was invited by Genard to his home to eat, and it being his custom to always carry these vessels with him in full public view, it was here that Winegard set eyes on them. Where the early *Life* describes the Mass vessels and vestments only after Salvius has said Mass, been approached by Genard and accepted his invitation, Philip describes them at the point in the narrative where Salvius vests to celebrate Mass. With this rearrangement, Philip creates a visual image of Salvius presiding at the altar in these precious vestments, administering the Host from the golden chalice, which is far more powerful than telling the audience after the fact, as the early author did, that “Saint Salvius had a golden Mass-vessel ...” [“Habebat autem sanctus Salvius ministerium aureum aecclesiasticum ...”].¹¹ Although Winegard first sees them at his father’s house, the audience is introduced to them earlier, not only allowing it a modicum of involvement in the development of the narrative, but also emphasizing to it the sacrality of the objects. Although seemingly an obvious point, it underlines quite a significant difference in the attitude towards these objects that Philip and the earlier author wish Salvius to display. The difference is hinted at in this slight restructuring just

¹⁰ *PS*, p. 173, ll. 6-7.

¹¹ *PS*, p. 167, ll. 22-4.

described, but is made explicit by a more substantial alteration that Philip makes to his original source.

Both authors provide an explanation of why Salvius should put himself at risk by openly carrying these precious objects. The earlier author quite explicitly writes that he did so because he hoped for martyrdom – the chalice and vestments were displayed in the hopes that someone would kill him for them and so would speed his path to Heaven. In Philip's version, Salvius carries them with him "not provoked by desire for their temporal worth, but with such a chalice venerating the divine mystery."¹² Naturally the earlier author did not suggest that the saint desired their material wealth for its own sake either, but he does portray Salvius as valuing their material worth because of the reward it will bring him. With Salvius utilising the sacred vessels in this way in the original *Life*, they are not presented to the audience fitly. Part of the work's function should be actively to induce the audience to reverence the vessels, not to regard them, as did the villain Winegard, in terms of their earthly rather than their spiritual value. It is perhaps to underline their true worth that Philip inserts into the text an explanation of why a bishop should use and wear such costly items, remarking that they act as a signifier of his dignity and sanctity.¹³ It is likely that he regarded the use of the sacred vessels as bait with some unease.

The earlier author wrote that Salvius "carried all things in the sight of all people ... because he desired with a most eager spirit to attain to the palm of martyrdom for the love of Christ." Coens, in the notes to his edition of this early *Life*, objects to this, writing of it:

It is there, in our text, a quite disconcerting anticipation and, actually, bad hagiography [la mauvaise hagiographie].¹⁴

He goes on in the same footnote to express his amazement at the saint's actions in later parts of the *Life* which not only invite martyrdom, but practically order it. Winegarius has been ordered to kill Salvius, but on seeing the saint praying Winegarius is moved, and offers to help him escape, intending to go with him as a

¹² col. 1315B.

¹³ col. 1315A-B.

¹⁴ *PS*, p. 167, n. 3.

disciple. Rather than accepting the offer, Salvius first considers that the gaoler may be lying to him, and then insists that a servant must obey his master – that Winegarius must obey Winegard. Winegarius is given very little choice but to kill him, and as an example of true martyrdom the story sits uneasily with the modern reader. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, however, to seek for martyrdom was not only acceptable, but laudable and holy. Thus Philip has no similar problem in accepting the saint's actions in his prison cell, and reports them faithfully after the original *Life*. However, unlike the earlier author he makes no mention of the active and eager search for martyrdom at the early stage to which Coens objects as too anticipatory, waiting instead until Salvius is in prison offering his neck to the killer.

Whilst Coens sees Salvius' quest for martyrdom at the beginning of the *Life* and his refusal to escape it when given the opportunity in prison as equally reprehensible, Philip's approach towards Salvius' attitude in the two circumstances is different. He would not have shied away from the earlier author's depictions of Salvius' search for it for ideological reasons, but rather for stylistic ones. The invitation to killers which sees Salvius openly displaying his treasures is removed, whereas his interaction with the gaoler in which he urges him to kill him and offers him his neck to do it is dwelt on at more length than in the original. In this respect at least he might share Coens' opinion that the "anticipation" was "bad hagiography." In other respects, the anticipation made for good hagiography, when on Salvius' journey to the Church of St. Mary at Condé-sur-l'Escaut, when Winegard approaches him, ostensibly to ask that he turn aside to consecrate some churches in Winegard's possession, he "with the divine spirit revealing it, was not ignorant of what was awaiting him."¹⁵ The foreknowledge is further evidence of his sanctity, and having been given this knowledge he will do nothing to escape it, understanding that it is incumbent upon him to allow the divine will to be fulfilled. That his will and the divine will coincide makes his death a joyful one. It also means that, as he has been blessed to know what is to happen to him, he cannot allow Winegarius to reject the role he has been called upon to play, and therefore to reject God. Both authors show Salvius explaining to Winegarius that they should embrace what God has prepared for

¹⁵ col. 1316A.

them.¹⁶ From this point of view, Salvius' urging of Winegarius to kill him is not the saint's own perverse will practically forcing a man to commit murder, but his acknowledgement of the ineluctability of God's intention. Indeed, in Philip's version Salvius tells Winegarius that "it is necessary," [necesse est] that the murder take place.

Although as a "passio" the focus of both versions of the *Life* is of course the martyrdom, Philip's *Life* contains an emphasis on the saint's mission with which the earlier author is not so concerned. The earlier author restricts his comments on the missionary activity of the saint to an initial explanation of his movements:

Salvius, approaching the part of Hainault which is called Valenciennes, began to preach there and with divine sermons to teach the people the fruit of penitence, and, as a good athlete of Christ, the kingdom of God.¹⁷

It is mentioned that he preached to the people at the basilica of St. Martin, and that they came to hear him because of the reputation of his "mellifluous" preaching, but beyond these two examples there is no further reflection on his missionary work. Philip, on the other hand, makes much of Salvius' holy motives for bringing the word of God to the people, the length of his journey, and his bravery in entering Hainault. Describing a situation which is not recorded in the earlier *Life*, and which echoes a comment about the Saxons made in the *Life of St. Willehad*,¹⁸ Philip writes that the people of Hainault had been converted, but even when ostensibly holding the Christian faith, behaved as though they did not. His words are hard and uncompromising, and seem as much to indicate his own annoyance with the people of the area at the time of writing, perhaps an annoyance which was shared by the prior of Saint-Sauve, for whom he wrote:

... such great vestiges of the former age had remained, that there was perversity of beastlike savagery not only in the faithless but in the faithful. That people is not only known to have been of a hard neck and an uncircumcised

¹⁶ *PS*, p. 172, ll. 8-9; Philip, col. 1317C.

¹⁷ *PS*, p. 165, ll. 4-6.

¹⁸ 'Vita S. Willehadi,' BHL no. 8898, *AASS* Nov. 8th, col. 843F: "always hostile in their hearts, they often used to abandon the faith they received and were entangled in their old errors."

heart at that time, but is also found to be exasperating right up to the present day [usque in hodiernum].¹⁹

Philip reinforces the point by writing of what Salvius preached the next day in the basilica, the content of which is not in the earlier *Life*, and so must be of his own composition, in keeping with what he believes to be appropriate. Having preached the faith to them, Salvius then:

carefully admonished them so that, putting off the tattered tunic of their innate former behaviour, they might busy themselves with putting on the fine stuff of a new mildness. Indeed he knew that their neck was hard and inflexible, and that they would not so much be inclined towards what is better, as remain steady in what is worse.²⁰

Although the earlier author eventually, as has been said, mentions that Salvius hailed from Aquitaine, he does not, as Philip did, make use of this to portray the saint walking the length of France, preaching as he went, drawn at last to this troubled northern region (“Haynonensium perversas nationes”) which was in most need of his attention. Furthermore, by portraying Hainault as a dangerous area which Salvius entered in order to convert souls for God, Philip brings his martyrdom within a more holy as well as a more conventional context, more in the mould of a man like St. Boniface. This presentation depicts him as placing himself in jeopardy for a worthy cause, and enhances his saintliness far more than does the image of him touting around his gold cups encrusted with jewels in the hopes that someone will kill him for them.

At the beginning of both *Lives* Salvius sees the basilica of St. Martin in the distance and decides to head for it with his disciple, who is given the name “Superius” in later redactions. In the original *Life* Salvius tells his disciple of the miracles performed by St. Martin, including the raising of the dead, and then declares:

We, son, shall go with faith to his relics – perhaps through prayer to him we shall find a place in which the most high son of God may deign to receive us in his sheepfold.²¹

¹⁹ col. 1314B.

²⁰ col. 1315A.

²¹ *PS*, p. 166, ll. 20-23.

Philip also lists the great reported miracles of the saint, and his ability to raise people from the dead, but his reason for approaching the church is so that they may:

seek for approbation from so great a man, and let us ask
that our way be directed by his intervention.²²

When the earlier author writes that Salvius hoped at the basilica to be accepted into the sheepfold, he is continuing an image used in the Prologue to his work, in which God, as shepherd, “wishes that we all be one sheepfold.”²³ Salvius’ prayer at the basilica emphasizes his active search for death, and he does end by being buried there. Philip restricts Salvius’ hopes of his visit to the basilica to the reception of the protection and guidance of the most famous saint of the region, without any implication of martyrdom.

It is interesting that whilst there is no discussion in the earlier *Life* of Salvius’ thoughts on setting out to preach throughout France, Philip happily attributes to him the exact motives that would be expected of him by the audience. He writes that:

The grace of his own sanctity would have seemed to him as though it were worthless, save that it also won other men for God, through whom he more greatly deserved to be pleasing to God. For as long as he was forced to linger in this life ... it seemed to him no little solace that he rejoiced not so much in his own as in his brother’s salvation.²⁴

So likewise Alcuin had written of St. Willibrord:

The fervour of his faith so grew in his breast, that it seemed to him too little to have sweated in the sanctity of religion for himself alone, if he had not also benefited others in preaching the truth.²⁵

Although it was not referred to in the earlier *Life*, it would have seemed to Philip, and to his audience, that as this is why saints preach, that is why Salvius preached. In a

²² col. 1314C.

²³ *PS*, p. 165, l. 14.

²⁴ col. 1313D.

²⁵ Alcuin, ‘Vita Willibrordi, archiepiscopi Traiectensis,’ *MGH. SS. R. Merov.* 7, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison (Hanover, 1920), p. 119.

similar fashion, Philip imposes on the figure of St. Salvius his ideal of the most fitting model for saints and bishops, writing in this section of the *Life* that Salvius was noted for his humility – something which is not considered by the earlier author. Philip greatly valued the quality of humility, praising it in the virgin Oda when she was made prioress of her house, and exhorting the young monk Gregory to the practice of it.²⁶ Habitually didactic in his composition of hagiography, Philip must show that Salvius too is a model of humility. Thus, as for Oda, when the subject of this hagiography is granted the honour of preferment, the occasion cannot pass without his humility in that office being emphasized. Expanding the lesson, Philip reminds the brothers of Saint-Sauve that all in holy orders, not just those made bishops, should strive to humble themselves:

Indeed he is not worthy to be raised to the height of the priesthood [sacerdotium], who does not know how to be humbled with the mild, since true humility offers seasoning to him for whom the ornament of the priest is savoury. The holy man, paying attention to this, rejoiced not so much in the dignity of the priesthood as in humility of heart ...²⁷

As it is therefore inconceivable that a saint should not be humble, there would be no reason for Philip not to extol Salvius' humility, in spite of this not being found in his source. It could be regarded more as an issue of the preference of the hagiographer than of a substantive alteration or addition.

There is nonetheless an appreciable difference in attitude between Philip and his source. This can be seen in several small instances which, taken together, give the impression more broadly. The earlier author is less refined in his representation of and reflections on sanctity and spirituality. The earlier author's praise of Salvius is centred on his appearance, which showed him to be blessed by God:

For the holy man was seemly in aspect, strong in the virtue and magnificence of God; his face shone with a brightness of splendour beyond measure.²⁸

²⁶ col. 69B-D.

²⁷ col. 1313B-C.

²⁸ *PS*, p. 165, ll. 7-9.

This is perfectly fitting, it being deemed appropriate that a saint should manifest his inner beauty through his outward appearance, as William of Malmesbury explains, albeit somewhat apologetically:

The grace of his [Wulfstan's] heart was capped by the beauty of his body; though I do not count that among the virtues, I do not altogether rule it out, for, just as a craftsman's art shines forth in superior material, so virtue stands out more splendidly in a beautiful form.²⁹

A direct comparison of Philip's source and his reworking of it, however, shows that Philip has replaced the earlier author's description of Salvius' appearance with an appraisal of his humility.³⁰ It is also noticeable that for the earlier author this ideal appearance is one of strength and "magnificence." It is one of power, not a delicate appearance indicative of humility.

Another instance of this difference in outlook may be seen in the two authors' portrayal of Charles, ruler of the Franks. This ruler is believed by Coens to be Charles Martel, as opposed to, as he tells us, Henschenius and others' identification of him with Charlemagne.³¹ Ian Wood has written that Charles Martel was portrayed later in the Carolingian period, under the influence of Hincmar of Rheims, as "especially sinful in alienating land, and he was said to have burned in hell as a punishment."³² This is not how he is presented in the *Life of St. Salvius*, fundamental as he is to finding and punishing the saint's killers, arranging the translation of the relics, and granting revenues to the church where they were buried. The very fact that the ruler has been chosen to receive a vision instructing him to investigate the saint and his disciple's disappearance is testimony to his worth, for as Paul Dutton, writing of the Carolingians, says:

true dreams were most often dreamed by holy men and by kings, but the borders between these two types of dreamers were far from fixed ... indeed, a largely unstudied aspect of Carolingian hagiography is the function of dreams and visions, for the power of divine dreaming was assumed in the eighth

²⁹ William of Malmesbury, 'Vita Wulfstani,' *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives*, ed. and tr. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson (Oxford: 2002), p. 23.

³⁰ col. 1313C.

³¹ Coens, 'La Passion,' pp. 157-163. Charles Martel r. 714-741.

³² I. Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms, 450-751* (London and New York, 1994), p. 275.

and ninth centuries to have belonged specially to saints.³³

If the ruler mentioned is indeed Charles Martel, this positive portrayal lends weight to Coens' attribution of the date of the work's composition to the earlier part of the Carolingian period. The *Life of St. Boniface*, also featuring a good and pious Charles Martel, was probably begun in 763-5.³⁴ Both Philip and the earlier author depict Charles as a virtuous and pious king, but one episode in which his virtue is demonstrated reveals their different approaches. After Salvius' body has been laid to rest in a tomb, Charles is called on by two sisters to restore to them the portion of their inheritance of which their brother, a high-ranking nobleman, has deprived them. Before submitting this man, who is said to have been close to Charles, to judgement, Charles first reasons with him, and here the earlier author and Philip diverge in the way in which they conceive of the arguments he would have used. Philip gives the king a holy and pious argument, whereas the earlier author is content that the king should try to win him over with offers of worldly glory. Philip also, of course, takes the opportunity for the speech to act as a small discourse on the ideal Christian noble. So the earlier author has Charles address the nobleman thus:

Listen, son, and acquiesce to my counsels, and return the due inheritance to your sisters; and I shall cause you to be honoured in the fisci and in our villages.³⁵

Whereas Philip prefers:

It is not fitting, brother, that such an injury should be brought on your sisters by you, lest your nobility be censured for inhuman violence. For it is just that you embrace them with fraternal love, and, if they should need anything from you, you should be held as their merciful protector. You will disgrace your goodness not a little if, being stronger than they, you should overpower their weakness. Therefore give them an abundance of the paternal property.³⁶

³³ P. E. Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire*, (Lincoln, Nebraska and London, 1994), p. 43.

³⁴ C. H. Talbot (tr.), 'Willibald: The Life of St. Boniface,' in T. F. X. Noble and T. Head (eds.), *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), p. 107.

³⁵ *PS*, p. 184, ll. 14-16.

³⁶ col. 1324A.

Philip's rendering of Charles' speech preaches the proper love of brother for sister and the goodness that should be aspired to by the true nobleman, also showing that these are the qualities which an archetypal holy king values. In Philip's version, also, Charles' concern that he be seen to be acting justly is highlighted, where in the earlier work it is not. When the nobleman refuses to give his sisters what they are owed, Philip's Charles explains to him that he should swear on Salvius' body because "I do not wish that you should complain about my power ... I shall commit the matter to the divine judgement, so that neither might I bring violence on you, nor yet the matter be left unconsidered."³⁷ In both versions, the ruler knows that he is right in his judgement of the knight, but finds that the testimony of the saint will more incontrovertibly prove his guilt. Similarly, Jacobus de Voragine tells of Gregory of Tours' story of the judge who took two contestants to the tomb of St. Pancratius to swear, although:

He knew perfectly well which one was guilty. Led therefore
by his zeal for justice, the judge brought the two to the
altar ...³⁸

Philip's version of Charles' attempt to persuade the knight of his error may also be indicative of a changing concept of the ideal of nobility and knighthood in the eras in which the earlier author and Philip wrote. Where the earlier author would have the nobleman honoured for not acting unjustly towards his sisters, Philip would have him disgraced for not maintaining the honour which his position afforded him by default. Philip rephrases the speech so that there may be no ambiguity about the expectations of the attitude and behaviour of a true nobleman.

There is no change made to the substance of the miracle itself, however, in which the man, swearing a false oath on Salvius' tomb, is struck down on the spot when his "guts burst," his bodily fluids pouring out of every orifice, so that he dies a few hours later. Philip omits the earlier hagiographer's mention of how "excrement rushed through the secret place of his bowel," but includes where the earlier author had not (perhaps because given the last detail it was self-evident) that the stench was overwhelming. The episode brings to mind the infamous posthumous fate of William the Conqueror, although in this case the nobleman was still living, if only just. The

³⁷ col. 1324A-B.

³⁸ Jacobus de Voragine, 'De Sancto Pancratio,' *Legenda Aurea*, ed. G. P. Maggioni (*Millennio Medievale* 6; 2 vols; Tarnuzze, Firenze, 1998), 1, p. 514.

mention in the earlier *Life* of the excrement, and Philip's emphasis on the stench, such "that those who had approached to see this miracle were not able to stand the heaviness of the stink," may have been intended to call to mind the rank odour associated with the devil, or with demons when they leave a possessed body. There is no indication that the man was possessed, but symbolically this detail could remind the audience of the evil of his action. For both authors, God's punishment of this perjurer is a warning to the witnesses of this miracle, a reminder of the sanctity of the oath, but especially an oath made on relics. The contestant who lied on St. Pancratius' relics found his hand was stuck to the tomb, and he died there. Ronald Finucane cites the downfall of King Harold, and Gerald of Wales' comment about the greater importance placed by the Welsh on oaths made on relics than on the Bible, as examples of this phenomenon.³⁹ Both Philip and his predecessor write that those who had seen it now "feared" Salvius. As Gerald of Wales said:

Very often those who scorn are punished by some power, hidden and as though implanted in them [the relics] by heaven, and by vengeance, especially of the saint for whom those things are seen to be pleasing.⁴⁰

Philip adheres closely to the original in his portrayal of the death scene of Salvius and his companion, and like his source shows a degree of sympathy for Winegarius in his impossible situation. He keeps to the original even in the biblical quotations that are used, but he does so far from unthinkingly, correcting a mistake in the work of the earlier author. This author has Salvius respond to Winegarius' suggestion that he help him escape by citing a wise saying of Solomon's:

O son, the most wise Solomon pronounced a sentence on us, saying: "For the mouth speaks out of the abundance of the heart."⁴¹

Coens, editing the text, notes that the quotation is not in fact from the Book of Proverbs but is found in the Gospels of Saints Luke and Matthew,⁴² and Philip may have observed the same thing, for he introduces the quotation by having Salvius say

³⁹ Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims* (Basingstoke and London, 1995), pp. 25-6; Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* 6, p. 27.

⁴⁰ Gerald of Wales, *ibid.*

⁴¹ *PS*, p. 171, l. 23.

⁴² *PS*, p. 171, n. 6.

simply: “so Holy Scripture says ...”⁴³ He also improves upon the style of the scene by omitting some unnecessary repetition, as when Winegarius twice tells him that he knows that if Salvius elects not to escape, he would give in to his fear of his master and kill the saint. The second of these two instances occurs after Salvius has responded to the first by telling him not to fear, but to obey his master’s command as he should. This repetition is not only needless, but oddly out of place so that it detracts from the impact of the story, and Philip removes it accordingly. Philip makes other alterations to vocabulary in the text, omitting, for example, Winegard’s references to Salvius as a “magus.”⁴⁴ This is a word which is not to be found in any of Philip’s writings. Similarly, where the earlier author uses “fisc” to describe Hainault, which Coens notes was in fact a “pagus” in which Valenciennes was a “fisc,”⁴⁵ Philip instead refers to Hainault simply by name. He uses “fisc” on one occasion only, the only instance of the usage in all his works, and that is when he writes that Charles gave to the saint’s relics “a third part of the ‘fisc’ which he was accustomed to possess in that place.”⁴⁶ This may best be translated “revenue” from the royal demesne. As in the instance of this misattribution of the biblical quotation by the earlier author, Philip here corrects his source’s mistakes, never following blindly the earlier work. He also alters vocabulary apparently simply for stylistic reasons, as when the earlier author’s list of Charles’ officials as “vicarios, tribunos et centuriones, iudices et decanos regis,”⁴⁷ becomes in Philip’s version “principes et iudices.”⁴⁸ The phrase “tribunos et centuriones et decanos” comes from the Book of Exodus, and Philip himself used a version of it on three occasions in his *De Institutione Clericorum*. Here, he would appear simply to prefer not to use it as a matter of choice of style.

Philip’s use of vocabulary in some ways encourages sympathy for Winegarius. In the majority of the text he uses the word “servus” to denote Winegarius’ status, whereas the earlier author most often calls him “the gaoler [custos carceris].” There are occasions, such as when he first introduces Winegarius, on which he uses “servulus,” giving an impression of youth and inexperience. Rather than calling him the “gaoler,” Philip introduces him as the “*servulus*, whose name was Winegarius,

⁴³ col. 1317A.

⁴⁴ *PS*, p. 174, ll. 27 and 34.

⁴⁵ *PS*, p. 165, n. 5.

⁴⁶ col. 1323C.

⁴⁷ *PS*, p. 180, ll. 5-6.

⁴⁸ col. 1321C.

whom Winegard had put in charge of the prison” – “servulo suo cui Winegario nomen erat, quem custodem posuerat carceris.”⁴⁹ After this he calls him either by name or by “servus/servulus.” Philip’s use of the relative pronoun here serves to separate Winegarius the man from his role as gaoler, whereas the earlier author’s persistent use of “custos carceris” to designate Winegarius identifies him wholly with his job. Philip first uses “servulus” to describe the servants whom Winegard orders to seize Salvius, so that its use perhaps also accentuates the image of Winegard as a young, brash, man, served by only the youngest and newest servants. His first action after having seized Salvius is to run to his father to tell him what he has done (“as if,” writes Philip, “announcing something great”), and after having been admonished by his father, asks him what he should do next. Although it cannot be said that there is doubt in the work of the earlier author that Winegarius is powerless and in subjection to his master, on six occasions calling him the “custos carceris” suggests a more active role in the wickedness perpetrated by his master. Philip, by shunning this choice of appellation, diverts attention from it and accentuates the servant’s helplessness.

Philip, as is customary with him, uses rhyme and the pairing of more evenly-balanced clauses to heighten the impact and the dramatic sense of the scene in the cell. After Winegarius’ initial failure to kill Salvius, Winegard sent one of his comrades [socius] to the prison with him to ensure that he carried out the order. Where the original author has this man ask Winegarius plainly why he doesn’t do as he has been bid:

Quid moraris? Cur non imples praeceptum domini tui?
[Why do you delay? Why do you not fulfil your lord’s command?],⁵⁰

Philip has his first two clauses rhyme, the two sentences rhyme, makes the two sentences more balanced in terms of length, and uses a threefold repetition of “quid” to convey more intensely the urgency of the companion’s verbal assault. This impression is heightened by the simple addition of the adverb “velociter” to the companion’s exhortation:

Quid stas, quid haesitas, quid moraris?

⁴⁹ col. 1316C.

⁵⁰ *PS*, p. 175, l. 9.

Cur non imples velociter quod mandaris?
[Why do you stand, why do you hesitate, why do you delay?
Why do you not fulfil quickly what you have been commanded to do?]⁵¹

Philip's rewriting of the second of the two speeches that urge Winegarius to commit the murder, that spoken by Salvius himself, acts both to persuade Winegarius to undertake the deed and to instruct the audience in Salvius' own motives. It is this that lends weight to the suggestion made above that Philip understands Salvius' eagerness to meet death as a result of what was revealed to him as his destiny, for in this speech he speaks of God calling to him, and of the necessity for him to obey his Lord as Winegarius must obey his.⁵² Perhaps the earlier author had in mind the *Life of St. Martin* when he wrote this scene, for in that work the saint, threatened by a man wielding a sword, "offered his bare neck to the one about to strike" [nudam cervicem percussuro praebuit].⁵³ In similar language, but using a present rather than a future participle, the earlier author writes that Salvius "offered his bare neck to the one striking," [nudamque cervicem percutienti praebuit].⁵⁴ The influence of Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St. Martin* both for hagiographers and for the ordinary faithful in awe of the saint is well-known, and emphasized by Noble and Head in the introduction to their anthology of late antique and early medieval *lives*. Philip's own Prologue to his *Life of the Blessed Virgin Oda* uses the same theme as Sulpicius' Prologue to St. Martin's *Life* when he writes about the worthlessness of the glory sought by pre-Christian authors, who look for immortality through their writings. Philip and his antecedent's portrayals of Salvius' reverence for St. Martin mentioned above, with his recitation for the disciple's (and the audience's) benefit of the saint's miracles, is one more instance that "the saint was remembered ... as a powerful bishop still capable of aiding his flock."⁵⁵ In Martin's *Life* by a miracle, when the man raised his sword he fell over, and frightened by this, begged forgiveness. Unlike Martin, Salvius' executioner is not prevented from carrying out his task: for both these saints, God's will is done, but his will for each of them is different. Through the use of the imperative Salvius commands Winegarius to kill him, and makes it clear that by doing this he is facilitating God's plan – using "ut" as the conjunction, he demonstrates that

⁵¹ col. 1318B.

⁵² pp. 163-4.

⁵³ Sulpice Sévère, *Vie de Saint Martin* vol. 1, ed. J. Fontaine (Sources Chrétiennes, Paris, 1967), p. 286, l. 1.

⁵⁴ *PS*, p. 175, l. 13.

⁵⁵ pp. 165-6. Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, p. xxvii.

the consequence of Winegarius' action is that Salvius obeys God. Philip therefore has no more qualms than does the earlier author in depicting murder in this light. The relationship between cause and effect is emphasized in Philip's work by his use of a rhyming parallel between "quod jubet dominus tuus" and "quod jubet Dominus meus." He uses pairs of constructions, in the second sentence of this speech, using for the first and third clauses an ablative absolute, and for the second and fourth clauses the formula "necesse est" with the infinitive:

Fili, viriliter age quod jubet dominus tuus, ut et ego patiar
quod jubet Dominus meus. Te quidem jubenti domino tuo
necesse est obedire, et me vocante Domino meo necesse est
abire.

[Son, with strength do what your lord commands, so that I
may suffer what my Lord commands. Indeed, with your lord
commanding it is necessary that you obey, and with my Lord
calling me it is necessary that I go.]⁵⁶

When the saint and his disciple have been killed, Winegard has them buried in his stable. Philip makes the obvious connection where the earlier author does not deem it necessary, and observes that: "No wonder if Salvius was put into a stall when he died, in which Christ deigned to be put when he was born," contrasting "cum moreretur" with "cum nasceretur."⁵⁷ In the stable, miraculously a very large bull senses where the bodies are buried, and prevents the bullocks and cows from polluting it in any way, either by copulating or simply by running over it. The bull also keeps it clean of any hay or other debris which might be blown there by the wind. The earlier author tells us that the bull fends off any young cows who may approach the sacred circle he has created above the saints' bodies "with its hooves and blows of its horns," and Philip naturally elaborates on this. It is obvious from what the earlier author says that this is a fierce animal, but Philip ensures that the point is emphasized. The bull is "feared by all for its ferocity," and not only does it attack any erring cow using horns and hooves, it does so with "a horrible bellow."⁵⁸ Enlivening the telling of this part of the story somewhat, Philip transposes it to the present tense, and adds adjectives to describe the animals. Thus, the "young bullocks" become "a leaping young cow or a

⁵⁶ col. 1318C.

⁵⁷ col. 1319A.

⁵⁸ col. 1319B-C.

sportive young bullock,” and the bull, fending them off, is “indignant.”⁵⁹ Although its meaning would have been easily interpreted by the monks who formed his immediate audience, Philip enlarges on the earlier author’s version. In doing so, as well as interpreting it he is dwelling on his amazement at the miracle, emphasizing that his audience should not be complacent when faced with such a marvel. Philip has introduced this as the miracle, “res digna miraculi,” and it is in the bull’s laying aside of its nature that the miracle occurs. Another example of a bull as a divine agent in a saint’s *life* is when in the *Life of St. Oswald* Count Ailwin is shown by a bull striking the ground with its right foot where a new monastery is to be built. The count knew to look for this marvel through a vision of St. Benedict granted to his fisherman.⁶⁰ In Philip’s telling of the *Life of St. Salvius*, Winegard’s ferocity is contrasted with the bull’s ferocity, the latter a natural ferocity where the former is unnatural, because bestial in one who is not a beast, but a man. The ferocity which the bull now displays is termed a “religious ferocity,” different from its natural disposition. Likewise, Philip draws attention to the fact that the bull was preserving cleanliness in a place which was normally not clean, which he equates with moral uncleanness – “in that stall where there is no cleanness, no honesty ...”⁶¹ In normal circumstances the bull was symbolically associated with the devil, being, for example, one of the forms which the demons took, along with lions, wolves and snakes, when attacking St. Antony in the desert. The demon in the form of a bull in Athanasius’ work “bellowed and made menacing movements with his horns,” as later did the bull defending the sanctity of Salvius’ grave.⁶² Christina of Markyate in the twelfth century would have a vision of bulls “with threatening horns and glaring eyes,” who “tried to lift their hooves from the swampy ground to attack her.” Waking up, she determines that “the bulls were devils and wicked men.”⁶³ For the bull, then, to act in Winegard’s stable as it did, was contrary to all expectations and to nature, an effective witness to God’s love of Salvius.

⁵⁹ col. 1319C.

⁶⁰ ‘Vita S. Oswaldi Episcopi Wigorniensis et Archiepiscopi Eboracensis,’ BHL no. 6380, PL 147 (1853), cols. 1193A-1194A.

⁶¹ col. 1319B-C.

⁶² Athanasius, ‘Life of St. Antony,’ tr. C. White, Early Christian Lives, p. 15.

⁶³ The Life of Christina of Markyate, ed. and tr. C. H. Talbot (Oxford, 1959; 2nd edn Toronto, 1997; repr. 2001), p. 99.

For Philip, this miraculous behaviour of a bull was good only so far as it served its purpose, and he suggests that three years is quite long enough for an animal to be chosen by God above man as the defender of a saint's dignity:

With the course of three years having passed, what had been
noticed by dumb animals God wished to be known to men,
lest either men should be vanquished any longer by a herd,
or the incomparable gem lie hidden any longer in the dung.⁶⁴

Philip's use of "vanquished" tells his audience that miracles are for humans, who have souls, not for animals, "dumb" because they are not possessed of a soul, not made in God's image or the recipients of his salvation. It would be inherently wrong for animals to be granted a revelation from God's grace which is denied to humans, as intrinsically and inconceivably wrong as the laughable notion of mankind being "vanquished by a herd." Animals may be instruments of God's will, as in another episode in the *Life*, when Charles wishes the bodies to be translated to the basilica of St. Vaast. The cart with the bodies on, pulled by a team of oxen, cannot be moved, and a new plan to take it to the basilica of St. Pharahildis makes no difference, as it is not the saint's will that he be buried in either of these places. Philip had recorded a similar miracle in that *Life of St. Augustine* which had drawn his skill to Prior Hugh's attention. In this, Augustine's body could not be lifted until the king promised gifts to those who would minister at his tomb.⁶⁵ Salvius' body could be buried only when the priests thought of letting two oxen leashed to the cart run free, to see to where they ran. The oxen went with speed to the basilica of St. Martin, and here the bodies were interred, fulfilling the saint's desire expressed by the earlier author that at that basilica they would enter God's sheepfold.

After three years, an elderly lady living near the stable, wandering about at night, sees a light coming from the barn, and peering through a gap in the wall, sees the bull with lanterns hanging from its horns, illuminating the building. She rushes to tell her neighbours and bring them to witness this marvel, and they all come to the conclusion that they must seek the help of the priests, who should pray that the meaning of the wonder might be revealed. A number of other saints' *lives* also feature

⁶⁴ col. 1319D.

⁶⁵ col. 1232A-C.

miracles concerning the discovery of a lost burial site, such as that of St. Sebastian, who appeared to one St. Lucina in a vision to reveal to her that his body had been tossed into the sewer, and that of St. Vitus, who appeared to “an illustrious lady named Florentia,” to show her where he and his fellow-martyr Modestus lay.⁶⁶ Like Salvius, these martyrs’ bodies had not been given a Christian burial and were not in consecrated ground. The discovery and reinterment of their bodies also meant that they could be properly revered, as the object of a cult. Salvius does not appear in person in a vision, but the two signs, of the bull with the lanterns, and of the angelic visitations received by Charles, show God’s approbation of his saint to people who would not otherwise have known of his martyrdom. The martyrdom of the subject of another *Life* by Philip, St. Foillan, might also have remained hidden had not his brother St. Ultan been granted the vision of a dove with bloodied wings flying to heaven. The miracle of the lanterns witnessed by the old woman, Rasuera, is reminiscent of other miracles of light at a saint’s tomb, as in the later story of St. Peter Martyr, the lamps at whose tomb spontaneously lighted.⁶⁷ Orderic Vitalis tells us of St. Judoc:

One night whilst the body of St. Judoc was being watched over in the church of St. Peter there were seven candles before the reliquary. The sacristan had lighted one only, but whilst the watchers slept the remaining six were kindled from heaven.⁶⁸

These miraculous lights appeared whilst the body was being watched (or should have been) before burial, and so too was Salvius’ body shielded from the darkness before he was given the holy rites of burial.

Here also Philip does not alter the substance of the passage, but his treatment of the role of the woman, Rasuera, is an interesting example of his insertion of what he deems to be proper in a saint’s *life* when he finds it absent. Philip clearly is not satisfied with the earlier author’s explanation of why a woman should be wandering around in the dark in order to see the bright light from the barn in the first place. The earlier author says that sometimes she felt disturbed by the silence around her house at

⁶⁶ Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea* 1, p. 167 and p. 531.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 427.

⁶⁸ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, bk 3, ed. and tr. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 2nd edn. 1990, repr. 2002), p. 161.

night [“circa domum suam per noctis quietem valde erat sollicita”], which Philip interprets as anxiety that the house might be broken into.⁶⁹ This seems, however, to have been an insufficiently holy reason in Philip’s eyes for her nocturnal meanderings, particularly as it was she to whom this vision would be revealed; and so he decides that it is more likely that she was going out to pray without being disturbed:

Rasuera, who in the nocturnal hours very often went out from her home when others are sleeping, either so that by vigilant diligence she might protect what was hers, or what is more credible, that she might be free for prayer.⁷⁰

On the night when she sees inside the barn, then, he depicts her “wandering about outside ... ruminating in her little prayers.”⁷¹ The way in which the earlier author depicts Rasuera’s discovery of the miracle allows less room for drama, with the woman reacting fearlessly to the great discovery. As soon as she sees the light she runs to the door to see what it is, apparently certain that it could only have come from God: “for that old woman recognised what the strength of God might be.”⁷² In Philip’s version, she is more cautious, approaching the barn because she thinks it might be a fire, and looking through “some apertures in the wall,” not going straight to the door, understanding that it is a divine light only when she sees the marvel of it being cast by two lanterns hanging from the bull’s horns. She calls together her neighbours that they might witness the marvel, and this process is given more careful consideration by Philip, who says that she felt that others should share the vision “lest she bring harm to the vision if it should not be seen by others.”⁷³ Presumably by “injuria” he means that she would do wrong by the vision if she did not reveal it to others so that it might be interpreted and its message announced to all. He likens Rasuera’s role in this to that of Mary Magdalene in the Garden, who is first to be told of the Resurrection. Because of Mary it is a suitable role for a woman to be chosen to receive and spread news of the divine, which Philip suggests is in reparation for the sin of Eve:

⁶⁹ *PS*, p. 177, l. 5; col. 1319D.

⁷⁰ col. 1319D.

⁷¹ col. 1319D-1320A.

⁷² *PS*, p. 177.

⁷³ col. 1320B. “ne injuriam inferat visioni, si non et ab aliis videatur ...”

So without doubt Christ first announced the glory of his resurrection to the woman in the garden, then through the woman announced it to all, that she who had first existed to bring the taste of death, would later announce the joys of life.⁷⁴

Charles orders that Genard and Winegard be castrated and blinded, despite Genard's crime being not one of commission, but of omitting to report his son. Winegarius receives the 'lesser' punishment of blinding only, in recognition of the fact that he was forced to commit the crime, but with it being absolutely unthinkable that he should not be punished for it nonetheless. In Philip's work there is put into the mouth of the king a most revealing insight into the vital and irreversible emphasis placed on obedience in a servant: obedience to the extent that a mortal sin should be committed rather than obedience be foresworn:

For it belongs to servants that they should obey their lords humbly, lest, if they defy them, they be censured for contumacious insolence. Thus he who was forced to obey in the death of the saints ought to undergo lighter punishments.⁷⁵

Winegarius is terrified when he first enters the cell and sees Salvius praying, because he knows that if he kills him as he has been commanded, he will be damned. In Philip's version of the *Life* Winegarius charges Salvius with this as a reason why he should escape, saying:

Do what I tell you, so that you may snatch both yourself away from bodily death and me from spiritual death.⁷⁶

Given Salvius' mission, it seems inconceivable that by practically forcing Winegarius' hand he should send a soul to Hell when it has been his intent in his wandering preaching rather to save souls. Winegarius is now free, however, to repent and be forgiven. The measure of the spiritual forgiveness which Winegarius receives is depicted by the earlier author, but omitted entirely by Philip. In the earlier work, all the men repent and do some form of penance, and Winegarius, crying for mercy and prostrate before St. Salvius' tomb, in spite of having had his eyes put out receives sight in one eye. In this section also, Genard retires to his home but gives all his

⁷⁴ *ibid.*

⁷⁵ col. 1322D.

⁷⁶ col. 1317A.

money and possessions to Saint Salvius, and Winegard, having had a terrifying experience when he tries in church to pray for forgiveness and the building begins to shake, becomes a monk at the house of Saint Amand. Whilst Philip in an abbreviated form includes the information about Genard's gift, he excludes the stories of Winegard and Winegarius. Coens notes only that "the last two chapters of the old text have been omitted," suggesting he thinks it a deliberate choice on Philip's part.⁷⁷ It may be possible that the manuscript from which he was working was missing this section, but Coens does not record that the two existing manuscripts pre-dating the twelfth century (one from very close by both Bonne-Espérance and Valenciennes, in Saint-Ghislain near Mons; the other of an unknown provenance but held in Brussels and from "an important scriptorium"), or the three twelfth-century manuscripts (with provenances in Marchiennes, Saint-Omer and Cambrai) are missing this section.⁷⁸ It seems most likely that the prior of Saint-Sauve, well acquainted with the *Life* of his own monastery's patron, would have known this section of the *Life* found in at the very least one neighbouring monastery, and so the balance of probability would have been against Philip unwittingly using a manuscript that did not include this section. In all other respects Philip's work is close to the original, the differences which are discussed above being consistent with Philip's style. The redrafting of Salvius' persuasion to Winegarius to kill him is, for example, a classic example of Philip's technique.

The recording of Genard's gift to the saint in the original is part of the section of the early *Life* which Philip otherwise omits, after the miracle involving the nobleman and his sisters. Alone of this section it is retained by Philip, but is inserted in a different place in the text, before this miracle. In Philip's version it is entered into the text immediately after he writes that Charles gave the martyrs a third of his revenue. Charles gives the gift "that he might deserve to obtain their favour," Genard "that he might render them reconciled to him."⁷⁹ Placing these two events together in the text reinforces the point that money and land were given to the saint on his burial and were pleasing to him. Salvius and his disciple were buried in the basilica of Saint

⁷⁷ Coens, 'La Passion,' p. 149.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 139.

⁷⁹ col. 1323C.

Martin,⁸⁰ but the money and lands are said to have been given to them, not to Saint Martin, and in the original *Life* the name changes to “the basilica of Saint Salvius.”⁸¹ It could be that Philip wished to include this gift to the abbey for which he wrote, whilst choosing to omit the rest. The section which Philip chose to omit introduces unannounced a brother of Winegard, one Hisimbard, to whom he goes to ask what he should do to obtain God’s mercy. It is on this brother’s advice that he goes to the basilica of Saint Salvius to repent, with the terrifying result described above. Is it possible that Philip disagreed with this representation of a repentant man rejected by one saint but accepted by another? The very portrayal of a saint so vengeful that God allows him to drive a sinner who genuinely repents away from his church is strange, and perhaps Philip felt it was not edifying for his audience. We cannot now tell.

Philip’s omission of the last chapter may not be so much an omission as a replacement, with him preferring to write his own more elegant conclusion. In the original the final chapter consists of a general epilogue in which the author writes that there have been too many miracles performed at Salvius’ tomb to record, asks for the prayers of his readers that Salvius intercede for him, and gives praise to God. Philip finishes the *Life* after his own fashion, also claiming other unspecified miracles and praying for Salvius’ intercession, going on to praise the saint with more rhetorical flourish than is found in the original. This allows him to introduce one of his favourite metaphors, that of sailing, writing that with Salvius’ prayers “we should indeed have been able to cross over the deep dangers of this life on a happy boat, and to station our little boat in the port of salvation.”⁸² He also uses this concluding section to draw an analogy between the saint and John the Baptist, since they both suffered martyrdom in prison, saying that through this circumstance he believes that Salvius will sit near St. John in Heaven.

Throughout, then, Philip has carefully reworked the earlier *Life*, radically in some parts, more subtly in others. He omits some sections, and adds others, in doing so repairing what may be seen as neglect on the part of the earlier author, who fails to supply the audience with the details of the humility and missionary zeal that the saint

⁸⁰ Philip, col. 1323B-C; *PS* pp. 181-2.

⁸¹ *PS*, p. 186, l. 16.

⁸² col. 1324D.

must have possessed. Philip also depicts other characters in the story as he thinks they ought to be, rather than as his source tells him they were, so that Rasuera is shown as piously walking at night praying, and Charles Martel espouses ideals that sound chivalric. Where alterations such as these reveal the difference in approach and attitude between Philip and his source, the unchanging nature of their views on topics such as obedience and martyrdom is striking. Philip corrects mistakes of the earlier author, and makes stylistic adjustments which in some cases transform the work from one which is confused to one which is eminently readable. Further, he introduces didactic passages for the greater edification of his audience, and metaphors and rhyme which lend the whole a sophistication which is entirely lacking in the older work. Abbot Sijen may write slightly of Philip's lack of originality, but he more than answered Prior Hugh's hopes for the composition of the new *Life*.

Philip of Harvengt's *Life of St. Landelin*

In writing a *Life of St. Landelin*, Philip again records the life and example of a saint local to his own house, in this case the seventh-century founder of four monasteries in Hainault: Lobbes, Créspin, Aulne and Walers. A worldly sinner, who having undergone a conversion experience in the form of a vision of the eternal punishment of one of his fellow robbers, Landelin went on through his religious fervour to be the recipient of popular attention despite his personal preference for solitude. In these respects he bore some similarities to St. Norbert, the founder of Philip's own order, although unlike St. Norbert and his own immediate successors at Lobbes, he was not made a bishop. The earliest medieval manuscript of the *Life* which exists is that copied by Jacques de Guise in his fourteenth-century *Annales Hannoniae*, and it cannot be determined from internal evidence at what point in Philip's career it was written.¹ Philip indicates in his Prologue that he wrote in response to a request, presumably from the monks of one of Landelin's monasteries, as he refers to him as "your confessor."² Aulne is mentioned only briefly, and Walers barely at all in the *Life*; the request is more likely to have been made by the brothers of either Créspin or Lobbes. His work focusses more on Créspin than Lobbes, but this does not necessarily prove that he wrote for the former, as the source for his work also has this focus. Although of the four foundations only Aulne followed the rule of St. Augustine (between 1144 and 1147, before being given over to the Cistercians³) this need not suggest that Philip wrote for the brothers there, as his *Lives* of SS. Ghislain and Salvius show that he wrote for orders other than his own. Chronicle entries as well as works of hagiography show the interrelationship of Bonne-Espérance with monasteries of different orders in the area. Abbot Gregory of Aulne officiated at Oda's funeral in 1158, and Maghe records in his 1704 *Chronicum* that in 1131 the monks of Lobbes' disagreement over the election of an abbot was settled at Bonne-Espérance under Abbot Odo's guidance.⁴

¹ Sijen, 'Les Oeuvres,' p. 162.

² col. 1349C.

³ W. Levison, 'Preface' to 'Vita Landelini Abbatis Lobbiensis et Crispiensis,' *MGH. SS. R. Merov.* 6 (Hanover, 1913), pp. 435-6.

⁴ Maghe, *Chronicum*, p. 25.

Four works containing accounts of the deeds of St. Landelin predate Philip's own, and were discussed in the early twentieth century by Leon van der Essen and W. Levison.⁵ These were: the *Deeds of the Abbots of Lobbes* by Folcuin, abbot from 965-990; a metrical *Life* by Hériger, Folcuin's immediate successor at Lobbes; an anonymous *Life* written at some point between 980 and 1015 whose author van der Essen believed was at Lobbes but Levison thought at Créspin; and the *Life of St. Autbert*, written in 1015 by St. Fulbert. Van der Essen asserted that Fulbert used the anonymous *Life* when it came to composing the section of his work which concerned St. Landelin. A further *Life* existed, the original of which is now lost, but which in the *Acta Sanctorum* is dated to the eleventh century. Its language is extremely close to Philip's, and were it from the eleventh century it would have to be said that this was Philip's source, although Philip would have to have augmented it with information gleaned elsewhere. Levison, however, revised this dating and believed it to have been a later abridgement of Philip's work. This is the most probable case. Of the four sources, there is much in the anonymous *Life* which is not found in the other three, but is found in Philip's work, and this must be his main source. Levison suggests that Philip may also have used the *Life of St. Autbert*, as there are textual indications that this may have been the case. It is highly probable that Philip was acquainted with the *Life of St. Autbert*: another of Philip's reworkings of an earlier text was the *Life of St. Ghislain*, in whose life St. Autbert was also prominent, so that each is featured in the *Life* of the other. It would in any case be natural for Philip to know the *Life* of this saint who had so important a place in the history of the church in his region. The section concerning St. Landelin in the *Life of St. Autbert* did not refer to his three journeys to Rome, and ended with the founding of his first monastery, Lobbes. It will be of some interest to see whether it can be discerned if Philip ever preferred Fulbert's rendering of an event in Landelin's career to that of the anonymous author. The edition of this work used in this chapter is that of Levison in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, but it will be referred to henceforth by its BHL number, 4696. Philip's work is generally mentioned by all the secondary authors only briefly, as being of little use in a study of St. Landelin because of his lack of original material. While this is true, from the point of view of a study of Philip's own use of language and style it is most worthwhile to augment the investigation of his *Life of St. Salvius*

⁵ van der Essen, *Étude*, pp. 126-133; Levison, 'Preface,' *MGH SS. R. Merov.* 6, pp. 433-437.

with a similar discussion of his *Life of St. Landelin*. To this end, a comparison will be made between his main source for this *Life* and the work he produced from it, examining what alterations and additions he made to the text to adapt it to suit his own style.

Philip's account of the founding of Landelin's first three monasteries, Lobbes and its dependencies Aulne and Walers, offers an example of the effects produced by an alternative presentation of the facts found in the source. BHL 4696 sees the foundation and growth of these monasteries in simple terms of success. Landelin's reasons for his initial wish to found a monastery are not examined, but the facts are set out with his personal motivation apparently taken for granted. On coming back from Rome he simply received Autbert's permission to go to Lobbes and "constructed monastic dwellings for himself and his disciples."⁶ It goes on to say that what he began was "completed by his successors, who were added to his flock through his ministry in that same place," indicating that he was moved by a desire to convert as many as possible to the monastic way of life. When he moves on to build Aulne and Walers it is similarly simply presented, and reads as though these foundations are an expansion, a progression of missionary work. Honour is accorded to Aulne because the author of BHL 4696 claimed that it held relics of St. Peter, with which it "shone." Interestingly, neither Folcuin in his *Deeds of the Abbots of Lobbes*, nor Hériger in his poem, makes any mention of these relics; nor does Philip. BHL 4696 goes on to relate how Landelin enriched Walers and Aulne, but when he received gifts from the king he gave them to Lobbes, "and filled it with an abundance of farms and servants beyond telling."⁷ Philip omits any reference to gifts coming from the king, whereas Fulbert retains the passage from BHL 4696 regarding this almost verbatim. As can be seen in the *Life of St. Salvius*, Philip had no objection to kings endowing monasteries with gifts, nor could he have chosen to omit this from the *Life of St. Landelin* because of the character of the king in question, as this was King Dagobert, who also appears Philip's *Life of St. Ghislain* giving gifts to the saint's foundations.⁸ In this case, however, it appears to be important to Philip that the gifts come from the people, and it may be interesting to speculate whether this emphasis is linked to his conspicuous

⁶ MGH SS. R. Merov. 6, p. 441, ll.18-19.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 442, l. 5.

⁸ col. 1346C-D.

comment that: “these possessions should by law remain for the use of the inhabitants.”⁹

Philip reworks the passage concerning the foundations of the first three monasteries, to represent Landelin as motivated by a desire for solitude and poverty and as a saint whose reputation spread so that people flocked to him against his wishes rather than in fulfilment of them. There is something of this in Fulbert’s account of Landelin, in which to what he found in BHL 4696 he adds that Landelin, “disliking urban monasteries, took himself to more remote places, to deserted places beside the river Sambre.”¹⁰ BHL 4696’s vagueness concerning Landelin’s desires when he first left the monastery, in particular its lack of specificity as to whether he longed for personal solitude or wanted through preaching to gather many people together in a community, allows Philip to attribute to him the intentions he sees as most fitting. It is only in his account of the founding of the final monastery, Créspin, that the author of BHL 4696 makes Landelin’s desire for solitude an unambiguous aspect of his way of life, writing that when crowds of people flocked to Créspin, Landelin left it in search of peace. Philip’s insistence on the point at the beginning of Landelin’s career as a founder of monasteries extends beyond describing his preference for the wilderness, to an account of the voluntary and punishing poverty of his way of life, depicting him weakening his body with the consumption of only bread and water. This is another example, as seen in the *Life of St. Salvius*, of Philip casting the saint in the mould he believes is ideal. For Landelin personally, Philip suggests that the popularity of Lobbes was more of a burden than a joy, not only beginning by saying that “although perhaps he wanted to, he could not lie hidden for long,” but also presenting his departure from Lobbes to found Aulne as a direct consequence of him “seeing that the place had advanced more than he had hoped.”¹¹ The sequence of events at Aulne and Walers was similar to that at Lobbes, with them being initiated by Landelin and a few others, then enlarged by properties granted to him. Philip still does not relinquish the idea that Landelin actively pursued solitude for himself, showing a hint of justifying Landelin’s actions when he explains that: “some people brought much to that place, and with him as director, they built a monastery there, so that the

⁹ col. 1355A.

¹⁰ Fulbert, ‘Vita Sancti Autberti,’ *PL* 141 (1853), col. 363D-364A.

¹¹ col. 1355A-B.

man's labour would not seem vain and useless, as it would if it were held to be more fruitful for himself and not also for others."¹² Philip's rewriting of the account of these foundations shows the sensibilities of a member of a fervent new order, uneasy at finding in his source an insufficient emphasis on poverty and the search for the desert as factors in founding a new house. To remedy this departure from the ideal, and to present to those who requested the *Life* a suitable example to follow, Philip made some adjustments to the narrative when he composed his work. He makes certain to add, for example, that at Aulne Landelin is even harsher on himself than before, a suggestion which is nowhere found in BHL 4696. As in the case of his *Life of St. Salvius*, Philip is rigorous about making explicit what in his source is either implicit, or does not exist as he believed it should.

Another aspect of comparison between this passage of Philip's work and the corresponding one in BHL 4696 is a matter of style. BHL 4696 records that Lobbes, Aulne and Walers were all dedicated to St. Peter, but does so on an individual basis for each monastery. Aulne he says was dedicated to Peter because of its possession of some of his relics; Walers simply because of Peter's greatness. He refers to the dedication of Lobbes only in passing, when writing that Walers was dedicated to St. Peter "ut superiora" – as those mentioned above in the narrative, in other words, as were Lobbes and Aulne. Philip on the other hand writes that the monasteries were dedicated as a group of three to St. Peter, in a symbol of veneration of the saint analogous to his three pilgrimages to Rome to venerate his shrine:

And just as he had visited the Blessed Peter of Rome three times, so he wanted to dedicate these three monasteries, and to assign his threefold labour of building, as of pilgrimage, to the Apostles.¹³

This is positioned in Philip's *Life* after his account of the founding of the three monasteries, suggesting that they were dedicated after all three had been built, which fits the picture of both Lobbes and Aulne being completed by others after Landelin had left them. BHL 4696 describes this more clearly for Lobbes, and in Philip's work it is also evident concerning Aulne. With the foundation of the three staggered in this way, he could have known as Lobbes reached completion that there would be another

¹² col. 1355B-C.

¹³ col. 1355C.

two houses to be dedicated to St. Peter in a fittingly symbolic act. The opportunity to strengthen the depiction of Landelin's sanctity by the employment of some imagery connected to the number three would have been most attractive to Philip. With his fondness for rhyming clauses of similar lengths and rhythms, this sort of pleasing balance held a certain appeal. In the previous chapter of the *Life* he makes a slight addition to the text of his source, commenting on the virtue of the number three when Landelin plans his third visit to Rome:

... and on this third visit to obtain their [the Apostles'] intercessions more profitably since both faith and the knowledge of the clergy preaches the triune God, and God rejoices in the uneven number, according to the saying of the pagans [juxta sententiam ethnicorum]. And although pagans and Catholics differ from each other in many things and dispute with each other, yet they agree in this, that they extol and commend many threefold things.¹⁴

Making the dangerous pilgrimage to Rome was a feat in itself; to make three visits even more so, but the special significance of the number three seems to have made this the optimum number of times for a holy person to visit the shrines of the apostles, and was claimed in their *Vitae* for St. Boniface and St. Amand amongst others.¹⁵

In her book on pilgrimage to Rome, Debra Birch discusses the procedure of making the pilgrimage, as well as the motivation of those undertaking the journey. The need to obtain written permission from one's bishop before embarking on pilgrimage was, Birch writes, set down at the Councils of Antioch and Chalcedon and reiterated constantly thereafter.¹⁶ In both BHL 4696 and Philip's *Life* Landelin parts from the company of Bishop Autbert and returns to him on each occasion when he goes on pilgrimage, with BHL 4696 saying that he received Autbert's "blessing" [benedictio], and Philip that he received his "licence" [licentia].¹⁷ This does not necessarily mean that Philip was referring to a written licence where BHL 4696 was not, however, because in his *Life of St. Ghislain* Philip substitutes the "licentia" of his source for his own "benedictio" when Ghislain obtains his abbot's permission to go to

¹⁴ col. 1354B.

¹⁵ Willibald 'Vita Bonifatii,' in W. Levison (ed.) *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii Archiepiscopi Moguntini* (MGH. SS. R. German.; Hanover, 1905), p. 36; 'Vita Sancti Amandi Trajectensis Episcopi,' PL 203 (1855), cols. 1233A-1276C.

¹⁶ D. J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 72-3.

¹⁷ MGH SS. R. Merov. 6, p. 440, 1.24; col.1353C.

Rome.¹⁸ It could be presumed that the blessing and the licence were understood to go together. When Landelin leaves Autbert he is described by BHL 4696 as receiving Autbert's "licence with his blessing" [licentia cum benedictione].¹⁹

Philip seems more interested than the author of BHL 4696 in describing Landelin's motivation for going to Rome and his experiences when there. Birch cites and concurs with Benedicta Ward's belief that the majority of pilgrims to Rome went in order to ask for the intercession of the apostles to cleanse them from sin.²⁰ Fundamentally, Landelin too went for this reason, but the visits also served many other purposes in his quest for spiritual growth. In both renderings of the *Life* he is shown making the first visit to pray for pardon for his sins through the apostles' intercessions, but every aspect of the experience has a spiritual benefit, with the hardship of the journey viewed as a form of penance, the visits to the shrines an opportunity for worship as well as penance, and on the final visit an occasion to give thanks for his promotion to the priesthood. Philip also adds that Landelin wished for the apostles' future protection, asking that they guard him from demonic attack. Philip's description of the form of penance at the shrine is more overwrought than that in BHL 4696, with the saint prostrating himself before the tomb, beating his breast and wailing. The author of BHL 4696 writes only that at the actual site he "fixed most sweet kisses"²¹ on it, although he does not stint in describing the same penances practised on his return about which Philip also writes.

For both authors, Landelin's initial desire to go to Rome is prompted by his acceptance into holy orders as a cleric, but in Philip's work this association is repeatedly made explicit. For BHL 4696, now that Landelin has received the "dignity" of the tonsure and habit, he wishes to go to Rome "to purchase the crown of pilgrimage."²² Philip, in keeping with his other writings, and as has already been discussed, comprehends perfection in the clerical state as the combination of dignity and sanctity. He therefore presents Landelin's wish to go to Rome, upon having

¹⁸ col. 1340b; Rainer, 'Vita et Miracula Sancti Gisleni,' *AB* 5 (1886), p. 218, n. 1.

¹⁹ *MGH SS. R. Merov.* 6, p. 441, l. 15.

²⁰ Birch, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 39-40, and citing B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (London, 1982; 2nd edn. 1987), pp. 117-20.

²¹ *MGH SS. R. Merov.* 6, p. 440, l. 26.

²² *ibid.*, p. 440, ll. 22-3.

formally been made a cleric, as a determination to combine the dignity he has just acquired with sanctity:

Having been made a cleric and having acquired the grace of such a dignity, worthily considering the weight of the thing, he burned with a great desire for holiness [sanctitas], and in order that he might deserve to reach the supreme glory of clerics, he determined to go on pilgrimage to Rome.²³

In BHL 4696, his promotion to deacon is gained once Autbert has seen how Landelin has increased in sanctity on his return from pilgrimage, and it is clear that this author sees a connection between sanctity and the dignity of office. But in Philip's *Life* the dignity comes first, and then to be worthy of it Landelin seeks to achieve greater sanctity. He is concerned to demonstrate a special connection between the apostles and the clerical order, with Landelin appealing as a cleric to the apostles for their especial aid. They are shown as caring especially for the clergy, and clerics are in turn their representatives on earth. He describes the leaders of clerics as the apostles' "vicars."²⁴ Philip wishes to present both the clerical order as a whole as being under the protection and patronage of the apostles, and Landelin in particular, as a validation of his claim to sanctity and as a representative of that order. Philip had commented, just before Landelin prays at their shrine for protection, that the apostles "did not cease to be present for their vicars, the leaders and princes of the clerics."²⁵ Landelin's prayers for protection from these saints who are known to have special care for clerics and to always be watchful over them has the effect of helping the audience of the work to see his actions subsequent to this pilgrimage – his foundation of the monasteries – as approved and protected by the apostles. The apostles are presented as the perfect embodiment of one in clerical orders, and therefore the model for clergy to follow. They are perfect because they have achieved the ideal combination of dignity and sanctity to which every cleric should aspire:

For because he did not hope that he would satisfy by his virtues, he believed that this could be granted perfectly by the prayers of those in whom both the clerical dignity shines forth, and spiritual holiness thrives more perfectly.²⁶

²³ col. 1353C.

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ col. 1353D.

In Philip's *Life*, as with each new promotion Landelin grows in dignity, so with each subsequent pilgrimage to Rome he grows in holiness. Demonstrating a more analytical and didactic inclination than the author of BHL 4696, Philip seeks to explain what led Landelin to leave Autbert and the monastery and go into the countryside with only his two companions, Adelinus and Domitianus. In spite of all his penitential practices, the increases in sanctity which led to his advancements through the clerical ranks, and the concomitant pilgrimages to Rome which led in their turn to increases in his holiness, Philip portrays Landelin as feeling more and more acutely the sins which he had committed in the past. It is this, triggered especially by his last visit to Rome, that leads him to seek permission to leave the monastery in search of solitude. Although BHL 4696 gave no consideration to what may have moved Landelin to found Lobbes and the other monasteries, Fulbert in the *Life of St. Autbert* added that he did so "to rid himself of the stain of his former way of life," and even that he built these monasteries in the places "which he had prepared for himself for refuge and a hiding-place for robbers."²⁷ Keen that the audience interpret these foundations as the ultimate atonement for his sins, Fulbert wrote that Landelin converted the men who had been robbers with him, and that they entered these monasteries. Interestingly, this concurs with what Folcuin, writing before Fulbert, recorded in the *Deeds of the Abbots of Lobbes*. In this, Landelin is introduced as the criminal Maurosus, with no indication that he began life as Landelin and grew up under the care of St. Autbert. Folcuin described Lobbes as surrounded by woods and cliffs, and "apt for preparing ambushes and robbery."²⁸ Having committed many crimes there, once he was converted it was there that he chose to found a church and monastery. This is omitted by BHL 4696, which Levison believed was Fulbert's source, yet picked up again by Fulbert. Philip follows BHL 4696 in omitting it, and while his and Fulbert's interpretations of Landelin's motives for leaving the monastery share a theme of penitence, and both say he sought the wilderness, they then diverge quite radically. In Philip's reading, rather than leaving one monastery in order to found others as missionary centres to convert robbers, Landelin leaves his monastery in order to seek a life of solitude, as discussed above. He is careful to set out specifically that Landelin felt the monastery was an insufficiently harsh

²⁷ Fulbert, col. 364A.

²⁸ Folcuin, 'Gesta Abbatum Lobienensium,' *MGH SS.* 6, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hanover, 1841), p. 56, l. 9.

environment for the level of penance he needed to perform to atone for the dreadful sins of his past:

It seemed to him that the cloistered way of life, although it may rightly be seen by many to be perfect, might not seem to be sufficient enough to him who had transgressed more.²⁹

So he goes to the wilderness, with two disciples who wish to emulate his way of life, and punishes himself with asceticism. Philip here portrays the life of the hermit in the traditional way of a progression from the life of the cenobite, suitable only for a few, and which should be approached only after sufficient progress in the religious life so that a degree of holiness has been reached.

The speech which Philip invents for Landelin's relatives to use to entice the youth to leave the monastery also portrayed the monastery as insufficiently harsh, but to a different effect. Philip's version of the techniques which the relatives used to persuade him contains elements which are found in BHL 4696 and the *Life of St. Autbert*, but his telling of it is both longer and more sympathetic to the saint. He depicts him more as deceived by arguments against the soft way of living in the monastery and which insinuate his neglect of his parents, than enticed by visions of worldly glory and wealth. He does say in the next chapter that the relatives had promised him riches and honour, but in the initial speech (which will remain the audience's first impression) there is no mention of riches, the arguments they use are more subtle, and the young man's reasons for being swayed made to sound more noble. The process of his rapid slide from being deceived to being an active criminal is not described and certainly not explained. In this first speech there is a definite sense of him being torn between the ways of life of a monk and a nobleman, with what were considered the finer points of nobility, and no sense that he was lured away by an appeal to his greed. By making their speech longer, Philip suggests to the audience that the relatives had to use a variety of arguments to persuade the young man. All the *Lives* have the relatives use the argument that it was unfitting for a young nobleman to be closed up in a monastery, and have them picture for him all the noble pursuits he is denied the opportunity to experience, in particular the deeds of arms which bring glory. It is possible that the attitude which Philip has these relatives

²⁹ col. 1354C.

display here is one which was not uncommon among some sections of society, that the monastic life was not worthy for a young and healthy member of the nobility. He is portrayed as wasting away in a monastery, “passing over life in silence,” instead of engaging in pursuits fitting for someone of his rank:

Vigour and military activity are fitting for your nobility,
not leisure, not clerical idleness: shield, lance, sword, arms
of war, should occupy your hands, not writing – not tablets,
not documents, not books.³⁰

The list of nouns here, contrasting “arma belli” with “libelli,” is effective in conjuring up for Landelin and the audience of the work a vision of what could be his if he left the monastery and did what he was born to do, made more emphatic by the threefold repetition of “non” before each of the nouns associated with learning and leisure. Philip certainly does not follow Fulbert in suggesting that before the relatives came to him Landelin was already disturbed by thoughts of his home, noble family and deeds of glory, leaving the way open to them to succeed in swaying an already half-converted mind.³¹

Although he takes up the idea in BHL 4696 of Landelin being useless to his parents if he stays in the monastery, perhaps mindful of it being them who gave their son to the monastery in the first place he has the relatives suggest that “you are protected by their decision to be apart from their labours.”³² Using the verb “relinquo” to say that “you abandon the glory of your parents, the honour of all your race, a worthy monument for posterity of innate uprightness,” he portrays a young man made to feel that he is failing in his duty to his parents and somehow wounding them. Philip has taken a piece of information found in his source and presented it in a different fashion, so that the altered nuances of the presentation make the audience react differently to it. BHL 4696, Fulbert and Philip all have the relatives contrast strength and weakness as one of the main arguments for Landelin to leave the monastery, with Fulbert in particular letting the relatives describe the monastery as a place only for the old, feeble, or fearful. All three begin the passage by using the vocabulary of seduction or deception to suggest that Landelin could only have wished to stay there

³⁰ col. 1351B.

³¹ Fulbert, col. 360D.

³² col. 1351B.

because the monks used dishonest or furtive suggestions to entice him to join them. But Philip goes further than the other two in setting out criticisms of the monastic life which it is only too possible to imagine being used as arguments against it. He has the relatives depict the monks as idle in the extreme, almost listing the accusations which may be levelled against them: upon entering the monastery, they say, Landelin found that the monks did no strenuous labour; were given to sleep; and to banquets; prattled about useless or untrue things. To reinforce the points he repeats the same criticisms, simply using different words, writing that they “kept their hands entwined” (i.e. did no labour), and “did not busy themselves with vigorous employment.”³³

Fulbert laments that in joining this band of robbers Landelin lowers himself to their level, and that coupled with this his newfound arrogance leads him to think that his noble lineage makes him immune to capture and punishment. Fulbert makes sure that the angel who comes to Landelin after his vision of the eternal punishment of one of the robbers addresses this last point, admonishing him that it has in fact been the prayers of St. Autbert which prevented him from receiving the punishment that was his due. BHL 4696 makes no mention of Landelin’s prowess as a criminal. Philip does not have the angel make the connection which Fulbert does that Autbert’s prayers kept Landelin safe, but he does suggest that Landelin’s natural inheritance made him an excellent robber. Although deploring the wickedness of crimes, Philip cannot help but write as though Landelin’s natural brilliance meant that when his talents were turned to evil instead of good, he excelled at wickedness:

Maurosus [the name which Landelin took on as a robber] ...
did not now follow his comrades in the manner of a novice,
but as the teacher [doctor] was considered by his disciples,
so this same leader was considered as a commander.³⁴

Unlike Philip and Fulbert, BHL 4696 shows no interest in understanding Landelin’s failure to withstand temptation and, also unlike the other two, does not soften the impact of Landelin turning aside from God by reminding his audience that this was part of God’s intention. It also refers more freely to the actual figure of the devil in Landelin’s life, for while the other two write that he was deceived by his

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ col. 1352B.

relatives at the devil's instigation (both preferring to use "enemy"), was now for a time outside God's grace, and did many wicked things, they do not use the actual noun "diabolus" in the same manner as the author of BHL 4696, who twice writes that Landelin "served the devil."³⁵ The effect is starker and a more frightening indictment of Landelin's active wickedness. Fulbert is interested in excusing, rather than explaining, Landelin's behaviour in succumbing to the relatives (and the devil's) temptation, whereas Philip's approach to depicting Landelin in a more positive light is more subtle. Fulbert reasons that anyone who is subjected to a repeated argument often enough can be convinced it is true; that "as the gentle pool with winds agitating it rises to waves, so the good nature wavers with wicked men counselling it;" and that Landelin's youth made him more easily swayed: after all, if even those of mature years can stumble, how much more can those who are immature?

Philip employs none of these straightforward arguments that such is human nature, but places a greater emphasis on the workings of the divine plan in allowing this to happen. Fulbert, naturally focussing on the role of his subject Autbert in Landelin's life, wrote that Landelin's fall was permitted by God "so that the deeds of God and the merits of the blessed Autbert might be manifested in him."³⁶ For Philip, God permitted this to happen so that Landelin might be strengthened, arguing that having experienced evil, after he had repented he would shun it all the more vehemently. To validate this argument, Philip provides his audience with two biblical examples – one from the Old Testament and one from the New – of men who were made more holy after they had sinned and repented. These are King David and St. Peter, and it would be difficult to find two greater predecessors with whom to align St. Landelin. Describing the heartfelt repentance of David after he had Uriah the Hittite killed, and of Peter after he denied Christ, Philip writes that each:

came back more devout and robust after his ruin, cursing the evil he had experienced, held more avidly and firmly by far to the discipline.³⁷

From the beginning of the *Life* Philip seeks to demonstrate to his audience that Landelin's story was preordained, and his life a fulfilment of what was divinely

³⁵ MGH SS. R. Merov. 6, p. 439, ll. 15-16 and l. 21.

³⁶ Fulbert, col. 361B.

³⁷ col. 1351D.

intended for him before his birth. As in the *Life of the Blessed Virgin Oda*, he opens the first chapter of the *Life* after the Prologue with an image of the saints as stars in the heavens, shining with varying degrees of brightness. In the *Life of St. Landelin* he writes that God wanted Landelin to appear as a new star in the diocese of Cambrai. In both *Lives* this has the effect of setting the saint in the context of the divine plan, demonstrating that the subject of the hagiography is foreordained by God and so his or her holiness cannot be called into question. It reminds the audience of the magnitude of Creation and creates a sense of awe that the saint about whom they will hear is appointed to a special place within it.

The speech of the relatives to Landelin is one of four passages of direct speech in BHL 4696 and Philip's *Life*. It is sometimes in a comparison of these passages of direct speech that Philip's methods and aims in rewriting can most clearly be discerned. In the case of the words which he gives to the monks of Créspin when Landelin is dying, the medium of direct speech allows him to dramatise the story for his audience to far greater effect than is found in his source, BHL 4696. He borrows from this only in essence, retaining the basic image but expanding on it, augmenting it with imagery and using literary techniques which have a stronger impact on the audience. The author of BHL 4696 had written:

What aid, oh Lord Father, what, we ask, will there be for us
later, when you, the shepherd, leave the sheep secured for
Christ to be devoured in the teeth of the devil?³⁸

Philip takes the simple image which this uses, of Landelin as the shepherd of the monks, his flock, and the fundamental point it contains of their fear of being left without him, and rewriting it in own his words undertakes to communicate the brothers' fear to the audience:

Why, Father, good Father, best teacher, do you leave us? Although
you ought to take care of yourself, why leave us miserable
men behind, why do you undertake to depart with us remaining here,
or at least if departing, why do you not take us with you? Do
you not know that death breaks into the sheepfold deserted by the
shepherd, the attacking wolf breaks in pieces the gathered crowd of
sick men, with unity having been weakened order vanishes, religion

³⁸ MGH SS. R. Merov. 6, p. 443 ll. 30-32.

is overthrown, the conquered man groans, the triumphing adversary gives thanks? Why did you want to gather us together from diverse parts, but decided to leave us at so unripe a time, as we are not fearless about our salvation, about our reward, why are we going to lose your presence, your protection?³⁹

In his version of this speech, Philip makes it conform to the Latin rhyming style he uses throughout, the repeated questions imbue it with greater passion, and the short series of clauses communicate the monks' urgency and distress. He elevates it from a simple expression of the brothers' concern for their welfare to a scenario of potential catastrophe with a far broader impact, where even order and religion are destroyed.

Although Philip often enlarges on the facts found in his sources, sometimes to a quite considerable degree, it is less common for him to invent an episode without precedent in the *Life* on which his work is based. One such occasion is when he specifies that Landelin gave the monks in his foundations a rule, an act which is not described in BHL 4696. Philip writes:

He studied to teach those gathered together a rule of living [regulam vivendi], to demonstrate the pattern [forma] to those listening by living more strictly himself. But seeing them now living together worthily under a prescribed rule, prepared and quick to advance from good to better, he wished to be removed for a little while from their fraternity ...⁴⁰

This implies the familiar progression from those attracted by his reputation coming to him and living under his personal direction, to them following a formal rule, possibly set down in writing ["praescribo"], to which they should adhere in his absence. This feature of the foundation of a community is described by Henrietta Leyser in her discussion of the process through which a group of hermits in the eleventh and twelfth centuries might develop into a house of monks or canons following an established rule.⁴¹ She writes of the Premonstratensians as an example of such a community, who agreed to live under the Rule of St. Augustine and then went on to settle their customs for following this rule so individualistically that theirs became a distinct order.⁴² Philip's insistence on making the point indicates his familiarity with a community's

³⁹ cols. 1357D-1358A.

⁴⁰ col. 1357A.

⁴¹ H. Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism* (London, 1984), pp. 87-96.

⁴² *ibid.*, pp. 92-3.

evolution from its direct imitation of a charismatic leader to the formalising of its way of life. He does not, however, make this interpolation of the establishment of a rule until he is writing about the house at Créspin, the last of the four foundations. It is possible that this suggests he was writing for the brothers of Créspin, and so emphasized more the basis of their present way of life; it is also possible that it occurs here because it was at this point that Landelin's intention to remove himself entirely and finally from communal living is announced, and he did indeed from then on live as a solitary until his death. Adelinus and Domitianus were sent away to live as solitaires themselves in different locations, and the brothers at Landelin's deathbed came there having been summoned from elsewhere. From what Philip writes at this juncture, however, it is clear that he was still a member of the community of Créspin:

With sorrow and tears, psalms and prayers, they took pains to inter his body honourably in his monastery, in which he studied to the end to serve God devoutly.⁴³

Presumably although he lived as a solitary, like any hermit he was visited and gave advice, and it was with this final foundation that he remained associated.

The variously nuanced meanings of the word "regula" in Philip's hagiographical works are not always easily isolated and defined, and it is used both metaphorically and literally. In the *Life of St. Foillan*, "regula" is used only once, not in the context of a rule given to the brothers of his foundation at Le Roeulx, but to denote a way of life which he taught to the nuns of Nivelles, partly by demonstration through example – "he devotes himself to the study of sanctity, he teaches those assisting him the rule [regula] of religious truth."⁴⁴ The nuns of Nivelles referred to here would already have been following a rule, probably that of St. Columbanus, before he arrived.⁴⁵ A concentration on the way of life as a tool of instruction has been examined thoroughly by Caroline Walker Bynum in *Docere Verbo et Exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-century Spirituality*, with reference to monastic and canonical treatises, Philip's amongst them. "Regula" is found in these treatises to be used to denote the life which is consciously conducted as an example for others to imitate,

⁴³ col. 1358B-C.

⁴⁴ col. 1332D.

⁴⁵ J. McNamara and J. E. Halborg (trs.), *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham and London, 1992), p. 223.

and this usage in the *Life of St. Foillan* seems also to have been of this type.⁴⁶ Philip's exemplar for his *Life of St. Ghislain*, the eleventh-century work by Rainer, used "regula" in this way when he wrote of Ghislain's protégée, St. Waldegrude, that: "as long as she lived she adorned her life with holy virtues, and taught those following her in the prison of the flow of the world, and was to all a rule [regula] of salvation and a mirror of sanctity."⁴⁷ Philip does not follow Rainer in using it here, but he does use the image of the saint as mirror and rule in his *Lives* of SS. Augustine and Oda.⁴⁸ Elsewhere in the *Life of St. Ghislain* he uses "regula" where Rainer did not. When Ghislain settles in the cell he has built for himself, Rainer describes the life he led there of fasting, suffering cold and other tribulations, and writes that as these virtues became known, many flocked to him to be "instructed by his holy ways."⁴⁹ In his rewriting of this passage, Philip prefaces his description of these hardships by saying that Ghislain "devoted himself strictly to the rule of monks."⁵⁰ He uses a derivative of "regula" again when he writes that "the man's fame and the strictness of his life by the rule [vitae districtio regularis] came to the ears of the crowd ..."⁵¹ Philip also adds "rule" into his account of the vision Ghislain received at Rome which told him he would go to Hainault and found a house at Ursidong "and there gather servants of God to live by a rule [regulariter]."⁵² Here "regula" is used to denote a disciplined way of life following certain precepts, possibly those of the Rule of St. Basil under which Ghislain lived in Greece before he was called to travel, or possibly those of Ghislain himself.⁵³ In the case of monastic founders such as Landelin, Ghislain and Foillan, Philip does not state whose rule the brothers followed, and it may be that he envisaged these precepts as originating with the founders themselves, committed to writing when the community was settled.

The men whom he teaches a rule for living by at Créspin have arrived there drawn by accounts of his sanctity and the miracle by which he produced a spring from the ground for the community. In BHL 4696 it is at this point that Landelin "did not

⁴⁶ Bynum, *Docere*, p. 83.

⁴⁷ Rainer, 'Vita S. Gisleni,' p. 233, ll. 2-5.

⁴⁸ cols. 1229A and 1371C.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 223, l. 25 – p. 224, l. 2.

⁵⁰ col. 1343C.

⁵¹ col. 1343D.

⁵² col. 1340C.

⁵³ col. 1339C.

wish to mingle with the multitude” and left; there is no mention of him nurturing the community and teaching them before he went. This miracle is the second of two connected with the foundation of Créspin, the first being when the owner of the part of the wood of Amblisse which they were digging up in order to build their dwellings tried to stop them and was struck down. Van der Essen recognised this miracle as being modelled on that in the *Life of St. Etto*, and Levison suggested that it was intended to establish the right of the monastery to the land.⁵⁴ Along with his followers Adelinus and Domitianus, Landelin has taken off his cloak while uprooting trees and bushes in the wood of Amblisse in order to erect some huts for them to live in. When the owner of the land arrives, angered by what he sees as their theft of his land, he takes their cloaks so that, as Philip puts it, “they might be shaken by this loss and repent of their past conduct, and would not dare to proceed further with such a plan.”⁵⁵ As he leaves, by divine vengeance he is struck down, and realising that he has offended God’s saints, he begs for healing from Landelin and will give him the land in return. In both BHL 4696 and Philip’s work the man struck down by God is healed by the merciful Landelin, but Philip’s work enhances the saint’s beneficence more than his source does. In BHL 4696 the man’s punishment is brought about in response to Landelin’s prayer, which Philip does not suggest, so that in Philip’s rendition the vengeance is not driven by Landelin, but is God’s alone. There are many examples in *lives* of saints of a similar period to Landelin of those who attack, insult, or thwart them being struck down by God, both at and without the saint’s instigation. Some are healed by the saint, others are not. In the *Life of St. Willibrord*, who was born around thirty years before Landelin died, the saint twice restrains his followers from harming men who have wronged him, only for the men to be struck down by God’s wrath. On another occasion he himself puts a curse on a man who has denied the saint’s horses a drink from his stream, and he himself lifts the curse the following year.⁵⁶ In the *Life of St. Landelin* God inflicts punishment, but allows Landelin to bring healing, and Philip ensures that the episode is used fully in order to demonstrate his subject’s mercy. Here is not a frightening vengeance-driven man such as the fifth-century Declan of Ardmore, in competition with the pagans he was trying to convert, and happy to see sixty people killed because they wronged him. Rather, here is a merciful and

⁵⁴ van der Essen, *Étude*, p. 132; Levison, *MGH. SS. R. Merov.* 6, p. 435.

⁵⁵ col. 1356A.

⁵⁶ Alcuin, ‘Vita Willibrordi, archiepiscopi Traiectensis,’ *MGH. SS. R. Merov.* 7, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison (Hanover, 1920), pp. 128-132.

forgiving saint who heals one who has injured him, a “sacerdos benignus.”⁵⁷ The stricken man promises to give the centre of the wood to Landelin if he is cured, but Philip states explicitly, where BHL 4696 did not, that Landelin did not heal him because of this promise, but only because he did not want him to die without knowing God: “desirous not so much of the proffered gift, as of the man’s salvation.”⁵⁸

The second miracle, in which having perceived the want of fresh water for the community, Landelin strikes the ground with his staff so that a spring breaks forth from the ground, is one which is not uncommon in foundation stories. It is reminiscent of the story of Moses striking the rock with his staff to produce water when leading the Israelites out of Egypt, so that the staff often features in such an episode when it is found in a *life*. When the saint produces a fountain in a pagan country which he was evangelizing, it may carry with it overtones of the water of baptism. BHL 4696 does not use this imagery, but Philip, after recounting how the miracle of the fountain led to the naming of ‘Crispinum,’ and following BHL 4696 tells how this brought many people to Créspin, does take up the image of the fountain which brings healing:

Many run and seek to know the living and clear fountain of truth,
that they might be healed whether by drinking or by bathing in
water of such purity: not so much those seeking a remedy of
transitory health for bodies that will die, as those seeking the grace
of abiding sanctity for souls that will be victorious.⁵⁹

Although Philip’s alterations to BHL 4696 are not substantial, there is much that the earlier author left unsaid which Philip has either introduced, or endeavoured to make explicit where it has not been emphasized sufficiently. The saint’s personal asceticism was passed over by the author of BHL 4696, as was his motivation for living a harsh and solitary life when he first left the company of Bishop Autbert. Philip ensures that his audience is in no doubt of these things. He makes no excuses for Landelin’s youthful failure to resist temptation, but he does represent the relatives’ persuasive techniques as very difficult to resist because of their appeal to the most noble aspects of the noble status. It illustrates very well the dilemma which a young

⁵⁷ col. 1356B.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*

⁵⁹ col. 1357A.

nobleman could face in deciding whether to renounce the world or remain in it, a dilemma which might well be familiar to Philip's audience. Once Landelin has fallen, Philip even reminds the audience of the saint's innate brilliance by showing him to be a natural leader of the robbers. He also quells any doubts about Landelin's sanctity which might be occasioned by this early part of his life by explaining that it was all part of the divine plan, to make him even more holy and his repentance more sincere and effective. As in the *Life of St. Salvius*, Philip undertakes to smooth over any troublesome aspects of the saint's career. Philip introduces into this *Life* some images which he uses elsewhere, such as that of Landelin being cleansed to purity in the forge of enduring hardships, and he is also able to build on the arguments, found in many of his works, about the dignity of clerics. The dignity of the clerical order, and the necessity for there to be sanctity alongside this dignity, is a theme addressed in Philip's writings in a way that Fulbert, when he talked of Landelin being persuaded by the argument of his relatives simply because he heard it so often, would have appreciated. It is an example of how, as well as presenting the subject of a *life* in the most fitting way, Philip was also able to incorporate into his saints' *lives* the issues, themes and concerns which were of most importance to him.

Philip of Harvengt's *Life of St. Foillan*

The textual history of the *Life of St. Foillan* is discussed in the *Acta Sanctorum* in the thirteenth volume of October. In summary, Fr. de Buck established that there are five distinct *Lives* of St. Foillan, as well as a book of miracles. A short appendix concerning St. Foillan is attached to some manuscripts of the *Life of St. Fursey*, his brother, and is touched on in this discussion, but is treated most fully by Paul Grosjean in his *Notes d'hagiographie celtique* in the *Analecta Bollandiana* of 1957. A very brief mention of St. Foillan is also made by Bede in the *Ecclesiastical History*. Philip's is the fifth of the five *Lives* and is a rendering into prose of the fourth *Life*, a very long metrical work by Hillin, an eleventh-century canon of Foillan's foundation, Fosses. Hillin's work was in turn a rendering into verse of the prose third *Life*. The author of this third *Life* is shown by the Bollandists to have used as his sources the first and second *Lives*, the aforementioned addition to some manuscripts of the *Life of St. Fursey* (known as the *Additamentum Nivialense*), and Bede. De Buck believed that the second *Life* takes as its source the first *Life*, but Leon van der Essen in the first decade of the twentieth century considered that whilst the author of the second *Life* did know the first one, he also knew and used the *Additamentum Nivialense*, and in van der Essen's opinion adhered more closely to it than did the author of the first *Life*.¹ All four *Lives* preceding Philip's are believed to date from the eleventh century.² Philip refers to the nature of his task in the Prologue to his work, addressed to the brothers of a monastery dedicated to St. Foillan, which, as Berlière says, must be that either of Fosses or of Le Roeulx – Le Roeulx being a house of Premonstratensian canons founded with help from Fosses in 1125.³ One of the two remaining medieval manuscripts of Philip's *Life* (both of which date from the thirteenth century) has a provenance in the monastery of St. Foillan at Le Roeulx.⁴

In terms of content, Philip's *Life* is close to that of Hillin's, his main alteration being to cut some quite lengthy extraneous sections from the original. Berlière postulates that this shorter, prose, version was required “sans doute pour la facilité

¹ van der Essen, *Étude*, pp. 154-159.

² J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (Columbia, 1929; revised edn., Shannon, 1968), p. 504.

³ Berlière, *RB* 9, p. 247; P. Grosjean, 'Notes d'Hagiographie Celtique,' *AB* 75 (1957), p. 402.

⁴ Bibliothèque Publique de la Ville de Mons, Codex 30/196. See Faider, *Catalogue*, pp. 57-60.

d'une lecture publique,"⁵ and the editors of the *Acta Sanctorum* show that it was still being used in that way several centuries later. In a supplement to the original commentary prefacing the texts of the *Lives*, they point out that the readings from the *Life of St. Foillan* used for the Office of St. Foillan at Le Roeulx in the eighteenth century were attributed at the time to Philip's work, although it was both abbreviated and added to.⁶ Given both Philip's comment in the Prologue to his work that he was working from a verse *Life*, and the closeness of his work to Hillin's, that this was his main source cannot be doubted. However, he includes the names of several figures in the *Life* who, whilst they appear in Hillin's work, are not named by him. Foillan's parents, Philtanus and Gergehes, and grandfathers, Agiulphus and Funologa, are all named in Philip's work where they are not in Hillin's. The only one of the four previous *Lives* which gives these names is the third *Life*, which was Hillin's source and which the Bollandists tell us exists in one complete text and two partial ones. This part of the third *Life*, concerning Foillan's background and upbringing, is taken from the *Life of St. Fursey*, and all these names appear there.⁷ There are some differences in the spelling of these names across the three works. The variant spellings in the three manuscripts of the third *Life* are noted in the *Acta Sanctorum*, with manuscript *B* (one of the two partial manuscripts) showing spellings which are closest to Philip's own, with the exception of "Philtanus," which is spelt there with an F. It has "Funologa" where the other two manuscripts and the *Life of St. Fursey* have "Fundloga" and "Gerges" which is perhaps closer to Philip's "Gergehes" than the other two manuscripts' "Gelgehes" and the *Life of St. Fursey*'s "Gelgehen". None of the manuscripts of the third *Life*, nor the *Life of St. Fursey*, have "Agiulphus," but rather variously "Adelfius," "Adelphius," "Adelphus" and "Aelfiud." On the whole, this does not furnish conclusive evidence of from where Philip knew these names, be that source textual or otherwise. The third *Life* follows the *Life of St. Fursey* in its genealogy of Agiulphus/Adelfius, Foillan's maternal grandfather. According to this, Agiulphus/Adelfius was the youngest of three brothers, the middle brother being King Brendin. Philip does not use this information, but rather has Agiulphus as King of the Scots with no mention of brothers. However, this is not evidence that his source for

⁵ Berlière, *RB* 9, p. 247.

⁶ J. van Hecke, B. Bossue, V. de Buck and R. de Buck, 'Supplementum ad Commentarium de S. Foillano,' *AASS* Oct. 30th, col. 923C-D.

⁷ R. de Buck, 'De S. Foillano Martyre Fossis in Belgio: Commentarius Praevius: De S. Foillani Vitis manuscriptis et typis editis,' *AASS* Oct. 30th, col. 371D. 'De S. Furseo Confessore Peronae in Gallia: Alia Vita,' BHL no. 3215, *AASS* Jan. 16th.

these names was other than the third *Life* or the *Life of St. Fursey*, because as will be seen below, Philip sometimes abridged his sources when he felt that certain facts could be dispensed with conveniently. Yet the presence of these names in Philip's *Life* is the only indication that he might have read either the third *Life* or the *Life of St. Fursey*. There is nothing in Philip's work which confidently can be said to be present in the third *Life* but not in Hillin – if Philip did know the third *Life*, it influenced him in no way other than in the knowledge of these names. It could just as well be that an acquaintance with the story of St. Foillan, for example simply by having heard it at the celebration of Mass on his feast day, could have given Philip these names, without him necessarily having to have seen them written down.

Similarly, the author of the third *Life* includes in his work the information that Foillan with his brother Ultan travelled to Rome and was consecrated bishop by Pope Martin. This is found in no other source, leading the Bollandists to suggest that he was either “adding it himself, or retelling it from tradition.”⁸ Van der Essen later speculated that the episode may have its source in the *Life of St. Etto*, in which that saint is said to have journeyed to Rome with a group which included three brothers from Ireland. He adds, however, that “needless to say, this journey to Rome is pure legend.”⁹ This is the sort of detail which it would make sense for a hagiographer to add himself, as its incorporation into the text would both have enhanced Foillan's prestige, and have authorised his preaching mission in Gaul, which he undertook only after his consecration. It seems unlikely that at this late stage there could have been an element of intending to remove from him any taint of association with the Irish bishops without designated sees whom the early twentieth-century French historian Louis Gougaud described, who were regarded with great suspicion. Gougaud portrays an epidemic of these wandering bishops, mainly monastic, who “ceaselessly wandered about, exercising the functions which they held by right of consecration, without authority from any ordinary, and disturbing consciences, not yet well confirmed in the faith, by all kinds of hazardous or heretical discourses.”¹⁰ He writes that such bishops were fulminated against by St. Boniface in his letters and were the subjects of decrees promulgated in several eighth- and ninth-century councils, and

⁸ de Buck, ‘*Commentarius Praevius*,’ col. 371D.

⁹ van der Essen, *Étude*, p. 160.

¹⁰ L. Gougaud, *Gaelic Pioneers of Christianity*, trans. from the French by V. Collins (Dublin, 1923), pp. 24-5.

goes on to suggest that “although the Irish are not mentioned in these texts, there can be no doubt that it is against them they are principally aimed.”¹¹ The author of the third *Life* was writing in the eleventh century and the situation was no longer that which Gougaud describes, yet even without this motivation he may have wished to establish firmly Foillan’s place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy by having him consecrated by a named person. Given that none of the earlier sources do this, who better to have him consecrated by than the Pope himself? With so many saints having received their episcopal orders from their Pope, having Foillan join their ranks could only add to his prestige. Other authors may have acted similarly – by the time Jocelin of Furness came to write his *Life of St. Patrick*, the saint was said to have been consecrated not by Bishop Amathorex (possibly bishop of Auxerre) as in Muirchu’s early work, but by Pope Celestine.¹²

It is noticeable that when the author of the third *Life* writes of Foillan’s episcopal consecration, it is on his mission of preaching that he focusses. Although he writes that Foillan preached in Ireland and England, to have the backing of papal authority when intending to set out on a preaching mission on the continent was important. Foillan sets out from England to Rome with the express intention of gaining the “counsel of apostolic authority” to go to Gaul, and his motivation for going to Gaul is plainly that he might preach, as shown when he goes to the Pope and “opens his heart to him.” The result of this revelation of his greatest desire is that:

The Pope, sensing that Foillan burned with the desire to preach, consecrated him bishop and enjoined on him the office of preaching.¹³

Having gained this injunction, he immediately sets off. Hillin, however, makes some significant changes to the order of these events when he both introduces the initial episcopal consecration by Brendan in Ireland and has Foillan conceive the desire of preaching in Gaul at the prompting of an angel, only after his consecration by the Pope. With Foillan’s actions habitually being informed by angelic instruction, the

¹¹ *ibid.* p. 26.

¹² Jocelin of Furness, ‘S. Patricius Episcopus, Apostolus et Primas Hiberniae,’ BHL no. 6513, *AASS* Mar. 17th, col. 545E; ‘Muirchu’s Life of St. Patrick,’ in L. de Paor, *Saint Patrick’s World* (Dublin, 1996), p. 179.

¹³ ‘De S. Foillano Martyre Fossis in Belgio: Vita Tertia,’ BHL no. 3073, *AASS* Oct. 30th, col. 394B.

addition of one more would have seemed to Hillin to be in perfect conformity with the saint's life. Philip follows Hillin in both respects. By this account, Foillan did not go to Rome with the intention of gaining permission to act as a missionary in Gaul, but rather having been forced out of an East Anglia ravaged by fighting, he goes "to give gifts and vows, and prayers for their homes" in Hillin's words, or "to gain the favour of Peter and Paul" in Philip's. By having Foillan consecrated by St. Brendan, Hillin places him even more solidly in the family of Irish saints, but ensures that whilst Foillan is not actually consecrated by the Pope, his work is given papal approval when he receives permission from Martin to continue the work of a bishop whilst being without a see. Philip describes it thus:

Pope Martin honoured him ... and because he knew that he had held the pontifical order, and had left that place as by grace of humility, so by a divine warning, he enjoined on him that, although he might not hold the original seat, yet he might exercise the office of bishop, namely by ordaining, confirming, preaching ... as formerly in his own land, now in exile, he might perform the pontifical ministry.¹⁴

In this way, Hillin ensures that Foillan receives the honour of having his work blessed and encouraged by Pope Martin, whilst reaffirming that his roots are planted firmly in the Irish church. Whilst Philip is happy to follow this, it is not of his invention.

The longer sections of Hillin's work which Philip omitted entirely fall loosely into two categories: those in which Hillin veers away from the narrative and breaks into his own voice to exclaim at greater length on an aspect of the story, and those which concerned people and events forming the wider context to Foillan's life. Thus the fifty five or so lines in which Hillin interprets what he sees as the numeric significance of the seventy eight days for which the bodies of Foillan and his companions lay undiscovered are simply discarded. So too is a more detailed description of the warfare in England between Kings Penda of Mercia and Anna of the East Angles. Foillan and his two brothers spent a time in England when they left Ireland, the land of their birth. While there, Fursey had a vision which foresaw the destruction of the area and told him to go to Gaul, which he did. Foillan and his other brother, Ultan, stayed to look after their flock in the monastery Foillan had founded,

¹⁴ col. 1329D.

and were witness to much violent chaos in which not only were many of the monks taken captive, but also King Sigebert, who had become a member of their community, was recalled by his people to fight and was killed. Whilst Philip describes all of this, he chooses rather to omit mention of Egricus, whom Sigebert had commissioned to rule in his stead upon entering the monastery, and the subsequent account of the exile of Sigebert's successor, Anna, and then his death. Philip writes:

so many princes were destroyed in that overthrow, that I should consider writing it in order of events, or setting out those same men by name, to be a long and superfluous way of doing things.¹⁵

It is presumably for similar reasons that Philip omits reference to the parents of St. Gertrude, abbess of Nivelles and Foillan's devoted follower, who gave him the land on which to build the monastery of Fosses. Gertrude's parents were St. Itta (or Iduberge) and Pippin, mayor of the palace in Austrasia, chief advisor to Dagobert I for a period, and great-grandfather of Charles Martel.¹⁶ Hillin's *Life*, and the *Life* which he used as his source, record a role for St. Itta in the donation of the land for Fosses to St. Foillan. Hillin adheres closely to this work in composing his poem, including in the use of the ablative absolute *matre consulta* to describe the nature of Itta's involvement in the transfer of land to St. Foillan. Itta's agreement may have been required because of the nature of their inheritance. Gertrude's mother features in all the *Lives* of Foillan, including the *Additamentum Nivialense*, until Philip's work. Likewise all the preceding *Lives* make mention of Grimoald, Gertrude's brother and mayor of the palace in Austrasia like his father before him, who was at Nivelles with Bishop Dido of Poitiers when Foillan's body was brought there. It is important to all the writers that St. Gertrude is of noble stock, but Philip does not feel it necessary to make explicit who these noble relations were. Interestingly, Hillin is the only one of the other authors who mentions her father, Pippin – an independent insertion of information which was not present in his source. Gertrude's parentage was doubtless so well-known that it would not have been necessary to discuss it in detail outwith a *vita* of the saint herself. This was even the case in a *Life* about her - van der Essen notes that the author of the first of her *Lives* “does not write about the saint's origin,

¹⁵ col. 1329A.

¹⁶ D. Pochin Mould, *The Irish Saints* (Dublin and London, 1964), p. 183; P. Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 33-35.

because no one could be ignorant of it.”¹⁷ Pippin was in any case dead by the time of St. Foillan’s meeting with Gertrude, as she and her mother had taken the veil after her father’s death.¹⁸ Philip’s decision to excise the characters of Itta and Grimoald from the text show his determined focus on the subject of his work, Foillan, which allows him to side-step details such as Gertrude’s inheritance rights without detriment to the story and its purpose. In a further demonstration of his occasional subordination of factual detail, as it has come down to him, to a broader over-arching truth, Philip has Foillan and Ultan discovering that their brother Fursey is dead when they arrive at Fursey’s foundation, Péronne, and are given the news by the brothers there. In Hillin’s work, as in the third *Life*, the two saints are told of Fursey’s death when they arrive at his new foundation of Lagny, and from there go to visit his body at Péronne. Philip simply removes Lagny from the equation.

As well as simply eliminating some of Hillin’s more lengthy passages, such as that concerning the significance of the number seventy eight, Philip also compresses the substance of some and delivers them in a different form. Hillin himself rails against the murderers of Foillan and his companions, dwelling particularly on the mutilation of Foillan’s body after death, a sample of which is:

Oh ... deed detestable beyond measure in human hearts:
To tear in pieces with iron the bloodless flesh of the martyr,
Whom death had long before made icy.
Alas you wretched men, to be known for these novel evil deeds,
Having been made by this crime limbs of the devil¹⁹

Philip does not make a speech of this kind, which takes the form of an oration addressing the killers. He does of course use short phrases and adjectives throughout the passage describing the martyrdom to express their wickedness, but he does not compose a passage specifically to address the issue. Some of the strongest language condemning the killers in his *Life* is found in the speech which Foillan makes to his companions to strengthen them. He talks of them being “driven to fury,” describes them as “bad men murmuring wickedly,” and refers to “when their malignity is

¹⁷ van der Essen, *Étude*, p. 4.

¹⁸ McNamara, J. and Halborg, J. E. (trs.), *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham and London, 1992), p. 221.

¹⁹ Hillin, ‘De S. Foillano Martyre Fossis in Belgio: Vita Quarta,’ BHL no. 3076, *AASS* Oct. 30th, col. 404D.

confirmed in its execrable ending.”²⁰ This is done to incite his companions to a determination to face their murderers with strength, as a way of confounding them. He uses the imperatives “state” and “instate” (“stand” and “press on”), telling them that when the time comes their firmness (“firmitas”) will prepare them. Hillin’s version of Foillan’s speech also exhorts them to stand firm, but the language is softer, with a greater proportion of the speech (which is more than twice as long as Philip’s) given over to why they should not fear death. The difference in tone between them may be seen by each author’s introduction, where Philip tells us that Foillan “commands and reminds them that they should be comforted in the Lord,”²¹ whereas Hillin says that Foillan “speaks to his companions, who fear the end / Giving them solace with a sweet address.”²²

When Bishop Dido of Poitiers hears a divine voice in his sleep telling him to arise and go to meet Elijah, who is coming, he does not understand what he is being asked to do, until on the third occasion of hearing this voice he receives the news that St. Foillan has died. He then understands that Foillan is the figurative Elijah and that he is to go to Nivelles, arriving in time to be there when the body is brought to the abbey. Where Hillin explains in his own voice why Foillan is described as Elijah in this vision, Philip gives a much simpler interpretation and has Dido deliver it using direct speech. Hillin, faced with the need to explain Dido’s dreams, using the formula “hic ... ille,” answers his own question “Why is the name of so great a prophet ascribed to that man?”²³ The majority of the answers, however, are no more than those generally attributable to holy men – he lists a series of pairings, demonstrating that both were priests; that Elijah prophesied and Foillan foresaw where and how he would die; that both left their homeland; that both suffered troubles; that both fasted; that Elijah brought people back from the dead and Foillan “was worthy to make many souls alive.”²⁴ His final attempt to interpret the comparison concerns fire, which figures in the lives of both Foillan and the prophet. In the third *Life*, Foillan’s grave is shown to Gertrude in a vision by a column of fire which she sees when the angel

²⁰ col. 1334B.

²¹ col. 1334A-B.

²² Hillin, col. 404B.

²³ Hillin, col. 407B.

²⁴ Hillin, col. 407C.

stretches out his hand and points to it. So Hillin interprets this as a symbol which connects Foillan to Elijah:

Fire bore that one up from the earth above the upper air,
Fire sprang forth over this one, over where he lay.²⁵

Dido's dream forecasting the coming of Elijah draws on and evokes the way in which the powerful figure of Elijah is used in the Gospels. When Christ calls out in agony on the cross, some mistake what he is saying as a cry for Elijah; at the transfiguration it is Moses and Elijah whom the disciples see with Jesus; and when Christ asks the disciples who people think he is, they reply that some think he is Elijah. Elijah was expected to return to presage the coming of the Messiah, a role which is fulfilled by John the Baptist. The angel who announces Elizabeth's pregnancy to Zachariah tells him:

He will go on before the Lord, in the spirit and power of Elijah,
to turn the hearts of the fathers to their children and the
disobedient to the wisdom of the righteous – to make ready a
people prepared for the Lord.²⁶

In Matthew's Gospel, when the disciples ask him about Elijah's coming which was foretold, Jesus replies:

"Elijah has already come, and they did not recognise him, but
have done to him everything they wished. In the same way the
Son of Man is going to suffer at their hands." Then the disciples
understood that he was talking to them about John the Baptist.²⁷

It is on this rich seam that Philip draws when showing Dido coming to an understanding of the angelic message he has received. He has Dido use none of the alignments for which Hillin strove, but rather comment generally on a life pure from childhood, culminating with:

... just as on account of a certain symmetry [convenientia] John
was worthy to be said to Zachariah to be Elijah, so indeed this
man has not the person, but the likeness, of Elijah.²⁸

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ Luke 1:17.

²⁷ Matt. 17:10.

²⁸ col. 1336C-D.

In this way he encapsulates the significance of the vision, rejecting Hillin's efforts to point to sometimes rather flimsy similarities and parallels.

Hillin makes much of the significance of Foillan's martyrdom being revealed by three signs: Ultan's vision of the dove, Gertrude's vision of the angel, and the column of fiery light to which the angel points to reveal where the bodies are hidden. Philip is usually an ardent elucidator of signs, but on this occasion whilst he describes the three events he does not expand on the significance of the individual signs, or the fact that there are three of them. He also distances the light from the angel. In Philip's telling, the angel does not point out the light, or even refer to it, but it simply appears, as "a light leading the way" (*praevio lumine*).²⁹ The light is described in all the *Lives* before Philip's as a "column," which stretches from the earth to heaven, leading Hillin to explain to his audience that:

The column, which extended from earth to heaven,
Indicated the height of the apostolic life.
On it, this father, to be imitated in teachings but also in example,
Sustained the burdens of the Church.

He goes on to liken the column which led Gertrude to Foillan to that which led the Israelites out of Egypt:

As its appearance was fiery, the nourishing Spirit
Sprang forth, illuminating the heart and taming the mind.
So it comes in fire to teach its disciples,
Purging, illuminating, making the most inward parts alive.
That column was concordant with the ancient column,
This one the virgin's leader, that one, Israel's.³⁰

Rather than expounding on this, or on the significance of the dove, or on the way that the revelation of three signs echoes the Trinity, as does Hillin at this juncture, Philip seems more concerned to emphasize how dreadful it is that the bodies should be lying unburied. When Gertrude sends a message to Ultan enquiring about his brother Foillan's whereabouts after he has failed to return to her at the appointed time, Ultan realises the significance of a vision he had whilst celebrating Mass, of a snow-white

²⁹ col. 1335D.

³⁰ Hillin, col. 405F; Exo. 13:21-22.

dove flying to heaven, but with blood on its wings. In Hillin's narrative Ultan explains to the messengers with tears:

I believe that the blood signifies a pious martyrdom.
How or when this thing happened, or where, the virgin
May seek from the Lord with zealous prayers.³¹

Philip on the other hand ends Ultan's explanation of his vision with him expressing his anxiety that, if he has been killed, his body is lying uncovered somewhere:

And since I would suffer deservedly with my brother who
has suffered, at the height of sorrowing I fear lest perhaps
his tomb might not be cared for.³²

Indeed, Philip begins this chapter of his work with a sentence composed of a string of negatives, emphasizing that the bodies lay as though forsaken. He lists all the customary ceremonies attending a burial, beginning each clause with "nullus" or "non," underlining their absence. He does not follow Hillin in depicting angels guarding the bodies, an image which reassures the audience and distances it from Gertrude's fears. He is careful to point out as they prepare to bring the bodies home, that Gertrude and her people rejoice more that the bodies are found than grieve that they have died,³³ demonstrating not only the paramouncy of the eternal over the temporal life, but also the importance of the bodies being tended.

Although Philip does not follow Hillin's lead here in proclaiming the significance of there being three signs concerning Foillan's death, he elsewhere invokes the symbolism of the number three where Hillin does not. That Foillan, one of triplets, was the second to be born, is the subject of some comment, in which he invokes the example of the Trinity:

In them nature wished to work its mystery, while the most
high Deity is made known to us in just so many persons,
and according to Solomon, the threefold cord is not known
to be broken.³⁴

³¹ Hillin, col. 405C.

³² col. 1335B.

³³ col. 1336A.

³⁴ col. 1327B.

He decides that as Foillan was born in the middle, he is “fortified on both sides by manly strength,”³⁵ emphasizing that his behaviour is more glorious as there is nothing about him of feminine weakness. He also finds in this the symbolism of Foillan as the brother who binds all three together in sanctity. Given Hillin’s obsession with symbolism, with an apparent particular love of numeric symbolism, it is perhaps surprising that he did not make some similar observation about the triplets. As it is, the significance of the bodies being discovered on the seventy-eighth day since their death is something on which Hillin dwells at length but in which Philip shows no interest. In fact, Philip is the only author of the five who does not record the length of time for which they lay there, remarking only that they “would have lain for many days under the branches,” when recording that when they were found they were not only incorrupt, but gave off a sweet odour. There is some disparity between the accounts in the various *Lives* of the exact number of days for which they lay undiscovered, with the author of the seventh-century *Additamentum Nivialense* stating that they were found on the seventy-seventh day since they died – “sic septuagesimo septimo die obitus sui.”³⁶ The first *Life*, of which the Bollandists found three manuscripts, says that they were found on the seventieth day after they died, although the thirteenth-century manuscript adds “sexto,” to make it on the seventy-sixth.³⁷ The author of the second *Life*, however, has it as the seventy-eighth day, in a passage that was copied directly by the author of the third, and so was read and used by Hillin. Before Hillin, only the author of the *Additamentum* makes any reference to the numeric significance of this period, remarking, in one of the ablative absolutes of which he is so fond, that:

With this mystical number being noted in many places in Holy Scripture, the day was found to be that on which the blessed Fursey, his brother, migrated from the body to the Lord.³⁸

Grosjean sees in this an example of the Irish training of the author of the *Additamentum*, writing that “the predominant concern for the mystical value of

³⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶ ‘Additamentum Nivialense de Fuilano,’ *MGH. SS. R. Merov.* 4, ed. B. Krusch (Hanover, 1902), p. 451.

³⁷ ‘De S. Foillano Martyre Fossis in Belgio: Vita Prima,’ BHL no. 3070, *AASS* Oct. 30th, col. 384F.

³⁸ ‘Additamentum Nivialense,’ p. 451.

numbers is very Irish.”³⁹ As nothing is known of Hillin’s background, it can only be said that his predominant concern with the mystical value of numbers is of a piece with his concern for the mystical significance of almost every other event in the *Life*, but it is certainly outstanding. The importance of the seventy eight days is found in the fact that when the consecutive numbers from one to twelve are added together, they make seventy eight. (Along the way he makes the slight error of writing that adding the numbers one to ten makes forty five, when in fact it makes fifty five, but when he proceeds to add eleven and twelve the total is correct). He explains that seventy eight is therefore significant because the number twelve can be divided by both three and four, symbolising the threefold faith and the four virtues. To top it all, when three and four are added together, it makes seven, symbolising the Holy Spirit as well as several other things which he brings to the reader’s attention. Philip’s interest in numerical symbolism does not extend to number games such as these, and when enlarging on the significance of certain events in the *Life*, he has obviously decided that this is one with which he may dispense.

In light of the continental interest in the twelfth century in Irish saints, discussed by Richard Sharpe and Ian Bradley,⁴⁰ and Foillan’s Irish lineage, it is interesting to note what treatment this aspect of his life receives from Philip and his predecessors. Born in Ireland, the son of an Irish prince and a Scottish princess, raised by St. Brendan, Foillan’s wanderings which led him ultimately to Hainault are typical of those of the breed of exiles for Christ from Ireland who founded monasteries on the continent. Many authors have highlighted the Irish influence in the region, and the integral role in this of Foillan’s brother Furse’s foundation of a monastery at Péronne. J. F. Kenney’s focus on Foillan is as part of this Irish milieu, as Furse’s immediate successor at Péronne before moving to Nivelles, “a double monastery under Irish discipline”:

It was with the coming of Fursa and the settlement of an Irish colony at Péronne that the heyday of Irish influence in Picardy and Flanders was inaugurated ... Many other Irish monks besides Foillan and his brother Ultán were laboring, then and and later,

³⁹ Grosjean, ‘Notes d’Hagiographie Celtique,’ p. 381.

⁴⁰ R. Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives* (Oxford, 1991), p. 29. See also I. Bradley, *Celtic Christianity: Making Myths and Chasing Dreams* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 57-8.

among the Belgic peoples.⁴¹

Before examining the motifs which were popular among hagiographers writing in Ireland about fifth- to eighth-century Irish saints, Dorothy Ann Bray writes that “the Lives of the Irish saints, superficially at least, conformed to the Church’s conventions of form, style, and purpose; even the motifs used to promote sanctity are, for the most part, common to other saints’ Lives.”⁴² There are, however, themes to which several authors – Bray herself, as well as Charles Plummer and Irene Snieders – have pointed as being common in the *Lives* of Irish saints, whether written in Ireland or on the continent. Some of these are to be found in the first four *vitae* in the *Acta Sanctorum* as well as in the much earlier *Additamentum Nivialense*, although they do not contain the “exaggerated miracle-working of these ‘holy magicians’” discussed by Bray which led some earlier historians to see a literary druidic ancestry in the depiction of the early Irish saints.⁴³ The aforementioned fiery column stretching from earth to heaven above the body of St. Foillan is one such miraculous phenomenon, known in non-Celtic saints’ *lives*, such as those of St. Vaast⁴⁴ and King Edward the Martyr,⁴⁵ but especially prolific in Irish *lives*. Such a column seems to have been typically, but not exclusively, seen above the body of the saint either as a young child or when dead, with perhaps the most well-known example being that seen by the monk Ern ne on the night St. Columba died:

In that night when Saint Columba passed, by a happy and blessed end, from earth to heaven, I and other men with me, at work on the catching of fish in the valley of the river Fendea, which abounds in fish, saw the whole space of the airy heaven suddenly lit up. Startled by the suddenness of this miracle, we raised our eyes and turned them to the region of the rising sun; and behold, there appeared what seemed like a very great pillar of fire which, rising upwards in that midnight, seemed to us to illumine the whole world like the summer sun at midday.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Kenney, *Sources*, pp. 500-501.

⁴² D. A. Bray, *A List of Motifs in the Lives of the Early Irish Saints* (Helsinki, 1992), p. 13.

⁴³ D. A. Bray, ‘Miracles and Wonders in the Lives of the early Irish saints,’ in J. Cartwright (ed.) *Celtic Hagiography and Saints’ Cults* (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 137.

⁴⁴ ‘De S. Vedasto Episcopo Atrebatensi in Belgica: Vita Brevior,’ BHL no. 8503, *AASS* Feb. 6th, col. 793E.

⁴⁵ ‘De S. Eduardo Martyre Angliae Rege: Historia Martyrii et Translationum,’ BHL no. 2420, *AASS* Mar. 18th, col. 645C.

⁴⁶ Adomn n, *Adomn n’s Life of Columba*, ed. and tr. A. O. Anderson and M. O. Anderson (Edinburgh and London, 1961; revised edn. Oxford, 1991), p. 229.

Other Irish saints above whom the light specifically of a “columna ignea” appeared include Brigid, Kieran, Kentigern, Senan, Boece and Comgall.⁴⁷ Although Philip rather inexplicably omits the marvel of the fiery column, it cannot on that basis be said that he is trying to downplay Foillan’s Irishness, rather that he does not seem particularly concerned to emphasize it once he has described the circumstances of his birth and childhood. Given that Philip is condensing the *Life* somewhat, it is possible that Foillan’s very origins and the sphere in which he moved on the continent were enough to establish his credentials as a Celtic saint without the need for further elaboration. Hillin adds to his laudation of the saint by exclaiming on Ireland’s rich Christian heritage and Foillan’s place in it:

Thereafter, Ireland surpasses fellow-lands in faith,
And dispenses to the people those things which it
draws from apostolic teaching,
Drawing them back from the shadows of death,
With the *mina* doubling in a twofold gain for Christ.
In it, surpassing older and fluent men,
With a pleasing declaration of teaching,
Just as with its light the morning-star is above all other stars,
So Foillan is prominent above all in word and merit.⁴⁸

Unlike Hillin, Philip does not make such a point, but then neither does he, as does Hillin, praise Foillan and contextualise him for his audience by depicting him placed among the saints of Gaul.⁴⁹ He does retain all the instances, of which there are many, where Foillan is guided by an angel. Such guidance was regarded by Snieders as a “principal theme” of the *Lives* of Irish saints; she describes how they:

inspire his decisions, his conversation, and come regularly to
visit him.⁵⁰

In some respects Philip’s work reflects the shared heritage of an earlier Christian way of life which links his new order of the Premonstratensians with the Celtic Christianity of earlier centuries by which many were inspired. Ian Bradley cites

⁴⁷ Respectively: *AASS* Feb. 1st; *AASS* Mar. 5th; *AASS* Jan. 13th; *AASS* Mar. 8th; *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. C. Plummer (2 vols; Dublin, 1910; repr. c. 1997), 1, p. 83; *ibid.*, 1, p. 5.

⁴⁸ Hillin, col. 397A-B.

⁴⁹ Hillin, col. 403D.

⁵⁰ I. Snieders, ‘L’Influence de l’Hagiographie Irlandaise sur les Vitae des Saints Irlandais de Belgique,’ *Revue d’Histoire Ecclesiastique* (Louvain, 1928), p. 621.

Glanmor Williams' thoughts concerning the reaction of the Welsh church to the settlement of Cistercian foundations there in the twelfth century, that:

The more rigorous and ascetical practices introduced by the Cistercians were welcomed by the indigenous population as offering a return to the ideals of the earliest Celtic monasticism.⁵¹

If, as Bradley points out, Bede in the eighth century used “an idealised picture of a vanished golden age of Celtic Christianity to draw attention to the faults of the church of his own day,” including a portrayal of St. Aidan “traversing the country on foot rather than on horseback,”⁵² reforming orders also understood that this was how the holy should behave – but this was the case whether Celtic or not. Hillin refers on several occasions to Foillan travelling on horseback, all of which Philip carefully excises. Where Bede was drawing attention to the faults of the church of his own day, Philip was a member of an order which lived by ideals harking back to early Christianity, back to the apostles. St. Norbert was riding in splendour on horseback when his moment of revelation occurred, and thereafter walked everywhere barefoot. All the saints about whom Philip writes travel on foot, in conformity with this ideal of sainthood.

It may be, also, that by this period the influence of Irish hagiography on this region, where Irish saints had lived and founded monasteries, was so ingrained in hagiographical literature as to be unremarked upon or not distinguished. The *Life of St. Ghislain*, the eleventh-century redaction of which Philip was asked to rewrite, includes an episode where a bear running from the king's hunters takes refuge under the saint's cloak and is rendered invisible to the hounds and the hunters, a scene which is pure St. Brigid. Ghislain is not Irish, but Greek, but he also is an exile for Christ, a wandering preacher who is regularly communicated with by angels and divine revelations and is told whilst in Rome that he will go to Hainault, also being shown in a vision where he will die. Philip does not seem consciously to be including or excluding, in his rewritings of earlier *Lives*, aspects of what scholars such as Snieders identified as “Irish” themes, but based on her criteria and those of other authors, these themes are nonetheless apparent.

⁵¹ G. Williams, *The Welsh and their Religion* (Cardiff, 1991), cited in Bradley, *Celtic Christianity*, p. 65.

⁵² Bradley, *Celtic Christianity*, pp. 28-9.

Philip's depiction of the relationship between Gertrude and Foillan differs in certain respects from that which Hillin describes. Where Hillin's account portrays its spiritual benefits as rather one-sided, in that Gertrude metaphorically sits at Foillan's feet and grows in spirituality and stature from his teachings and fellowship, until they are equals, Philip sees their close friendship as being to their mutual advantage from the beginning. In Hillin's telling, when Foillan arrives at Nivelles Gertrude is living a holy life with good intentions, but still has much to learn. She is described as pious and chaste, and has already made herself humble, frightened that her noble rank might lead to pride. But when Foillan arrives, seeing his goodness she "adhered to him in the hope of improving."⁵³ She now strives for higher things and asks that he teach her. Hillin describes some of Foillan's teachings, on theological topics such as the Trinity, and the effect his teaching has on Gertrude. He writes that now her appearance suggests she is with the angels in spirit. His description of her penitential practices at this juncture suggests that she has taken them up since meeting Foillan, and he uses the verb "fio" when writing that she is generous to the poor – "pauperibus fit sua larga manus."⁵⁴ Finally, he describes her as "moving onto the mountain of virtues under so great a teacher."⁵⁵ In the end they are described as "fellows in virtue ... an example to all of total religion, they hurl their hearts upwards, that they might see the Lord."⁵⁶ Hillin's portrayal of the relationship derives from his source, the third *Life*, although whilst maintaining the essence of its representation, he has enlarged greatly on the substance. Philip's own interpretation of the balance of their relationship is more nuanced, perhaps in recognition of Gertrude's fame. Gertrude does indeed "discover in him the word of teaching and a form of living," so that she "esteemed him with a singular love, as though he were her father." However he equally, when he comes to know her saintly qualities, "considered it fitting to remain with her for some time, so that through her he might be able to move forward to be better, and perhaps move her forward." Philip discusses all Gertrude's qualities which endear her to Foillan, and then all of Foillan's qualities which endear him to her.

⁵³ Hillin, col. 401C.

⁵⁴ Hillin, col. 401F.

⁵⁵ Hillin, col. 402C.

⁵⁶ Hillin, col. 402F.

One of Philip's techniques in extolling Gertrude's virtues is similar to that he uses in passages describing the Blessed Virgin Oda, although used here in a more concentrated way. He presents a series of dichotomies which point to her spiritual brilliance, dichotomies which indicate that she has turned her back on the world and spiritually lives in heaven. Although young, she has an "old age full of favour," although female and thus weak she has "so robust a strength," although naturally beautiful, she has allowed – or indeed, encouraged – herself to become dirty and unkempt "with the dust of labour and the tears that had poured out."⁵⁷ That Gertrude admires Foillan is expressed as a special distinction for him: when she begs him to come back from Fosses to Nivelles for a time, he does so, "since he knew that God himself sometimes hearkened to the virgin's prayers."⁵⁸ For Hillin, Gertrude is committed to Foillan's care in a manner like that in which Mary was committed by Christ on the Cross to St. John's care, and through this comparison Hillin finds ways to liken Foillan to St. John. There is no mention of the reciprocal arrangement of John being placed in Mary's care as her son.

Again, a more balanced spiritual relationship is described in Philip's *Life* when the episode of Gertrude's gift to Foillan of Fosses is narrated. According to Hillin's work, Gertrude decides to give him the land so that she could "retain" him "to enlarge the honour of the churches of Christ."⁵⁹ In Philip's *Life* she wishes to help him by giving him the means to be settled, and to have the peace for contemplation which she perceives that he desires. This is expressed in a way that suggests he would not be abandoning his work of preaching in favour of the contemplative life, but rather that it was envisaged as a mixture of the active and the contemplative, in that he could retire to Fosses for rest:

The holy virgin wished to present that place to the just man,
so that withdrawing to it, he might be able to remove himself
from the tumult of the people, so that when wearied by tedium,
when afflicted by the labour of preaching, here he might breathe,
here he might revive the spirit, with the pleasing rest of
contemplation.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ col. 1330C.

⁵⁸ col. 1332C.

⁵⁹ Hillin, col. 402C.

⁶⁰ col. 1331C.

Hillin appreciates the importance of contemplation, and introduces the idea that when Fosses was founded Ultan withdrew to his own solitary cell apart from the monastery, where he spent his life in contemplation until being called to Fosses to act as its superior whilst Foillan went back to visit Nivelles. Ultan's career as a contemplative is not mentioned in the third *Life*, but this is clearly how Hillin sees him, as he depicts him living as a solitary not only at Fosses, but also earlier at Cnobheresburg in East Anglia where his brothers lived in the monastery they had founded. After a time, Fursey joined him in his cell there before the angelic revelation of attack and Fursey's subsequent move to Gaul. Hillin does not expand on Ultan's experience as a contemplative, however, and does not write about Fosses in the terms which Philip does. Rather, he describes the building of the monastery very much with provision for the poor and for pilgrims in mind:

The holy man ... constructed a lodging,
In which any people wandering, either in need,
Or weary pilgrims, might gather, and take food.⁶¹

Whilst Philip would not have disputed the importance of caring for the poor and needy, it is not one of the prime motivations for founding a religious community in any of his saints' *Lives*. His other two *Lives* which centre on founders of monastic houses – SS. Ghislain and Landelin – are both based on works which have the saints doing so in the pursuit of solitude, and becoming the unwilling recipients of attention and devotion, and Philip does not alter this perspective. Rainer's *Life of St. Ghislain* does have a passage in which St. Waldegrude gives to Ghislain's church of SS. Peter and Paul the small oratory on her land which she had built, "so that there might be feeding of the poor,"⁶² and Philip chooses to omit this in his rewriting of the work. Neither in these *Lives*, nor in the *Life of St. Foillan*, are there references to the brothers tending to the poor. They are described as searching for holy poverty themselves, although having founded houses both Foillan and Landelin attract patrons who donate lands and goods to them. Ghislain on the contrary is embarrassed when attempting to provide hospitality for St. Amand because his table is too poor to provide the saintly bishop with a meal. A miracle occurs in response to this need in which a large pike jumps out of the river and lands at their feet. This is the only

⁶¹ Hillin, col. 402E.

⁶² Rainer, 'Vita et Miracula Sancti Gisleni,' *AB* 5 (1886), p. 237.

occasion across the three *Lives* when the saints are shown as providing hospitality rather than receiving it, and when Philip lists the saints' virtues – such as their humility, abstinence, appearance, gifted preaching – that of generosity to the poor is never among them. Of the five *Lives* studied here it is in the *Life of the Blessed Virgin Oda* that attention is paid to the saint's care for the poor, which might lead to the conclusion that Philip saw this as a primary function for nuns rather than his canons.

Although this *Life* is based on a particular text, it possesses features which indicate currents and influences beyond that work which inform it. Without identifiably having been influenced by any written *Life of St. Foillan* that has been preserved or whose existence is hinted at, the inclusion of the names of Gergehes, Philtanus and others suggests an acquaintance with an oral tradition of which we are of course ignorant. Removing all references to the unseemly notion that a saint who as a monk was poor for the sake of Christ might have travelled on horseback, Philip not only rewrites his subject in his own preferred model of sainthood, he also returns him to the model of the early Celtic saint such as Adomnán would have recognised.

In his rewriting of Hillin's work Philip does not stray far from the material found in his source, but as is customary with him, he makes it his own. Although his Prologue suggests that the rewriting was partly occasioned by the need for a prose work, he still uses the rhymed prose common to his works. So for example his account of Foillan's parents meeting and marrying consists of two pairs of clauses, of balanced length, which end with a rhyming word:

Qui [Philtanus] cum in domo regia novus tiro strenue se haberet,
et tam regi Agiulpho quam Scotis omnibus strenuitatis merito complaceret,
ejusdem regis filia Gergehes amplexata est cum amore speciali,
volens sibi jungi cum, si tamen Deus vellet, foedere nuptiali.⁶³

His work is nonetheless consciously more concise than Hillin's, a pared-down version of the poem which omits not only lengthy passages of musings on symbolism, but also certain factual details and persons, whose absence does not hinder the function of the *Life*. When Philip makes small additions to the text, these serve to enhance the text and further the edification which the audience receives from it. Giving Foillan's

⁶³ col. 1326A-B.

parents and the kings of the Scots and of Ireland whose role is so important at the beginning of the *Life* their names benefits the audience's appreciation of the narrative. The introduction of a simile which likens Gergehes when unjustly condemned to death to Susanna is an apt comparison with a biblical heroine, casting her in a recognisable mould. In his disappointment that Philip's work does not shed any light on the problem of 'Where was St. Foillan murdered?' which Grosjean seeks to solve, he relegates it to a footnote:

Life *BHL* 3077, the work of the celebrated Philip of Harvengt, is only a setting into prose of the Hillin's metrical *Life*. It doesn't bring, even to this place [Ampolines], the topographical precision one would expect of an author established so long in the neighbourhood of Strépy and Le Roeulx.⁶⁴

Topographical precision is not, however, of any concern to Philip, any more than he is concerned with whether seventh-century luminaries such as Grimoald were present when the saint's body was brought home. His concern is with more profound truths, both about the saint, and about what his life and death can teach those hearing about him.

⁶⁴ Grosjean, 'Notes d'Hagiographie Celtique,' p. 401, n. 3.

Part Two: Conclusion

Through his hagiographies Philip seeks to inspire his audience to veneration and imitation of the saint of whom he writes, employing his literary skills deftly to these ends. He uses scenes of high drama in the *Lives* to their greatest potential in engaging his audience, his portrayal of the scenes of Oda's mutilation being just one example. Passages of direct speech are also used to their fullest effect, as are rhetorical techniques such as can be seen in the speech of lamentation created for St. Landelin's monks as he lies dying. Philip's rewritings of Hillin's verse *Life* of St. Foillan and the ninth-century *Life of St. Salvius* both demonstrate his concern that the hagiographies he composes have strong and clear narratives. The request being made of Philip to rewrite these earlier *Lives* tacitly suggests their relatively unsatisfactory nature, particularly for the purposes of being read aloud. Philip mentions that he is to write a *Life of St. Foillan* which is less prolix than the most recently composed edition, and in his *Life of St. Augustine* had given as his motivation for undertaking it the same desire to produce a less lengthy work than existed at present. He does not reveal whether Hugh of Saint-Sauve had given a specific reason for his request that Philip rewrite the *Life of St. Salvius*, but Hugh had been prompted by Philip's *Life of Augustine*, and the deficiencies of the early *Life of St. Salvius* have been discussed above. It is most interesting to see in these writings the artistry of the hagiographer acknowledged.

These works are by their very nature educative, acting as another means for Philip to instruct his audience in correct behaviour and ways of thought. This is achieved primarily through the example of the saint, as when Philip slightly alters the presentation of the relationship between Foillan and Gertrude so that Foillan is prepared to learn from Gertrude as well as to teach her. The stress he puts on Oda's obedience to the Rule and his disparagement of the older nun's disobedience to it serve as a lesson to the nuns to persevere in their own obedience. Not relying solely on example, Philip also occasionally inserts a passage in which he teaches the audience what lesson is to be taken from the text. In the *Life of St. Salvius*, for example, he makes a slight digression to express the paramount necessity of humility in a priest. His treatment of Charles' speech in the *Life of St. Salvius*, which he lengthens and slightly alters so as to present more correctly a nobleman's obligations

to his dependants, could suggest that he did so with a wider audience than the monks of Saint-Sauve in mind. His interpolation of a fulmination against the hard-hearted people of Hainault further suggests this possibility.

One area in which he most conspicuously desires to educate his audience is that of the matter of what constitutes a martyr. The forms of martyrdom which Philip's saints endure are not entirely representative of the majority of medieval martyrdoms, but neither are they isolated cases. Although neither Foillan nor Salvius were killed for their faith, but rather were robbed or killed by brigands, their deaths are proven to be martyrdoms because of their foreknowledge of the place or manner of their deaths. In the *Life of St. Foillan* the saint is granted in Rome a revelation of the names of the places where his tomb will be and where his martyrdom will occur. Thus when he discovers from the men who will kill him that the name of the place he is at is Ampolines, he knows he is to die. In Philip's version of the *Life* Foillan is not robbed, but this is more likely to be because Hillin's *Life* had Foillan killed for his horses, and Philip does not wish to present his saint as riding a horse. He does not alter the *Life of St. Salvius* so that the saint is not robbed, suggesting that this alteration to the *Life of St. Foillan* was not occasioned by him thinking it unworthy for a martyr to come by his death as the victim of robbery. In his *Life of St. Salvius* Philip is certain to remove any ambiguities about the meaning of the saint's death. In both his *Life* and the work on which it was based the saint receives a revelation of his forthcoming death. In Philip's *Life* it is only after this that the saint is portrayed as searching for martyrdom, whereas in the earlier work he is shown prior to that to be hoping for martyrdom by means of being robbed, with his valuable Mass vessels carried openly for that reason. That Salvius' martyrdom is desired by God is made quite explicit by Philip's use of language in the speech Salvius makes to Winegarius. In this way it is clear that God's will and the saint's will coincide, making Salvius a true martyr.

Philip's *Life of the Blessed Virgin Oda* is full of instruction on the different ways in which a saint may be seen to be a martyr, without having been killed. In *Oda* he has a saint whose life and virtues were such that they could be presented as corresponding with the ideal pattern of female sanctity, and the pinnacle of this achievement is martyrdom. He thus depicts her in the classic model of a virgin martyr

saint, a spiritual descendant of the likes of St. Agnes. He explains explicitly why she should be considered a martyr, and uses the language and imagery of martyrdom through the *Life* to emphasize the point. Whereas in many *lives*, such as that of St. Jutta, this metaphorical martyrdom may be one small aspect of the work, without a real objective that the saint be accorded the title of martyr, in this work of Philip's the claim is one of his chief goals. Thus while the primary justification to this claim is the mutilation of her face – an actual mark to match St. Agnes' symbolic one – other elements of her life are also presented as the acts of a martyr. Her willing sacrifice of her reputation; her silence and calm when suffering, but her outspoken declaration of love for Christ; the presentation of her father after the model of a pagan persecutor of an early Christian martyr: all these images accumulate to present her to her audience as a virgin martyr. The very fact of her consecrated virginity is presented as a form of martyrdom in itself.

Philip's broader understanding of the concept of martyrdom is further expressed in his very long letter to one Radulphus, who had requested that he write to him on the subject.¹ In this he begins by employing all his exegetical and interpretive skills to demonstrate that both John (the one apostle who is said to have died peacefully) and the Virgin Mary were martyrs. The preparedness of a person to die for Christ and the endurance of a life of suffering, are both factors in this consideration. These are of course both elements of Philip's argument that Oda is a martyr. This letter encompasses many other reflections on death and martyrdom, such as the notion that life in the cloister is a form of martyrdom, before going on to explore the meanings of death as it is used in Scripture. Unfortunately there is no evidence of when this letter to Radulphus was composed, so that the development of Philip's thought on the matter may not be traced. It is nonetheless an example of how evidence of Philip's theological concerns, considered in detail in his letters and treatises, can also be found in his saints' *Lives*. The combination of dignity and sanctity in a cleric, that concept which forms the basis of much of Philip's *De Institutione Clericorum* as well as being voiced in his letters, also makes its appearance in the hagiographies, with a desire to acquire the sanctity to accompany his new-found clerical dignity being attributed to St. Landelin.

¹ cols. 119B-142C.

Evidence of the characteristics which Philip saw as being most fitting in a saint may be found through comparison of his *Lives* with the works he took as his sources. The interpolation of a reference to Salvius' humility where none was to be found in his source is one such example; the abovementioned removal of the suggestion that Foillan rode on horseback is another. This concern to present the saint in accordance with an ideal model of sanctity is not only demonstrated in additions or omissions such as these. It may also take the form of an increased emphasis on a particular characteristic, on which an earlier author has perhaps not dwelt sufficiently. Thus, lest the audience is not made suitably aware of Landelin's austerity in his mode of living, Philip enlarges upon the practices of punishing abstinence which he feels sure the saint must have undertaken, and asserts that these austerities become harsher as time progresses.

It may be asked whether these adjustments have a particular bias towards the order of canons regular. In her article comparing the approaches to writing a *Life of St. Augustine* of Philip and Rupert of Deutz, Carol Neel discovers that Philip cast Augustine into the Premonstratensian mould: "Philip's Augustine ... emerges as a figure remarkably resembling the Premonstratensians of the twelfth century."² There is nothing as strong as this in Philip's other saints' *Lives*, but then none of the other saints were of such seminal importance to the future of Philip's order as St. Augustine. Most of the alterations to his texts do not particularly relate to Philip's order more than any other, and it may be said that the ideal of saintly perfection which reveals itself in his saints' *Lives* contains very little to single it out as having been written by a canon. Caroline Walker Bynum has discussed the difficulty of identifying what it was that made monks and canons see themselves as distinctive from each other, and has suggested that "non-polemical" works hold the key. There is not enough evidence in Philip's hagiographies to contribute much to this, but her theory that regular canons placed a greater emphasis on the conscious use of conduct as a means of instructing others is corroborated by Philip's *Lives* of Landelin and Oda. Only the *Life of St. Landelin* dwells on the sanctity of the clerical order in particular, when it highlights the special affection which the apostles had for clerics, their

² C. Neel, 'Philip of Harvengt's *Vita Augustini*: The Medieval Premonstratensians and the Patristic Model,' *AP* 71 (1995), p. 307.

successors. But Philip's pride in his order here is not symptomatic of any use of the hagiographies as polemic, rather, they are a form of writing which unites rather than divides the different orders.

While the alterations, omissions and additions which Philip makes to the sources of his saints' *Lives* are, as has been seen, instructive, it is also important to note the great continuity of tradition between his twelfth-century works and sources which may go back as far as the eighth century. This is particularly noticeable when his *Life of St. Foillan* is measured not just against Hillin's verse *Life* which Philip was rewriting, but also against earlier *lives* and the traditions found in them. When these rewritings are considered alongside Philip's original composition, with its emphasis on the unmediated relationship between Oda and Christ, and her solitary confession before him, his fidelity to these earlier sources is highlighted.

Despite the lack of interest which historians of the saints discussed here often show in Philip's rewritings, because of the lack of new information contained in them, it has been seen that they are most informative when considered for different purposes. Written for a willing audience ready to be instructed and to listen to a well-structured rendering of the life of their own saint, they provide a fitting model for imitation. Their subtlety demonstrates Philip's insistence on theological precision in matters such as martyrdom, with the education of his audience always in mind. His comments on matters such as the suitability of a bishop robing in fine vestments, the necessity of a cleric possessing sanctity as well as dignity, and his frustration at the intractability of some of the people of Hainault, illuminate his attitude to a variety of subjects. Both as works of linguistic artistry, and as sources to further knowledge of Philip's concerns and ideals, his hagiographical works offer a number of interesting and revealing insights.

Conclusion

Taken together, then, Philip's letters and saints' *Lives* contain a great deal to illuminate his thoughts, ideals, and concerns. Where some of these concerns relate to specific persons or situations, such as his fear that his schoolfriend will be lost in the worldly cares of his new position, they tend still to relate to a general anxiety, in this case about the worldliness of bishops. In this way his letters contain lessons and communicate meaning to an audience beyond the immediate recipient of the work. Certain themes, such as this one, are treated in depth in one letter, but references to them recur throughout both his letters and his hagiographical works. This concern about ecclesiastical prelates, for example, can be seen in asides in other letters, such as comments he makes to Count Henry of Champagne and to Brother Gregory. In both he warns that episcopal dress does not necessarily indicate holiness. The letter to Henry was written when he was abbot, after his disagreement with St. Bernard and his prosecution at the hands of chief abbots in his own order, and the letter to Gregory at a point "not far removed" from these crises.¹ In these episodes he had felt the impact of prelates behaving other than he would have hoped. His saintly bishops, Salvius and Foillan, are preachers, missionaries, and lovers of solitude and contemplation. In his *Life of St. Foillan* St. Gertrude gives Foillan the land for Fosses so that:

when afflicted by the labour of preaching, here he might
breathe, here he might revive the spirit, with the pleasing
rest of contemplation.²

In his letter to his anonymous friend by contrast he suggests that "not all [prelates] care, or indeed have time to read divine letters often, and if they should read them, do not wish or are not able to commit them all to memory."³ His concerns mirror those voiced by others such as Peter the Chanter that the prelate of the church should be reminded that "a more severe judgement shall be for them that bear rule," and that the obligations of their office and the implications of their behaviour should be understood fully.⁴

¹ Sijen, 'Les Oeuvres,' p. 137.

² col. 1331C.

³ col. 109B.

⁴ Wis. 6:6.

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There are other concerns which recur often enough in Philip's letters and hagiographies to be seen as preoccupations. When he writes to his friend of the need for sanctity to accompany his new dignity, he expresses a belief which is not only the subject of a treatise, but is also to be found in one of his saints' *Lives*. In the *Life of St. Landelin* the clerics' premier position of ecclesiastical dignity as the inheritors of the role of the apostles is articulated, a concept which is also expressed in his letter to Count Henry of Champagne when a defence of houses of secular canons is called for. Other overarching themes are those of duty and obedience. Not only should an ecclesiastical prelate be constantly aware of what he owes to his "subditi," but the ruler in the secular sphere should know "what your highness owes to greater men, what to equals, what to lesser men."⁵ As the letter to Count Philip of Flanders makes clear, the ruler should also be very aware of his obligations to the Church in his land. Such knowledge comes through reading, the pursuit which defines the cleric and is greatly to be encouraged in the prince. To rule well, the prince should know both Christian and pagan works, so long as he is sufficiently well-educated to be able to discern the good from the bad in the latter. Philip thought this aspect of education sufficiently important to interpolate it into the formative education of St. Ghislain. Another aspect of duty which Philip emphasizes is the duty of obedience. The disinclination of religious orders to love each other is characterised as disobedience.⁶ The importance of obedience is highlighted in his *Life of the Blessed Virgin Oda*, a saint initially divided between obedience to her parents and obedience to God, who came to "frequent the lecture-hall of obedience, so that she suffered herself to be inferior to none in this discipline."⁷ More controversially, in the *Life of St. Salvius* the servant Winegarius' obedience to his master's command to kill Salvius is essential to that saint being able to obey God and achieve martyrdom.

It has been seen that the subject of what constitutes martyrdom was another which engaged Philip, both in his saints' *Lives* and in an epistolary treatise addressed to Radulphus. Foillan and Salvius are forewarned of their martyrdoms and go to meet them joyfully; Oda is strengthened for her trial by a vision of Christ feeding her with the bread of the Eucharist. In this way the audience knows that their deaths and

⁵ col. 153A.

⁶ col. 88A.

⁷ col. 1371C.

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sufferings are not circumstantial in the first two cases, and deluded in the third, but are sanctioned by God as forms of martyrdom. Although Oda did not “suffer the brief blow of the persecutor,” her self-inflicted punishment, her life of consecrated virginity, her silent endurance of the loss of reputation, all mediate towards her deserving, as Philip sees it, the title of martyr.

Oda’s loss of her reputation when it was believed she had leprosy was a form of suffering with which Philip could have much sympathy. The spread of a saint’s fame in his *Lives* is achieved against the saint’s will – so by divine inspiration – and is written of as a perfume, or scent, in language reminiscent of the *Song of Songs*. It draws people to the saint’s house, and so is instrumental in spreading the word of God. Philip’s own loss of reputation when he was exiled from Bonne-Espérance is one which he writes of with great feeling in letters to Bishop Bartholomew, St. Bernard and the Pope, describing it to Eugenius as the work of the devil. One of the worst aspects of the disunity between religious orders is the attempt of one order to damage the reputation of another, and the damage this in turn does to all of them in the eyes of the people. If as Caroline Walker Bynum argues one aim of the canons regular was to teach others by their example, so that as Philip puts it when writing of Oda, “her life was in a way a sermon,” if they were not seen to be living well they could not teach. And as has been seen, Philip’s primary motivation in both his letters and his works of hagiography was to instruct, encourage, and exhort his audience.

In his letters and his works of hagiography Philip uses language carefully and precisely, often expressing an interest in semantics. His persistent and pronounced use of the noun “principes” in his letter to Pope Eugenius to denote the abbots of his order who denounced him, for example, deliberately emphasizes their exercise of power. The vocabulary of “amicitia/amicus” which he uses in his letter to the anonymous bishop, understood in the light of the use of this vocabulary by other authors, acts as a powerful persuasive tool with which to approach this man. Having been one soul in two bodies, with the anonymous friend second in Philip’s heart only after God, it is not just Philip’s right but his duty to advise and to warn him. His use of biblical imagery and quotations can reprimand, exhort, draw evocative parallels and illuminate his meaning. Writing to Rainald of Dassel he cites numerous Old Testament stories of peaceful means of victory with which to encourage him; to

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Bartholomew he draws parallels between himself and persecuted individuals in the Bible to express his feelings of persecution and betrayal; imagery from the *Song of Songs* resounds through the *Life of the Blessed Virgin Oda* as he portrays her as the bride of Christ. Philip's use of rhyme and rhythm characterise his writing, and a comparison of his hagiographies with the works on which they are based reveal the extent to which these techniques enhance the narrative and engage the audience.

Ultimately, much of Philip's writing is about ideals. He has an ideal of an ecclesiastical prelate, an ideal learned secular ruler, an ideal harmonious relationship between the religious orders, an ideal cleric, reverently labouring at, feeling, and tasting learning so that he might strive for knowledge of God. One of the main aims of the letters discussed here is that through them Philip might exhort others to emulate these ideals, to aspire to perfection. There are also ideal attributes of sainthood, and where these are not portrayed in a hagiography Philip amends the work so that they are. It is in part his responsibility as a writer to ensure that the audience of these works has before it the perfect model of sanctity in the saint under whose patronage they dwell. Philip's saints' *Lives* might not provide further information about the saint as an historical person, but as examples of how more profound truths might be expressed in a hagiography they are of great worth. Read individually, Philip's letters and hagiographies are of interest for the issues and persons with which they are concerned, and the persons to whom they are written. Read as a group, much can be discerned from them of the motivations, considerations, concerns and ideals of Philip of Harvengt.

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