

THE SPIRITUALITY OF WESTERN CHRISTENDOM

The
Western



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Spirituality of
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BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX: THE MYSTIC AND SOCIETY

*Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) abandoned the life of a minor aristocrat in 1113 to enter the floundering new monastery at Cîteaux. With him he took thirty of his relatives and friends, including married brothers. This in itself indicates the charismatic sway which Bernard exercised over his contemporaries throughout his life. Chiefly through his efforts, the Cistercian order exploded in a single generation from three to over three hundred monasteries, and for persons high and low throughout Europe and the latin Middle East, the austere white monks became the most perfect embodiment of medieval christian ideals. Severely ascetic in his personal life and uncompromising in his demands on others, Bernard revealed a great sensitivity for beauty, especially the beauty of language in both speech and writing. He knew scripture and the works of the Latin Fathers thoroughly and was so imbued with their doctrine that he has been called *The Last of the Fathers*.*

On Palm Sunday of the year 1098, which in that year was also the feast of Saint Benedict, twenty-two monks under the leadership of Robert of Molesme founded a monastery in a place known as Cistercium, a marshy woodland located in the diocese of Châlons and the duchy of Burgundy. The New Monastery—which is what the founders modestly and accurately called their new home—did not flourish: the pope ordered Robert back to Molesme, the community often came close to starvation, disease reduced their numbers, and the few hardy souls attracted to their hard life soon gave up in despair at its severity.

The seemingly imminent collapse of the young foundation was saved by the arrival of a man almost as young as the foundation. In 1111, Bernard, a son of the lord of Fontaines-lès-Dijon, had made up his mind to become a monk, and, in an action characteristic of his leadership powers, he

brought with him in 1112 some thirty companions, more than doubling the community at Cîteaux.

Only four years after Bernard entered Cîteaux, he was chosen to lead a new foundation. So, in June of 1115, he and twelve fellow monks set out on a seventy mile trek to their new home in the Valley of Absinthe near Bar-sur-Aube. They changed the name of the place to the Valley of Light, Clairvaux. Largely because of Bernard's influence, the Cistercians were to possess 343 houses all over Europe by his death in 1153. But Bernard was not only the leader of a new wave of monastic reform, he became the leader of Christendom in the first half of the twelfth century. It would be difficult to find a parallel in any other period. Bernard remained abbot of Clairvaux all his life, but he was able to spend far less time there than he wished. Bernard was thrust into a role of leadership, a role he always regretted.

Perhaps more than any other event in Bernard's life, his role at the Council of Etampes reveals the extent of his influence on contemporary society. At this Council, Bernard was instrumental in settling the papal schism of 1130, and his decision won France for Innocent II.¹ And this was but a preliminary to Bernard's campaign in Germany, Italy, and Sicily, a campaign pursued successfully through letters, travels, councils, and disputations. In an age in which religion is important, as it was in the twelfth century, the man who decides who is to be the head of the institutional expression of that religion is a man of great power.

It is not necessary to describe the leadership which Bernard exercised; that has often been done. His role in launching the Second Crusade is well known; Bernard's preaching, letters, and miracles² aroused the European conscience to the point that he could write to Pope Eugenius:

You have commanded and I have obeyed, and the authority of your command has made my obedience fruitful. Since I have announced and have spoken [the soldiers of the Cross] have been increased beyond number. Cities and castles are emptied, and now seven women can hardly find one man to hold; so much so that everywhere there are widows whose husbands are still alive.³

Many scholars have shown Bernard's great contribution to theology and his influence on its development. His letters show Bernard as the preceptor of popes and the conscience of kings. In short, Bernard was the leader in so many aspects of early twelfth-century culture that it is impossible to examine his age without studying him.

Bernard's leadership leads us to ask the question: how is it that a monk—and a mystic—could play such a role? How is it that a man dedicated to withdrawal from the world had so much influence on the world? My contention is that Bernard could lead Europe to a crusade, decide who its leaders were to be and how they should act, and influence what its inhabitants were to believe, because his life embodied so many ideals of his age, some of which had not even crystalized until his coming. The ideals of early twelfth-century Europe were largely unified around spiritual values. Thus, it was possible for one man, who as a monk and mystic most perfectly embodied those ideals, to give expression to the spiritual values of his age. Because of his genius, Bernard was able to explicate the ideals and values implicit in society's choice of him as its leader. We must turn to Bernard if we are to understand the mystical spirituality of the twelfth century.

'Mysticism' is a word with a bad press today and it most often carries connotations of irrationality, superstition, spiritualism, obscurantism, or a side-show version of Orientalism. Mysticism is a difficult concept, and its explanation may necessitate an illustration.

Let us suppose that we have a friend who has been blind from birth. We are walking together one evening and we remark on how beautiful the sunset is. Our friend asks us: 'What is a sunset?' We may reply with an explanation of how the rotation of the earth places the horizon between us and the sun. This is a scientific explanation which is true as far as it goes, but our friend might justifiably question why we had described the sunset as 'beautiful.' We might say that the color, particularly the red, was magnificent, but our friend would surely ask us what 'red' was. A description of 'red' as an energy wave of a certain frequency would be accurate, but again not adequate. The difficulty is that our

experience of the sunset or of 'red' is not simply an intellectual awareness; it also involves an emotional and volitional response. Not only do we know something in an experience, we also feel and choose in that experience. An experience is something unique because our reactions are determined not simply by the object we experience, but also by our predilections and past experiences. No one can ever completely experience what we experience, and surely our blind friend is unable to share our experience of the sunset or of 'red.' In trying to share with him at least part of our experience, we might have recourse to poetic language. We might try to get him to 'see' red by describing it as 'warm.' Red is not physically any warmer than green, but our psychological reaction to red roughly parallels the way we feel when we are warm, and so we describe red as a warm color. We say what is literally false in order to convey what is psychologically true.

When we ask a mystic for an explanation of mysticism, it is not surprising that he, too, must respond in poetic form. A mystic is a man who has had—or at least thinks he has had—an experience of God. This experience, he claims, is quite unlike other experiences in its source, but like others in that it involves knowledge, choice, and emotional response. The metaphor which Bernard of Clairvaux used to describe his experience of God was that of sexual union between the Bridegroom (God) and the Bride (the soul):

But let me tell you what I have attained to, or, rather, what I believe myself to have attained to. And you must not regard as a boast this communication which I make only for your own good But there is a place where the Lord appears truly tranquil and at rest. It is the place neither of the Judge nor of the Teacher, but of the Bridegroom, and which becomes for me (whether for others also, I do not know) a real bedchamber whenever it is granted to me to enter there If, my brothers, it should ever be granted to you to be so transported for a time into this secret sanctuary of God and there be so rapt and absorbed as to be distracted or disturbed by no necessity of the body, no importunity or care, no stinging of conscience, or, what is more difficult, no inrush of corporeal images from the senses of the imagination, you can truly say: 'The King has brought me into his bedchamber.'⁴

If Bernard, and other mystics, must express themselves poetically, this expression does not detract from the certainty of the knowledge which they believed they obtained in the mystical or contemplative experience of God. The epistemological value of mysticism or (to use Bernard's word) contemplation is indicated by his own definition: 'Contemplation may be defined as the true and certain intuition of any object, or the certain apprehension of truth.'⁵ The certainty of mystical knowledge becomes all the more important when one considers that for Bernard the primary object of contemplation is God, that is, Truth Itself:

But let me speak first about the Image. The Word is Truth, the Word is Wisdom, the Word is Justice. Under each of these aspects He is an Image. An Image of what? An Image of Justice, an Image of Wisdom, an Image of Truth. For the Word as an Image is Justice of Justice, and Wisdom of Wisdom, and Truth of Truth; in the same manner as He is Light of Light and God of God. But the soul is none of these things, because she is not the Image. Nevertheless she is capable of them, and is desirous of them too, and perhaps it is with respect to this capacity and this desire that she is said to be made according to the Image. She is a noble creature whose greatness is shown in the fact that she possesses in herself so great a capacity for participating in the perfections of the Word; and, in her yearning for the same, she gives proof of her righteousness.⁶

God is seen by the contemplative under many aspects, all of which give insight of a profound nature into reality:

There is in the home of the Bridegroom a certain place where, as Governor of the universe, he frames his decrees and disposes his counsels, appointing to all creatures their laws, their weight, measure, and number. It is a lofty place and a secret one, but very far from quiet. For although as far as depends on him, he 'disposes all things sweetly,' yet he disposes them and does not permit that one who has reached that point by contemplation should rest there peacefully; but by causing her to scrutinize everything with admiration, he wearies and disquiets her in ways no less pleasant than marvelous.⁷

It was obvious to Bernard and his contemporaries that the knowledge of the nature of things obtained by such an experience is far superior to any other way of knowing. But not only the nature of things but the right ordering of them (justice) was at least sometimes open to the contemplative:

There is a place from which an immutable watch is kept over the reprobate rational creatures by the just vengeance, as severe as it is secret, of the most righteous Judge, 'terrible in his counsels over the sons of men.' Here the trembling soul beholds the Almighty, by a just but hidden judgment, refusing both to pardon the evil and to accept the good works of the wicked and, moreover, hardening their hearts, lest perhaps they should become contrite, enter into themselves, be converted, and he should heal them Do not be surprised that I have ascribed the beginning of wisdom to this second place rather than to the first. For there we do indeed hear wisdom teaching all things, as it were, in a lecture-hall; but here we actually receive wisdom. There our minds are instructed; here our wills are affected. By being so instructed we become learned; by being so affected we are made wise.⁸

By contemplating Truth the mystic becomes learned, and by contemplating Justice he becomes wise.

We have already seen⁹ that God is also experienced by the mystic as a Bridegroom; it is under this aspect that the mercy of God is seen.

There [in the third place] we can plainly see that 'the mercy of the Lord is from eternity and to eternity upon those who fear him.' . . . I have therefore observed that [the elect] are as if they had never sinned, because whatever faults they may seem to have committed in time, none at all shall appear in eternity, for the Father's 'charity covers a multitude of sins.' . . . At the thought of this, I, even I, have suddenly experienced such an infusion of confidence and joy which altogether exceeded the earlier emotion of fear felt in the place of horrors, that is, in the place of the second vision. For it seemed to me that I was of the number of these blessed ones.¹⁰

Not always does the mystical experience encompass such grand visions. The knowledge Bernard claimed he received was sometimes very specific, so much so that it strikes the modern ear as strange and bordering on the humorous:

I am lying (and I say this for your consolation) if from the hands of this sinner to the joys above there have not flown the souls of monks, novices, and lay brothers, without any hindrance once they were freed from the prison of our mortality. If you ask how I know this, know that absolutely certain evidence of it has been given to me.¹¹

Although Bernard's descriptions of the contemplative

experience which I have quoted so far seem to indicate that mysticism is essentially cognitive or intellectual, there is more to the story. For Bernard mystical knowledge was obtained in an ecstatic experience:

Therefore, 'Let my soul die the death of the angels' also (if I may use the expression), so that escaping from the memory of all present things, she may strip herself, not alone of the desires, but even of the images of inferior and corporeal objects and may converse spiritually with those whom she resembles in spirituality! The name contemplation, it seems to me, belongs either solely or principally to such a mental ecstasy. It is the part of human virtue to live on earth unfettered by earthly desires; but to be able to contemplate truth without the help of material or sensible images is characteristic of angelic purity. Yet each of these two is a gift of God. Each is a true ecstasy. In each the soul rises above herself, but in the second far higher than the first. Blessed is the soul which can say in this sense: 'Lo, I have gone far off, flying away; and I abode in the wilderness.' It is not enough for her that she is transported out of herself, unless she can fly far away and be at rest. You have such a victory over the temptations of the flesh that you no longer gratify its concupiscence nor yield assent to its enticements. This certainly is progress. You have surely gone forth from yourself. But you have not flown far, unless, by purity of mind, you are able to rise above the images of sensible objects, which are constantly rushing in upon you from every side. Until you have attained this, do not promise yourself any rest. You are in error if you think that the place of repose, the quiet of solitude, the perfection of light, and the dwelling of peace can be found any nearer.¹²

So far removed from the normal world of perceptions or even conceptions is this mystical experience that it might be better described as emotional than as intellectual. Or, rather, it is volitional, since it is achieved through a harmony of the wills of God and the soul. This harmony Bernard described as the mutual love of the Bridegroom Christ and the Bride the soul:

Grace alone can teach it, it cannot be learned except by experience. It is for the experienced, therefore, to recognize it, and for others to burn with the desire, not so much of knowing, as of feeling it, since this canticle is not a noise made by the mouth but a jubilee of the heart, not a sound of the lips but a tumult of internal joys, not a symphony of voices but a harmony of wills. It is not heard outside, for it does not sound externally. The singer alone can hear it, and He to whom it is sung, namely the Bridegroom and the Bride. For it is a nuptial song, celebrating the chaste and joyous embraces of loving hearts, the concord of minds, and the union resulting from reciprocal affection.¹³

It was necessary for Bernard to use such poetic expressions in describing the union of the soul with God, because this experience was highly individual, incommunicable, ineffable. Bernard put it this way:

Furthermore, in such matters the understanding is altogether unable to transcend the bonds of experience . . . None but the Bridegroom himself can tell us with what infusions of spiritual delight he ravishes the soul of his best-loved, with what aromas of sweetness he intoxicates her sense, with what inspiration he wondrously illuminates and refreshes her mind. Let there be for you a private fountain of graces in which the stranger shall have no share, nor shall the unworthy drink of it. For it is a 'Sealed Fountain,' a 'Garden Enclosed.'¹⁴

So far outside the bounds of ordinary experience is this mystical exaltation that Bernard could not ascertain even its coming or going:

I confess, therefore, that even to me—'I speak as it were in foolishness'—the Bridegroom has condescended to pay a visit, and indeed not once but many times. But although he has often come into my soul, I have never been able to ascertain the exact moment of his entrance. I have been conscious of his presence within me, I could afterwards recall that he had been present, sometimes I have even had a presentiment of his coming; yet I have never perceived him either in the act of entering or in the act of retiring . . . But neither can he be said to come from within me, because he is good and I know there is no good in me. I have ascended to what is highest in me, and behold I have found the Lord to be higher still. Influenced by a pious curiosity, I have descended to explore the lowest depths of my being only to find he was deeper down. If I looked to my exterior, I perceived him beyond what is outermost. And if I turned my gaze inward, I saw him more interior than that which is in most . . . For it is not to any movements on his part nor to any activity of my own senses that I am indebted for the knowledge that he has come into my soul. I have been made conscious of his presence from the feelings of my own heart, as mentioned already. . . .¹⁵

How is one to reconcile Bernard's cognitive and intellectualistic, if not to say scholastic,¹⁶ description of contemplation with the volitional, non-rational, ecstatic experience about which he also tells us. Are they two different experiences?

Both approaches described the same experience, but from different points of view. Bernard was conscious of the

tensions between his various descriptions of the mystical experience, and he resolved those tensions by appealing to the simile of the lips of the Bride. The two lips of the Bride, the understanding and the will, are kissed by her Divine Spouse:

Rightly thus does the Bride, when seeking him 'whom her soul loves,' not trust herself to the senses of the flesh nor follow the vain reasonings of human curiosity; but she solicits a kiss, that is, she invokes the Holy Spirit from whom she shall obtain both the food of knowledge and the seasoning of grace. And it is well known that it is true knowledge which is imparted by means of a kiss, and it is accepted with love because it is the token of love. Consequently, the knowledge which puffs up, which is unaccompanied by charity, does not proceed from a kiss. But neither can this kiss of love be claimed by those who indeed 'have zeal for God, but not according to knowledge,' for the grace of the kiss communicates at once both the light of knowledge and the warmth of love. It is in truth 'the spirit of wisdom and understanding,' who, like the bee bearing wax and honey, has the wherewith to light the lamp of knowledge and to infuse the sweetness of devotion. Wherefore, let not him who has understanding of truth without love, nor him who has love without understanding, ever imagine he has received this kiss. With it error and coldness are alike incompatible. So, for the reception of the twofold grace of this all-holy kiss, let the Spouse on her part get ready her two lips, namely, her intelligence for understanding and her will for wisdom. Thus glorying in a perfect kiss, she deserves to hear these words of consolation: 'Grace is poured abroad on your lips, therefore has God blessed you forever.'¹⁷

Even this simile does not adequately express Bernard's concept of the mystical experience, for it still maintained a dualism: the contemplative's ecstasy and vision, corresponding to the faculties of will and intellect. It was Bernard's conviction that love and knowledge not only accompany one another, but are truly one in the contemplative experience:

It is only to his friends and lovers that God communicates his secrets, for to them alone was it said: 'All things whatsoever I have heard of my Father I have made known to you.' Indeed, as the blessed Gregory teaches, *love not merely merits but is itself this knowledge*.¹⁸

We can see that, for Bernard, the effect which contemplation has on the will does not mean that the mystical

experience has no epistemological value; rather the truths to which the mystic attains—or better, which are revealed to him—embrace his whole being and are not simply intellectual. The contemplation of God as Truth is involved in the mystical experience, but the perception of Truth on this level involves love of him who is Love. This is a super-rational perception in which God is seen in a way having many more dimensions and implications than the word 'truth' contains. Indeed, Bernard, in an attempt to convey the distance between the mystical experience and the ordinary world of knowledge, choice, and emotion, compared his experiences to death:

Therefore I also can be guilty of no absurdity when I describe the ecstasy of the Spouse as a kind of death, not the death which terminates life, but that which delivers her true life from danger, so that she may say with the Psalmist: 'Our soul has been delivered as a sparrow out of the snare of the fowlers.' For in the present life the soul is always surrounded by the snares of temptation, which have, however, no power to frighten her as often as she is transported out of herself by some holy and irresistible attraction, if yet the mental exaltation and ravishment be so great as to lift her above the common and usual modes of thinking and feeling. So we read in Proverbs: 'A net is spread in vain before the eyes of them that have wings.' For what has such a soul to fear from sensuality, since she has lost even the faculty of sensation? No longer conscious of material impressions, though retaining still the principle of life to the body, she is necessarily inaccessible to temptations from the senses.¹⁹

The exalted state which the mystic attains was, according to Bernard, the source of a many-faceted and extremely complex sort of knowledge. This knowledge was not only of use to the mystic, but a potential source of information for pope and peasant, emperor and humble cleric, many of whom appealed to Bernard for advice and usually got it. Bernard spoke on the great issues of his day and, because he was thought to be close to God, the men of his age listened and, most often, agreed with what they heard.

But all of this ignores a very important question. How is the mystical experience attained? What is path to the Christian perfection which Bernard believed a necessary

prerequisite to union with God in contemplation? As Bernard put it:

This [mystical] canticle can neither be heard nor sung by souls that are weak and imperfect and only recently converted from the world, but only by those who are advanced and sufficiently enlightened. For these, by their progress under the grace of God, have so grown that they have now come to maturity and the marriageable age, so to speak, measuring time by merits rather than by years. They are ripe for the mystical nuptials of the Heavenly Bridegroom. . . .²⁰

For Bernard, the first step in the mystical life, the fundamental Christian virtue on which all else spiritual was based, was humility.²¹ But humility did not mean to Bernard what it often means today; humility was not simply going about with hands folded and eyes meekly lowered. Bernard defined humility as self-knowledge, a true knowledge of oneself.²² In order to be a real, a genuine man—one who truly follows in the footsteps of the perfect man, Jesus²³—one must realize what a man really is and the way one should act to be a man. Humility or self-knowledge requires the grace of God,²⁴ but also thorough self-examination by the Christian. He must take time from his usual occupations to think about or to meditate upon his ideal and his actual self. By nature man is, as Bernard put it, the 'noblest of earthly creatures, image of God [and] living likeness of the Creator.'²⁵ On the other hand, to be realistic about oneself one must face up to the fact that one has betrayed oneself by acting in less than human ways. In humility, Bernard said, one is imitating the man who most perfectly fulfilled human nature, Jesus Christ. Humility is self-knowledge; pride is self-deception. And it is through a rational process of self-examination that one comes to know the truth about oneself.²⁶

He, therefore, who wants to know truth in himself must first get rid of the beam of pride, which prevents him from seeing the light, and then erect a way of ascent in his heart by which to seek himself in himself, and thus after the twelfth step of humility he will come to the first step of truth.²⁷

To gain the time necessary for the meditation which

leads to self-knowledge, Bernard thought it was necessary to give up other activities. This is asceticism. 'Asceticism' is a word with an even worse press than 'mysticism' these days, so it is necessary to spend some time defining it. Asceticism is not the rejection of that which is evil in order that one may embrace the good. It is rather a restatement of a universally accepted ethical principle: faced with a choice between two goods, one should choose that which is more beneficial to oneself. Bernard did not reject wife, family, and material possessions because they were evil,²⁸ but because the time he gained by not possessing them could be devoted to the quest for self-knowledge. Self-denial for its own sake led to pride; properly used it could gain the time needed for the development of the humility of self-awareness.

According to Bernard, the man who is truly aware of his own human condition can have empathy for others. Recognizing his own weaknesses, he can appreciate the weaknesses of others and not judge them too harshly.

The merciful quickly grasp truth in their neighbors, extending their own feelings to them and conforming themselves to them through love, so that they feel their joys and troubles as their own. They are weak with the weak; they burn with the offended. They 'rejoice with those that rejoice and weep with those who weep.'²⁹

Just as asceticism is a means to humility, doing good for one's neighbor aids in the development of love for him. Bernard asserted that the measure of a man's capacity for union with God is his virtue, which is shown by his love for his neighbor.³⁰

Humility, then, is the right ordering of one's ability to know; humility is knowing the truth about oneself and one's relation to God. Love is the right ordering of one's ability to choose; one should choose the well-being of all and work toward that end. The perfection of the intellect and of the will prepare one for mystical exaltation; but they are only a preparation. It is from such men that God chooses those whom he wishes to take to himself in the mystical embrace. In the end, it is God who gives, not man who achieves:

Both faculties, reason and will, the one taught by the Word of Truth, the other inspired by the Spirit of Truth, the former sprinkled with the hyssop of humility, the latter kindled with the fire of love, now from a finally perfected soul, are flawless through humility and unruffled through love, since neither the will resists reason nor does the reason ignore the truth. The Father unites this soul to himself as a glorious bride so that neither the reason can think of itself nor the will of its neighbor, but that blessed soul delights only in saying: 'The King has brought me into his chamber.'³¹

I must return again to the world in which Bernard lived and which he led. The method which Bernard described as preparation for the mystical experience was nothing more or less than the Christian life as the men of the twelfth century knew it. Indeed, they knew it largely through the teaching and example of Bernard and of other monks and mystics. The education of the monk and mystic embodied most perfectly the ideals—if not the practice—of most twelfth-century men. The spirituality taught by Bernard was the life-style prized by his contemporaries: one's happiness consisted in the long run not in what one did, but whether one did it out of love and in humility. It is no wonder Bernard was the acknowledged leader of his age.

John R. Sommerfeldt

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Notes

Abbreviations used generally

- CCh Corpus Christianorum series. Turnhout, Belgium.
CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vienna, 1886-
Ep(p) Letter(s)
Op. S.
Bern. *Sancti Bernard Opera*, edd. J. Leclercq, H. M. Rochais, & C. H. Talbot. Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957-
PG J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*. Paris, 1857-66.
PL J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*. Paris, 1844-64.
RB *The Rule of St Benedict*
SCh Sources chrétiennes series. Paris: Editions du Cerf.

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AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO: THE APPROACH OF THE SOUL TO GOD

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- PL 32-47
CSEL 25, 33-4, 41-4, 51, 60, 63, 74
CCh 29, 32-50

²⁰ Ed. Rhaban Haacke (Weimar, 1970).

²¹ PL 170:536.

²² We should not leave this analysis of Eberwin's critique of Rupert's work without at least calling attention to a problem. The *Song of Anno*, a curious literary product in the vernacular representing what might be called the genre of epic hagiography and having been composed shortly after either 1080 or 1105, uses the four-empire motif of Daniel as its basic structure. It is highly likely, and significant, that the *Song of Anno* originated at Siegburg—the very place where Rupert studied and wrote—and we must assume that Rupert knew it and was, perhaps, even inspired by it when using the Daniel motif to structure his own *De victoria verbi dei*. But did Eberwin know the *Song of Anno*, and is it possible that he derived from it his curious exegesis? We cannot be certain at this time, but I should think not because Eberwin seems to have refrained deliberately from making use of what, after all, is one of the main points of the song's interpretation of the four-empire motif: the identification of the Roman and German empires. Obviously, this problem requires further attention and careful study.

²³ Walter Schmithals, *The Apocalyptic Movement*. Tr. John E. Steely (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), p. 248.

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Abbreviations

- Csi *De consideratione libri v ad Eugeniam papam (Five Books on Consideration)*
- Div *Sermones de diversis*
- IV HM *Sermo in feria IV hebdomadae sanctae (Sermon for the fourth feria in Holy Week)*
- Hum *De gradibus superbiae et humilitatis (The Steps of Humility and Pride)*
- SC *Sermones 86 in Cantica canticorum (Sermons on the Song of Songs)*

NOTES

¹ Arnold of Bonneval, *Sancti Bernardi abbatis Clarae-Vallensis vita et res gestae (Vita prima), Liber secundus*, I, 3; PL 185:270.

² Bernard's preaching of the Crusade on his trip down the Rhine was accompanied by the working of many miracles according to a large number of eye witnesses. See *Sancti Bernardi abbatis Clarae-Vallensis vita et res gestae, Liber sextus seu miracula a sancto Bernardo per Germaniam, Belgium Galliamque patrata, anno 1146, passim.*; PL 185:373-416. The validity of Bernard's miracles is not a question with which an historian can deal. However, the fact that Bernard's contemporaries regarded him as a miracle-worker doubtlessly increased his authority in his society and thus the effectiveness of his appeals.

³ *Epistola ad dominum papam Eugenium, pro Remensi archiepiscopo*, 2; PL 182:447.

⁴ SC 23, 11 and 16; Op. S. Bern., 1:145, 149-50; PL 183:890 and 893.

⁵ Csi, II, ii, 5; Op. S. Bern., 3:414; PL 182:972.

⁶ SC 80, 2; Op. S. Bern., 2:277-78; PL 183:1166-67.

⁷ SC 23, 11; Op. S. Bern., 1:145-46; PL 183:890.

⁸ SC 23, 12 and 14; Op. S. Bern., 1:146-47; PL 183:890-91.

⁹ See above, p. 75.

¹⁰ SC 23, 15; Op. S. Bern., 1:148-49; PL 183:892-93.

¹¹ Div 22, 2; Op. S. Bern., 6/1:171; PL 183:596.

¹² SC 52, 5; Op. S. Bern., 2:92-93; PL 183:1031.

¹³ SC 1, 11; Op. S. Bern., 1:7-8; PL 183:789.

¹⁴ SC 22, 2; Op. S. Bern., 1:130; PL 183:878.

¹⁵ SC 74, 5-6; Op. S. Bern., 2:242-43; PL 183:1141.

¹⁶ See the intellectual nature of contemplation in Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*, IIae IIa, q. 180, a. 3.

¹⁷ SC 8, 6; Op. S. Bern., 1:39-40; PL 183:812-13.

¹⁸ Div 29, 1; Op. S. Bern., 6/1:210; PL 183:620. Italics mine. It should be said that this statement did not refer only to mystical love and knowledge.

¹⁹ SC 52, 4; Op. S. Bern., 2:92; PL 183:1031.

²⁰ SC 1, 12; Op. S. Bern., 1:8; PL 183:789.

²¹ See SC 34, 1; Op. S. Bern., 1:246; PL 183:960.

²² Hum, I, 2; Op. S. Bern., 3:17; PL 182:942.

²³ Ep 142, 3; PL 182:297-98. See also IV HM, 3; Op. S. Bern., 5:58; PL 183:264.

²⁴ Hum, VII, 21; Op. S. Bern., 3:32; PL 182:953.

²⁵ Div 40, 3; Op. S. Bern., 6/1:236-7; PL 183:648.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Hum, IV, 15; Op. S. Bern., 3:27; PL 182:949-50.

²⁸ See my 'The Social Theory of Bernard of Clairvaux,' in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History*, CS 13 (Spencer, Mass., 1971) 35-48 (esp. 42-6).

²⁹ Hum, III, 6; Op. S. Bern., 3:20; PL 182:944.

³⁰ SC 27, 10-11; Op. S. Bern., 1:189-90; PL 183:919-20.

³¹ Hum, VII, 21; Op. S. Bern., 3:32; PL 182:953.

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