The Fathers for English Readers.

St. BERNARD,

ABBOT OF CLAIRVAUX,

A.D. 1091–1153.

BY

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NOTICE.

THE authorities for the Life of St. Bernard are as follow:—

1. "S. Bernardi Abbatis Clarævallensis Opera Omnia," cura J. Mabillon. *Editio quarta, emendata et aucta.* 6 vols. 4to. Parisiis: Apud Gaume Fratres. MDCCCXXXIX.

2. The contemporary biographies of the Saint, by William of St. Thierry, Ernald, Geoffrey, Philip, Herbert, John Eremita, Alan, and others, are all fragmentary, but supplement each other. These are all to be found in S. Bernardi Opera, tom. vi. pp. 2089–2510.

3. "D. Petri Venerabilis Cluniacensis quondam Abbatis Opera haud vulgaria." Parisiis: a Damiano Hichman. 1522.

4. "Der Heilige Bernard von Clairvaux." By Dr. Georg Hüffer. Münster, 1886.

5. "S. Bernard et le Schisme d'Anaclet II. en France." Par M. l'Abbé Vacandard.—*Revue des Questions Historiques.* Paris: Janvier, 1888.

6. "Histoire de Saint Bernard et de son Siècle." Par le R. P. Théodore Ratisbonne. Paris, 1883.

7. "Life and Times of S. Bernard." By Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated from the German by Matilda Wrench. London: 1843.

8. "Life and Times of Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux." By James Cotter Morison, M.A. London: 1884.

9. "Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought in the Departments of Theology and Ecclesiastical Politics." By Reginald Lane Poole, M.A. London and Edinburgh: MDCCCLXXXIV. (This takes a view strongly adverse to St. Bernard's action in relation to Abélard.)

10. "Ouvrages Inédits d'Abélard, pour servir à l'Histoire de la Philosophie scolastique en France." Publiés par M. Victor Cousin. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1836

11. "Life and Works of Saint Bernard." Translated and Edited, with additional Notes, by Samuel J. Eales, M.A., D.C.L. Vols. I. and II. London: 1889.

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LIFE AND TIMES

OF

ST. BERNARD.

CHAPTER I.

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WHEN the Roman Empire in the West broke up at length before the repeated attacks of the barbarians, the result was a condition of disorder which continually grew worse and worse as the life-blood died out of the organisation of government. The case was not one of one empire defeated by another, which then succeeds to its inheritance; but of an empire overwhelmed by

barbaric force and succeeded by "the reign of Chaos and old Night."

It was in A.D. 476 that the Western Empire was finally extinguished by Odoacer, and the lapse into semi-barbarism in the Gauls, Spain, the Rhinelands, and the British Islands was immediate, rapid, and steady. In little more than a century we reach the period which the historians Fleury, Guizot, and Hallam are agreed in regarding as that of the lowest depth of ignorance to which the European mind has sunk in historic times, viz., the seventh century,—the first of the Dark Ages. This lasted for a while, and then the tide of barbarism began to recede. Charles Martel rolled back, in 732, the hosts of Saracens, who had penetrated into the very heart of France, in a great battle between Tours and Poictiers, in which it is asserted that 300,000 Mohammedans were slain. Pepin, deposing the last of the Merewing sovereigns, refounded a Western Empire. The Frankish custom of a partition among the children of a deceased sovereign of all his dominions, which neither Pepin himself nor his immediate successors dared to disregard, retarded the growth of this new empire; and it was not until Charlemagne (as Karl came afterwards to be called) had been for some years the ruler of a part of the dominions of his deceased father Pepin, that the death of his brother Carloman, in 772, united the whole under his sceptre. He was crowned as

Emperor of the West[1] on Christmas Day A.D. 800. But the extraordinary genius and untiring activity of Charles multiplied many times the effect of his reign. The constant wars which were then the normal condition of a sovereign's life did not indeed advantage much either religion or culture. Though Charles extended his empire over the whole of Lower Germany up to and beyond the Elbe, it occupied him thirty years to complete the subjugation of the warlike Saxons who occupied those countries. At its greatest extension his empire included all the territory west of the Elbe, the Saale, the mountains of Bohemia, and a line drawn southwards from thence crossing the river Danube above Vienna and extending to the Gulf of Istria. He held the greater part of Italy, almost as far as Naples, and Spain up to the Ebro.

But the Emperor Charles was not a mere conqueror. Wherever his victorious armies passed, came also the imperial officers to organise and administer the affairs of the newly-added province. He reformed the coinage; established weights, measures, and standards of value; strove during a long series of years to construct such a legislative system, founded on the Roman civil law, but incorporating Frankish ele-

[1] His exact title was "Carolus I. Cæsar Augustus." The Emperor then ruling at Constantinople, Nicephorus I., soon after sent an embassy to him acknowledging him as "Emperor of the West."

ments, as might be workable throughout his realm; attempted to create a navy; and even had under consideration the plan of providing an internal line of communication between the opposite ends of his empire by canals uniting the Rhine and the Danube —a magnificent conception for his time.[1]

That was the secular side of his prodigious activity. Still more remarkable was the ecclesiastical side. One of his first cares after subduing a territory was to mark it out into dioceses, to found monasteries, and to erect churches for the Christianizing of the people. His methods of proselytizing were indeed those of his day. The Saxons, the Frisians, the Bavarians, the Avars, the Bohemians, whom he defeated, were forced to submit to baptism, under penalty of death. Even his favourite minister Alcuin blamed his haste and imperiousness in enforcing baptism under penalty. More worthy of unmixed approval are his love for learned men, and his care to encourage learning. Almost all the scholars of his time were encouraged by his invitation and favour to settle at his court. No other sovereign of that period could boast of such distinguished subjects as Angilbert, Leidrade, Eginhard, Agobard, Paschasius Radbertus, Rabanus Maurus, John Scotus Erigena, and Hincmar. These taught not only theology, but grammar, rhetoric, philosophy,

[1] *See* Hallam, "Europe during the Middle Ages," p. 19, note.

classical literature, and the Canon Law. Under their guidance he founded schools in his own palace and elsewhere, which were the universities of his day, and surrounded learning and learned men with many privileges and immunities.[1]

[1] His schools furnished the pattern for others when the renascence came which we propose to describe. The schools established in cathedrals and monasteries taught for the most part grammar, rhetoric, and logic (the *trivium*), in addition to theology. The lay schools or colleges added to this preliminary course the four divisions of mathematics, viz., Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy or Astrology, which were called *quadrivium; quasi quadruplex via ad sapientiam.* Those who were pursuing the first course were known as *triviales*, and those who went on to the more advanced course as *quadriviales.* Thus Du Cange quotes an epitaph upon Hugo, a physician and teacher in the medical school at Paris: *Quadrivium docuit, ac totum scire reliquit Anno milleno bis centum, sed minus uno.* The works of Aristotle or, at all events, the Logic, were read in translations out of the Arabic. The philosophical works appear to have been translated by Michael Scott in 1230. As claiming to teach the entire circle of human knowledge (*omne scibile*), or, as a name describing the whole body of members (*universi*), such schools were at length styled *universities.* The school or faculty of Law in Pavia dates from the tenth century; that of Bologna existed as early as 1158. The next instance, that of Paris, was not formally recognised until 1209, though, of course, it existed some time before. The academical titles (degrees) of bachelor, master, and doctor in each faculty were granted, and were held in high estimation. A Doctor in either faculty was considered to be of equal dignity with a Knight. Disputes for precedence between holders of these two ranks are known to have been settled by conferring on the former the dignity of knighthood. It was even held that a Doctor in Civil Law actually lecturing in it for

This revival of learning was, however, but of brief duration. The great Emperor died in 814; his dominions were divided, according to the usual custom of the Franks, between his son and his grandson, and the mighty fabric of his empire began at once to fall asunder. The schools which he had founded were not really called for by the spontaneous desire of the people, but had been imposed upon them from above; they were two hundred years before their time, and as soon as they were left to the action of the law of supply and demand they began to decay. Charlemagne had been but fifteen years dead when the French bishops assembled in Synod at Paris, appealed to his successor, Louis le Debonnaire, to avert the impending ruin of the educational system set up by his father:—"We earnestly and humbly petition your Highness," they say, "that you, following the example of your father, will cause public schools to be established in at least three fitting places of your realm; that the labour of your father and yourself may not through neglect (which God forbid) utterly decay and perish: so shall great

ten years had a right to the title of knighthood without creation: '*Doctorem actualiter regentem in jure civili per decennium effici militem ipso facto.*' This was called *Chevalerie de lecture.* Such a person was frequently known as *Miles Litteratus* or *Miles Justitiæ.*—"Dissertations Historiques sur la Chevalerie," par Honoré de Ste. Marie, p. 164.

Vacarius lectured on the Civil Law at Oxford as early as 1147.

benefit and honour abound to God's holy Church, and to you a great reward and everlasting remembrance." [1]

The empire of Charlemagne had kept large masses of men continually in movement. The Emperor himself was continually traversing his dominions, from one side to the other. With him travelled also of necessity his escort, his suite of imperial officials, and the numerous attendants upon these. Large masses of soldiers were continually feeding the line of combatants on the eastern frontier of the empire. Couriers were going to and fro ; provincial governors proceeding to their duties, or returning from them ; there were caravans of merchants from the ports on the Rhone and the Garonne, or who had made their way across the Alps from Italy, or through the Pyrenæan passes from Spain, with their ladings of gold and gems, spices and fine fabrics from the East, silks and muslins from Arabia or Egypt, drugs from the Levant, the famous red leather from Cordova, or sword-blades from Damascus. The Emperor was not always fighting with the Mohammedans or "Moors"; he had peaceful relations with the Caliph Haroun, and it is said that a Saracen Emir, Soliman-el-Arabi, with many noble companions, were present in Charles's camp at Paderborn in the year 777, when the defeated Saxons were forced to

[1] Conc. Paris, Sess. iii.; Mansi, vol. xii.; Poole, "Mediæval Thought," p. 24.

be baptized or die. Life was busy, stirring, and adventurous during the reign of Charles, and men's minds, no less than their daily life, were stirred for a time into activity by the impulsion given by his powerful mind. He seemed to have restored for the moment the august unity of the Roman Empire. But when he was dead and his dominions divided, Western Europe was broken into separate communities, and the sense of its homogeneousness speedily died away. The roads became no longer safe, and the habit of international travel almost ceased for several centuries. Even between different districts of the same realm communication was difficult and sometimes dangerous, and that in summer, the roads being beset with bands of robbers; whilst in winter, there being, properly speaking, no roads, it ceased almost entirely. Nor was communication by sea either easier or more safe. Even the attempt of the Emperor to create a navy proved a failure; the seas were swept during this century by the piratical barks of the Normans and other "Vikings," who would have captured any peaceful trader and put its crew to the sword. Their continual inroads upon the sea coasts of France obliged numbers of the peaceful inhabitants to desert their homes and take refuge in the interior of the country. Commerce was thus paralysed and ignorance grew on more and more.

The Church suffered from this equally with the

State, besides having become perverted by causes of injury peculiar to itself. In the first place, it had become very rich, especially in France and Germany. Though neither while the Roman Empire stood, nor after the various kingdoms of Europe had been carved out of its fragments, did the Church ever receive any territorial endowment from the State, yet the voluntary munificence of sovereigns and great nobles, as well as of persons in more private stations, abundantly supplied the need. The French kings of the first dynasty, the Karlings, and especially Charlemagne, and the Emperors of the Saxon line, set hardly any bounds to their liberality to ecclesiastical objects. The bishoprics and other dignified posts, thus richly endowed with large estates, were universally sought by the nobles as a suitable provision for their sons, and were frequently conferred, not merely upon those who had not reached the canonical age for holy orders, but even upon mere children.[1] In

[1] In course of time the nobles came to look upon the dignities of the Church as belonging to themselves by a kind of right, and to be indignant if any of them were conferred upon persons who were not of high birth. They seemed to regard the high-born clergy as forming, as it were, a separate caste in the Church, who had a right to all the more important ecclesiastical fiefs. Louis "the Pious" in this, as in some other respects, was far from meeting the wishes of his nobles; and one of his biographers,—Thegan,—comments upon the fact thus:—

"It was the great weakness of Louis that he did not prevent that worst of usages by which the basest slaves obtained the

one case a child of five years was made Coadjutor Archbishop of Rheims *cum jure successionis;* in another the see of Narbonne was purchased for one of ten: it was frequent to have bishops under twenty years of age; and even a pope, Benedict IX., was raised to the papal dignity when he was but a boy of twelve years.[1]

highest dignities of the Church. He followed the fatal example of Jeroboam, who made of the lowest of the people priests of the high places. . . . No sooner have such men attained elevation than they throw off their meekness and humility, give loose to their passions, become quarrelsome, evil speaking, ruling men's minds by alternate menaces and flatteries. Their first object is to raise their families from their servile condition: to some they give a good education, others they contrive to marry into noble families. No one can lead a quiet life who resents their demands and intrigues," &c.—Milman, "Latin Christianity," vol. iii. p. 134.

But Thegan was himself one of those highly-born dignitaries whose monopoly was thus interfered with.

[1] Hallam, "Europe during the Middle Ages," p. 431, and note.

St. Bernard writes upon this subject in his "Tract on the Office and Duty of Bishops," chap. vii. :—"At the present time people look only at the splendour of dignities, and not at the responsibility which is attached to them; a man blushes to be only a simple minister in the Church of God, and believes himself to be of no account, to be even dishonoured, if he is not raised to some eminent post, no matter what it is. Do we not see children who have but just left school, and youths who have barely reached manhood, raised, because of their noble blood, to the dignities of the Church, and passing from under the government of the ferule to exercise the government over presbyters?

Such highly-born prelates usually remained essentially secular in their occupations and habits, maintaining the state of princes or nobles, and devoting themselves to secular affairs. In spite of the prohibitions of the Canon Law against the bearing of arms by clergymen, they wore armour, led their vassals to the field, and charged at their head in battle. The military talents of Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, were displayed in the third Crusade, and afterwards in his own country. The chronicler, Geoffrey de Vinsauf, who describes this crusade, declares that during the siege of Acre there were killed or died of disease "six archbishops and patriarchs, twelve bishops . . . and a vast number of priests," which shows the great number of men of that function in the army. And Matthew Paris relates that Richard I., having captured in fight Count Philip, who was Bishop of Beauvais, threw him into prison; whereupon the Pope demanded his

In truth, it is more a matter of rejoicing to them to have no longer to fear the rod than to see themselves raised to places of dignity; and they congratulate themselves less on being able to rule over others than that they are no longer obliged themselves to obey. But that is only the beginning. With time they conceive the wish to rise still higher, and learning from those two masters, ambition and avarice, they are not long before they know how to invade altars and to empty the purses of those below them."

release as a Churchman, and Richard sent to him the blood-stained coat of mail which the Bishop was wearing when taken, with the ironical comment, "Know now whether it be thy son's coat or not."

It was not surprising that prelates whose own hands were far from clean, and who were absorbed in the secular occupations of the times, should have exercised no effectual discipline over their clergy, and should have been not at all scrupulous as to the learning or other qualifications of those whom they admitted to holy orders. St. Bernard accuses them roundly in a letter to Pope Innocent, saying:—

"The insolence of the clergy occasioned by the negligence of the bishops is everywhere the cause of trouble and disorders in the Church. The bishops give holy things to dogs and cast pearls before swine, and then those creatures turn upon them and trample them under their feet; that is the just punishment of prelates who tolerate the disorders of their clergy, who grow fat upon the goods of the Church, and never correct its disorders; these well merit to be tormented by those whom they bear with, showing a culpable indolence towards them. When the clergy are enriched from the labour of others, and suck the richness of the earth without making the least return for it, they grow corrupt in the very bosom of plenty, so that in order to describe them we need only say with the Prophet: 'They sat down to eat and to

drink, and then rose up to play' (Exod. xxxii. 6). The mind of the clergy, nourished in luxury, and not accustomed to the yoke of discipline, contracts many spots; and if you should endeavour to rub off the rust which has eaten into it, they will not suffer it to be touched even with the ends of your fingers. False witnesses have risen up among them,—men whose delight it is to slander the lives of others while they spare their own."—*Letter* 152.

Another gross abuse prevalent at this time, was simony,—that is, a corrupt purchase of spiritual benefices. Although, according to the ancient canons, the promotion to a benefice was rendered void by any simoniacal payment or stipulation, yet there is no doubt that patrons, lay and spiritual, and even sovereigns, abused their powers of nomination with the grossest rapacity. Some of the French kings were particularly given to this offence, and Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, by far the greatest prince in Italy, submitted to do penance before the altar for selling benefices.[1]

Nor was there any exception to be found in Italy, or in that remarkable and powerful institution,—the Papacy,—which had its seat there, to the evils of the time. The Church sank, in fact, into a state of deeper corruption in Italy than in any other part of

[1] Muratori, "Annale d' Italia," A.D. 1046.

Christendom. In Rome itself the churches were suffered to fall into bad repair; the pilgrims, of whom there was a constant stream from all parts of Europe, were frequently plundered without mercy, and, when they returned home, declared that the sacred city was a den of robbers and murderers, of whom the Pope and his clergy were the protectors and even the chiefs. The popes themselves were, during the first forty years of the eleventh century, nominated, from a variety of motives, but all more or less base, by the Counts of Tusculum, a village and fortress a few miles from Rome, and the scandal had gone so far as the placing on the pontifical throne in 1033 of a boy of twelve years of age,—Benedict IX.,—before the Augean stable at Rome was cleansed by the armed force of the Emperor Henry III. Then for a time, under German influence, popes were chosen whom Christendom could at least respect. Whatever good influence the Papacy might, under happier circumstances, have exercised over the Church, to combat its besetting tendencies to evil and to infuse into it a higher standard of knowledge and a more religious spirit, was altogether neutralised during this unhappy age.

Upon the whole, we must conclude that during this Dark Age, as religion was separated from culture and from learning, so also it was, to a lamentable degree, separated from piety and morality. Grosser conceptions

in religion became universal. Symbols took the place of realities, parables were hardened into facts, in the consciousness of the age. The entire type of religion was degraded. Divine worship was stiffened into a bare, though laborious, ceremonial, a mere husk with much kernel, an abuse which conduced grievously to superstition. The prevalent use of images gradually produced results perilously like idolatry. There is actually evidence of there being a body of clergy in the diocese of Vicenza who taught that God had a bodily structure, with eyes, ears, and hands;[1] cruelty and coarseness marked the moral standard of the age; and a dense pall of ignorance brooded over all. In short, the mental and spiritual atmosphere during the tenth century and the early years of the eleventh was as the darkness before the day.

It was the happiness of Bernard to have been born, not in the depth of this darkness, but when it was passing away. The reaction did not begin with him, though he carried it on more powerfully than perhaps any other man; and just as the consolidation of the Roman dominions into a single hand, the establishment of a peace well nigh universal,[2] and a degree of intercommunication between the nations not previously attained, are rightly pointed out as a *præparatio*

[1] Ratherius, Serm. I. de Quadrages 29, in Poole, "Illustrations," p. 81.

[2] *Pax Romana.*

evangelica, a providential provision for the birth of the Saviour and the first promulgation of Christianity; so a preparation had visibly been made at this time for the work of religious and intellectual revival which was to come about in the immediate future. There was a *Völker-wanderung*,—a shaking among the dry bones; a stirring among the nations who had so long "lain prone in the portals" of Imperial Rome. The Baltic gave forth in countless numbers its swarms of stalwart, fearless Vikings, who left no coast unvisited from the Low Countries to Constantinople. One great leader made good his footing in Northern France; another division of the same Norman race took firm hold of Southern Italy, and erected in Sicily an independent state. Then, in 1066, came the great cataclysm of the Norman Conquest of England. From being a heavy and turbid pool, the age had become like a stirring and rushing river. Finally, in 1096, the whole of Europe was set in a flame by the strong stimulant of the First Crusade. The torpor of many ages was broken through. All Europe, as it has been said, "precipitated itself upon Palestine." Men travelled, and saw the customs and institutions of other countries, and their minds were widened and rendered more active thereby. The West made acquaintance with the East, and learned of it many things. Trade and commerce found new channels, and were stimulated by the change; landed property passed by sale to other

holders, because the nobles to whom it belonged needed funds to equip them for their expedition; the public mind was occupied and powerfully stirred by the Crusading idea,—the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre. War, consecrated by religion, moved the springs of all hearts. The warlike element in it attracted the nobles; the religious element won over the clergy and monks; and these two powerful classes swept all others along with them in enthusiastic obedience. An immediate effect of the Crusading ardour was a quickening of the religious sense throughout high and low. The Christian religion, it may fairly be said, demonstrates its divineness, as well as its exquisite adaptation to human character, by always possessing within itself the germs of its own revival. It is liable, like every possible religion, to be debased. It may seem to have withered into a series of formulas, and the life to have gone out of it. Sincerity and self-devotion and enthusiasm may appear to have ebbed away from it; but the lower has been the ebb, the surer is the flow of the tide back again, and the more certainly will it fill every curving cove and sheltered bay with the flow of its waves and the music of its breakers.

There were not wanting, all through this period of darkness, illustrious examples of lovers of learning who were able to continue, at least in the cloister, the traditions of education and culture. Such a one in

Germany was Bruno,[1] the Archbishop of Cologne, brother of the Emperor Otto the Great. He was a devoted student of philosophy. "He," says his biographer, "restored the long-ruined fabric of the seven liberal arts";[2] and it is an illustration of the studious nature of the man, as well as of the limited extension of libraries at that time, to be told by the same writer that "wherever he went he carried about his library with him as if it had been the ark of the Lord."[3]

Of course all these treasured volumes were MSS. No doubt the good Archbishop was of the same mind as the Clerk of Oxenford in Chaucer, of whom the poet says:—

> "For him wes lever han at his beddes hed
> Twenty bokes, clothed in blake or red,
> Of Aristotle and his philosophie,
> Then robes riche, or fidel or sautrie."

Curious, too, it is to learn that Bruno began to learn Greek of the Legates or Ambassadors sent to the Emperor's court by his brother sovereign of Byzantium; and that an Irish bishop (*Episcopus Scotigena*) named Israel was sent for out of his cloister at Treves in order to continue instructions to him in the language;[4] for

[1] Not to be confounded with Bruno or Bonifacius, "the Apostle of the Prussians," d. 1009.

[2] Ruotger, "Life," vi., 256 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* Poole, "Illustrations," p. 86.

[4] Ruotger, "Vit. Brunon." vii.

in those days Ireland was not only the "island of saints," but the island of scholars as well, beyond the rest of Europe.

To his work and to the work of the young clergy trained by him was due a marked growth in learning in the Rhineland. Schools began to be founded in the monasteries and seem to have been the means of generating considerable intellectual activity. Those of Reichenau and Saint Gall are particularly distinguished.

"The clergy of Germany became marked out from the rest of Christendom no less by their education than by its fruit, their moral excellence. To such seed the German popes owed their distinction, and through them the restoration of the papacy signalised by Leo IX. and Gregory VII. was made practicable." [1]

Another centre of the growing light of learning and devotion was to be found in Normandy, where Duke William was beginning to act like another Charlemagne; with as much arbitrary wilfulness and occasional unsparing cruelty, but withal showing a serious and settled purpose to do his best for the interests of religion and learning. William dealt with the Church on the same theory of the union of ecclesiastical as well as temporal powers in his own hand, upon which the earlier Emperor had acted, and

[1] Poole, p. 87.

which in a later age came to be called Erastian. He had no doubt that he was himself the chief Ordinary of the Church within his dominions. He, and he only, appoints the bishops and abbots (save so far as he gives leave in some cases to the clergy or monks to elect their chief), and removes them also, according as he sees fit. He settles what the Pope may do and what he may not do in Normandy; nor may briefs, letters, or bulls be promulgated in his dominions without his leave previously given. His courts decided ecclesiastical causes as well as civil; "criminous clerks" were censured, punished, or even removed, by his sole authority. He prescribes when synods of the clergy shall be held, and gives (practically speaking) "Letters of Business" to determine the subjects which they shall deliberate upon. In short, he acted in all ways as the governor and the legislator of the Church in Normandy, and it would have been a bold man who had ventured to find cause of objection to his doing so. But, indeed, it occurred to no one to dream of doing this; and it is not until a hundred years later that we shall see ecclesiastical power, as represented by the bishops and then by the Pope, coming into the foreground, and drawing not only all spiritual things, but all temporal as well under their influence. Thus the course of history oscillates from one extreme to the opposite.

In the meantime, if his control was despotic, it was

unquestionably wise and far-seeing. He did his best for the Church because it was his duty so to do; and his best was better than that of most rulers of his time. How sound was his judgment of men and things was shown in his selection of his chief and confidential counsellor, Lanfranc, at first Prior of Bec, then Abbot of St. Stephen's at Caen, finally Archbishop of Canterbury. Lanfranc was one of the chief of those to whom the new revival of religion and learning was due. He was the profoundest scholar of his time, and, what is not always the case, the most popular also as a teacher. His popularity it was which transformed the obscure and rustic community of Herlwin at Bec into the great and famous abbey, which had the honour of sending two archbishops to Canterbury, one after another, besides bishops to other sees and abbots innumerable to other cloisters. Lanfranc was master of all the learning that existed at that day: an austere theologian, a superb organiser, a man of restless and untiring powers. It was he who realised, first at Bec, afterwards at Caen, the ideal of the Benedictine monastery in well nigh all its earlier simplicity and earnestness. Even a greater theologian than he, Anselm, was his pupil and successor at Bec and then at Canterbury. Each had his high service to do in the providential evolution of events. The one was the shrewd, practical, yet high-minded reformer; the other the more original thinker, the intellect of more solid power.

The one strove to reform the faulty lives of the clergy and monks; the other, in his *Monologion* and *Proslogion*, made a contribution to the philosophical idea of God, and in his *Cur Deus Homo* to that of the Atonement, which are still landmarks for thinkers, and have done more to guide the speculations of divines than any other series of treatises. The latter, indeed, deserves to be ranked with the "Tome" of St. Leo and the "Analogy" of Bishop Butler, as epoch-making works. Both he and Lanfranc had taken part in active opposition to the Nominalist leader Roscellin. The latter had not been satisfied with denying the existence of Universal ideas, but had adduced the Holy Trinity as a crucial example of his thesis. He was opposed by both Lanfranc and Anselm at a Synod at Soissons (1092) and obliged to retract. So cogent was Anselm's refutation of his views in the treatise he afterwards wrote, "De Fide Trinitatis et de Incarnatione Verbi contra blasphemias Ruzelini," that it is said by John of Salisbury that Nominalism had vanished with Roscellin. It reappeared afterwards in his still abler pupil Abélard, with whom we shall find Bernard coming into collision in later years. Still another heated controversy was that between Lanfranc and Berengar, Archdeacon of Angers and head of the rival school at Tours, upon the subject of the (then new) doctrine of Transubstantiation.

It will be evident from all this that the mind of

Europe had awakened from its long torpor, and was stirring in various directions, when Bernard came upon the scene. The Church had already begun to be reformed, and the monastic orders recalled to their original strictness, by able and faithful hands. But it was only a beginning that had been made. The shortcomings of ages could not be made good in a day, or even in one generation. It is the glory of Bernard, not that he began the work of reform,—for that was due in great part to the periodic reaction of the human mind from ignorance and licence, and cannot be credited to any one person : indeed, Bernard himself may be considered one of the products of this reaction,—but to his praise it must be said that he entered into the movement, and carried it onwards to its practical completion. He did more than merely float upon the crest of the wave of thought : he intensified its impulse and did much to guide its direction. " Other men had laboured, and he entered into their labours."

CHAPTER II.

THE PARENTAGE AND YOUTH OF BERNARD.

Birth of Bernard—His parents—His home training and first school — His brothers — The manners of that age—The First Crusade—Death of his mother.

BERNARD was born in 1091. His father was Tescelin, lord of Fontaines, a castle and domain about two leagues from Dijon, the capital of the then Duchy of Burgundy. The stately stronghold of Fontaines, where Bernard was born, occupied a low hill which looks out upon the open champaign, and was a fief held under the duke by his father.[1] His parents, we are told by the chronicler, were "illustrious by their rank and high descent, but more illustrious by their virtues." Tescelin is described as of reddish complexion, almost yellow-haired, what was commonly known as Sorus[2] (Le Roux). He is styled thus in a

[1] Fontaines was converted in the reign of Louis XIII. (1609–1643) into a convent for the Congregation of Feuillants, who were a Reformed Order of Cistercians founded somewhat earlier by Jean de la Barrière, Abbot of Feuillans, with permission of Pope Gregory XIII. This was suppressed at the Revolution and the buildings used as a smithy. A doorway, with round-headed arch, is still shown at Fontaines as a remnant of Tescelin's castle.

[2] *Sorus* or *Saurus* was the colour of the plumage of a young falcon in its first year. Horses of a chestnut colour also were known as *Sor;* and the same term was applied to men of fair colouring and auburn hair (*see* Du Cange *in verb.*).

diploma of Hugo II., Duke of Burgundy, in favour of the monastery of St. Marcellus, of Châlons-sur-Saône. This was signed by Tescelin next after Reignier, "Dapifer Ducis" (that is, Seneschal of the Duke), and before Bernard de Montfort, Guarnier de Sombernon, and other nobles of the highest rank. He was "a man of ancient and legitimate warfare, a faithful servant of God, and a strict observer of justice. He exercised the profession of arms according to the Gospel, and in agreement with the rules laid down by the Forerunner of the Lord: he did violence to no man; he accused no man falsely; he was content with his wages; and these he laid out liberally upon every good work. He so served his temporal lord with head and hand as not to forget to render what was due from him to the Lord his God."[1] He was also "a man of large possessions, gentle in manners, a great lover of the poor, of devoted piety, and of an extreme zeal for justice. He used to wonder that men found it burdensome to be just; or that they should desert, from fear or from covetousness, the righteousness of God. He was a very brave knight, but he avoided being praised for his gallant deeds, with the same earnest desire that others display to obtain praise. He never took up arms except in defence of his own lands, or in company with his lord

[1] William of St. Thierry, "Life," c. i.

the Duke of Burgundy,[1] with whom he had an intimate friendship; nor did victory ever fail to at-

[1] This could be said of very few in those days, when the right of private war was claimed and exercised by all of noble birth; and the nobility especially resented any attempt to restrain their licence in this respect. Private wars between noblemen who each claimed the help of their relatives and friends, and thus raised large bodies of armed men, were very frequent for several centuries in France and Germany; and these civil wars were carried on with such cruelty and ferocity as to destroy a district as effectually as a foreign invasion. Guibert, Abbot of Nogent, thus describes the state of things brought about by these private wars:—"There was at that time a state of mutual warfare, which threw the whole realm of France into confusion; the public roads were beset everywhere, and robberies were frequent; on all sides the setting on fire of houses and buildings was heard of; combats were fought for no cause whatever beyond the mere lawless desire of plunder; and in a short time, everything that could possibly tempt the desire of the covetous seemed to be considered as booty, no matter to whom it belonged" ("Gest. Dei per Franc.," i. 452). The Emperor Charlemagne strove to substitute a system of satisfaction paid in money for wrongs done to another person, instead of this violence of private revenge (Capitul. A.D. 802), but after his death it broke out again, and, worse than before, under his weaker successors. Many endeavours were made by the Church to restrain the violence of these private wars. In 1032 the "Truce of God" was adopted in Aquitaine, which bound all persons to keep the peace towards each other during the great festivals of the Church, as also during three complete days in every week, from the evening of Thursday to the morning of the following Monday. This was observed for about seven years, and then wars broke out again. It would take too long to detail all the attempts made to put down the private wars of the barons; but we may just mention that Philip Augustus,

tend the arms of the Duke when he was followed by Tescelin."[1]

As an illustration of his conscientiousness and fairness of disposition, we are told that he was once involved in a dispute with another nobleman, and, as the two could not agree, the only (and, indeed, the usual) method of deciding it was by the old *duellum*, or single combat. Sponsors and judges were chosen, the time and place of combat fixed, and in due time the combatants appeared. Tescelin was the stronger and the more expert champion, so that his prospect

or St. Louis (it is not quite clear which), published an ordonnance forbidding any injured person to commence hostilities against the vassals and friends of his adversary until forty days after the commission of the offence charged. This was called the *Royal Truce*, and afforded time for the mediation of neutrals and the healing of the quarrel. Another method adopted was the extorting of "bonds of assurance," or of mutual security, from persons thought to be about to break the peace, the violation of which bond exposed the offender to the penalties of treason. This system proved very effectual in restraining the licence of the barons; but it is worthy of note, as enabling the reader to judge how much Tescelin was above the general practice of his age, that *the nobles of Burgundy* protested against it as an encroachment on the privileges of their order, and obtained exemption from it!

Private wars were not finally put down in France until the gradual growth of the royal power enabled Charles VI., in 1413, to issue an ordonnance expressly forbidding them upon any pretext whatever, and abolishing all laws, customs, or privileges conflicting with this order (Ordonnan., tom. x., p. 138).

[1] Geoffrey, c. i.

of success was the better of the two. But his conscience was not clear as to the lawfulness of slaying his adversary, or being slain, for such a cause as that in dispute. We are not told exactly what it was ; but whatever it may have been, Tescelin had the magnanimity to send to his adversary and offer him terms that practically yielded the matter in dispute. If his offer had not been accepted, he would at all events have had a clear conscience to go into the combat. But his offer was a generous and acceptable one, and it *was* accepted ; nor did the combat take place. It was only a man whose reputation in arms was so high as to be unquestionable who could have dared to do this without risking a suspicion as to his courage, which he would have had to fight half-a-dozen duels to vindicate. It was only a very good and righteous man, who acted upon the precepts of religion, not merely professed them, who would have been willing thus to give up what he thought his right. Thus it is a pleasing picture that we have thus set before us of the good knight Sir Tescelin. Alike brave and gentle, high-minded and religious, it would be pleasant to think that there were others like him in that rough, selfish, and cruel age.

His wife was Alith, Aleth, Elizabeth, or Alix (for the chroniclers call her by each of those names), daughter of Bernard, Count of Montbar, a family allied, it is said, to the Dukes of Burgundy. Her

father's castle was also in the neighbourhood of Dijon, so that the two were neighbours. Alith, who was thoughtful and religious in disposition, had a wish to adopt the conventual profession. But daughters were entirely at the disposal of their parents in those days, and their likings or dislikings but little consulted. The proposal of the young knight of Fontaines was every way desirable, and it was at once accepted by the family. The marriage took place when the bride was but fifteen years of age; and then began in the old castle of Fontaines a family life which, as far as we can gather, was remarkably attractive and beautiful, especially for that time. The husband was, indeed, frequently called away for long periods by the duties he owed to the Duke his master; but both in camps and at the court he maintained the simple dignity of his Christian profession, while in frequent combats he showed himself always skilful, brave, and loyal: like Chaucer's hero, he

> "Was worthy and was wise,
> And of his port as meke as is a mayde.
> He never yet no vilanie ne sayde
> In alle his lyf unto no manere wight:
> He was a veray parfit gentil knight."[1]

Of this union came six sons,—Guido, Gerard, Bernard, Andrew, Bartholomew, Nivard, and one daughter,—Hombeline. Bernard was the third, there-

[1] "Canterbury Tales," Prologue.

fore, of their children; and before his birth, says his biographer, it was predicted of him by a holy man that he "should guard the house of the Lord like a faithful watch-dog, and bark loudly against the enemies of the Faith,—that is to say, he should be a great preacher, and with his healing tongue should cure the wounds of many souls." [1]

It was no wonder that, after such a consoling prediction, the young Bernard should be, more than his brothers, devoted in his mother's secret heart to the service of the Church. In those days such a dedication meant that he should be a monk. All that there was in that age of sincere and self-sacrificing piety took the form of one or another of the monastic orders, which held as their first axiom the necessity of giving up the world, abandoning all worldly professions, and secluding themselves in a cloister to make religion their sole pursuit. So convinced were the people of those days of the truth of this principle, that the life of a monk was styled, *sans phrase*, "the religious life"; a monastery was "a religious house"; and monks and nuns were simply "religious." It is easy for us to blame them now that we have seen the monastic system tried throughout many ages and it has been shown that the evil consequences of it were on the whole greater than the good. The convic-

[1] William of St. Thierry, "Life," b. i., c. i.

tion of the nineteenth century is rightly that human life is to be lived in the world, though not without all needful detachment from it. It is well expressed by John Keble :—

> " Such is the bliss of souls serene,
> When they have sworn, and steadfast mean,
> Counting the cost, in all t' espy
> Their God, in all themselves deny.
>
> O could we learn that sacrifice,
> What lights would all around us rise !
> How would our hearts with wisdom talk
> Along Life's dullest, dreariest walk !
>
> We need not bid for cloister'd cell,
> Our neighbour and our work farewell,
> Nor strive to wind ourselves too high
> For sinful man beneath the sky :
>
> The trivial round, the common task,
> Would furnish all we ought to ask,—
> Room to deny ourselves ; a road
> To bring us, daily, nearer God." [1]

It is by no means as clear, however, that the same should be said for the time of which we are writing ; and it is probable that had not these revivals of holiness and Christian life sought the fostering care of the cloister they would have been withered by the prevailing grossness and cruelty, or crushed out of existence by the public and private wars which at that time constantly devastated the whole of Europe. To discuss the subject adequately, however, would

[1] *Christian Year*, p. 3.

cause too great an interruption of our narrative at present.

The pattern of the monastery, with its regular hours, its constantly recurring services, its works of piety and charity, was probably the highest then attainable upon which a Christian household could be organised. Assuredly the pious Alith, who had during her girlhood desired so ardently to become a nun, would do all in her power to imitate that model in her house. She went beyond the duties usually required of the Lady Chatelaine in a feudal castle towards the poor who dwelt in the little hovels which clustered at the foot of the castle mound, and came day by day to take the dole in food or money from her hands. She sought them out, we are told, in their hovels, washed and tended their sick, and even cleansed their cups and other utensils with her own hands. For herself she continued the strict observance of fasts and vigils; she wore the plainest and most convent-like dress, and ordered her household on conventual lines in everything but the name. She strove with all a mother's untiring affection to train up her children in the fear of GOD. Both by precept and by example she taught them to distinguish between good and evil, to avoid the evil and to choose the good. "I cannot pass over," says her biographer, himself a contemporary, "how that holy woman strove to bring up her children by precept and by example. In the bosom of her family, in the wedded state, and in the

midst of worldly duties, she was seen for many years to imitate the religious or monastic life by the scanty food that she took, and the simplicity of her dress, by her renunciation of the pleasures and vanities of the world. She withdrew as far as possible from outward cares, persevering in mortifications, watching, prayer, and striving by works of charity and mercy to make up what was wanting to her on the side of religious profession." [1]

The austerity of such an education was softened to the boys by the sweetness and affectionate tact of the mother, and it produced in her children at once an extreme tenderness of conscience and disposition, and the manly and courageous character which distinguished them in after life. As they grew up, they rejoiced the hearts of both parents by the excellent qualities which they continued to display. Bernard, from his early youth, was observed, it is said, to imitate his mother's works of piety : he prayed as she did, gave bread to the poor, and endeavoured to render kindly service to all around him. As he grew older he showed a remarkable aptitude for study. He was studious and retiring, loved to be alone, and was wonderfully thoughtful for his age (*mire cogitativus*), and, as one of his biographers continues, " was obedient and submissive to his parents, at home simple and quiet, rarely went abroad, was remarkably modest, never

[1] William of St. Thierry, " Life," b. i., c. ii.

cared to talk much, was full of devotion to God, and diligent in pursuing his studies."[1] He was tall and slender in figure, light-haired, and with fair, delicately-tinted complexion, through which the eloquent blood showed at each keenly-felt emotion; like his father in person, but with all the ardent and devoted piety of his mother deeply seated in his soul. The following account is given by the chronicler of the rest of the family :—

"The eldest brother, Guy, whose character was grave and sincere, modest and acceptable to God, was endowed with an intelligence which displayed itself in his words and still more in his conduct. Gerard, the next brother, was highly thought of: he had simple and retiring manners, unusual prudence, and remarkable presence of mind. As for Bernard, he was the light and leader of his brothers; and he became a pillar of the Church. Andrew, the fourth, was a pure and ingenuous soul, fearing God and shunning evil. Bartholomew, when in the prime of his youth, anticipated the wisdom of age: and his is the praise of an unspotted life. Nivard, the youngest of the sons, preferred the good things of heaven to the riches of the earth; and in saying that of him, we say everything. Hombeline, the youngest child and only daughter, was a sweet and innocent young girl, whose piety was sometimes overborne by the

[1] Alanus, "Life," c. i. 3.

attractions of worldly dissipations." Of this we shall see the effects later on in her history.

Such was the family that

> "Grew in beauty, side by side,
> Around one mother's knee,"

and looked out from the battlements of the old castle of Fontaines upon the stirring and restless enterprises that filled and signalised the last years of the eleventh century. It was in 1095 that the barefooted monk, Peter the Hermit, had traversed the greater part of Western Europe, lighting everywhere a flame of enthusiasm for the Crusade. In November of that year Pope Urban II. solemnly sanctioned the expedition in a Council at Clermont, and the din of preparation went on throughout every part of Christendom. The Duke of Burgundy himself took the Cross, and led out a contingent to the war, superbly armed. Why Tescelin did not go with his lord, as might for some reasons have been expected, we do not know. Perhaps advancing age, or perhaps duties imposed upon him by the Duke, detained him. Guy and Gerard, again, the two elder sons, were too young to undertake such a high emprise as yet, and though brave and accomplished cavaliers, were apparently not yet knighted. So that all the family of De Fontaines seem to have been united for a time. After the great expedition sailed, reports came in, one after another, of the marvellous exploits

that the European chivalry were accomplishing on the battle-fields of the East. First came the news of the taking of Nicæa; then of the siege and storming of Antioch, and its erection into a principality under a Christian ruler; and at length, in 1099, came the greatest news of all, that of the capture of Jerusalem, where Godfrey of Bouillon was hailed as king by the survivors of the enterprise. The great news came just too late to gladden the heart of the dying Pope. He had been in his grave but a fortnight when it arrived. There were no telegraphic despatches, no penny post, no daily newspapers in those days. All these great events filtered through gradually to the dwellers in remote country strongholds by means of the wandering *trouvère*, or minstrel, who passed from castle to castle, and was welcomed everywhere for the news he had to tell and the songs that he could sing to his harp. The reader must call up in his mind's eye the great stone-built hall of the Castle of Fontaines, or some other grey old "Chastellerie" with smoke-stained walls, all hung with mail shirts, steel caps dinted in action, bows and spears. On the daïs sits the lord of the castle, in his great chair with high-carved top, terminating in an ogival arch. Round him are his boys, with bright eyes and active movements; his lady, perhaps, sits at his side, and farther off all the following of the baron is assembled, save the few sentinels who pace to and fro on the crenel-

lated walls outside; for it is the "Truce of God" during the continuance of the Crusade, and the licence of private war is curbed for the time. Thus it is during the long winter evening, and many an evening, while wandering minstrel or monk, come on some business from the neighbouring cloister, amuses the household: the one declaims to his harpstirring ballad or lengthy romance in the *langue d'oil* (we are too far north, we may suppose here, for the *langue d'oc*), or the other enchains his auditors' attention with marvellous tales or legends of the Saints, or communicates and discusses the last news from the Holy Land, and the other gossip of the day.

An incident is related of Bernard's childhood which shows the elevated and mystical disposition already predominant in his mind :—

"It was Christmas Eve: and all the family were awaiting the solemn Office of the Festival, which, according to custom, was celebrated at midnight.[1]

"While all were seated together, and waiting for the Office, it happened that the young Bernard,

[1] This was, no doubt, the Eucharist, which, according to ancient custom, was on this day alone celebrated after midnight. Sir W. Scott has a reference to the custom in "Marmion," c. vi. introd. :—

> "On Christmas Eve the bells were rung,
> On Christmas Eve the mass was sung;
> *That only night in all the year*
> Saw the stoled priest the chalice rear."

leaning his head forward on his breast, fell into a deep sleep. While he slept, the Infant Jesus appeared to him in a vision: adding to his as yet tender faith, and beginning to unfold to him the mysteries of Divine contemplation. The Word Incarnate appeared to him as if newly born from the womb of His mother; fairer than the children of men, and drawing to Himself the affections of the young Bernard, who felt himself thenceforth no longer a child. For he was assured in his own mind, and declares it to this very day, that the time when he saw the vision was the anniversary of the very hour of the Lord's birth. And it is easy," adds his biographer, "for those who have been accustomed to listen to his preaching, to recognise with what abundance of blessing the Lord prevented him on that happy night; for ever since he has seemed to possess a deeper knowledge in what relates to that Divine mystery [of the Incarnation], and a richer and more abundant flow of discourse respecting it."[1]

Thus the years of his childhood passed; and Bernard, like the Divine Child whom he loved and strove to imitate, "grew in wisdom and in stature, and in favour with God and man," until the time came for another stage of his training for his life's work.

There was in the town of Châtillon-sur-Seine—his

[1] William, "Life," c. ii.; and Alan, c. ii.

father's native place—a school of considerable reputation for the novelty and excellence of the methods of teaching which its masters had introduced. It was one of those public schools of which a great many were founded in the twelfth century. They taught grammar, dialectics, and rhetoric: *i.e.*, the laws of language (not of *languages*, for it was seldom indeed that Greek was taught, and the vocabulary and structure of the modern languages were so little fixed as yet, that the student was forced to confine himself to the one universal language, viz., Latin), and, to a certain extent, literature; the laws of reasoning, which afforded interesting outlooks on almost every side to the inquiring mind; and, lastly, the art of public speaking, or oratory, as it was understood at the time.

The reputation gained by the school brought many scholars, and Bernard found himself in a new world, of keen and searching intellectual toil, such as he had never known before. But the tasks and the emulation only brought out the rare powers of his mind, and he made rapid progress. He learned to speak and write Latin with ease and a degree of elegance; he made considerable acquaintance with the chief of the Roman poets; he even cultivated poetry and literature with eager delight, and, as it seems, with success. He has left poems behind him, but the inspiration of them is religious and theological, and they

date from a later stage of his career. Nor are they even constructed (as might have been, perhaps, expected with some probability) on classical models. Most of them are written in the rhyming octosyllabic lines which began to be in vogue about that period, and are known as Leonine.[1]

Later on, when Bernard had grown famous, and his collision with Abélard had resulted in the defeat of the latter, this very taste for literature and practice in poetical composition was made a reason for blame to Bernard by the followers of his defeated antagonist. Thus Berengarius of Poitiers [2] writes to Bernard in what he calls an "Apology for Abélard," in this strain :—

"People wonder to see in you, a man ignorant of the liberal arts, such fertility of eloquence; so that your productions have covered the surface of the earth. To such persons the answer is that '*Great are the works of the Lord.*' But there is no reason why they should wonder; indeed, the wonder would be greater if you lacked flowing words. For we hear

[1] For further information about these, see Du Cange's Glossary, article "Leonini versus"; also an article in the *Quarterly Review*, July, 1882.

[2] This man must not be confounded with his far more famous namesake, Berengarius of Tours, the antagonist of Lanfranc, who was concerned in the controversy which raged around the new dogma of Transubstantiation. He lived a generation earlier.

that from your earliest youth you composed comic songs and polished verses. Do you not remember how you strove to surpass your brothers in rhythmical contests and in subtlety of invention? And was it not especially painful to you to meet with any one who could answer you with impudence equal to your own?"—*Berengarii Scholastici Apologeticus.*

It would seem from one passage of the above that the writer had either been himself a contemporary of Bernard at the school of Châtillon, or had been instructed by some one who was.

In these and similar pursuits the young Bernard occupied his school life. Vacations were not in those days; and it is doubtful whether he saw his father and mother during these years. It is certain that such visits home, if any, must have been brief, and at long intervals. The pious and devoted Alith, we would fain hope, had the satisfaction of resting her eyes upon the slender but vigorous youth, as he grew and matured year by year, and of feeling that her prayers were being abundantly answered. But his biographers do not say. We are only left to infer that he was at home again at the time of his mother's death.

This event is related in great detail, and not without pathos, by a contemporary writer, who seems to have been actually present at the scene. It was the custom to celebrate the festival of the Saint after

whom the church at Fontaines was named:[1] and Alith, as the Lady of the Castle, was in the habit of entertaining the clergy at luncheon after the services of the day, just as is done in many an English parish on the occasion of the Harvest Festival or other parochial gathering.

"God, desiring to do honour to her singular devotion, revealed to her that she should die on the very day of the Festival; nor is it incredible that so saintly a woman should share in the spirit of prophecy. In consequence of this, she announced to her husband, her children, and her whole family, calmly and firmly, that the day of her departure was approaching. They wondered: nor did they at first believe that it would happen as she said. But their wonder was soon changed into anxiety; for, on the vigil of the Festival, she was seized with a violent fever. On the morrow, the Festival-day, after the Celebration, she piously begged that the Body of the Lord might be brought to her. After having received the Eucharist, and being fortified with holy unction, she begged that all the clergy invited would partake of the repast which had been prepared for them. After a time, while

[1] This was St. Ambrose, or, as some copies read, St. Ambrosinianus. The latter is not found in the ordinary hagiologies, but is said by the editors to have been a bishop who endured martyrdom in Armenia. A legend relates that his relics were brought into Burgundy from the Holy Land by a knight of St. Bernard's family.

they were still at table, she sent her eldest son Guy to them to ask that immediately their meal was over, they would come to her. Guy did piously what his pious mother directed. The clergy assembled, and the servant of God calmly and even gladly declared to them that the moment of her dissolution was drawing near. They, betaking themselves to earnest prayer for her, began to chant the litany for the dying, in which she herself, until her last breath, devoutly joined. And when the choir as they sang had reached that petition, 'By Thy Cross and Passion deliver her, O Lord,' the dying woman, not even then ceasing from supplication, and in the very act and article of death commending her soul into the hands of God, while her hand was raised to make the sign of the Cross, peacefully resigned her breath, and was without doubt received by the angels, and placed by God among the souls of the blessed, to await with joy and felicity the raising of her body in the Day of the general Resurrection, when our Advocate and Judge, Jesus Christ, shall come to judge the quick and the dead, and to try the world by fire.

"It was thus that this holy soul quitted its temple of a holy body; her hand which had been raised to make the sign of the Cross so remained, to the wonder and admiration of all who were there and witnessed it."[1]

[1] Joannes Eremita, "Life," b. i.

When the fact of her death became known, Gerannus, the Abbot of St. Benignus at Dijon, a man respected for his piety, came and begged the body of Alith, regarding her relics as a precious treasure. "Having obtained what he asked, as well in respect for his goodness as on account of the affection of her sons, he and those who were with him bore on their shoulders the holy body to Dijon. And behold, the entire population came out to meet them with crosses and candles, in great joy and veneration, and accompanied the procession to the Church of the blessed martyr Benignus, where with great reverence they gave it sepulture. The abbot before mentioned afterwards caused to be made and placed upon her tomb six statues as a memorial of her six sons; and here they may be seen to this day." [1]

It is easy to understand that the death of his mother was deeply felt by the young Bernard. He had just been rejoicing to be re-united with her on his return home after so long an absence, and was now prostrate by a blow so unexpected. He was attached to his mother by similarity of disposition and community of thoughts and hopes, no less than by filial affection; and in losing her who was the confidante of all his good purposes and high aspirations, he seemed to have lost all that made the joy and happiness of his life.

[1] Joannes Eremita, "Life," b. i.

He was then, as near as we can tell, close upon twenty years of age—a youth of agreeable countenance and handsome figure, pleasant manners, keen intellect and easy address, who was considered in every way a young man of great promise. It was well for him that even in the depth of his sorrow he was able to find some degree of consolation in the promises of God, and the purposes of serving God, which he and his departed parent had so often talked over together. To recall them was for him to recall as well the voice that had spoken of them and the calm sweet face to which such plans were habitual. As time went on he devoted himself more and more to the study of literature, which he had already pursued with so much success. His keen, swiftly-apprehensive intellect, gathered knowledge almost without effort. The more he learned, the more he loved to learn. Perhaps we may refer to this period of his life the words of his opponent, quoted above, as to his delight in intellectual combats. This, however, was not to continue. Conscience admonished him that his own intellectual gratification was not to be his sole purpose in life; and he comprehended at length that the pursuit of study, directed to no practical end, and without any other intention than the satisfaction of curiosity, is no sufficient dedication of life for the Christian soul. How well he had come to learn this lesson we are shown by his own words written many years after-

wards :—"There are men who wish to learn merely in order that they may know, and such curiosity is blamable: there are others who wish to learn for no other reason than that they may be looked upon as learned, which is a ridiculous vanity; while others again learn only that they may make merchandise of their knowledge, and that merchandise is ignoble. When, then, are all kinds of knowledge good and salutary? They are good, replies the Prophet, when they are put in practice; and he is blamable, adds the Apostle, who, having the knowledge of the good that he ought to do, does not do it." [1]

[1] St. Bernard, "Sermons on Canticles," xxxvi.; Ratisbonne, "S. Bernard et son Siècle," vol. i.

CHAPTER III.

THE CISTERCIAN ORDER.

Foundation of the Abbey of Cîteaux—Its site—The Benedictine Order—Faults inherent in its organisation, and attempts to correct them—Cluny—Cîteaux—Robert of Molesmes—Alberic—Stephen Harding—Straits of the new institution—Entrance of Bernard—New and rapid prosperity of the Abbey—Growth of the Cistercian Order; its extension to England; its history there—The great wealth accumulated by it—Fall of the French Cistercians.

THE Cistercian Order, so called from the name of its mother-house Cîteaux (Cistercium),[1] was one of the many offshoots of the great Order of St. BENEDICT of Nursia, founded in A.D. 529. From North Italy it

[1] It is said that the site of this Abbey was originally an undrained and dismal swamp, overgrown with brushwood, and known as "the Fountain" *Cistellum*. This derivation, however, seems to us at least doubtful. *Cistellum*, or rather *Cistella*, means, in classical Latin, a little basket. *Cisterna* is a cistern or tank for rain-water. But almost any perversion of form is at least possible in Low Latin.

The site of the (perished) Abbey is now in the finest wine-growing district of Burgundy. Attached to the Abbey was the enclosure well known and famous as *Clos de Vougeot*, which produces what has been called "the Prince of Burgundy wines." The monks cultivated its produce to the greatest perfection. They never sold the wine, but gave in presents all that was not used in the Abbey itself. The estate was sold on the suppression of the monastery after the French Revolution.—*See* P. Smith, "Eccles. Hist." ii. 341, note.

spread into the whole of the West of Europe, and became the great representative of the monastic principle. Since, however, each Benedictine monastery according to the Rule of St. Benedict, was independent, there being no central authority capable of supervising the various branch institutions, it followed that the Rule of St. Benedict was gradually, as the primitive fervour grew colder, relaxed in practice, or even remodelled in the letter, so as to produce in course of time various and great abuses. In the best monasteries the monks lived like *canonici*, each having at his separate disposal his separate share of the joint funds; in the worst, they had thrown off all appearance of observing their Rule, and lived worldly lives. Frequent reformations, therefore, were found to be necessary; and the form taken by these was the founding of congregations or separate associations within the Order, first to restore and then to maintain the strict observance of the Rule which was binding on all. The chief of these were as follows :—

1.	Cluniacs	Founded A.D.	910.
2.	Camaldolese	,,	1018.
3.	Bec	,,	1037.
4.	Carthusians	,,	1084.
5.	Cistercian	,,	1100.
6.	Savigny, or *Fratres Grisei* ...	,,	1105.
7.	Tiron le Gardais	,,	1109.
8.	Grandmont or Grammont ...	,,	1124.
9.	Celestines	,,	1274.
10.	Monte Cassino	,,	1409.

11. St. Vannus (Lorraine) ... Founded A. D. 1600.
12. St. Maur ... ... ,, 1613.

Of these the first founded, CLUNY, was strictly *monarchical* in its organisation. The abuses above referred to had shown the need of a stricter external discipline. Accordingly, the Abbot of Cluny was the General of the whole Order; and exercised visitatorial powers over every community belonging to it. This system worked well as long as the abbots were men of holy life and commanding talent. Under such men as the first abbot, Berno; the second, Odo, who framed its strict system of rules; Odilo, who ruled it from 994 to 1048 with such high reputation that he is called by Fulbert of Chartres "the archangel of the monks";[1] Hugh, who succeeded him at the age of 25, and governed the Order for sixty years (1049-1109); and Peter Maurice de Montboissier, surnamed "the Venerable," who succeeded in 1125; the Cluniacs were to a great extent true to their obligations. But failing a succession of such men, it was clear that the Order would speedily grow lax. To a wise and holy abbot might succeed a man weak, worldly, or even wicked: and in a few years the firmness of needful discipline would be relaxed, and the entire character of the Order fatally lowered. This essential weakness in the constitution of the Cluniac Order had been recently displayed in the

[1] Bouquet, "Scriptor. Rer Gallic.," x. 426.

career of the disorderly and unprincipled Abbot Pontius, who had made the once revered Abbey of Cluny, during his brief incumbency, a scandal to Christendom.

The ORDER of CÎTEAUX, the largest, and, while its primitive fervour remained, the most successful, modification of the original Benedictine Rule, was organised upon a different principle. The earliest institute of St. Benedict may be said to have been *democratic* in the looseness and slightness of the bond which connected one of his monasteries with the rest, and thus it provided no external means of discipline whatever for reforming a faulty institution from without. All abbeys once established were equal, and all mutually independent.

CLUNY, as we have seen, was organised on a strictly *monarchical* principle; and worked well as long as this single ruler was able and faithful. But there were no means of ensuring that every ruler should be of this character; and a breakdown was sure to happen whenever a bad or weak abbot was in power.

At Cîteaux a new expedient was adopted. We may call it the *federal* principle. The ruling power of the Order was the General Chapter, consisting of all the abbots of Cistercian monasteries, which must meet every year, and sit for five days. Every abbot whose house was in France, Italy, or Germany must

attend each year, unless prevented by bodily illness.[1] The Abbot of Cîteaux,—who was the General of the whole Order, and supreme over every one of its monasteries, so that the authority of the abbot of any Cistercian house to which he might come was at once in abeyance, and was superseded by his, as long as he should stay there,—was amenable to the jurisdiction of the abbots of the four "daughter houses," La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Morimond. If it should be a matter of notoriety that he were openly disobedient to the Rule, or even lax and wanting in zeal, these four abbots were to admonish him in their own names and that of the whole Order, repeatedly up to the fourth time, and if that should prove fruitless, they were to call a general Chapter and depose him from his office.[2]

He, on the other hand, was to visit these four Abbeys and any others that might be formed from

[1] "Omnes Abbates de nostro Ordine singulis annis ad Generale Capitulum Cisterciense, omni postposita occasione, convenient, illis exceptis quos corporis infirmitas retineret."—*Charta Charitatis*, c. iii.

Abbots settled in Spain need only attend every two years; those in Great Britain, Ireland, Sicily, Portugal, every four years; those in Norway, every five years; and those in Syria and Palestine, every seven years.

[2] "Si forte, quod absit, Abbates nostri Ordinis matrem nostram Cisterciensem ecclesiam in sancto proposito languescere, et ab observatione Regulæ vel Ordinis nostri exorbitare cognoverint, Abbatem ejusdem loci per quatuor primos abbates,

Cîteaux; and these were also to supervise such as should have sprung from them. Thus, by a system of mutual and reciprocal guardianship and vigilance, provision was made, as far as could be done by a system of rules at all, as well against the particular faults of individuals who might hold the great offices of the Order, as against the general down-draught of indolence, worldliness, and waning zeal. Having said thus much by way of introduction we return to the general subject.

Robert, the descendant of a noble family in Champagne, early chose the monastic life. He became Prior of St. Michel-de-Tonnerre, and leaving that house because of the frivolous lives of its inmates, became Abbot of Molesme, in the Diocese of Langres. This house also had shared in the general relaxation of the monastic discipline; and Robert, eager, impulsive, and uncompromising, strove, but at first almost in vain, to draw tighter the loosened reins of monastic observance. He was seconded by a small party among the monks, but opposed by a much larger number. The subject was eagerly discussed in the Chapter of the convent, and the abbot had no difficulty in showing that the received

scilicet de Firmitate, de Pontiniaco, de Claravalle, de Morimundo, sub caeterorum abbatum nomine, usque quater ut corrigatur ipse, et alios corrigere curet, admoneant . . . . virum inutilem ab officio suo, deponant."—*Charta Charitatis*, c. v. § 27.

practice fell in many respects short of the rule of St. Benedict which it professed to follow. The majority refused to assent to the proposed reform; and the end of this prolonged struggle was that Robert himself, with six companions, determined to found another institution, in which they could carry out the Benedictine Rule with greater completeness. The names are preserved for us in the contemporary records: Robert, Alberic, Stephen, Odo, John, Letald, and Peter.[1]

These withdrew to a spot on the borders of Burgundy and Champagne, Citeaux, where the Duke of Burgundy gave them a site for building, with a space of wild land around it, which, when reclaimed (it was in the heart of a forest), they might till for food. Soon afterwards they were joined by fourteen others; and they set vigorously to work to build themselves a house to shelter them, and a little wooden oratory for the recitation of their Offices, to reclaim the surrounding land, and to organise their new institution.

Meanwhile, the house which they had left was in a bad way. All the best men had left it, the monastery was without a head, and without steady control; such duties as there were seem to have been indifferently performed; even the laity of the

[1] "Annal. Cisterc." tom. i. c. i., § 6.

district (no strict or exacting judges) grew dissatisfied with the state of things, and withheld their accustomed gifts, so that the convent fell into some distress. They appealed to the Archbishop of Lyons and to Pope Urban II.; and since it was evident that a firm hand was absolutely needful at the head of so distracted and refractory a community as that of Molesmes, while another hand might possibly direct the small and weak enterprise at Cîteaux, Robert received a peremptory order from the Pope to return to his former post. This was in 1099. He seems to have brought the house at Molesmes in some degree into good order, though we may imagine that his heart often yearned for that little "Lodge in the wilderness" in the building of which he had so gladly laboured. At Molesmes he died eleven years later, in 1110.

The little band left behind at Cîteaux met according to monastic precedent and elected as their abbot Alberic, who had been in the confidence of Robert; a firm, wise, and earnest head, who led on the enterprise without pause. He drew up the first code of rules for the Order, *Exordium Cisterciense:* he changed the colour of the habit from black or brown to white,[1] and under him the institution slowly took

[1] The habit which all Benedictines wore up to this time was black or brown. Alberic substituted for this one of a greyish-white (*nigrum habitum in griseum commutantes*). That was the colour of the habit worn by St. Bernard. "The cowl of

shape. He died in 1109, and was succeeded by an Englishman of gentle birth,[1] who had been prior of the little community for some years, Stephen Harding of Sherborne in Dorsetshire.

He, too, was one of those men who have a history.

There are few travellers in the West of England who are not familiar with the sight of the great minster church, built of deep red sandstone, which dominates the little town of Sherborne, and looks over one of the fairest and most fertile valleys of Dorsetshire. Sherborne Castle, around which the storms of battle again and again raged, has long vanished. And of the great Abbey buildings only this remains. Sherborne was the birthplace of Stephen Harding; here he spent his boyhood; in the Abbey, as it seems, he took the vows as a Benedictine monk.[2] But as years went on, a restlessness grew

it," says Père Lenain, sub-prior of the Abbey of La Trappe, "is still preserved in the Abbey of St. Victor, at Paris."—*Hist. de Cîteaux*, v. i. c. xiv. p. 57; Ratisbonne, *Histoire*, v. i. p. 106.

The white colour was, in process of time, supposed to symbolise the joy felt in the renunciations of the monastic life. But the change seems really to have been due to a much simpler and more practical reason. It was *the natural colour of the undyed wool* of which the habit was made, that was left untouched. Alberic thought that dyeing the wool was a worldly vanity which monks ought to give up with other and similar vanities of the world they had renounced.

[1] "Nobili stemmate."

[2] "Cistercian Saints of England, St. Stephen Harding," c. i.

upon him. The rich green valleys and deep combes of Dorset and Devon shut him in like a prison house. He longed to travel, to see more of the world and to learn more. He had upon him what his countryman and neighbour, Winfrid (afterwards known as St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany), had felt in the same district three hundred years before,—the *wandelbarkeit*, the pressure of unexpended energies which drives a man forth to find occupation for them. He was permitted, it seems, to have his wish, and he travelled far: first northward into Scotland, then through France, probably studying for a time at the Sorbonne at Paris, and at length making his way to Rome. It was no such difficult matter in those days for a monk or poor scholar to travel over the whole of the West of Europe with scarcely any costs and charges at all. There were no railways, of course, and it was not to be supposed that a traveller in the condition of Stephen Harding would possess a horse of his own. But the whole face of the country was then dotted over with considerable monasteries, at each of which hospitality to travellers, and particularly to pilgrims, was a sacred duty. At each a day or two might be spent, and thus by degree the religious traveller might go over the whole country.[1]

[1] Throughout six centuries,—from the seventh century to the thirteenth,—and, indeed, much earlier and later still, there was

Thus, no doubt, it was with Stephen Harding. His *wanderjähre* occupied a long time; and on his way back to England through Burgundy, Molesmes was one of the monasteries at which he craved a wayfarer's nightly hospitality. Something homelike, we know not what, appealed to his heart in the services and the society of the little community. It is not hard to understand that he may by this time have had enough of wanderings; and the effect was

a veritable rage for foreign pilgrimages, particularly to Rome, Cologne, Canterbury, and Compostella; not to speak of those to the Holy Land. The Emperor Charlemagne writes to King Offa of Mercia, about A.D. 780: "Concerning the strangers who, for the love of GOD and the salvation of their souls, wish to repair to the thresholds of the blessed Apostles, let them travel in peace without any trouble." Ina, King of the West Saxons, became a pilgrim and died at Rome. King Canute made a pilgrimage to the same city in A.D. 1031; and the number of nobles, and laymen of lower ranks, who became pilgrims was very large; while among clergy and monks it was so common as to be quite usual for such as felt, or assumed, a special degree of devotion to undertake a pilgrimage. Letter 64 of St. Bernard is addressed to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, on behalf of Philip, a prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral, who had gone abroad to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but having sought hospitality at Clairvaux, had been so charmed with the life there, that he ended by becoming a monk in that Abbey. Letter 82 of the same Saint is devoted to dissuading the Abbot of St. John's, Chartres, from resigning his charge and undertaking a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and many other instances might be adduced.

Another fact which tended to facilitate these journeys on the part of the clergy and monks may be mentioned, in the possession of a *communis lingua* in Latin; for at that time it

that he cast in his lot with Abbot Robert and his flock. We have already narrated how a colony from thence, of which Stephen was one of the leading members, came to migrate to Citeaux; of that community he was now the head; and the four years which elapsed between the commencement of his charge and the entrance of Bernard into the monastery were a time of acute and trying calamity, which even threatened the extinction of the monastery and of the Order. When Robert came first with his few followers from Molesmes, the interest of Odo, Duke of Burgundy, had been excited in their favour. He gave the community a site to build upon, and fields to cultivate for their subsistence. He used not unfrequently to visit the

was the vernacular of all who possessed the education of the time.

The peasantry would content themselves with pilgrimages to the shrines of their own country; and these were many. Pilgrims to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury received as a token a small lead ampulla with an effigy or T; at St. Cuthbert, of Durham, a similar one with the ✠ of St. Cuthbert; or, in heraldic language, Cross *alisée pattée*; at that of St. Mary of Walsingham, a W, surmounted by a crown, and so on; while the sign of the pilgrimage to Rome was the *vernicle* (Veronica), the cross keys, and the effigies of St. Peter and St. Paul; and that to Compostella was denoted by the scallop-shell. Many facts relating to this subject may be gathered from Chaucer's wonderful poem, the "Canterbury Tales"; and, for an interesting chapter upon it, *see* "Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages," by Rev. E. L. Cutts.

small community, and when he was setting out in 1096 to the Holy Land, to join with his small army the first Crusade, he left directions that when he died his body should be buried in the little church at Cîteaux. He never, in fact, returned alive, and in 1102 his body was brought home in its coffin to be deposited there beside those of the brethren. In the same year his younger son, Henry, entered the convent as a novice, and we are told that the reigning Duke Hugh was naturally well disposed towards the community, and frequently attended the church with his suite, so that at first the prospects of the young community appeared favourable. Gradually, however, the poverty and the austerity of the monks wore out the interest of these high-born patrons. The abbot was too busily occupied to trifle with visitors, too stern and down-right to pay compliments; so that the Court speedily turned to more easy and compliant *protégés*, and left the grim monks of Cîteaux severely alone. The aim of these men (certainly heroic, if we cannot call them in all respects wise) was to keep the rule of St. Benedict in all its sincerity, without any of the mitigations or conventional glosses by which the Benedictines, in the decay of their first ardour, had long been in the habit of turning the edge of its ascetic severity. The daily routine of the monks at Cîteaux would be something like this: "At two in the morning the

great bell was rung, and the monks immediately arose and hastened from their dormitory, along the dark cloisters to the church. A single small lamp, suspended from the roof, gave a glimmering light, just sufficient to show them their way through the plain, unornamented building. After short private prayer they began Matins, which took them about two hours. The next service, Lauds, did not commence till the first glimmer of dawn was in the sky, and thus, in winter at least, a considerable interval occurred, during which the monk's time was his own. He went to the cloister and employed it in reading, writing, or meditation, according to his inclination. He then devoted himself to various religious exercises till nine, when he went forth to work in the fields. At two he dined; at nightfall assembled to Vespers, and at six or eight, according to the season, finished the day with Compline, and passed at once to the dormitory."[1]

This was far more severe and trying than the customs of the ordinary monastery. In time, as we shall see, it succeeded in arousing a spirit of emulation in other houses, and in thus regenerating the majority of the monasteries of the West. But at first the feeling in other Orders was of stupefaction at such inhuman severity of asceticism, if it was not one of actual

[1] Usus Ordinis Cisterc., Morison, "Life," b. i. c. ii.

repulsion. Thus the house failed to increase; no novices came forward to offer themselves for admission to the Order. However they might admire it, they were fairly frightened by the stern rigour of its observances.

"At that period, the venerable Abbot Stephen had much anxiety on account of the fewness of his sons (monks), and he began to lose hope of a posterity to inherit his holy poverty. All reverenced the sanctity of their life, but fled from its austerity."[1]

In St. Bernard's own letter to his nephew Robert, we have a summary of the objections made to the Cistercian rigorism. The objector here is actually the Prior of the great Abbey of Cluny, which was consistently hostile to the followers of the Cistercian Rule:—"Voluntary poverty he calls misery; fasts, vigils, silence, the labour of the hands, he styles folly; but, on the contrary, sloth he names contemplation; gluttony, loquacity, inquisitiveness,—in short, every kind of excess he calls the exercise of discretion." "What," he says, "does God delight in our sufferings? Where does Scripture bid any one to slay himself? What sort of religion is it to dig the earth, to cut wood, to carry manure? Is it not the declaration of the Truth: *I will have mercy and not sacrifice?* Why has God created food if it is not permitted to

[1] William of St. Thierry, "Life," c. iii. § 18.

eat it, or give us bodies if we must not sustain them?"[1]

Arguments which, as we may be disposed to think, have considerable cogency. But yet we must remember that it is not by a calm and moderate composure of practice that a religious reformation, such as the heads of the monastery at Cîteaux were bent upon, can be effected. Some stronger force than mere compliance with accepted rules is needed to alter by one dead lift the standards of conduct for an entire class or profession. Men need to be interested, fired, carried out of themselves before they will follow and imitate. It was but a truism that was uttered by the French Abbé: "Revolutions are not made with rose-water." Every great effect must have had a cause correspondingly powerful, and similarly it may be asserted that there has never been any great impression produced upon the moral sense of humanity, which was not previously generated in supreme effort and endurance, voluntarily borne by other moral natures. To bend a twig to a particular angle it must be bent far beyond that point and even almost to breaking. Then, when it flies back, it does not regain its former position, but takes that desired. Consciously or unconsciously, it was upon this principle that Stephen and his companions were acting. But the strain upon them was great; and their numbers

[1] "Ep. Roberto nepoti suo," § 4.

grew smaller and smaller. Then came an epidemic which ravaged the country all round them, and the monks, weakened by their mode of life,[1] died of it with a frightful rapidity.

"Over and above the various afflictions which weigh me down," said Abbot Stephen, "my heart is pierced with poignant grief when I consider that little band, the brethren; for we are dying daily, one after another, so that we are on the eve of seeing happen what I have so much feared, that our congregation will die out and disappear with us."[2] So near was this great enterprise to becoming a total and evident failure. This crisis in their history was, as it were, the darkness before the day.

But they were on the point of receiving an abundant recompense for their faith and steadfastness.

One evening, when (it is said) the small remnant

[1] The chroniclers mention that the monks were in the habit of *having themselves bled* four times a year, in the months of February, April, June, and September; and these bleedings were so abundant, that they left the patients in a state of complete prostration. This was almost the only remedy that they employed to prevent or to cure their attacks of illness. That custom was not, however, adopted entirely for reasons of health: the annalist attributes to it other effects, saying that the monks poured out their blood for the love of God. . . . "Whether their idea was well founded or not (adds the historian of Cîteaux) does not concern us; we content ourselves with reporting the fact without passing judgment upon it.—*Hist. de Cît.*, i. 168; Ratisbonne, "Life," i. 108. (The practice was not peculiar to monks.)

[2] Ratisbonne, i. 152.

of the monks were engaged in their customary offices, a band of men, thirty in number, whose leader was a young man of twenty-three years, slowly traversed the forest, and reached the door of the monastery. When admitted to the presence of the abbot, they threw themselves at his feet, and the young leader, speaking in the name of the rest, entreated that they might be admitted as novices.

This young man was BERNARD. His companions were his brothers, relations, and friends, whom he had induced, by his example and his persuasions, to embrace with him the monastic life. The next day they all entered upon their novitiate, with the exception of the young Robert, nephew[1] of Bernard, whose admission was deferred for two years, on account of his extreme youth. With their coming the institution seemed to have renewed its youth; the tide of its ill-success seemed to have turned; the news of the enrolment of these thirty candidates emboldened others to come forward in like manner; and the Order was speedily strong enough to send out more than one colony out of its overflowing numbers,—swarms (as it were) to spread its name and extend its operations into other districts.

We continue now our brief sketch of the history of the Cistercian Order, leaving the personal history of Bernard to be related in following chapters.

[1] Really his cousin.

At the time of St. Bernard's death, that is, forty years later than the period of which we have been speaking, the Cistercian Order numbered upwards of five hundred monasteries, and a hundred years later still it had grown to the astonishing number of more than eighteen hundred. In 1128 it had been introduced into England by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, who founded the Abbey of Waverley, in Surrey, for twelve monks from the Abbey of Aumône, in Normandy. In 1131 Rievaulx Abbey, in Yorkshire, was founded by Walter l'Espée; and Tintern Abbey, in the valley of the Wye, by Walter de Clare; and Fountains Abbey shortly after, with many other well-known Cistercian houses. At the time of the Reformation there seem to have been seventy-seven houses of this Order in England and Wales, exclusive of nunneries.[1]

The Order, headed by St. Bernard, preached the second crusade; it was instrumental, more or less directly, in founding the military Orders of the Temple, of Calatrava, of Alcantara, Montisa, Avis, and of Christ. So great was the veneration felt for the Order, that in 1142 Alfonso, King of Portugal, declared his kingdom a kind of honorary fief to the Abbey of Clairvaux, and engaged to pay to it yearly a tax of fifty gold marabotines.[2] It thus occupied one

[1] Gasquet, "English Monasteries," vol. ii.

[2] In 1578 the abbey actually attempted to enforce its claim to this.

of the highest positions in the Christian world, alike in the useful work done by the Order and the general respect enjoyed by it. But the historian cannot but note that its declension and its fall was, perhaps, more rapid and more complete than that of any other. It culminated in power and wealth about the middle of the thirteenth century, when it is believed that there were more than 60,000 monks of the Order.[1] After this it declined. The Mendicant Orders, in their first burst of activity, supplanted it in its historical mission. St. Bernard himself was a Puritan of the Puritans; and while he lived, the Cistercian abbeys, their churches, their services and ritual, were the expression of a bare and unadorned simplicity. Scarcely any ornament was admitted into their churches; no sumptuous hangings, no splendid paintings, or mosaic pavements, no crucifixes of silver or gold and set with jewels. The chalice alone might be of silver, and the vestments of the clergy of plain linen only. The windows of their abbey churches were to be entirely of white glass, without crosses or coloured enrichments. No bell-towers in their abbeys, whether of stone or of wood, were to be of immoderate height. Every detail of construction was to show a studied bareness and plainness, befitting men who had pro-

[1] Viollet-le-Duc, "Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture," vol. i. p. 264.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 270.

fessedly given up the pleasures and solaces of life. St. Aelred, who was master of the novices at Cîteaux and afterwards Abbot of Rievaulx, writes upon this subject:—

"How can the will be trained and mortified when all things tend to dissipate the mind and expend its energies on external things; when in the cloister are found beautiful animals to amuse the eyes of the brethren; quails, and curious birds, tame hares gambolling about, and stags browsing under the trees? Or, how can it be mortified when the walls of the monastery are covered with paintings of men and horses fighting, and pagan stories taken from classic history; when the pavement is of marble, covered with rich carpets, and the worship is carried on with a glare of wax lights, amid the glitter of gold and silver vessels?" [1]

Much of this strictness was, however, relaxed speedily after the death of St. Bernard, and in no country was the declension more manifest than in England. Although pledged by their rule to be a standing protest against any kind of wealth or luxury, they had yet become, before the Order had been a hundred years domiciled in England, the richest and most powerful of all the monastic bodies. John of Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres, who was the *protégé* of

[1] "Speculum Charitatis," ii. 23, 24.

St. Bernard, and, therefore, though a secular, by no means an unfriendly judge, feels himself obliged to declare that the love of power and the greedy desire for gain had infected the whole monastic body, *not excepting even the white monks.* From their first settlement in England they strove to set themselves down in unfrequented and lonely places as far as they could, which was, indeed, their universal practice in every country. "A copious stream to the south," says Dr. Whitaker, "a moderate expanse of rich meadow and pasture around, and an amphitheatre of sheltering hills clad in the verdant covering of their native woods beyond, were features in the face of Nature which the earlier Cistercians courted with instinctive fondness; and where these were wanting it is certain that they never long remained."[1]

This was so constant a habit of theirs that it gave rise to the line :—

"Bernardus valles, colles Benedictus amabat."

Thus they were naturally led to the sheep farming which became a marked characteristic of the economy of the Cistercian houses in England. The green, rich, sheltered valleys of Devonshire and Dorset, as lending themselves kindly to their favourite industry, were always regarded by them with a special prefer-

[1] "History of Cistercian Abbey of Whalley" p. 107.

ence. Here they had five rich houses, of which the magnificent Buckfast Abbey was the chief; and here, and in similar sites, as the woollen trade of England grew, their wealth grew with it, until it excited the bitter envy of the other Orders, who resented, besides, the immunity, which they exercised by the grant of Pope Innocent II., in 1132, from all payment of tithes. This privilege was conferred by a grateful Pope, as a means of helping the Order in the days of its poverty, and it would have been a graceful act on the part of the monks, when it became heavy with riches, to abandon the exemption. It shows the degree in which an avaricious grasping after wealth had become the settled policy of the Cistercians, that they were never known to do so. Naturally, therefore, "the white clad herd, the execrable Order,"—"Lancea Longini,[1] grex albus, Ordo nefandus,"—drew to itself more and more the hatred and envy of mankind. It was not that they were accused of more luxury or vicious indulgence than others, but that the Order had become a mere barren tree, bringing forth no good fruits in return for the endowments which had been heaped upon it. The Cistercians fell with the other

[1] Longinus was the legendary name of the Roman soldier who pierced the side of our Saviour with a spear when He was upon the Cross. The reproach against the Cistercians was apparently that they "crucified afresh," or pierced the heart of the Saviour afresh with distress by their unchristian avarice.

monastic Orders in England at the Reformation in the sixteenth century. On the Continent the Order lasted longer, but its history was not unlike that of the English abbeys. More than one attempt was made to reform it, and they all failed.

Threatened with severe treatment, if not extinction, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the French Cistercians elected the celebrated Cardinal Richelieu, who was at that time the ruler of France, as the General of their Order, so that they might shelter themselves under his protection against the reforms which were being forced upon them. Even he, however, insisted upon the removal of the innumerable scandals which were rife among the monks; but before he could enforce corrective measures his death took place in the year 1642. Then the old abuses were revived and carried still further: the rule of the Order had become a dead letter; "and at last," says Helyot, "the vengeance of Heaven mowed down reformed and unreformed with the same sickle." It seemed as though any power of the Cistercian Order for good had altogether died out and vanished; "and when the French Revolution of 1789 came like a whirlwind, overthrowing all that bore the semblance of religion, there were but five-and-forty monks to be expelled by its violence from the once populous monastery of Clairvaux. The abbey was dismantled, of course. It is now used as a house of industry

for the reformation of criminals, two thousand prisoners being employed there in the manufacture of stuffs."[1]

[1] M. Wrench: Preface to "Translation of Neander's Life and Times of St. Bernard," p. xvi.

CHAPTER IV.

MONASTIC PROFESSION AND EARLY EXPERIENCES OF BERNARD.

The Cistercian novitiate—Formalities of entrance—Personal history of Bernard—His character and worldly prospects—His school career at Châtillon—Mental conflicts and indecision—His entrance at Cîteaux—His brothers, uncle, and relatives join him in the monastic career—State of society at that time—Usefulness of monasteries in that generation—Bernard's austerities—His appointment to be abbot.

BERNARD was now a novice,—that is, an applicant for admission to the monastery of Cîteaux. No one could become a monk without a year's probation, which was called the novitiate. It was by no means a matter of course that every one who offered was permitted even to begin this probation at all; and the permission was never given at the first time of asking. The rule directed that upon any one applying to be received no answer should be returned to his request, and that not until the fourth day should he be brought into the chapter-house where the whole of the brethren were assembled. Upon entering he was to prostrate himself before the lectern, which stood in the midst of the hall, and

wait to be questioned. The abbot inquired of him, "What seekest thou?" To which he replied, "God's mercy and yours." He was not even then admitted, but received a grave exhortation on the requirements of the rule, and the difficulty of fulfilling it. Then he was taken back to the guest-house, not being allowed to stay in the abbey, properly so-called, and it was not until the fourth day that he was permitted to put on the novice's habit and given a cell with the others. Then his year of probation began.[1]

It was through many mental conflicts that Bernard has reached this position. He was a young man upon whom the world was well disposed to smile; and he found it not altogether easy to give the world up. He is described as being at this time "a young man of remarkable grace and charm, but more of a spiritual than a physical kind, with an air of moral and intellectual distinction in his face; and in his eyes shone an angelic purity and dove-like simplicity. So great was the beauty of his nature that it showed itself by clear indications, and even the outward man was suffused with the grace and excellence of the inward. In body he was very slight and thin. His

[1] Monachus quis fieri volens, facta petitione, non nisi post quatuor dies ducatur in capitulum; qui dum adductus fuerit prosternat se ante analogium. [lectern] Interrogatus ab abbate, quid quaerat, respondeat, 'Misericordiam Dei et vestram' . . . . Tertio vere die ducatur in cellam novitiorum."—*Usus Ord. Cist.*, par. iv. cap. 103.

skin was very fine, and there was a faint colour in his cheeks, whither, whatever he had of natural heat, was drawn by continual meditation and the study of a sacred penitence. His hair was of the palest yellow, verging upon white, and his beard reddish and grizzled with white towards the end of his life.[1] His intellect was so quick and penetrating, and his industry so great, that the acquisition of knowledge required little effort from him. Already, at the great school at Châtillon, he had devoted himself with passionate energy to the study of the Latin language, the scholastic logic, and the pursuit of literature. He surpassed all his contemporaries at Châtillon by his poetical ability, as we learn from the statement of an opponent[2] at a later period. There could be no doubt that so distinguished a career at school gave promise of an equally distinguished pursuit of whatever profession he should determine upon. It was certain that the influence of his family, the renown in arms, and the confidential post in the service of the Duke, held by the Lord of Fontaines, his father, would obtain for him, if he should adopt a military career, speedy and honourable advancement; while, again, his brilliant talents and rapid acquisition of knowledge would assure to him success as a courtier, or in the profession of law, to which he might seem

1 "Life of St. Bernard," by Alan, Bishop of Auxerre, cap. v.

2 Berengarius of Poitiers, "Scholastici Apologeticus." See p. 40.

more adapted on account of his somewhat delicate frame and feeble health.

When the time arrived that Bernard must definitely adopt some profession, these various considerations caused a painful and long-continued indecision in his mind. On the one side were the pressing persuasions of his family, the advice of the friends of his own age, and the attraction of the world and of active life. On the other, the remembrance of his mother and the strong wishes which, as he was well aware, she had entertained that he should become a monk, combined with the dawning sense of a vocation from on high. A severe mental and spiritual conflict resulted from these opposing influences within him. He was profoundly unhappy; and though of a pious and sympathetic disposition from his childhood, his soul now seemed cold and hard. In later years he would sometimes refer to this period in preaching to his monks at Clairvaux. Thus he says in one place:—

"I am not ashamed to confess that often, and particularly at the commencement of my conversion, I experienced extreme coldness and hardness of heart. I sought after Him, whom in my soul I was desirous to love, who was able to restore warmth and life to my frozen heart; but no one came to my help to dissolve the icy torpor of my spiritual senses, and to bring on the warmth and fruitfulness of the spring. And thus my soul remained untouched and power-

less, a prey to hard and hopeless depression and dull discontent. *Who is able to abide this frost?* Then on a sudden, at a word, at the sight of some piously-minded person, or the remembrance of the dead, the Holy Spirit would breathe upon me, and the waters flow; then would tears be my portion day and night."[1]

So the months went on; as weary, pale, and undecided, Bernard paced the terraces, or sat in the old hall, at Fontaines. But during all those months his great purpose was doubtless crystallising slowly in his heart, unconsciously to himself. The decision came at last, and in this wise.

One day, after many months delay, he was riding across the country to visit his brothers, who were in the Duke's camp. It was springtime, and the Duke of Burgundy was besieging the castle of Grancé, and the brothers of Bernard were serving under him. During his solitary ride his anxieties pressed upon his mind more and more; and coming upon a church by the wayside as he rode, he dismounted, and knelt down within its walls to pray. There, as he was "stretching out his hands towards heaven, and pouring out his heart like water before the presence of the Lord his GOD,"[2] the spiritual strength which he needed came to him, and from that day he was determined, with

[1] "Sermons on the Canticles," xiv.

[2] William of St. Thierry, "Life," b. i. 9.

a purpose that never faltered, to give himself to GOD in the monastic life. Having once reached this resolve a wonderful calm spread over his soul; the peace and cheerfulness, to which he had been so long a stranger, came back like the sunshine; nor had he thenceforth any feeling of coldness or distrust, but pressed with steady steps towards the accomplishment of his pious purpose.

"Nor did he," continues his biographer, "turn a deaf ear to the voice of Him who declares: '*Let him that heareth say, Come*' (Rev. xxii. 17). For from that hour, like the fire which destroys the wood, and like the flame which consumes the mountains, first devouring everything at hand, and then passing on to things at a distance, so the fire which the Lord had sent into the heart of His servant, to waken a burning enthusiasm within him, urged him on to attempt the conversion, first, of his brothers, sparing only the youngest, who was not yet of an age for conversion, and the eldest, who was left for the consolation of their father; then he went on to his relatives, then to his companions and his friends, and to all whom he had the least hope of converting."[1]

His first convert was his uncle Gauldry, the Lord of the Château de Touillon, "a man of honour, and powerful in the world, and who had gained great

[1] William of St. Thierry, "Life," b. iii. 10. "Converting," here means persuading to adopt a monastic life.

renown in secular warfare." The war-worn knight and soldier was weary of the violence of campaigning, and gladly followed the example of his nephew in adopting a more peaceful career. Then Bartholomew, who was the youngest of his brothers but one, and not yet a knight, embraced the new life willingly and gladly. There was more difficulty in winning over Andrew, the brother next in age to himself, and who had just been knighted. He had not yet lost the feeling of the glamour and attractiveness of a warlike career, and resisted Bernard's persuasions, until suddenly he cried out, "I see my mother!" and explained that she had appeared to him in a vision, looking pleasantly at him in full approval of the purpose of her children. Then he, too, passed over to the side of his brothers; there remained now the eldest brother, Guy, who was already a knight high in rank, and much engaged in State affairs. He was also married, and had two little daughters, and he was naturally reluctant to abandon them in order to go into a monastery. To enthusiasm such as Bernard's, however, the responsibilities and pre-engagements, however sacred and binding, of those whom he desired to win over, were just obstacles to be cut down and cleared out of the way. His persuasions at length so wrought upon his brother's mind that he promised to undertake this new kind of life, on condition that his wife should

consent to his doing so. Bernard, with his usual robust confidence, at once predicted that the wife of Guy would either consent, or that she would speedily release him by dying. Whether this prediction contributed to its own fulfilment or not, we cannot presume to say, but the biographer relates that shortly afterwards the wife of Guy, who had, as he anticipated, absolutely refused to give up the husband to whom she was united in the bonds of deep affection, was taken with severe illness, and regarding this as an intimation of the will of God that she should do what she had previously refused, she sent for Bernard, and of her own accord gave her consent that her husband should enter a monastery with Bernard, she herself, with her children, also going into the convent of Lairé, near Dijon.

After Guy came Gerard, a noble knight of great warlike skill, and who was proud and fond of war in a degree which his brothers seem not to have been. Against his determination to remain as he was, the arguments and entreaties of Bernard fell blunted and unsuccessful, until at length Bernard said to him, "I see clearly that it is only bodily suffering that will induce you to give heed to my appeal." [1]

Then touching him on the side with his finger, he said: "A day will come, and quickly, too, when a

[1] "Sola vexatio intellectum dabit auditui." William, "Life,"

lance shall pierce thy side in this place, and shall open a way to thy heart for this counsel of salvation which now thou despisest. Then thou shalt experience the fear of death, but yet thou shalt not die." And thus, we are told, it fell out, for only a few days afterwards he was surrounded by enemies in a skirmish, and wounded with a lance in the side as his brother had predicted. Remembering this, he cried out in his fright as if he expected instant death, "A monk, I am a Cistercian monk." Nevertheless he was thrown into prison by his captors, but he succeeded in escaping after a time and joined his brothers in their enterprise. Five of the brothers were now together, and there remained only the youngest, Nivard, who was, as has been said, too young to become a monk, and who was to be left at home with his father He was playing in the castle court with other boys, when his brothers came through it to take their departure. "See, Nivard," said Guy, his eldest brother, to him, "all our lands will now fall to you alone." To which the boy (*non pueriliter motus*) replied:—"What, Heaven is to fall to you, and earth to me? That division is not fairly made."

Whether we are to accept the details thus given by the biographers as literally accurate may perhaps be doubtful. They show, at all events, the kind of reports that were generally current respecting the early years of Bernard, and were believed by those about him.

Nor need we be concerned to judge strictly the policy constantly adopted by him, of endeavouring to sweep all sorts and conditions of men, without distinction of circumstances, into the monastic net. Few were able to resist his energetic exhortations, when he pointed out with all the persuasiveness of the born orator, that the joys of the world were fleeting, the miseries of life constant and bitter, that death was certain and speedy, and that the life after death was everlasting, and must be passed in joys unceasing or eternity of woe.[1] So persuasive was his preaching in arousing an enthusiasm for the cloister, that "mothers hid their sons, wives their husbands, companions their friends," when he approached, lest they should fall under the spell of that constraining eloquence. To us who live in happier and more settled times, when the dominion of law is universally recognised, when even public war has its mitigations, its avoidance of needless cruelty, its rights of neutrals, its Geneva Cross universally privileged; and when the private wars, once the miserable privilege of every noble house, are altogether extinct, so that every man can "sit under his own vine and his own fig-tree, none making him afraid"; when, again, Christianity

[1] "Cum quibus de litteris sæculi, seu de sæculo ipso agere solebat, de seriis et conversione tractare: ostendens gaudia mundi fugitiva, vitæ miserias, celerem mortem, vitam post mortem, seu in bonis, seu in malis, perpetuam fore."—William, "Life," iii. 13.

has leavened law and society with its own principles of good faith and respect for the rights of others, it will be found somewhat hard to gain an adequate idea of what that society really was from which Bernard in his persuasive tones was calling men and women to come out. Violence, dishonesty, cruelty, almost beyond belief, was at that time well nigh universal; every one was slaying or being slain, plundering or being plundered. A fierce and lawless nobility found their only occupation in constant forays upon their neighbours. Everything was taken with the strong hand that the holders could not keep with the strong hand. The towns built up their walls, and castles their battlements, in the vain hope of securing to themselves safety—a safety which lasted only until the next siege of the town or castle. The armed parties of the robber-barons swept across the country and left a broad track of slaughtered men and burning homesteads behind them. It must have been a terrible world to live in, terrible even for the strong and brave, who were bound to grow savage and ruthless in a life of constant bloodshed, still more for the weak and helpless. In such a scene of violence, the one spot of peace and holiness, of organised industry and useful occupation, was the monastery. The convent won a certain degree of respect even from the ruthless freebooters of those days. Too often, indeed, even the asylum of the religious house was violated in the

lust of rapine; and the sun set upon smoking ruins and slaughtered monks; but, at least those bold, bad men reverenced the sanctity of the abbey more than they reverenced anything else; and where the silver chime of the convent bells rang out was a refuge for the fugitive, a hospice for the wayfarer, an asylum for the sick and the starving, such as no other spot was at that time able or willing to afford. Hundreds of abbeys there were which might have been the originals of such a description as this:—

"The abbey burst upon the sight, lying at the bottom of its deep dell, folded in from the world. Long before the traveller came upon it, as he was winding down the successive steeps, it announced its presence by its sweet bells, and great was the joy of the tired wayfarer when it lay before him with its cloistered quadrangle, and over the long roof of the refectory and dormitory rose the lofty church, with its light lancet windows, towering over all.[1] Beautiful it was in all the graceful and disciplined animation of monastic life; its white monks issuing from its gates in their hooded riding-mantles, to go to some distant grange, or working all together in a line on the hanging steeps; while the mill was heard, its wheel turning merrily amidst the splashing waters of the

1 "Lives of Cistercian Saints," St. Aelred, p. 51. The description is of Rievaulx Abbey.

mountain-stream, which dashed along its pebbly bed at the bottom of the dell."

The transition, therefore, from the struggling, cruel, godless world to the peaceful, industrious, pious cloister, must have seemed to many like a change from darkness to light, from barbarism to culture and civilisation,—nay, even as from earth to heaven. Thus, as we know, it did to Bernard, and if, in the ardour of his enthusiasm, he suffered scarcely any consideration to interfere with the paramount necessity, as he saw it, to rescue individuals out of the heaving, defiled, miserable mass of tortured humanity, nto a sphere of comparative purity and happiness; if he suffered scarcely any obstacle to defeat his endeavours; if he broke asunder the closest relations, and separated husband from wife and wife from husband, father from child, and child from father, in a manner which would not be permissible in less tragic times, we can see the reason by which he was influenced, and which goes far to excuse, if it does not wholly justify, the action he took.

At length the number of his companions, mostly young men of noble birth, had reached thirty, and with these, in the year 1113, he proceeded to ask admission to Citeaux, as we have related in the last chapter. As a novice he was distinguished by his humility, fervour, and the unswerving purpose with which he pursued the object of his life. Frequently,

in order to animate his flagging energies, he would repeat to himself, "Bernard, wherefore hast thou come hither?"[1]

Most of all he was remarkable for the severity of his mortifications. They were not wise; wisdom could hardly be expected at his years; they were indeed the very reverse of wise. But he had not invented them or devised them,—they were the ruling ideas of his time, and he had learned to believe that only in this way could he mortify and kill all evil passions within him, and develop in himself the image of GOD. His object was to subdue "not only the desires which come through the senses, but also the very senses themselves."[2] As he began to feel the ardours of divine love stirring in his soul, he found the influence of his bodily senses more and more an interruption to his spiritual impressions; and, refraining from giving any thought or attention to things around him, more than was absolutely necessary, he would remain for many hours in ecstatic contemplation. "Occupied entirely by the Spirit, all his hopes and desires, all his memory and thoughts were absorbed in GOD; he saw without seeing, he heard without hearing, he did not distinguish any taste in what he ate, nor scarcely perceived anything by any of his bodily senses." After he had passed a whole year in the Chamber of the

[1] Bernarde ad quid venisti? [2] "Life," iv. 20.

Novices, he was unable to give any description of the moulding of its roof; and, though he had so frequently come and gone in and out of the church, he was not aware that there were three windows in the gable of it,—he had thought there was but one! As for food, he soon lost all desire for it,—the thought of taking food became painful to him. As regarded sleep, it was his rule not to pass quite the whole night without it. "From the time that he entered into religion (that is, when he became an inmate of Cîteaux) up to the present day," says his biographer (who wrote while he was yet living), "Bernard has prolonged his vigils almost beyond the limit of human powers: he is in the habit of lamenting that, for him, the time given to sleep is time lost, and that nothing resembles death so much as sleep."[1] He ate little and slept little, and he was continually striving to make that little less. Such excessive and inhuman severities soon brought about their own penalty. He gradually fell into such a weakness of stomach that he was unable to retain food: "His stomach was in such a bad state that it usually threw back, without digesting, the food which he swallowed; the intestines were in as bad a condition as the stomach, and whatever food was digested and passed into them caused him violent pains. The little which was retained formed the

[1] William, "Life," b. iv. 21.

sole nourishment of his body, and sufficed less to sustain life than just to defer death."

It is impossible not to blame Bernard for an excess of severity towards himself which was as really wrong as an excess of luxury would have been. But we must remember that such were the religious methods of the time. If it was an error, as no doubt it was, it was one which few persons would be likely to make, and it is certain that Bernard had to pay the penalty for it in weakened health throughout the rest of his life. In such exercises the twelve months of his novitiate wore away, and in April, 1114, Bernard and his former companions took the definitive vows of the Order, side by side. We are told that his example, more powerful even than his preaching, had already begun to draw to Cîteaux a great number of applicants for admission. A continuous stream of candidates, the greater number of them of noble birth, knocked day by day at the doors of the monastery, and it soon became so full that the abbot was obliged to adopt the usual expedient when a community had more members than it could well accommodate, viz., to send out small parties of brethren (generally twelve in number), under the guidance of a superior who was made their abbot, to found colonies, or daughter houses, at some distance. Such a colony was therefore sent forth to La Ferté (Firmitas) under a brother named Bertrand; and this was followed by

a second under Hugo of Macon, Bernard's oldest friend. This latter was fixed at Pontigny, in the diocese of Auxerre, upon lands given by Heribert, a canon of Auxerre, and with the approval of Hervey, Count of Nevers, the temporal lord. In the following year, as the stream of new entries had again more than filled the vacant places left by these drafts, and a third swarming became necessary, Abbot Stephen was informed of a marshy and almost inaccessible district in the diocese of Langres, and in the county of Champagne, belonging to Hugo, Count of Troyes, upon which leave might no doubt be obtained for a colony of the Cistercians to settle. Apart from the belief in this century, that the founding of monasteries was one of the best and most meritorious of good works which any one could perform, temporal lords were nearly always willing and desirous to make grants of lands to monks, because they were, at that time, the most powerful and intelligent agents of growing civilisation. Upon taking possession of a district they would clear the overgrown forest, drain the marshes, and introduce able and scientific cultivation of the lands. Harvests soon grew where none had ever grown before, and order and peace and fruitfulness transformed and enriched the district; so that the lord of it was repaid tenfold in the additional value given to his surrounding lands for the appanage bestowed upon the monks. Therefore it was

that a proposal to settle in some wild part of his vast estates was always welcome to a great noble. Abbot Stephen then directed Bernard, who, although so young, had been chosen as the leader of the new enterprise, to proceed with the twelve brethren put under his guidance to the site of the new settlement.

"When," says the Cistercian Chronicle, "Bernard and his twelve monks silently took their departure from the church, you might have seen tears in the eyes of all present, while nothing was to be heard but the voices of those who were singing the hymns; and even those brethren could not repress their sobs, in spite of that sense of religion which led them to make the strongest efforts to command their feelings. Those who remained and those who departed were all involved in one common sorrow, till the procession reached that gate which was to open for some and to close upon the rest."[1]

We can easily believe that it was a sad day for the inmates of Cîteaux when they parted from Bernard, whose sympathetic nature and wonderful personal charm, not to speak of the fact that by leading thither his party of thirty recruits two years before, he had been, humanly speaking, the means of saving the institution from becoming extinct, must have rendered him dear to all. The abbey owed him much; and it is thus that we must account for

[1] "Annal. Cisterc.," i. *n.* 6, 7, p. 79.

his early advancement to the responsible post of abbot. He might have founded a house of his own; he had not done so: but instead of that had brought his personal followers to reinforce a house on the point of dying from inanition, and had himself submitted to its training. Humility and unworldliness were two of the chiefest monastic virtues; and Bernard had in this manner displayed them in a very high degree. He was thus considered, it is likely, to have earned his promotion; and was sent out thus soon at the head of his party of twelve. The monastic theory was that the twelve monks represented the twelve Apostles, and the abbot their leader, Christ. Bernard's new community was, to a large extent, a family party. His four brothers, his uncle Gauldry, his young cousin Robert, two brethren named Godfrey, of whom one was also a relative, another named Gauthier, and Elbold, who was of mature age, all formed part of it. Bernard struck northward (or rather in a N.N.W. direction) from Cîteaux. It was a district he knew well, for on the edge of it lay Châtillon, and at the school there he had, it will be remembered, spent some years. But he went on farther still until they reached the settlement of the previous year, La Ferté, which was by this time, we may conjecture, getting over its first difficulties, and there they would halt for the night. Of the other stages of their journey we know nothing.

But here at last they learned where was the site of their new enterprise. It was a deep valley opening to the east, traversed by the river Aube, which rendered it marshy, and surrounded on all sides by thick forest country. A large part of its surface was covered with stunted bushes of wormwood, which gave to it its somewhat ill-omened name *Vallée d'Absinthe*, the Valley of Wormwood.

They reached this place some time during the month of June, A.D. 1115.

CHAPTER V.

BERNARD AS AN ABBOT.

Settlement at Clairvaux—Early difficulties of Bernard and his companions—Their privations—The distress and hopelessness of the monks, and help afforded them—Ordination of Bernard—His mission-preaching—Influx of disciples—The friendship between him and Bishop William de Champeaux—Illness of Bernard—His retirement from active duty—His commentary on the Song of Solomon—Entrance into Clairvaux of his father, Tescelin—Death of the latter—Description of the life at Clairvaux.

WHEN Bernard and his monks took up their abode in the Valley of Wormwood, it was towards the end of June: the hot early summer of the east of France. To bivouac under huts of branches for a few weeks was a trifling hardship at that time of year; or, rather, it was no hardship at all, compared to what monks of that stamp and in that age always held themselves prepared to endure; and they set themselves with good heart to the first necessary task—the building of a house to shelter them from the winter cold, which would in a few months be upon them. The matter was a good deal simplified in the way they looked upon it. Every

Cistercian monastery was arranged upon a prescribed plan in essential points; and all necessary details and instructions they would bring with them from Cîteaux. They had no architect's plans, therefore, nor contractor's estimates, to wait for. The timber needful could be cut out of the neighbouring forest; the bricks made and burned on the spot; while the roof was probably a thatch of rushes or straw. The building which Bernard and his companions raised with their own hands was preserved as a pious memorial of them for many years afterwards. It consisted of a dwelling covered by a single roof, under which a simple oratory, refectory, or living-room, and dormitory were all included. The bare earth served for a floor, and above the living-room was the loft, reached by a ladder, in which the monks slept. Their beds were nothing more than long shallow boxes of planks with, on one side, a space roughly sawn out for the occupant to get in and out; these were filled with straw or dried leaves, which they used in place of beds of feathers.[1] The building was lighted with windows, scarcely wider than a man's hand (*palma non majoribus fenestris*). Thus the brethren had a roof, though a humble one, to shelter them; and the strong hopefulness of their young abbot forthwith replaced the old ill-omened name of the

[1] "Loco plumarum stramine . . . . aut aridis arborum foliis . . . . utebantur."—Meglinger, "Iter," c. 66.

valley by that name which afterwards grew so familiar to men's ears, Clairvaux—the *Bright Valley*.

During these first few weeks the country people had taken lively interest in the new settlers among them, and their building operations, and had not failed to supply them with needful food. But as the novelty wore off, the supplies brought in from this source gradually grew less and less. Hitherto, the brethren had been fully occupied with the erection of their monastic buildings, and with the preliminary clearing of the ground, so that they had had no means of providing for their own maintenance, added to which their settlement had not been made until after the season for sowing. Thus they were reduced, by degrees, to great straits. It was with extreme difficulty that they obtained a small supply of barley and millet with which they made black bread. This, with a kind of soup of beech leaves, which they made with salt and water, formed their only sustenance during that first bitter winter. The biographer gives a number of stories which illustrate the endurance of the brethren as well as the strong faith and hopeful nature of Bernard.

Thus, one day, we are told, their supply of salt was exhausted. Bernard said to one of the brethren, "Guibert, my son, take the ass, go to the market, and buy us some salt." Guibert replied, "Where is the money to pay for it?" The man of GOD made

answer, "Believe me, my son, I do not know when I had gold or silver, nor when I shall have any; my treasures are in the hand of GOD." Then the monk smiled, and, looking at Bernard, said, "If I go with empty hands I shall return with them empty." "Go, nevertheless," replied Bernard, "and go with confidence; for I repeat to you that He in whose hands are my treasures will be with you on the road, and will supply you with what is necessary." Upon that, the brother, having received the benediction of his abbot, did as he was bidden, proceeded to the market, which was held under the walls of the castle named Risnel. Now this brother was more unbelieving than he ought to have been,[1] but GOD, in His love and mercy, did not regard the man's unbelief, but rather the faith of his servant Bernard, and supplied him with all the help he had been sent out to obtain. For, when he was drawing near the castle, he met a certain priest, who saluted him, saying, "Where are you from, brother, and where are you going?" Guibert told his errand, and made known the extreme poverty of his convent, which so touched the charitable priest that he took the brother to his house, and there bestowed upon him half a bushel of salt, as the same Guibert was accustomed to relate, and more than fifty shillings. Then he began to give earnest thanks to GOD, and to say in his own mind,

[1] "Plus quam oportet incredulus."

"Without doubt what my father said to me was true, and I did very wrong in disbelieving him." Returning to the convent he related what had happened to him on the way. To whom the holy father said, "I tell you, my son, that nothing is so necessary to every Christian as faith. Have faith, then, and it shall be well with you all the days of your life." And from that day forward both that brother, as well as the others, held the words of the holy father in very great reverence.[1] Another time "they had a visit," says the same writer, "from a monk of Pré-Clément, whom they received as honourably as they could; that is, they offered to him the half of a loaf made of oatmeal, which was all they had at hand. He received it with great surprise that men could exist upon such provision, carried it away to his own monastery, where he related to all his brethren how great were the privations which those servants of Christ endured voluntarily; how remarkable their patience under their privations, and their wonderful liberality out of their poverty. All the brethren of Pré-Clément were touched at the recital, and resolved to send aid to those of Clairvaux. The abbot of that monastery, named Odo, a venerable man, equally dear to GOD and to men, loaded several horses and asses with loaves, and other provisions in a cart, and sent them to Clairvaux. From that time, even to this day, so

[1] John Eremita, "Life," b. ii. 3.

close was the union and brotherly friendship between Clairvaux and Pré-Clément, that the brothers of the latter were received at Clairvaux as if they had been spiritually and physically members of that house; and in case of death the members of each house were entitled to the ministrations of the others."

Notwithstanding such occasional assistance, the sufferings of the brethren from cold and hunger were very great, and almost overcame their fortitude. "Constrained by cold, hunger, and many other necessities, they began to complain to their abbot, saying to him that they were obliged to depart from the convent by their excessive poverty and want of all things. He consoled them with gentle and kindly words, and strove to encourage them and arouse hope again in their minds. But they, rendered desperate by hunger and other pains, took no heed of his words, but wished rather to return to Cîteaux. And when the man of GOD saw their despair, he had nothing to do but betake himself to prayer to GOD; and when he had done this he heard a voice from Heaven saying to him before them all, 'Rise, Bernard, thy prayer is heard.' The brethren hearing this wondered, and glorified GOD, saying to Bernard, 'Tell us, father, what did you ask of the Lord?' But he replied, 'Why do you wish to know, O ye of little faith? Stay here and ye shall know later on.'

[1] John Eremita, "Life," b. ii. 4.

And even while they were talking to each other came a certain man and offered to the holy father ten livres. At the same instant an inhabitant of Bar came and brought to him a present of thirteen livres, and begged him to have pity upon his son, who was at the last extremity of illness. Whom the abbot sent back with joy in his heart, assuring him that he should find his son restored when he reached home, which accordingly he found as Bernard had promised, and for this cause he afterwards performed many acts of gratitude to the holy man." [1]

Such stories might be indefinitely multiplied. But it is sufficient to infer that by help from various quarters, and by the exercise of extreme patience and endurance on the part of all, the infant settlement was enabled to tide over this period of preliminary difficulty. After this the monks would be enabled to cultivate their lands, and thus provide for their simple wants. There seems to have been some want of good management in so sending them out that they had no opportunity of doing so the first year. Before the winter set in it had been the duty of Bernard to receive holy orders as abbot. The valley of Clairvaux was in the diocese of Langres,

[1] John Eremita, "Life," b. ii. 5. Here and elsewhere we quote these contemporary stories, as requisite to give the proper local colour to the narrative, but without claiming for them an historical character.

but that see was just then vacant, and Bernard was obliged to apply for ordination to another prelate in the neighbourhood, William de Champeaux, Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne. He took with him one of his monks, named Elbold, who happened to be a particularly tall and handsome man, in strong contrast to Bernard himself; and on their arrival at the bishop's house, some of the inmates were inclined to suppose that he must be the superior, and the other his attendant. "They saw enter the bishop's house a young monk, his body emaciated and almost looking stricken for death, his habit worn and ragged, followed by another, an older man, tall, powerful, and well looking; and some began to laugh and others to ridicule, though most formed a sounder judgment of the matter." The bishop, at all events, without inquiring which of the two was the abbot, as soon as he saw Bernard, "being a servant of God, recognised him as being one likewise," [1] and received him accordingly. In his first interview with his young visitor, the careful and guarded way in which the latter expressed himself, and much more the tone and manner of his discourse, assured him that he had before him a man of no ordinary character and powers. Bernard was ordained; and was then induced to remain for a short visit. During this time further and more familiar conversation confirmed this

[1] William, "Life," vii. 31.

favourable impression; and the foundation was laid of a friendship which lasted all their lives.

With the growth in prosperity of the institution under his charge, Bernard had greater leisure to respond to the invitations which he speedily received from the bishop, to preach in the churches of his diocese. "These missions," we are told, "soon exercised a remarkable influence." The people flocked to hear the sermons of the young and gifted preacher, and his personal charm, as well as the invitations which no doubt he offered to them to embrace the monastic vocation, proved so powerful that many illustrious laymen, and even some priests, not content with reforming their lives, yielded to the exhortations of the preacher, and followed him into the desert of Clairvaux. Among the more notable of these disciples are named the learned Roger, who became later on Abbot of Trois Fontaines, Humbert, Rainald, Peter of Toulouse, Odo, who afterwards became Sub-Prior of Clairvaux, and many canons of Châlons and Auxerre. The celebrated Stephen of Vitry, came to put himself under the direction of Bernard, and to become a novice at Clairvaux, to the great astonishment of the world; but he was the only one of the new converts who did not persevere.

So close and intimate was the friendship between Bishop William and Bernard, that "they were of one heart and one soul in the Lord; and so frequent

were his visits to Clairvaux, that it became, as it were, another abode for the bishop, while not only the bishop's house in Châlons-sur-Marne, but the whole town became, by his means, the familiar resort of the monks of Clairvaux."[1]

Bernard was also now able to organise completely his charge, and to put the Rule of Citeaux in full activity. He named as prior, Gauthier, whom Abbot Stephen had particularly pointed out for that office; to his brother Gerard he gave the office of cellarer, and another brother, Andrew, was given charge of the door, which was, in an institution of this kind, an important one.[2]

These happy prospects of usefulness were, however, speedily clouded over by the alarming state of Bernard's health. For some time, being now free to resume his austerities at his own will, he had carried them again to such a point of severity that his infirmities were more and more aggravated, so as to become alarming; while at the same time his labours in missions, continual preaching and teaching, into which he threw himself with all the strength of his emotions, still further wasted his powers, until they gave way altogether, and towards the end of the year 1116 nothing seemed to be left to him but "speedy death, or a life that was worse than death." Just at

[1] William, "Life," c. vii. 31.

[2] Ratisbonne, "Histoire," vol. i. p. 123.

that time Bishop William came to pay him a visit, and found the whole convent in distress at the condition of its abbot. After seeing him, however, he saw reason to hope that a less severe manner of life, accompanied by repose and care, might be capable of restoring health to a man of so great value. It was necessary to act promptly, and as it so happened that the annual Chapter of the Cistercian Order was then sitting, he hastened thither, and "prostrating himself before them with a humility worthy of a bishop, and with a charity truly sacerdotal, demanded and obtained that Bernard should be committed for one year to his charge, and the obligation to obey transferred to him." [1]

Returning then from Cîteaux, the pious and friendly prelate caused Bernard to be at once relieved of all charge of the affairs of the abbey; he then directed a small cottage to be erected for him outside the enclosure (*claustrum*), transferred the sick man thither, and gave him into the charge of a physician whom he found for him, whose directions he obliged Bernard upon his obedience to obey implicitly. The biographers speak of this man as ignorant and tyrannical ("*quodam homine rusticano et vano nihil prorsus sciente*"), and give some

William, "Life," vii. 32. "What was it possible to refuse," continues the narrator, "to a humility so great in a rank so elevated?"

details, possibly exaggerated, of the kind of food upon which this physician fed his patient. But it is, on the whole, incredible that he could possibly eat raw blood in place of butter, or drink oil given him for water, and not know the difference; the more especially as he declared himself that "water was the only thing he was able to taste, and that it gave a sensation of freshness and coolness to his fevered mouth and throat."[1]

However this may have been, during the twelve months that he remained in this exile, as he regarded it, he regained his strength by little and little, and at length became convalescent.

"It was at this time," says his biographer, William of St. Thierry, from whom we have already quoted so much, "that I commenced to frequent Clairvaux, and to visit its abbot. Having come to see him, in company with another abbot, I was allowed to enter his little cabin, which was similar to those which it is customary to erect for lepers at the cross roads. He was there, under obedience, and according to the order of the Bishop of Châlons, as I have said above, enjoying complete repose, and happy as if he tasted the delights of Paradise. So greatly was I struck with the living sweetness of that great man that I conceived a strong desire to remain with him in order to wait upon him and share his poverty and

[1] William, "Life," vii. 33.

simple life. He greeted us with gracious kindness, and we inquired how he did, and how he lived in his retreat. He replied, with the smile which was habitual with him: 'I am well. I am perfectly well. Up to the present I have been obeyed by reasonable men; but now, by the just judgment of GOD, I find myself constrained to obey a man unreasonable as a beast.'"

It is a pleasing picture which William gives of the sick man in his solitude:—"He did not live alone, because GOD was with him, and the guardianship and consolation of the holy angels, which was shown by plain indications; for one night, when he had prayed with extraordinary fervour, and had spread forth his soul before GOD, he heard a sweet harmony of voices singing, and, being in a light sleep, he was awakened by a sound, as it were, of voices and of a great multitude passing by. Rising, then, he went out of his cabin and followed the voices. Not far from there was a thicket, then closely covered with thorns and brambles, but now in a far different state. Above this he heard choirs singing alternately and replying to each other, and the holy man took delight in their sweet chants. But the mystery of the vision was not explained until many years afterwards, when the buildings of the monastery were removed, and the chapel was erected on the very place where he had heard those voices.[1]

[1] William, "Life," vii. 34.

It was about this time that Sir Tescelin de Fontaines adopted the monastic life also. All his sons had left him; for even the youngest, Nivard, seems to have followed his brothers into the cloister; and his only daughter, Hombeline, was married. The old warrior and statesman was weary of affairs. It was long since his sweet and pious wife, Alith, had passed away. The old man was lonely in his great castle. It was no hardship to him to lay down the helmet for ever and to put on the cowl. He had always been a lover of religion and of good men, and he made up his mind to be reunited, in the only way in which it was possible, to his boys, by coming to die at Clairvaux. As frequently happens in the case of so great a change of life, it was not long before a greater change came. In the following spring, as it seems, the 11th of April, he, too, passed away.[1]

It was during this period of enforced inactivity that he began the correspondence which afterwards became so enormous. Much of his time was also naturally spent in study, and particularly in that of the Holy Scriptures. He was sometimes heard to

[1] This is the entry of his death in the necrology (Register of Deaths) of the Church of St. Benignus at Dijon, where his good wife had been buried many years before:—"On the 11th April died Tescelin, a monk, the father of Dom Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux." At a later period the remains of Alith were also translated as those of a saint, and deposited at Clairvaux likewise.

lament the frequency of interruptions, when his health began to admit of them, but he would instantly recall the sentiment, remarking "that the flame of divine love was not given for our own solitary advantage, but for the enlightening of our neighbour also, and that thus to use it was the most acceptable way of serving GOD, and imitating the LORD JESUS."

It was during this period, also, that he began his famous sermons upon the Song of Solomon (*In Cantica*), and it would almost seem that his biographer, William of St. Thierry, was the first who wrote them down, for he says, "At my desire and request he explained to me the Canticles, as long as my illness allowed him to go on, in its moral sense only, and without touching upon the mysteries hidden in the book. Every day, for fear of forgetting what he had said to me, I wrote it down as well as GOD permitted me to do, and as my memory recalled the words. In this exposition he acted kindly and considerately for my benefit, communicating to me the views and explanations which his genius and experience suggested, and strove to instruct my inexperience in many things, which of itself it was not capable of acquiring. I was not able then to comprehend all that he brought before me; but yet he caused me to understand much more than I had done before, even when I could not gain complete understanding.[1]

[1] William, "Life," chap. xii. 59.

It was at the commencement of the year 1118 that Bernard, although still weak, re-entered upon his functions as abbot. Throughout the rest of his life, indeed, he remained weak in body, even when his spirit, as it were, almost freed from material restraints, was exerting itself with more and more power. It was hard for those before him to understand how a form so frail should be capable of such marvellous activity, of industry so constant and prodigious, of a voice so powerful and reverberating. Under the powerful impulse which he gave to his charge the institution soon gained a high reputation. The ardent zeal of their chief communicated itself to the numerous disciples who soon gathered around him. Their obedience and docility, the regularity of their life, and their active usefulness offered the spectator an example more and more edifying day by day. "That was," says his biographer enthusiastically, "the golden age of Clairvaux. Men of piety, men formerly rich and honoured in the world, but then glorying in poverty for Christ, laboured to plant the Church of GOD by their trials and renunciations, thus preparing for Clairvaux the peace and prosperity which it enjoys to-day. To those who descended the hill and entered the valley the work of GOD was apparent at the first glance; and the valley itself, in the simplicity and lowliness of the buildings which occupied it, was a silent witness of the simple and humble

life of the poor in Christ who dwelt in it. There was a valley in which, though full of men, no one was permitted to be idle; all were engaged in labour according to the directions given to them; and even at midday there was a silence like that of midnight, broken only by the sounds of labour, or when the brethren were occupied in the praises of GOD." [1]

Another witness speaks with equal admiration of the conduct of the brethren with special reference to their devotions. Peter de Roya, a young man who was a visitor at the abbey, writes thus to his patron the Provost of Noyon:—

"A multitude of men are assembled there, who although from different countries are of one heart and one soul. There they taste without ceasing spiritual joys, in the contemplation of that eternal blessedness of which they seem to have already a foretaste. Their recollectedness and attention during prayer, and their posture of humility, show with what fervour and sincerity of spirit they lift up their soul to GOD, with whom they strive for a union ineffable. The long pauses that they make from time to time in their Offices during the hours of the night; the manner in which they recite the Psalms and meditate upon the Holy Scripture; the profound silence which they maintain in order that they may listen to the secret teaching of GOD, all indicate their inward

[1] William, "Life," b. i. 35.

blessedness of soul. As I watched them singing without fatigue from midnight to dawn of day, with only a brief interval, they appear less indeed than the angels but much more than men . . . . What a wonderful sight it is to see them, when they labour in the fields! At the hours when the community goes out to work and returns from it, they march with simplicity one after another, like a disciplined army. During their manual labour, so patiently and placidly with such quiet countenances, in such sweet and affecting order, do they perform all things, that although they have many labours and fatigues, they endure them with so much patience that they seem to feel no weariness. Whence it is manifest that the Holy Spirit, who disposeth all things with sweetness, fortifies them by the unction of His grace, and that they are refreshed in Him." [1]

Such is the report given by eye-witnesses of the Abbey of Clairvaux in the year 1118.

[1] Letter of Peter de Roya: St. Bernard, "Works," p. 806.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REFORM AMONG THE HIGHER CLERGY.—BERNARD'S ENTRANCE INTO PUBLIC LIFE.

Reform in the Abbey of the Alps—The Order of Cluny—Its riches and splendour, and the luxury among its monks—Bernard's hostility to these abuses—The "Apology to Abbot William"—Remarkable conversion of Abbot Suger; of Henry, Archbishop of Sens—The Treatise on the character and office of Bishops—Conversion of Stephen, Bishop of Paris, and his departure from the Court—Anger of Louis VI.—Interposition of Bernard and the Cistercian Order—His prediction of the calamity to fall upon the King—His intercession for Humbert.

BERNARD was now fairly launched upon his career; and for eight or nine years he quietly, but untiringly, worked on in the training of his monks, in preaching the wonderful and heart-stirring sermons which quickly made him known as the most splendid orator of his age, in keeping up a correspondence, which was yearly growing more extensive, with the wide circle of persons of mark in Church and State by whom he was consulted upon a great variety of subjects; and lastly, in his studies and the writing of his sermons and treatises. He was never again able to resume those early austerities which had nearly

brought him to the grave; his health had been too fatally injured to allow him ever to be more than a valetudinarian. Writing to Cardinal Matthew he described his body as "burned up by the heats of an acute and violent fever, and exhausted by sweats, so that it was too weak to carry out the impulse of the spirit" (Letter xxi., vol. i. p. 186 of the English edition); and to another Bernard, the prior of Portes, he declares himself only a monk in name, since he was so unequal to the severities of his profession:—"I am indeed a kind of chimera, and bear myself neither as a cleric nor yet as a layman. I still wear the habit of a monk, but I have long since been forced to put off the mode of life of one." (Letter 250.) He held on to life, as it were, by a thread; but this did not prevent that tireless activity of occupation which enabled him "in a short time to fulfil a long time," and to produce the remarkable effect he did upon the men of his generation.

We can trace in his letters the energetic efforts which he made to arouse abbots, monasteries, and canons regular to the perception of a higher standard of life and duty, and to encourage those who had already begun to reform themselves and their houses from the prevalent laxity and coldness in religion. Thus he writes to Guarine, the aged Abbot of St. Mary of the Alps ("Abbas Alpensis," ep. 254. The abbey was united to the Cistercian Order in

1136):—"I find that to be true of you, which I recollect that I have read in Holy Scripture, *when a man has been perfected, then only he begins.* Rest is due to you in your old age. You have won your crown, and lo! like some new soldier of Christ, you are stirring up opposition for yourself afresh; you are provoking the adversary, and though a weary old man, you are taking on you the part of the strong, by compelling the enemy to renew the conflict against his will. . . . There is no fear that the enemy will overcome one who has not yielded to old age. The mind is stronger than time, and even while the body is growing cold in death a holy zeal glows in the heart, and while the limbs grow helpless, the vigour of the will remains unimpaired, and the ardent spirit feels not the weakness of the wrinkled flesh.

"Do not put any limits, then, O Christian souls, to your spiritual course, short of those which JESUS CHRIST set to His own earthly trial. *He was obedient,* says the Apostle, *even unto death.* Thus, whatever course you have followed during your life, if you do not follow it until death, you will not obtain the prize. Your recompense will be JESUS CHRIST Himself. If you cease your endeavours and stop while He continues to proceed, you will never draw any nearer to Him, but will, instead, fall more and more behind. To cease to advance in goodness is to give up the hope of perfection. Not to wish to advance

is to lose ground, and even to turn backwards . . . . Jacob saw a ladder, and on the ladder a multitude of angels; but none of those celestial spirits were in a state of inactivity; they were either ascending or descending. And here is a lesson for us in this mortal life, in which there is no middle course between gaining and losing, advancing or retreating, rising or falling. As our bodies themselves grow or diminish gradually, so our souls either increase or diminish in virtue."

In this way Bernard, by his earnest and pious exhortations, gradually opened the minds of his brethren to more adequate views of duty and religion, and the sympathy and gentleness with which his admonitions were adapted to the mental and spiritual condition of the recipient, enabled him to win all sorts and conditions of men without offending any.

He set his face strongly against the laxity in the performance of duty, and the increased and increasing luxury, prevalent in the monasteries. His controversy upon these subjects with the monks of Cluny has many striking passages. A succession of able and pious abbots had raised the Abbey of Cluny to the very head of the monasteries of the West. It had become like a small sovereignty, and its head maintained almost royal state. King Louis VI. called it the "noblest member of his realm." When

the monks were assembled in Chapter, they were as many as three thousand in number. The Abbot of Cluny had, by solemn grant of Pope Calixtus II., the rank and privileges of a cardinal, *ex officio*, and was exempt from all spiritual jurisdiction but that of the Pope. He had the power, belonging only to the great feudatories of the Crown, to coin money, which should be current anywhere in his extensive domains. The revenues of the abbey were enormous, and in its best days were nobly expended. They provided food, clothing, and medical attendance for almost all the poor of the entire district; and we have it from the pen of an eye-witness that in the year in which he was writing doles had been distributed to a total number of 17,000 necessitous persons.[1]

Unfortunately, in the train of all this state and opulence came a degree of personal display and luxury, and a laxity in the fulfilment of their obligations to the rule of St. Benedict, which seemed to Bernard nothing less than scandalous. "Holy men instituted the rule of Cluny," he writes, "and it is easy to comprehend that without abrogating it they softened the strictness of it in favour of the weak, so as to put it into the power of the greatest possible number of persons to derive advantage from it. But I can by no means believe that they have authorised, not to

[1] Udalric, "Antiquior. Consuetud. Cluniacen. Monast.," b. iii. c. 24.

say prescribed, all the superfluities which I remark in many monasteries; and I ask, with astonishment, whence comes such intemperance in eating and drinking among monks, so much luxury in their dress and in their couches, their horse furniture, and in the construction of their buildings; so that a monastery is regarded as more pious, and the rule is thought to be observed with the greater fidelity where these things are provided in a more profuse, luxurious, and costly manner. Economy they call avarice, temperance they regard as austerity, and silence as gloom; while, on the contrary, laxity is called discretion, wastefulness liberality, talkativeness affability, unrestrained laughter gaiety, coxcombry in dress and display in horse furniture dignity, fastidious nicety in sleeping accommodation cleanliness, and to be careful and officious about these things for another person is called charity."

No less a degree of luxury, he complains, is apparent in the food and drink of these monks:—

"At dinner one course is heaped upon another; and in place of flesh meat, from which they still abstain, large and fine fish are offered in double quantity. When you are already satiated with the former dainties, if you taste the latter, it will seem that you have not yet eaten anything; for the cooks prepare everything with so much art and skill that, though four or five courses have already been de-

voured, the first is no hindrance to the last, nor does satiety interfere with appetite. The palate, stimulated with new condiments, forgets what it has already tasted; and the stomach continues to be filled as if it were still fasting. . . . . Who, for instance, can describe the numerous ways in which eggs are dressed, or with what art they are beaten and mixed up, softened in water, or hardened and cut into pieces; or served fried, roasted, stuffed, alone or mixed with other things? Why all this variety, if not to prevent satiety?"

Then he goes on, at greater length than we can follow, to censure the luxury and display in dress of the monks, the splendour and costly equipages of the abbots, and the enormous trains of horsemen maintained by them: lastly, he comes to the prevailing sumptuousness in churches. It must be borne in mind that Bernard was, personally, a Puritan of the Puritans in this, as in all other things, and that the Cistercian Order was founded professedly (as we have seen in an earlier chapter) as a protest against contemporary excesses in these directions:—

But these are small matters: let us come to greater abuses, which, perhaps, seem less because they are so common. I pass over the immense height and immoderate length of their churches, their unnecessary breadth, the costly polishing [of the marbles with which they are lined], and the elaborate painting

of their interiors, which attract the eyes of the worshippers, but hinder their devotions, and somehow remind me of the ancient ritual of the Jews. But let all these things pass; let us suppose that they are (as we are told) to the glory of God. But as a monk myself, I ask other monks that question with which a pagan once blamed other pagans:—

"'*Tell me, O Pontiffs* (*vowed to poverty*), *what does gold do in a holy place?*'[1]

"The case of bishops is different from that of monks. For we know that, as they are debtors to the wise and also to the unwise, when they cannot arouse the sense of devotion in the carnal multitude by spiritual means, they must do it by splendid ornaments which are attractive to the bodily senses. But we who have come out from among the people; we who have renounced for the sake of Christ whatsoever is costly and beautiful in the world; we who have regarded all things beautiful to the eye, pleasant to the ear, agreeable to the smell, sweet to the taste, or pleasing to the touch; all things, in one word, in which the bodily senses delight, as the filth of the dunghill, that we may win Christ: whose devotion, I pray you, among us, do we propose to excite by such means? What advantage do we look for from these things,—the admiration of fools, or the offerings of the simple?

[1] Persius, "Satires," ii. 69. Bernard (or his copyist) has written "*sancto*" for "*sacro*."

"But money is here laid out with artful care, so that it may be multiplied. We expend that we may grow richer, and lavishness brings abundant increase. . . . The eyes (of the beholders) are sated with the sight of relics gleaming with gold, that their purses may be opened. Some beautiful picture of a saint (male or female) is exhibited; the more brilliant the colours, the more holy it is believed to be; men run, eager to salute it, and then they are invited to give; which they do, more as admiring a beautiful thing than as venerating a sacred one. . . . The church's walls are splendidly adorned, but the church's poor are left naked and bare."[1]

The vigorous onslaught of Bernard upon the general run of monks, and upon the Cluniacs in particular, caused a great sensation, and occasioned a lengthy controversy. But the ultimate issue of it seems to have been for good. The growing uselessness of the Monastic Orders was checked. A new standard of "plain living and high thinking" was set up by Bernard and his followers. The people were not slow to appreciate the higher religious tone of the new Order, and the example set by the first generation of the Cistercians was of necessity followed, to some extent, by the older Orders.

The consequences of such a movement towards better things was sure to spread from the monastics

[1] "Apolog. ad Guillelm. Abbat.," c. viii., ix., x., xii.

to the secular clergy, as they were called, because they lived in the world. And, accordingly, this speedily took place. Strange to say, it became evident first among the higher and more dignified clergy, those baron-bishops whose secular habits and pursuits had done more than any other single cause to render the Church worldly; and not a few conversions among this class edified the public opinion of the time. Among such, though nominally a monk, may be classed the illustrious Suger, Abbot of St. Denys, and perhaps the ablest statesman in the service of King Louis. The great Abbey of St. Denys, near Paris, was a church closely associated with the State and the usual scene of great religious solemnities in connexion with the monarchy and the royal house. Like our Westminster Abbey, to which it was in many respects similar, it was the burial place of the French sovereigns, and its head was generally an ecclesiastic enjoying the favour and confidence of the king. Amidst the blaze of the sunshine of Court favour the institution had lost very much of its religious character. It had become, according to the statement of the historian, "a house of pleasure rather than a house of prayer."[1]

"I have not seen it with my own eyes," said Bernard, "but I have been told that the cloister was encumbered with soldiers, filled with petitioners

[1] "History of Cîteaux," vol. iii. c. ix. p. 244.

and plotters; everywhere was heard the noise of worldly business, and even women entered there freely. How could religious occupations be attended to, I ask you, in the midst of such irregularity?"[1]

Suger, like others, read Bernard's "Apology." The plain speaking in it came home to his upright and pious mind, and he resolved to reform himself first[2] and his monastery afterwards.

By his authority and example a remarkable change was speedily effected in the aspect of the abbey. The crowds of idlers vanished; the bustle of affairs and the transaction of temporal business there ceased; and the courts and cloisters regained their religious quiet. "Now there is leisure," says Bernard, writing to Suger, "for GOD'S service, for practising self-restraint and obedience, for attention to sacred reading. . . . Now the house of GOD ceases to open to people of the world; there is no access to sacred precincts for the curious; no gossip about trifling things with the idle; the chatter of boys and girls is no longer heard. The holy place is open and accessible only to the children of Christ; it is reserved for

[1] St. Bernard, ep. 78 to Suger.

[2] He had been one of those most remarkable for the splendour of his dress and the greatness of the train of horsemen which he maintained; and it has been thought that where Bernard says in his "Apology," c. x., "I have seen, I do not exaggerate, an abbot going forth escorted by sixty horsemen and more," he was referring to Suger.

the praises of God and the performance of sacred vows with due care and reverence." [1]

Among others who followed this striking example was Henry, Archbishop of Sens. He, born the cadet of a noble family, and raised early in life to the high dignity he occupied, had lived in the world and according to the world's standard. He was a great noble and an agreeable courtier; but there was little of the episcopal character apparent in his stately and luxurious way of life. To him, also, the stern words of the eloquent Bernard came with all the force of conviction. He retired to his diocese. There he sought the advice of his neighbour Godfrey, Bishop of Chartres, a man held in high esteem for his piety and experience. Probably by his advice, Archbishop Henry wrote to Bernard asking for instruction on the duties of the Episcopate. Such a request took the humble-minded Bernard by surprise. "If I am complimented by so obliging a request," he replied, "on the other hand I am filled with anxiety at the idea of complying with it. For who am I that I should presume to instruct bishops? But, again, who am I that I should hesitate to obey a bishop?" [2]

But after this he proceeds with a treatise under the form of a letter, upon the duties of bishops,—a treatise full of noble and elevated teaching, as well as

[1] "Apologiæ," c. v.

[2] "De Moribus et Officio Episcoporum." Introduction.

details of the manners of the times, full of interest to the historian. It commences by a comparison between good and bad pastors. "Ambition," he says, "and cupidity, which is itself the result of simony, are the most dangerous temptations against which the prelate has to guard. It is not splendour in vestments, sumptuousness in equipages, costliness in palaces, that render a ministry honourable, but good works, pure habits, and a zeal for holy things." Then he addresses directly the archbishop himself:—

"But you, O priest of the most High GOD, whom do you desire to please? The world, or God? If you wish to please the world, why are you a priest? If God, why are you, being a priest, as worldly as the people themselves? For if you desire to please the world, what profit is your priesthood to you? For you cannot serve two masters. . . . For if the priest is the pastor and the people his sheep, ought it to be the case that in no respect is the pastor dissimilar from the sheep? Is it becoming that a pastor should, like his flock, be occupied only in satisfying his sensual appetites, enslaved by the lowest thoughts, attaching himself to earthly things, instead of living according to the spirit, instead of seeking for and tasting the things which are above? . . . The poor murmur at you. Your horses, they say, pace along all brilliant with jewellery, while our legs are bare and our shoes broken; your mules are richly caparisoned,

adorned with buckles and chains, little bells hang from their necks, and bandlets gaily embroidered and bright with nails of gold; but you refuse to your brethren wherewith to cover their nakedness."[1]

The preferable ornaments of prelates, he declares, and the only ones worthy of them, are chastity, charity, and humility. In them, most of all, are required a pure care for the faith and a charity unfeigned. Then he passes on to censure the abuses of the time; the ambition of ecclesiastics, the promotion of schoolboys and beardless youths ("*scholares pueri et impuberes adolescentuli*") to the highest dignities of the Church on account of their noble birth; and the prevailing habit of holding a plurality of benefices, and ends with some precepts upon personal religion. Such are the principal subjects of this remarkable treatise.

These two conversions, the one following the other, raised the reputation of Bernard prodigiously, and soon it was difficult for him to ward off the praises and proofs of respect and even veneration which reached him from all sides. He was offered the Bishopric of Châlons-sur-Marne, then that of Langres, and refused each; and, later on, on the occasion of a vacancy in the Archiepiscopal See of Rheims, the most splendid in France, the clergy and people repeatedly elected him as archbishop, and

[1] "De Officio," c. ii.

showed themselves so determined to have him for their bishop, either with his own good-will or without it, that he was at length obliged to obtain an order from Rome before the persevering and determined electors would acquiesce in his fixed resolution to accept no dignity whatever.

A third conversion, as remarkable as those which preceded it, was followed by consequences of an important character.

The Bishop of Paris, Stephen de Senlis, an accomplished and able man, an habitual attendant at the Court, and a great favourite of King Louis VI., had also been touched by the remonstrances of Bernard. The examples of Abbot Suger and of the Archbishop of Sens had brought him to the conviction that a similar step on his own part was needful. Breaking away, therefore, from the pleasure-loving existence of the Court, he devoted himself solely to the care of his large diocese. This unexpected withdrawal surprised and irritated the king, who had a great liking for the brilliant and agreeable ecclesiastic, and had kept him always near his person. He was a man of hasty and violent character, whom contradiction always rendered furious; and the defection of the bishop roused him to extreme anger. The friendship which he had entertained for him was speedily changed into hatred, and he proceeded to harass Stephen with increasing violence. The

property of the see was seized by the king's order, and it is said that the bishop's life was threatened. He, therefore, laid an interdict upon the diocese, and fled to his metropolitan at Sens. Thence the two bishops made their way to Cîteaux, to ask the co-operation of Bernard and his brethren of the Cistercian Order,—by this time a great and influential body. A general Chapter was either then sitting, or one was summoned for the emergency. The Order, influenced by Bernard, now its most influential member, heartily took up the cause of the bishop, and the assembled abbots addressed the angry king in these trenchant words :—

"To *Louis*, the glorious King of France, *Stephen*, Abbot of Cîteaux, and the whole assembly of the Abbots and Brethren of Cîteaux, wish health, prosperity, and peace in Christ Jesus.

"The King of Heaven and Earth has given you a kingdom upon earth, and will bestow upon you one in heaven if you study to govern with justice and wisdom that which you have received. This is what we wish for you, and pray for on your behalf, that you may reign here faithfully, and there in happiness. But why do you of late put so many obstacles in the way of our prayers for you, which, if you recollect, you formerly, with such humility, requested ? With what confidence can we now presume to lift up our hands for you to the Spouse of the Church, while you so inconsiderately, and without the slightest cause (as we think), afflict the Church ? Grave, indeed, is the complaint she lays against you before her Spouse and Lord,

that she finds you an opposer whom she accepted as a protector. Have you reflected whom you are thus attacking? Not really the Bishop of Paris, but the Lord of Paradise, a terrible GOD *who cuts off the spirit of Princes.* (Ps. lxx. 12.)

"That is what we have to say to you. Perhaps we have to say it with boldness, but at the same time we speak in love; and for your own sake we pray you heartily, in the name of the friendship with which you have honoured us, and of the brotherhood with which you deigned to associate yourself, but which you have now so grievously wounded, quickly to desist from so great a wrong; otherwise, if you do not deign to listen to us, nor take any account of us whom you called brethren, who are your friends, and who pray daily for you and your children and your realm, we are forced to say to you that, humble as we are, there is nothing which we are not prepared to do within the limits of our weakness for the Church of GOD, and for her minister, the venerable Bishop of Paris, our father and our friend. . . If GOD inspires you to lend an ear to our prayers, to follow our counsels, and to restore peace with your Bishop, or rather with GOD, which we earnestly desire, we are prepared to come to you wherever you shall be pleased to fix for the sake of arranging this affair; but if it be otherwise, we shall be obliged to listen to the voice of our friend, and to render obedience to the priest of GOD."[1]

This vigorous letter, and the firm opposition of the bishops to his oppressive measures, were on the point of inducing Louis to yield. He had, in fact, promised to restore the Church property which he

[1] Bernard, Letter 45, vol. i. p. 220, of English edition. Letters 45–51 tell the entire history of the matter; that is, on the side of the bishop.

had seized, when he was encouraged in his obstinacy by the unexpected leniency of the Pope. It shows the deep dissimulation of the policy of Louis, that he had been all the while in secret communication with the Pope, thus playing off the Papal authority, which was at a distance, against the local episcopate. Now he produced, with evident triumph, letters from Honorius raising the interdict which the bishop had pronounced. Thus checkmated, the bishops, with the abbots Bernard, and Hugh of Pontigny, after a fruitless effort to induce the king to do the justice asked of him, were compelled to yield for the moment. But neither the Pope nor the king came scatheless out of the fray. The stern Cistercians, who had taken up the cause, stood to their weapons boldly. To the Pope, humble monks as they were, they made a respectful but bitter protest. "We are not able," they wrote, "to conceal the tears and complaints of the bishops, and indeed of the whole Church, of which we have the honour, though unworthy, to be sons. We speak of what we have seen. A great necessity has drawn us from our cloisters into public, and what we have seen there we report to you. We have seen, and repeat, sad things. *In the time of Honorius the honour of the Church has been deeply wounded.* Already the humility, or rather the constancy, of the bishops had bent down the anger of the king, when the authority of the supreme

Pontiff intervening, alas! threw down constancy and set up pride. What astonishes us is that judgment should have been given without hearing the two parties, and that the absent should have been condemned." [Letter 46.]

And in the next letter, written in the name of Geoffrey, Bishop of Chartres, but proceeding from the same powerful pen as the former, we read :—

"The just interdict of the Bishop (as we consider) has been raised by your order, and as the fear of displeasing you has made us suspend that which we proposed to send forth by our own authority, and by which we hoped to obtain peace, we are made in the meantime the derision of our neighbours."

A stinging rebuke, indeed, to the time-serving Pope.

With the king, who remained still obstinate, Bernard dared to take a sterner and more menacing tone :—"You have scorned the terrible God in scorning the supplications of His ministers," he said to the king with the loftiness of a prophet, in taking leave of him. "Await, then, the chastisement that shall fall upon you; for I saw you in a vision kneeling with your *younger* son at the feet of the bishops whom you yesterday disdained to listen to, and requesting of the Church, whom you are now oppressing, his substitution in the place of his brother."

Nor was the fulfilment of this prediction long delayed. The king's eldest son Philip, who was just then sixteen years of age, and had already been crowned and anointed to associate him with his father in the kingdom, died lamentably by a fall from his horse in the year 1131. Abbot Suger, in his history of this reign, gives the following account of the accident:—"The young prince was riding in a suburb of Paris (Rue du Martroy—St. Jean, près la Grève). Suddenly a wretched pig ran across the road under the feet of the prince's horse, who fell, and, in falling, flung his rider against a boundary-stone, and crushed him in falling, under the weight of his own body. The youth was hastily raised up, and carried, half dead, into a neighbouring house; but he died the same evening. The army had been summoned on that very day for an expedition. The soldiers, with whom he was exceedingly popular, and even the inhabitants of the city, showed their grief by sobs and groans; but the despair of his father, his mother, and their friends, no one could possibly express." [1] The heart-broken father was conscience-stricken. At once he made amends to the bishop, and was reconciled with the Church.

One more incident belonging to this period is so

[1] Suger, "Vita Ludovici Grossi," c. vi., and Geoffrey, "Life of St. Bernard."

pleasing that it ought not to be passed over. Humbert, a knight of Champagne, had been accused of some crime, and was obliged to attempt to prove his innocence by a duel or judicial combat before the Prevôt of Bar-sur-Aube.. He was defeated, and the Count of Champagne (Theobald, who was Bernard's great patron and friend) not only deprived him of his castle and lands in consequence, thus reducing him and his family to destitution, but threw him into prison and had his eyes put out. The penalty of his fault was cruel, and the charitable heart of Bernard was profoundly distressed at the sad condition of the unfortunate knight; the more so as it involved the punishment of his innocent wife and children. He wrote to Count Theobald to beg that he would give the case a hearing before himself. It must be remembered that these single combats were a great and growing evil, and that severe measures were absolutely necessary to check them. Count Theobald was, it is said, the first who ventured to interfere with the unchecked licence of the nobility in this respect; and this, probably, was the reason that he took no notice of Bernard's first letter. The affair had taken place at Bar-sur-Aube, and Bernard, who was in the immediate neighbourhood and acquainted with the circumstances, had convinced himself that the man was really innocent. He wrote then again, and more urgently. "Had I," he says, "asked of you gold or

silver, or something of that kind, either I am much deceived as to your goodness or I should certainly have received it. Already without asking I have received very many gifts of your generosity. Did you think it an unworthy thing of me to ask, or of you to grant, that you should have mercy upon a Christian man, whatever might be the crime of which he was accused before you, after clearing himself of it? . . . Do you not know that if it is easy for you to deprive Humbert of his heritage, it is as easy, it is even incomparably more easy, for GOD to deprive Count Theobald of his (which may GOD forbid)? I supplicate your Highness then, for the second time, to have pity upon Humbert as you would that GOD should have mercy upon you."[1]

It is satisfactory to learn that so earnest and Christianlike an appeal was not in vain. Either from regard to Bernard himself, or, if not touched by his pleadings, at all events conquered by the importunity of a man whom he respected and loved, the Count, however unwillingly, was brought to examine into the case himself, and then, having been satisfied of Humbert's innocence, reinstated him in his fief by an act of grace.

There are many instances to show us how ready Bernard was to throw the shield of his protection

[1] Letter 37.

over the poor and oppressed, and how powerful that protection really was. But it is unhappily true that whereas mediæval history is full of such instances of cruelty and wrong, there were very few such as Bernard to stand in the breach against the powerful wrongdoer.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DISPUTED PAPAL SUCCESSION—BERNARD IN ITALY.

The long-protracted illness of Pope Honorius—Cabals to obtain the succession—Antecedents of Peter Leonis—Death of the Pope—Election of Cardinal Gregory—Counter election of Peter—Each appeals to the Christian Princes—Innocent's withdrawal to Pisa, and afterwards to France—Council at Étampes—Innocent acknowledged by King Louis, Henry I. of England, the Emperor Lothair, and other Princes—Diet of Wurtzburg—His welcome at Cluny and in other parts of France—Council at Rheims—Return to Italy, accompanied by Bernard—Popularity of the latter in Italy, Pisa, Milan, Genoa, and other cities—Extinction of the schism—Bernard's return to Clairvaux.

THE Christian world was at this time thrown into confusion by an event more widely disturbing and injurious in its effects upon the social system then existing than the usurpation of some princely throne, or the breaking out of war between two nations: a disputed succession to the Papacy.

The reigning Pope, Lambert, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, had succeeded to his dignity, under the title of Honorius II., in 1124. His election had been a partisan triumph, brought about by the influence of

the powerful family of Frangipanni, which, like all the Roman nobles, constantly strove to control the Papal elections. It was of doubtful legality; and had not the competing candidate, Cardinal Buccapecu, with rare self-denial for those times, retired, though canonically elected, rather than expose the Church to the danger and shame of division, there would have been a schism even then. It was to be expected that on the death of Honorius the flames of party strife would again burst forth. Already during the lingering illness of Honorius, the Roman people, divided into factions, grew more and more excited, and venal mobs continually traversed the city, and strove to overawe the cardinal electors, in constant expectation of a new election. A powerful party, both among nobles and people, had taken up as a candidate Peter Leonis, Cardinal-Priest of St. Calixtus.[1] He was a Roman by birth, and the grandson of a wealthy Jewish usurer, who had rendered great services to the Pope of that day during the frequent wars in which he was involved against the turbulent nobles in the neighbourhood of Rome. On his conversion to the Christian faith he took the name of his patron and sponsor, Pope Leo IX. This was about 1050. This Pope regarded him as the most faithful of his adherents, and among other official appointments bestowed upon

[1] There is some doubt whether his title was not of "Sta. Maria trans Tiberim" ("Martène," i. p. 648).

him was the Wardenship of the Tower of Crescentius,[1] the strongest fortress in Rome, which afforded a secure retreat to himself and his followers, and was the foundation of much of the power of the family. For three generations his descendants continued to grow in wealth and power, until, as the biographer of St. Bernard asserts :—

"By the power of his family, as well as by the number of those who were allied to them, he counted such a multitude of partisans that almost the entire city of Rome marched under his banner, won over either by money or by other attractions. He had obtained vast riches, not only from his official revenues, but also by corrupt practices in the various legations on which he had been sent, and these he had long reserved to purchase adherents in the contest which he foresaw. Add to this the great wealth which he had inherited from his father, and which he was prepared to spend for the same purpose, and it will be plain that he was able by these means to purchase and to arm a venal populace prepared to carry out his purposes by any means." [2]

This Peter, therefore, had long aspired to the Papacy. His character was active and energetic, and his talents and knowledge considerable. He had first

[1] Its modern name is the castle of St. Angelo.

[2] Ernald, "Life," b. ii. c. i.

studied at the University of Paris; then he lived as a monk at Cluny until recalled (it is said at his own desire) to Rome by Calixtus II., who thereupon made him a cardinal, and employed him on several occasions as legate. That he had long been aiming at the Papacy by irregular and illegal methods was a fact well known.[1] And as the approaching decease of the Pope Honorius could no longer be a matter of doubt, the efforts of his partisans to create a state of terror, and so to oblige the cardinals to elect him in preference to other candidates, grew more and more threatening. In order to escape this popular pressure, the cardinals determined upon adopting special precautions, in prospect of a new election.

"As a measure of prudence," says the Abbé Vacandard,[2] "and to ensure them liberty of action, the chancellor had caused the dying Pope to be removed to the monastery of St. Andrew's, near the palace of the Frangipanni. Thither on the 11th February, 1130, he convoked the cardinals. No one was ignorant that Honorius was nearing his end; the succession to him appeared almost open; factions were stirring in the city; the entire people was disturbed.

[1] The "Chronicle of Maurigny," p. 376, calls him plainly: A certain Peter, who seemed to be aspiring to the Papacy by worldly means, "Petrum quondam qui seculariter ad papatum videbatur aspirare," etc.

[2] St. Bernard et le Schisme d'Anaclet II. en France, in the "Revue des Questions Historiques," 1888, p. 70.

It was advisable to trace out beforehand the line of conduct that the Sacred College intended to follow at his death. Many of the cardinals proposed to observe the canons, and not to proceed to a new election until after the funeral of Honorius. However, the rules established with regard to that were not so absolute that they did not admit of some modifications being imposed by circumstances. On account of the trouble of the time and the excitement of the people, the friends of the chancellor[1] demanded an exceptional measure. In what did this consist? We know not. But after a heated discussion, it was rejected; and the previous question was agreed upon 'unanimously,' says Peter of Pisa."

At a second meeting, a committee of eight cardinals was selected, representative of the various parties, to whom the election of the new Pope was confided.

During this time, the popular excitement was still increasing. A report was circulated that Honorius was really dead, and that the party of the Chancellor Haimeric were concealing his death for their own purposes. The excitement grew into a riotous assemblage round the Monastery of St. Gregory; and in order to quiet them, the already moribund Honorius was supported to a window and there

[1] This was Cardinal Haimeric, an intimate friend of St. Bernard.

shown to the people.[1] Otherwise, it was asserted, Peter Leonis would even then have made an attempt to seize by force the Papal throne.

But the excitement of such a scene exhausted the last remaining strength of Honorius; and he died on the night of the 13-14 February, 1130.

The committee of eight had already been dislocated even before it had met; for Peter Leonis, who was one of the members of it, had withdrawn from its deliberations, and had carried with him another cardinal. The remaining members acted promptly. The body of the late Pope was hastily buried, at, or even before, the dawn of day.[2]

Then they met at once for election, associating with themselves all those cardinals who were determined to resist the elevation of Peter Leonis. They numbered fourteen in all, or perhaps fifteen, for the authorities vary in their accounts; four cardinal-bishops, five cardinal-priests, and five cardinal-deacons; and they included five members of the

[1] "Quod nisi dominus Papa Honorius, quem credebant jam mortuum, se ad fenestram populo ostendisset . . . . præco Antichristi ante tempus se extulisset" (Epist. Hubert. Episc. Luccens.).

[2] "Summo mane" (Ep. Gualt. ad Ep. Salzb.); but Peter of Pisa and Peter of Porto say, "in tenebris." It must be borne in mind that the regulations forbade any election of a new pope until after the obsequies of the preceding pope had been performed.

committee of selection previously appointed. They unanimously elected Gregory cardinal-deacon of St. Angelo, who, after a brief hesitation, accepted the perilous honour thus offered to him. He was accordingly conducted to the Lateran, seated in the marble chair of the Popes placed in the apse of the Basilica, vested in the scarlet cope then worn by them exclusively,[1] and acclaimed as Pope Innocent II. Thence they proceeded to the Monastery called Palladium, between the palaces of Leo and Cencius Frangipanni, being protected by the armed forces of that powerful family. There Innocent received the regalia of his predecessors, the mitre, the ring, and the cross.

Intelligence of these proceedings was at once taken to Peter Leonis and his party, who were assembled in the Church of St. Mark. His supporters numbered twenty-four cardinals; but they were mostly among the priests and deacons of that rank to whom only a consultative voice in the Papal election had hitherto been conceded. There were thirteen of the one, nine of the other; and they also were unanimous in choosing and acclaiming their candidate as Pope. He assumed the title of Anacletus II. It was then about midday. In less than three hours Rome had chosen two Popes,

[1] Rubea Cappa. The Popes were at that time vested in red, not white. *See* St. Bernard, Letter 237; and Peter Damian, b. i. ep. 20.

whose dispute for the tiara was to last for the next eight years. The struggle between them commenced on the very next day. The family of Peter Leonis, who distributed gold lavishly among the people, brought together a large number of mercenaries to support the claim of their brother. His first step was to seize by violence the churches of St. Peter and the Lateran. In these, according to custom, a new Pope should be consecrated and enthroned, and these were in the possession of Innocent and under the guard of his protectors, the Frangipanni. He first directed his soldiers against the Church of St. Peter, and took it by storm after a murderous combat. His soldiers burst into the sanctuary and carried off the great gold crucifix, as well as all the treasure in gems, gold, and silver. The following day, February the 16th, he went on to attack the Lateran, and seized that also, filling all that quarter of the city with fire and slaughter. He even tried to seize the strongly-fortified monastery of Palladium, in the hope of getting possession of the person of his rival, and thus of extinguishing at one stroke the schism and the civil war. The attack, however, was repulsed with great loss, and a lull of a few days followed in the struggle. Innocent II. profited by this momentary relief from strife to be consecrated as Pope by the Bishop of Ostia, who had, by long and unbroken custom, the right to consecrate all the Popes. On the very same

day Anacletus also procured his own consecration in St. Peter's [1] and enthronement in the Lateran Church, both of which were now in his possession.

Notwithstanding this brief interval, however, Innocent was in reality in a very dangerous position. The treasures of all the churches of Rome were at the disposal of his rival, and were unscrupulously used to purchase new adherents.[2]

The only adherents of Innocent were the two great families of the Frangipanni and the Corsi, and these could, with difficulty, protect his person against all the rest of Rome. Even the former of these, either incapable of continuing the contest, or gained over by the promises and gifts of Anacletus, deserted his cause in April. He was now abandoned by all the Romans, and found it necessary to leave the city. In that month two galleys, secretly procured, received on board Pope Innocent and his few faithful adherents, and, dropping down the Tiber, conveyed them to the city of Pisa.

The appeal was now to be made to a larger judiciary. The whole body of the Church was about to be called upon to entertain an appeal from the turbulent and corrupt population of Rome. The various nations

[1] Not, it may be as well to remind the reader, the present vast Church of St. Peter, which was not commenced until 1503 by Pope Julius II.

[2] "Majorem venalis urbis partem emere studuit, corrumpens majores et minores."—"Vita Innoc.," ap. Watterich, ii. 175.

of the Christian world,—Italy, Spain, England, but especially Germany and France,—were now to declare which of the two,—Innocent or Anacletus,—was the rightful Pope.

Already each had sent letters to the Emperor Lothaire, King Louis of France, and other Christian princes, announcing his election, and claiming obedience. So far, the advantage was on the side of Anacletus. The principal cities of Italy, those especially which were adherents of the family of Hohenstaufen,—Milan, Capua, Beneventum,—declared for him. The Norman Roger, Duke of Sicily, not only recognised him, but promised to defend him if required, asking in return the title of king. Against this Innocent had only the support of the great maritime city of Pisa, always prompt to take the opposite side from Rome. And it was clear that the great question of his general recognition could not be brought to a decision in Italy. Accordingly, after a short stay there and then at Genoa, he embarked again, landed at St. Gilles, in Provence, on the 11th September,[1] and journeyed northward into France. This bold step was followed at once by good results. The Abbot of Cluny, the most distinguished among the great monastic foundations, at once declared in his favour. "The monks of Cluny," says Ordericus Vitalis, "when they knew of his approach, sent to him sixty horses or mules,

[1] "III. idus Septembris."—*Annal. Bened.*, vi. 192.

with every kind of supplies fit for the Pope, and for the cardinals and clerks who accompanied him, and conducted him with honour even to their own abbey."[1] And this made a great impression; because his opponent, Anacletus, had been a monk at Cluny, and it might have been expected that they would take the other side. Innocent remained there eleven days, and during that time he consecrated the great abbey church,[2] which, after forty years occupied in construction, had recently been finished.

But the French bishops had not yet decided which Pope they would recognise: nor were the King, Louis VI., nor his great minister, Abbot Suger, in a position to give them any guidance. Between contradictory assertions and denials from each side, it was scarcely possible to distinguish where the right was; while a decision in favour of either

[1] Book xiii. c. 11.

[2] "It was 580 feet in length and 120 feet in breadth, and was the largest church of its time (the extreme length of the Cathedral of Cologne is but 500 feet). It was wantonly destroyed by the local authorities during the French Revolution of 1789, and "the whole neighbourhood was shaken by the crash with which the great tower fell." It is said that Napoleon Bonaparte was scandalised, like most other reasonable people, at this act of fanatical Vandalism, and when the officials of the bourg of Cluny offered to present him with an address soon after, as he was passing through the district, he refused to receive it, telling them that people capable of committing such an action deserved ill of their country."—Viollet-le-Duc, "Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française," vol. i.

claimant could not fail to be fraught with very grave consequences.

Those were days when the Papacy was a power well-nigh universal, having its rights in every kingdom, and making itself felt in every diocese and every monastery, as well as in every church throughout Christendom. Even already, as the author just now quoted declares: "In most monasteries two abbots arose, in most dioceses two prelates contended for the see, of whom one adhered to Peter (Anacletus), the other favoured Gregory (Innocent). In a schism of this kind anathema is greatly to be feared, and with difficulty can be avoided; for each attacks his antagonist with all his might, and cruelly anathematizes him with all his adherents."— *Ordericus Vitalis*, b. xiii. c. 11.

A wrong decision—nay, any decision at all—might at once set half the king's subjects in opposition to him. Accordingly Louis wisely determined to take no step upon his own initiative, but to call together all the great dignitaries,—ecclesiastical and lay,—of the realm, and to leave the making of so important a decision in their hands. The meeting was to be at Étampes. Thither were summoned the metropolitans, of whom three,—the Archbishops of Rheims, Sens, and Bourges,—attended. A fourth, the Archbishop of Tours, who was then in open hostility with Louis, was either not summoned, or did not

appear in reply. All the bishops of the realm and the chief of the abbots were also called together.[1]

In such a representative assembly of all that was wisest and most dignified and most influential in the France of that day—"the man on whom the eyes of the Church had long been fixed, on whose forehead beamed the halo of sanctity, and who at Rome, as well as in France, was venerated as the oracle of GOD and the tutelary spirit of the age; the presence of that man at the Council could not be dispensed with. The king himself wrote to him a pressing letter, begging him to appear there; many bishops added their entreaties to that of the monarch to induce the humble monk to come forth from his retreat."—Ratisbonne, "Histoire," vol. i. p. 255; and see also Ernald, "Life," c. i. p. 3.

Bernard, even after these pressing invitations, hesitated long; his dislike to great public meetings and discussions had even almost made him turn back when he had set out. But he is said to have been encouraged by a heavenly vision, which predicted to him the re-establishment of peace and removed his

[1] Rex Ludovicus archiepiscopos Remensem, Senonensem, Bituricensem, Turonensem, simulque episcopos regni sui et abbates Stampis convocat.—"Chron. Maurin.," ap. Duchesne, iv. 376.

hesitation.[1] He appeared among the princes and prelates assembled at Étampes, who received him as a veritable messenger from Heaven. After some days of fasting and prayer, the assembly was then opened. Bernard was put forward by common consent, and, after a lengthened and searching examination, conducted under his direction, it was he who reported to the whole assembly that, on the three grounds of "choice by the better part of the electors, recognition by the larger number, and, what was more important still, the testimony to the life and reputation of the first chosen," Innocent was unquestionably the rightful Pope.[2]

This declaration was received with unanimous approval, as if it had been a declaration from Heaven. "He opened his mouth," says his biographer, "and the Holy Spirit spoke by it." Bernard's judgment was ratified by all. Each one promised obedience to Innocent, and the assembly then separated. Louis immediately sent his minister-abbot, Suger, with several bishops, to welcome the Pope. He himself, accompanied by the queen and

[1] He saw, says his biographer, a great church filled with people who were all praising GOD with one voice, which he interpreted as meaning that peace would certainly be restored to the Church.—Ernald, "Life," c. i. p. 3.

[2] Electio meliorum, approbatio plurium et quod his efficacius est, morum attestatio Innocentium apud omnes commendan summum confirmant pontificem.—Bernard, Letter 124.

their children, with a brilliant retinue of princes and prelates, met the Pope at the little town of S. Benoît-sur-Loire, and received him with the greatest honour and respect. After that his progress from town to town was a triumphal march; and all classes vied with each other in proofs of good-will and reverence. The humblest figure in the now large and stately train of the Pope was in all probability that of the man who had exercised so predominant an influence in obtaining his acknowledgment; but it is not too much to say that the services he now rendered from day to day to the Pope were equally important. Henry I. of England was then on the Continent. He was as yet undecided which Pope he would recognise. The English clergy were rather disposed to favour Anacletus, on account of the irregularity of the election of Innocent. The partisans of the former urged also that he, having all the revenues and treasures of the Papacy in his hands, would not require extraordinary pecuniary assistance; whereas Innocent, a penniless fugitive, would be a heavy burden upon the princes who recognised him. "There is nothing," they said, "more intolerable than subjection to a poor Roman." There was some weight in the argument: for we find Ordericus Vitalis (*sub ann.* A.D. 1130) declaring what a heavy burden, amounting to a grievance, the pro-

gress of the Pope through France, with a large train of cardinals and officials, had been found to be to the bishops, convents, and churches on his line of travel, who were expected to receive and entertain him. For a variety of reasons, therefore, the influence of the English bishops was thrown rather on the side of Anacletus, and they had almost succeeded in bringing over Henry to their view, when Bernard appeared upon the scene. "The two foremost men then in Europe were in the presence of each other: the wisest soldier-statesman of his age, and the greatest monk out of all the cloisters of Christendom. These two were thus brought for once face to face: the old knight and the young priest, the man of action and the man of meditation."[1] The great question was hotly discussed between the two. Henry, it may be well imagined, did not bring forward the prudential objection, which had been suggested to him; but rather the scruples regarding the popularity of Innocent's election. Bernard, with the fearless directness and plainness of speech which invariably marked his intercourse with the great, bore down this argument with the boldness of an Apostle:

"What do you fear? Are you afraid of committing sin, if you yield obedience to Innocent?

[1] Morison, "Life," p. 154. See also Fleury, "Histoire," vol. xiv. c. lxviii. p. 425.

But think only (he said) how you shall answer for your other sins to GOD: leave this to me, I will bear it, if it be sin."[1]

Henry was astonished, and no longer hesitated. He gave in his adhesion to Innocent, and, further, proceeded, at the request of Bernard, to go with him to Chartres, where he had an interview with Innocent, made liberal presents to him, and acknowledged him as Pope, in his own name, and in that of his subjects.[2] The third great monarch of Western Europe was the Emperor Lothair; and it was of so much the greater moment to the Pope to obtain his adherence, because he was the titular king of Italy and patrician of Rome, and had great though undefined rights (defined, in fact, only by his power of enforcing them by military power) over the city of Rome itself. To obtain this, therefore, the Pope, with his train, among whom was his now most trusted adviser, Bernard, proceeded to Liége, where the Emperor was then holding his court. At his arrival he was received with all honour, but the desired acknowledgment was for a time withheld. There was

[1] "Quid times?" ait. "Times peccatum incurrere, si obedias Innocentio? Cogita" inquit "quomodo de aliis peccatis tuis respondeas Deo: istud mihi relinque, in me sit hoc peccatum."—Ernald, "Life," i. 4.

[2] Ord. Vital., b. xiii.

some *arrière pensée* in the minds of the Emperor and his advisers ("*velociter obnubilata est illa serenitas*"), and it soon appeared what this was. The question of investitures was to be reopened. After an extremely bitter and obstinate contest between the popes and the emperors upon this vexed question, which had lasted for more than a hundred years, it had been settled only eight years before, between the Emperor Henry V. and Pope Calixtus II., by a compromise which was practically in favour of the Church. By the Concordat of Worms, in 1122, the emperors had given up the claim to invest all newly elected bishops and abbots with their temporalities by the delivery of the ring and staff, though retaining the right to homage; and the practical effect was that the ecclesiastical fiefs of the empire, which were numerous and rich, passed out of lay patronage altogether. The Emperor had reluctantly and with an ill grace permitted himself to be thus weakened. Now it appeared to him a favourable moment for extorting some concession upon this important point. A Pope not well established, and opposed by a dangerous rival, might well be brought (so it was thought) to purchase the Emperor's recognition by consenting to some modification of the obnoxious Concordat. At all events, the German ruler was minded to try the experiment. But at the very

word "investitures" the Roman prelates shuddered and grew pale.[1]

They were within the power of the Emperor, within the walls of his fortified city, surrounded by his armed men. What measures he might take to oblige them to consent, their fears represented in frightful and alarming colours. It had been bad enough at Rome; but here it was worse, for they were entirely in the power of their adversary. Why had they been so rash as to enter defenceless into the lion's den? So they thought with silent lips and paling faces.

The fearless Bernard came once more to the rescue. Stepping forward in front of the Italian ecclesiastics, he boldly faced the Germans, and by one of those marvellously powerful appeals to the conscience and affections of Lothair, which he so well knew how to make, quelled the gathering storm. The question was dropped once for all, and without further delay the Emperor acknowledged Innocent as Pope with the usual marks of homage. A synod of German prelates was convoked at Wurtzburg, where Innocent II. was recognised as legitimate Pope. The Emperor on foot went to meet the Pope as he approached on his white palfrey, which he led by the rein with one hand, holding with the other a

[1] Ad quod verbum expavere et expalluere Romani, gravius sese apud Leodium arbitrati periculum offendisse, quam declinaverint Romæ.—Ernald, "Life," c. i. p. 5.

wand as a symbol of his duty to protect his superior. He held the Pope's stirrup to assist him to dismount, and as the people thronged around them on their way to the church, led the Pope, at one time almost carrying him in his arms as a protection against the pressure of the multitude, until they reached the door of the church. The victory of Innocent was complete, and, as before, was due almost entirely to the efforts of Bernard.

The whole of the west of Europe was now gained for Innocent. The only exception was the province of Aquitaine, where a powerful prelate, Gerard, Bishop of Angoulême, who had been legate of Paschal II. and Honorius, but to whom Innocent, on his accession, had refused this mark of dignity. He had, therefore, espoused the cause of the rival Pope, which he promoted with great activity and violence until his death. Space would fail us to add the details of the contest which the indefatigable Bernard now carried on with this new opponent, with eventual success in bringing the whole province into submission to Innocent. His first step was to write a circular letter "to the bishops of Aquitaine against Gerard of Angoulême" (Letter 126).

For the present the Pope proceeded to the Abbey of St. Denys, near Paris, in order to spend Easter; while Bernard was scarcely spared, at his earnest entreaty, to return to Clairvaux that he might recover

strength after his fatigues and prepare for even greater ones which were to come.

What the results of his intervention in this great ecclesiastical question had been we learn from his own words:—

"I, for my part, together with other servants of GOD who are set on fire with the Divine flame, have laboured with the help of GOD to unite the nations and kings in one in order to break down the conspiracy of evil men. . . . Nor have I laboured in vain. The kings of Germany, France, England, Scotland, Spain, and Jerusalem, with all the clergy and people, side with and adhere to the Lord Innocent, like sons to a father, like the members to their head, being anxious to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." (Letter 125, to Geoffrey of Loretto, vol. i. p. 400 of English edition.)

After this Innocent was engaged for some time in a progress through the most important towns and cities of France. We can only notice here the visit which his curiosity or the gratitude which he felt towards Bernard induced him to pay to the Abbey of Clairvaux. We have a curious account of it by the biographer of St. Bernard, which we here translate:—

"On his return from Liége, the Pope proposed of his own accord to visit the monastery of Clairvaux. There he was received by the poor of Christ; nor adorned with purple and fine linen, nor bearing the

Gospels adorned with gold, but men with patched attire, carrying a roughly carved cross of wood. Nor did they welcome him with the loud braying of trumpets, nor with noisy shouts of rejoicing, but with quiet, though affectionate, greeting. The bishops shed tears, the pontiff himself wept; they admired the grave bearing of that community, because on an occasion as happy as it was solemn, the eyes of all were fixed upon the ground, nor wandered on all sides to satisfy their curiosity. They kept their eyelids lowered, and looked at none while they were seen by all. In that religious house, the Roman[1] saw nothing to desire, nothing which attracted the gaze; and in the chapel nothing but the bare walls. Nothing was there to excite admiration but the character of the inhabitants; and the theft of that would have occasioned no loss to the brethren, since, though their religion might be transferred to other places, it would not, therefore, be lessened for them. They all rejoiced in the Lord: and that day of festival they celebrated, not with good cheer, but with their virtues only. Their black bread was made of meal, instead of flour, and for fine wine they had sour and common: for turbot they had pottage, and for sweet dishes, vegetables. If by chance a fish was found there, it was set before the Lord Pope, and not before the community.'[2]

[1] *I.e.*, the Pope. [2] Ernald, "Life," c. ii. p. 6.

A wonderful scene, surely. But we gain some insight into the constant strain and high pressure under which these men habitually lived, from an incident which occurred during this very visit. For while they were all assembled in the chapel on this occasion, and chanting in the choir with devotion and enjoyment, — a number of cardinals also being present at the service, — one of the monks began to utter blasphemies, and to cry aloud, "Confess that I am the Christ!" A profound sensation ran through all the community, only subdued by the tact and presence of mind of Bernard, who, turning towards the community, said, "Let us pray." Having thus brought back under control the general body of brethren, which, under the influence of the sudden shock, had got "out of hand" for a moment, those who were most excited were one by one led out of chapel, and brought back to calmness. The contemporary chronicler attributes so alarming an occurrence to the direct temptation of the devil;— we may perhaps be permitted to conjecture that the overstrained nerves of men, wrought into a highly artificial state by strong spiritual pressure and insufficient bodily nourishment, may have had something to do with the matter,—and it is likely that such scenes were not altogether unfrequent in the severer monasteries.

After holding a council at Rheims, the Pope, still

taking Bernard with him, set out on his return to Italy. On his return he again stayed at Cluny. This community was so rich and so highly privileged, that it might well appear to the Pope that there was nothing left in his power to bestow, by way of recompense, for the recent services of the order; but (with a certain want of good taste, as it would seem,) while staying at Cluny, he issued a "Privilegium" to the Cistercian Order, granting to the members of it great favours and immunities, in return for the inestimable services to him of its chief member, Bernard. "To you," commences this singular State paper, "to you, Abbot Bernard, my dear son in the Lord,—to the resolute zeal and indefatigable constancy, to the pious energy and sound judgment, which you have shown in the defence of the Roman Church during the outbreak of the schism of Peter Leonis; to the steadfastness with which you have opposed yourself as an impregnable defence for the house of GOD, and have laboured by many and pressing arguments, to incline the minds of kings and princes, and of other persons, as well ecclesiastical as lay, towards the unity of the Catholic Church and the authority of the successor of St. Peter,—are in a great measure due the great advantages which the Church of GOD and we ourselves are at present enjoying." [1]

[1] This "Privilegium" is numbered 352 among the Letters of Bernard.

Such an acknowledgment was no doubt precious to the pious soul of Bernard. Then the document goes on, among other immunities granted, to free all the lands and possessions of the Cistercian Order everywhere from the payment of tithes: an extensive privilege which at once aroused the keenest jealousy on the part of other orders. The Cluniacs especially felt themselves injured, for they owned a large amount of tithes payable from Cistercian lands; and Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, wrote to remonstrate. "Your devoted congregation," he writes to the Pope, "begs that your newly-adopted children may not expel their elders from your fatherly affection." And so bitter did the struggle between the rival orders grow, that the Cluniacs at Gigny actually pulled down and destroyed a Cistercian monastery in their neighbourhood (Moiremont), and the Cluniac Order, the spoiled child of the Papacy, had at last to be threatened with an interdict before it would give way upon this question.

In England it was with much difficulty that this exemption was allowed. We find the Archbishop of Canterbury of that day[1] objecting that "whatever the powers of the See of Rome, they could not extend to giving away what did not belong to it," as the tithes

[1] Richard (1174–1180): in a letter (82) "To the Abbot and the Convent of Cîteaux," written by Peter of Blois in the Archbishop's name.

did not; and declaring that if the English Cistercians refused to pay their just dues of every kind, he would interdict all persons from buying from or selling to them. The quarrel lasted for more than a hundred years, smouldering for a time and then breaking forth again.

After holding the Synod at Rheims, in 1131, and crowning the young King Louis, Pope Innocent, as we have said, returned into Italy; and he insisted upon still keeping Bernard with him. He was, in fact, too powerful and valuable an assistant to be easily parted with in the hour of need and conflict. And it was to a new conflict that Innocent returned. The whole of Italy, the cities of Pisa and Genoa excepted, had declared for his rival. Nor was he much helped by the expedition of the Emperor Lothair, who, with a small army, numbering less than 2,000 men, made his way, indeed, to Rome with Pope Innocent in his train, and was crowned by him in the Church of St. John Lateran, but could neither deliver the city to the Pope, nor maintain himself there. His speedy retirement to Germany left the Pope as before, face to face with his Italian opponents. He withdrew again to Pisa, and there strove to win over to himself the adherents of the schism. In this Bernard was his most successful ally. His simple and holy life, his eloquence, the winning personal power which scarcely ever failed him, and the reputation for miracu-

lous powers which were attributed to him by the common people, obtained for him a moral ascendency over the passionate Italian nature which enabled him to win over one people and city after another to the cause of Innocent, which he so devoutly believed to be that of the Church and of GOD. He induced the victorious Genoese to make peace with Pisa, and so great was the passion of admiration that the saintly abbot excited that the Archbishop of Genoa himself offered to resign his See in order that Bernard might be appointed to it. But he refused the generous offer.[1]

Nothing is more astonishing in the history of those times than the influence which a noble and saintly character, like that of Bernard, established at once over those warlike and turbulent municipalities, which rendered them as wax in his hands. This is how he writes to them shortly afterwards:—

"To the consuls, magistrates, and people of Genoa, health, peace, and eternal life. That my visit to you last year was not fruitless, the Church who sent me, soon after experienced in her time of need. You received me honourably, and even thought my stay with you was all too short; this was, indeed, conduct worthy on your part, but quite beyond my humble deserving. At all events, I am

[1] This was the second time that he refused the archbishopric of Genoa.

neither forgetful of it nor ungrateful to you. May GOD, who has the power, and whose cause it was, repay to you your goodness! But how can I recompense you for the honour you showed me except by an affectionate service full of love and gratitude? Never will I forget thee,[1] devoted people, honourable nation, illustrious State!" (Letter 129, vol. i. p. 419 of English edition.)

Even greater was the impression that he produced at Milan, where he again succeeded in bringing the city into obedience to the Pope, and where the population not only entreated, but insisted that he should become their archbishop, and that so pertinaciously, that he had great trouble in declining the well-meant honour. Then he proceeded to Pavia with the same triumphant success, and thus passing from one to another of the cities of Lombardy amid the acclamations of the people, he brought over the entire province to the obedience of Innocent. Cremona was the only exception to his success.

The end of the schism was, in fact, very near. The anti-Pope, Anacletus, still maintained himself in Rome, for three years longer, under the protection of Roger, King of Sicily. But his influence over Italy outside its walls was very small. Bernard was enabled to return for a time to his beloved Abbey of

[1] The Genoese made trial of this in the year 1625.

Clairvaux. There, seated in a bower formed of a trellis work of sweet peas, which he had himself planted,[1] he strove, as he says himself, "to repair the losses of my spiritual studies, and the ruffling of the spirit's tranquillity, which I have experienced outside my walls" (Letter 166, vol. ii., p. 501, of English edition). He was, however, soon recalled to Italy,—this time accompanied by his brother Gerard; and his work of winning over the adherents of the anti-Pope went on again, not less surely, though less rapidly, than it had done before. His good offices were now required more for the cardinals, bishops, and other more dignified adherents of Anacletus, who had begun to weary of their irregular position. He convinced the great canonist and orator, Peter of Pisa, who had been summoned to be his opponent in a discussion of the question, to be held in the presence of Roger, King of Sicily, and Roger himself showed signs of being shaken.

The anti-Pope died in 1137. The cardinals of his party immediately chose another, Cardinal Gregory, to succeed him as Pope Victor. But it was quite evident that men had ceased to believe in the cause of the seceders; and Victor himself came by night to St. Bernard, who received him kindly and persuaded him to divest himself of the Pontifical

[1] "Secedens in casulam pisatiis torquibus circumtextam."—Mabillon.

insignia, to be reconciled to Pope Innocent, and to retire into private life. His followers saw themselves forced to submit likewise, and thus ended the schism. Five days afterwards St. Bernard left Rome, on his return to Clairvaux.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONFLICT OF BERNARD WITH PETER ABÉLARD.

First meeting of Bernard with Abélard—The principles represented by them respectively: the dogmatic and the speculative—Personal history of Abélard—His attachment to Heloise—Unfortunate results—St. Denys, controversy respecting him—Sketch of his philosophy—His speculative opinions respecting the Holy Trinity and other doctrines—His challenge to Bernard—The meeting at Sens—His condemnation—Retirement to Cluny—His death.

WHEN Pope Innocent II. was in 1130 on his way from Chartres to meet the German Emperor at Liége, he stayed with his train, among whom at that time was Bernard, at the Monastery of Maurigny, near Étampes, for three days. Here the Pope held a reception daily. Among the many notable persons of the neighbourhood who came to pay their respects to him was PETER ABÉLARD, titular Abbot of St. Gildas, and the most brilliant dialectician of the age. How the Pope received him we are not told; nor do we know what impression he made upon Bernard. An official reception would give little or no opportunity for either collision or intimacy; and it is probable that the courteous greeting of strangers casually meeting at an occasion of ceremony was all the personal

acquaintanceship that was formed between two men who were to be forced, ten years later, into violent collision. Each went his way, nor for several years thereafter did they again cross each other's path. But each was a representative man, and the embodiment of a powerful principle: the one of traditional and dogmatic religion, the other of the critical and speculative tendency of the human mind. In every age of history, these principles have been antagonistic; sometimes the one has been predominant, sometimes the other. But each is the antithesis of the other; union between them is impossible. They are like the centripetal and centrifugal forces, which cannot both be dominant at the same time, but which together hold the universe in stability. For as the motions and, indeed, the very safety of material objects depend upon a due balance being maintained between these opposing, yet mutually indispensable forces; so the goodness and the intelligence, as well as the happiness of mankind, depend equally upon the due supply and the steady working of the religious principle, which is FAITH; and the speculative or regulative, which is REASON or Intelligence. If the former be long suffered to have unchecked predominance, ignorance and superstition ensue; if the latter, pride and unbelief.

Man being what he is, the *concordat* between faith and speculation is unstable in every age. The

pendulum swings now too far in the one direction, now too far in the other; and it is a task which is, during this dispensation of things, never ending, to correct the constantly recurrent alternations of the popular mind from this side to that. It is one phase of this conflict between faith and speculation that we see in the contest that arose between Bernard and Abélard.

Peter Abélard was born in 1079 at Palais, in Brittany; a village of which his father, Berengar, who was a knight, was Seigneur. His mother's name was Lucia. His name was Peter Palatinus (*i.e*, Pierre de Palais), but when he renounced his succession to the paternal estate (he was the eldest son), in order to avoid the career of war and devote himself to his studies, he assumed the name of Peter Abélard, of which the meaning is not known. His first teacher was Roscellin, who had a school for philosophy and mathematics at Lokmenach,[1] near Vannes, and was a strong Nominalist in philosophy. After almost two years of learning from him, he determined to betake himself to the most learned champion on the other side, the distinguished Realist, William of Champeaux, who was the head of the Cathedral School at Paris. Here, however, he, after a short time, began to bear himself rather as a rival teacher than as a submissive learner; and William of Champeaux, who, though an able man and learned according to the standard of

[1] Lokmariaker.

that day, was no match for the brilliant and daring genius now opposed to him, was speedily overcome in the debate forced upon him, and compelled to withdraw some of his assertions. After thus defeating his master, Abélard, though still very young, opened a school, first at Melun, then at Corbeil, and finally in Paris itself. He was, however, obliged to leave the city, and retired to Laon, where he studied theology in the school of Anselm, a pupil of Anselm of Canterbury. This was in 1113. It proved, however, but a temporary withdrawal; and William of Champeaux having retired from Paris, Abélard returned thither. After this followed the most brilliant period of his life. He lectured both on philosophy and theology, and it is said that more than five thousand pupils attended his instructions. Many who afterwards became leading Churchmen were among these; and the representatives of the opposite extremes of opinion, Pope Celestine II. and the heresiarch Arnold of Brescia, were equally his pupils. Scholars came to him from all parts of Europe: not only from Normandy and the northern parts of France, but from the east and the more distant south,—from Angers, Poitiers, and Navarre; others came from Spain, braving the passes of the Pyrenees, as numbers from Italy, and even from Rome, braved the dangers of the Alps, and of robbers on both sides of them; yet more came from Germany and Flanders, and across the sea from England.

Besides the Pope whom we have named, nineteen cardinals, and more than fifty archbishops and bishops, English, French, and German, had sat at his feet and listened spellbound to his brilliant and eloquent lectures. It was a saying among his contemporaries that he was ignorant of nothing under heaven but himself.

This enormous popularity was brought to a sudden and tragic close by Abélard's unfortunate intrigue with Heloise, niece of the Canon Fulbert, and the cruel revenge taken upon him by her uncle. After their marriage, Abélard and Heloise separated; he entered the Abbey of St. Denys, near Paris, having previously placed his wife in a nunnery at Argenteuil. Two years followed of quiet, during which he neither taught nor lectured publicly. Then the restless, critical spirit of the man revived from the mortification and suffering which he had undergone; and found a subject for its exercise under the very roof that was sheltering him. A popular belief is a dangerous thing to assail; and Abélard was old enough and experienced enough to have known that he might have attacked with more safety almost anything else. But he was, throughout his life, nothing if not critical. He found in the course of his reading a statement that St. Denys (*i.e.*, Dionysius) was Bishop of Corinth. Now, the tradition of the abbey was that Denys, the saint after whom it was named,

was bishop, not of Corinth, but of Athens; and, moreover, that he was that "Dionysius the Areopagite" who is named in Acts xvii. 34, and to whom were attributed certain treatises "On the Heavenly Hierarchy," "The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy," and others. This belief was interesting and even flattering to the French Church in general, and particularly to the great Abbey of St. Denys; and the attack on it by Abélard was received with a burst of indignation, and even fury, which almost cost him his life.[1]

He soon after retired to a cell, near the monastery at Deuil, where he resumed his lectures on theology. Wherever he was, students always gathered rapidly round him; and here he erected an oratory, which he styled the *Paraclete*, at first constructed only of reeds and sedges, afterwards of stone. His life was again interrupted by the accusation brought against his book, "De Unitate et Trinitate Divina." In 1121 he was summoned before a synod, assembled at Soissons, where this book was condemned, and he was obliged

[1]The fact seems to be that there is a tradition of a Dionysius, Bishop of Athens; of another of the same name, Bishop of Corinth (A.D. 171, according to Eusebius); and of a third, Bishop of Paris, all different men. There is a church (Bishop C. Wordsworth mentions) dedicated to the first on the Areopagus at Athens.

The French St. Denys is the Saint who is commonly represented as carrying his own (severed) head between his hands.

himself to commit it to the flames before the council. He was then committed to free custody, at the monastery of St. Medard, at Soissons, but was soon restored to liberty. Shaken, however, by the succession of his misfortunes, and anxious for rest, he was glad to accept the election as abbot of a distant community of monks, at St. Gildas, in Brittany. This, however, he found no haven of rest. He had fallen into the hands of a community of coarse and malignant men, of unrestrained passions, and whom he found it impossible to reduce to any kind of discipline. Twice they attempted to poison him: once in the chalice of the Holy Eucharist. At length they broke out into open violence, and he had to fly for his life. By the help of a friendly neighbour, he succeeded in escaping. It seems, though it is not quite clear,[1] that he remained for a while at his former institution, the Paraclete, which had been given over by him to Heloise. After that he is found again teaching at St. Geneviève. His correspondence with Heloise belongs to this time; so, also, does the "History of his Calamities," his treatise on "Dialectic" (*Dialectica*),[2] and the "Introduction to Theology,"

[1] The "Historia Calamitatum," which is our great source of information on the events of Abélard's life up to this point, breaks off with his flight from St. Gildas.

[2] This is, perhaps, the most permanently valuable contribution which he made to the progress of knowledge; for the *theology*, though it displays in every page the great ability of

of which we shall hear more shortly; and these abundantly account for his time during the years, up to 1139, when the storm of protest and opposition, which his teaching had been long in arousing, at last broke out with a force which swept him away before it.

It is the more difficult to determine the standpoint of Abélard in philosophy, that he has affinities with each of the two great schools into which the opinion of philosophical thinkers were then divided. His first teacher, Roscellin, was a Nominalist; his next

the writer, is radically at fault in its method of investigating theological truths; and the writer is so *wilful* in his revolt against established modes of thought, that he arrives at many strange and demonstrably ill-founded conclusions, as, indeed, has been shown abundantly by Bernard, William of St. Thierry, and others. But he does not seem to have ever been knowingly or deliberately heretical.

The dispute which then occupied scholars, and which can hardly be said to have died out even now, was concerning the nature of general or universal ideas. The *Realists* maintained that these were, like the *ideas* of Plato's philosophy, archetypal patterns of the individual persons or things which belonged to the class, *universalia in re*. They were therefore, according to this view, earlier than the world of phenomena or things cognisable by the senses, and existed *ab æterno* in the creative thought of God. The *Nominalists*, on the contrary, maintained that universal ideas were only abstractions arrived at by an effort of the intellect, generalising from the individual thing; as it reaches the notion of *man* from particular *men*, or of *truth* and *goodness* from true words and good actions. They held that *genera* and *species* had no existence other than that of being divisions made more or less arbitrarily; and that so far from the *universal* being entirely contained in each individual falling

was the great champion of Realism, William de Champeaux. Abélard, with his dexterous logic, used the arguments of each to confute the other in turn. It suited well with his intellectual arrogance to occupy the position of a moderator between opposing views; and the system into which he finally settled,—that is, Conceptualism,—is practically a *tertium quid*, which aimed at avoiding the difficulties of both systems. In fact it accepted the affirmations of both sides, without accepting their negations; though, practically speaking, the result is nearer to Nominalism than Realism. "The main tenet of the Nominalists," says Dr. R. L. Poole, "the absolute existence of the individual, he accepted; but he did

under it, as was usually maintained by the Realists, it was only reached by a mental putting together of the qualities common to all the individuals comprehended within it: *Universalia post rem*, instead of the *Universalia ante rem*, which was the principle of the Realist. A third school was that of *Conceptualism*, of which Abélard was in his own day the chief advocate, though there were traces of it in the glosses of Heric of Auxerre, and in the writings of Rabanus Maurus, both in the ninth century; while it may be said to agree in many respects with the dialectic of Aristotle. His views are sketched in the text; and it will be seen that Conceptualism was far nearer to Nominalism than Realism, for though he allowed that the human mind could not but entertain universal ideas, these were only existent *relatively* to the mind conceiving them, and had no *necessary* or *absolute* existence, as maintained by Realists. The student will find a fuller discussion of the question in Trench, "Mediæv. Ch. History," or F. D. Maurice, "Mediæval Philosophy, from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century."

not rigidly limit existence to that which is open to the senses. Genera and species, the categories and predicables, he refused, indeed, to endow with essence as things; they had no actual existence apart from the individual; nor was the universal, as William of Champeaux held, contained in its entirety, within the particular. The process was the other way; it was from the particular that we arrived at the general, by an effect of thought. On the other hand, if the universals, if abstractions of all sorts, were the creations of the intellect, they were also its necessary creations; they were, therefore, so far real that the human mind could not do without them. In the same way, Abélard found no difficulty in the *universalia ante rem*, the universals considered as anterior to the sensible world; since they might equally be conceived in relation to the mind of GOD as to our own. The Platonic world of ideas was thus to be understood as existing in GOD'S creative thought." [1]

The position which he took up with regard to theology was almost purely that of a critic, and his faults rose uniformly from his undue reliance on human learning and wisdom,—that is to say, upon his own. Thus he declares:—"Human science and knowledge, as the fruit of that intelligence with which GOD has been pleased to endow mankind, are the

[1] "Illustrations of Mediæval Thought," p. 140.

gifts of GOD, and therefore in some measure good. GOD, who makes use of evil to effect good, hath certainly appointed his good gifts to a good use. If the Apostle Paul speaks against human wisdom, it is only in reference to the *abuse* of it, and this he would not condemn, if it were incapable of a *good* use. Human learning, it is true, can neither confer innocence nor holiness, nor has it any meritorious efficacy in the sight of GOD; for these are only to be obtained through faith and the grace of GOD alone; but yet the mind may thereby be gradually prepared for, and made capable of, receiving the more eminent gifts of wisdom after conversion; for the saints had attained to higher measures of divine knowledge, not so much in consequence of their piety as of their previous studies: and although, with respect to merit in the sight of GOD, Paul had no advantage over Peter, nor Augustine over Martin; yet, as both had, previous to their conversion, been distinguished for their skill in human learning and science, so after it both attained to a proportionally higher degree of the grace of divine knowledge."—Neander, "Life," p. 130.

Nothing was so sacred to him as to be exempted from subjection to his analysis. His "free handling" of religious doctrines may compare in boldness and ruthlessness with that of the nineteenth century. But his technical knowledge of theology does

not seem to have been equal to that which he had of philosophy; and he arrived frequently at very strange conclusions accordingly. Thus one of the complaints that St. Bernard makes against him is that "he puts forth in his books many blasphemous novelties, both of words and senses. . . . When he discourses of the Trinity he savours of Arius; when of grace, of Pelagius; when of the Person of Christ, of Nestorius."[1] His attempt was to expound and explain the doctrines of religion by the mere force of intellect. Faith was, according to his system, only an *intellectual opinion* or *estimate*,[2] and its convictions as provisional or working hypotheses only,[3] which it belonged to human reason to examine, that it might approve or reject them. Thus one of the best known of his works, which he entitled "Sic et Non," consists of passages selected from Holy Scripture or the Fathers, for or against particular doctrines; so that these, being brought into the form of theses, might be argued out according to the rules of his dialectic. He was impatient,—he proved it a hundred times over during his life,—of all authority. "There are many men," he declared, "who, finding

[1] Letter 191.

[2] "In primo limine Theologiæ, fidem defini æstimationem." —"Tractato de Erroribus Abael.," c. iv. 9.

[3] We are reminded here of Mr. Matthew Arnold's characterisation of Scriptural statements as "words *thrown* out at great subjects."

themselves unable to explain the doctrines of religion in an intelligible manner, seek consolation for their ignorance by heaping praises on that enthusiastic fervid faith which believes without inquiry. . . . If men are not to subject their faith to the investigations of reason, the consequence will be that they must receive truth and falsehood without distinction." This was true enough : and his opponents did not wish to deny that reason had its legitimate and important province of action in respect to belief. Their objection was that his method of inquiry practically amounted to an attempt to found theology upon a purely human base ; a course which must tend eventually to its entire destruction, since, where every man is at liberty to construct a religious system for himself which shall have equal authority with that of every other man, there will be eventually as many systems as there are individuals ; and, as it is impossible that the bases upon which these rest can be verified, the systems, one and all, must necessarily become mere arbitrary exercises of the imagination.

At the same time it is fair to remember that Abélard himself always professed the highest respect and attachment to the Church and her doctrines. He repudiated with horror various heretical consequences which were pointed out to him as following from his teaching ; and his personal faith was strong and unquestionably sincere. His errors arose

rather from his inveterate habit of criticism, by which nothing was held sacred, and from his extreme vanity and intellectual pride, which rendered it incumbent upon him to justify by a powerful show of reasoning any criticism to which he had once committed himself, than from any perversity of will or actual heterodoxy of sentiment.

Such was the man with whom Bernard was now to find himself in conflict. Intellectual warfare was, as it were, the breath of his nostrils; he was "the hero of a hundred fights" in the arena of argument. Ever since his early youth (he was now close upon sixty years of age) he had been familiar with, and victorious in, those contests in which vast resources of learning, stored in the memory and producible at the instant when required, together with quickness and readiness of logical thrust and parry, were the conditions of success. Mr. J. C. Morison speaks of him as "a young logician errant from near Nantes, in Brittany, named Master Peter Abélard, who had fought his way up to Paris in many an encounter, and is now going to carry off his crowning victory amid the plaudits of assembled Europe" That refers to the year 1109, just thirty years before; and ever since he had been engaged in a succession of such contests, nor had ever found his match as yet; so that he might be excused for anticipating an easy victory over this new opponent.

Their collision was brought about in this wise: Early in the year 1140 William, Abbot of St. Thierry, addressed a letter jointly to Bernard and to Geoffrey, Bishop of Chartres, drawing their attention to the recent teaching of Abélard. "I see," he says, "the faith on which rests our common hope gravely and dangerously compromised, no one resisting or objecting. . . . . Nor are these attacks made on doctrines of small importance, but on the faith of the Holy Trinity, on the Person of the Mediator, the Holy Spirit, the Grace of God, the Sacrament of our common Redemption. For Peter Abélard is again teaching and publishing novelties; his books cross the seas, pass the Alps; new speculations concerning the doctrines of the faith, and new dogmas are spread throughout provinces and realms, and openly preached and freely defended. . . . He makes himself a critic of the faith and not a disciple, an improver of it instead of a follower."[1]

The bishop does not appear to have taken any notice of the matter. Bernard replies speedily, approves the indignation of his correspondent as both just and necessary, and expresses a wish that they should meet and discuss the subject if possible, "for," he adds, "as you well know, I do not rely entirely on my own judgment, especially in such weighty matters." But it was the season of Lent,

[1] Letter 326, vol. ii. p. 852 of English edition.

and he thinks that the whole matter will have to be put off until after Easter, "if we are to give ourselves without distraction to earnest prayer as this holy time requires." He will be glad on his own part to have further space of time to inform himself upon all these questions, "of which the greater number, not to say all, are entirely new to him." "But," he concludes piously, "God is able, in His great power, to bestow upon me the wisdom and the light which you shall ask for me in your prayers. Farewell." We must suppose, though we are nowhere told, that the meeting between the friends took place when Easter had passed, and that after their discussion they agreed that something must be done. For the next thing that we find Bernard doing is to take an opportunity to meet Magister Peter, and to remonstrate with him privately, according to the evangelical precept (St. Matt. xviii. 15), "desiring, with his accustomed goodness, that the error should be corrected, not that the man should be publicly put to shame.[1]

In this private interview he dealt with his antagonist so kindly and gently, as well as with such cogency of reasoning, that the insane vanity of Abélard was for

[1] Qui nimirum solita bonitate desiderans errorem corrigi, hominem non confundi, secreta illum admonitione convenit. Cum quo etiam tam modeste, tamque rationabiliter egit, ut ille quoque compunctus, ad ipsius arbitrium correcturum se promitteret universa.—Alanus, "Life," xxvi. 71.

once not aroused, and he promised that he would correct all that he had written, in such a way as to satisfy Bernard. Unfortunately, this happy frame of mind did not last when he got beyond the charm of Bernard's manner and address. He failed to fulfil his promise, but, on the contrary, appealed to the Archbishop of Sens, in whose jurisdiction, as Metropolitan, both he and Bernard were, and demanded a public inquiry into all that he had written or taught. He was, he declared, confident of his own entire orthodoxy, and was prepared to defend it before a synod, which he requested the archbishop to call forthwith.

The archbishop was that Henry "le Sanglier" (the Wild Boar, so called we do not know why), for whose benefit Bernard had written, in 1128, his "Tractatus de Moribus et Officio Episcoporum." How far he had profited by that admirable sketch of the duties of a prelate does not appear. But more recently (1136) Bernard had occasion to write to him a sharp reprimand for his "hateful harshness" to his clergy, and to warn him that his course of conduct could end only in "shame and deposition," that he was "hastening on his own confusion as fast as he could."[1]

[1] "With hands and feet," *manibus ac pedibus accersitis*.—Letter 182. The warning was fulfilled, for the archbishop was suspended *ab officio* in that very year.

It is probable that he was not unwilling to see his stern mentor put into a difficult position in return. At all events, he made no objection to complying with Abélard's request. It happened that there was going to be on the octave of Pentecost (Trinity Sunday) of that year, a great meeting of prelates and lay dignitaries at Sens, for one of the frequent "functions" of that period. King Louis himself was to be there, and several of his great feudatories. Accordingly it was proposed to Bernard to attend a synod to be held at that time, and to state the charges against the teaching of Abélard. But it was far from Bernard's wish to assume such a part; nor did he regard himself as competent to oppose in public, in a set discussion, a trained and experienced disputant. "The Archbishop of Sens," he wrote to Pope Innocent, "at his [Abélard] solicitation, writes to me fixing a day for the encounter, on which he in person, with his brother bishops, should determine, if possible, on his false opinions, against which I had ventured to lift my voice. I refused, not only because I am but a youth, and he a man of war from his youth, but also because I thought it unfitting that the grounds of the faith should be handed over to human reasonings for discussion, when, as it is agreed, it rests on such a sure and firm foundation. I said that his writings were enough for his condemnation, and that it was not my business, but that

of the bishops, whose office it is to decide on matters of faith."[1]

But the mere announcement of a public discussion between these two celebrated men, each the acknowledged leader in his own class, excited at once the greatest curiosity and interest throughout France. Abélard himself, in joyous and confident anticipation of another victory, sent to summon his scholars and his friends around him from all sides, with the news that he was about to debate publicly against the famous Abbot of Clairvaux. It was, he hoped, to be the greatest, as it would probably be the last, of his innumerable triumphs in the *champ clos* of debate.

Bernard, in the meantime, was being entreated by his friends to reconsider his refusal, and to accept the challenge. "Much against my will, and with tears," he says in the Letter we have already quoted, "I yielded to the advice of my friends, who saw how all were getting ready as if for a show; and they feared, lest from my absence, cause of offence should be given to the people, and the horn of the adversary be exalted." At last he made up his mind that he must go, whatever betided. "Ill as he always was, worn and weary as he at this moment was, he girded up his loins to the trial, to his duty. Probably never Crusader marched against overpowering infidels, never knight entered on single combat, with more

[1] Le ter 189.

trust in GOD and less in man or himself, than did Bernard when he left Clairvaux to be present at Sens."[1]

The day came. The synod was gathered together, and on the second day of its meeting the anxiously-expected trial was held in the great Church of S. Stephen. Challenger and challenged passed up the crowded church to the places appointed for them. Bishops, nobles, knights, clergy, and monks, filled every available foot of space. As Abélard made his way along the nave he passed (it is said) close by his friend and sympathiser, Gilbert de Porrée, who will one day have himself to figure in a similar court of accusation, and, catching his eye, whispered to him that significant line of Horace —

"Nam tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet."

In a wooden pulpit provided for the purpose[2] stood Bernard with the "Introduction to Theology" in his hands. One after another he read the passages on which accusations were founded, pointed out their discrepancy with received doctrines, and with the declarations of the Fathers. There could be little doubt that he had made good, in a score of instances, the charges of rash and ill-considered speech, if not of actual heresy, against the brilliant and self-sufficient peripatetic.

[1] Morison, "Life," p. 311.

[2] It is said that this pulpit was in existence until the French Revolution broke out in 1789.

Then the time came for the reply. Abélard was called upon to declare whether he acknowledged these extracts from his works as being his deliberate opinions, and, if so, whether he had anything to say in their favour, or was prepared to retract them.

To the astonishment of the entire assembly, friends and opponents, Abélard did neither. "I appeal to the Pope," he cried, at the same time turning to leave the church. "Do you fear for your personal safety?" said Bernard in astonishment. "You are perfectly secure; you know that nothing is intended against you; you may answer freely, and be assured of a patient hearing." Bernard's guarantee could not be reasonably doubted. But Abélard was not reassured. He had lost his nerve, for some reason, and was unable to say a word in his own defence. "He confessed afterwards to his friends, they say," explains Bernard's biographer, "that at that juncture his memory left him, his reason was obscured, and all his presence of mind vanished."[1]

"I have appealed to the Court of Rome," he replied, and instantly left the assembly.

After the astonishment which this proceeding occasioned had somewhat subsided, the examination of the works was resumed; nor is it surprising that they were unanimously condemned. But no measures were taken against Abélard himself, since he had

[1] Geoffrey, "Life," b. v. c. 14.

appealed to the Pope. The latter, however, lost no time in confirming this condemnation, and, furthermore, ordered Abélard to desist from further public teaching.

Thus ended a notable encounter between the two great prevailing currents of thought in this age. Abélard did not prosecute his appeal to Rome. The case was too clear against him, and the tribunal had already pronounced. The broken and now aging man was happy in finding a hospitable asylum with his kindly and charitable friend, Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny. By his wise and sympathetic advice he first reconciled himself with Bernard, then with the Church; abandoning the novelties of teaching which had caused so much scandal, and preparing, in prayer and pious works, for the end of his life. That was not long in coming to him. Two years more and he died at S. Marcellus, Chalons, one of the dependent houses of Cluny, worn out with the stress and conflict of life, which he had experienced far beyond the measure of ordinary men, and to quote the words of good Abbot Peter, "As we may believe, passed to the LORD."[1] He was buried, as he desired, at his own foundation of the Paraclete; and his body now rests beside that of his wife Heloise, in a tomb at the cemetery of Père la Chaise, Paris.

"*After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well.*"

[1] Petri Venerab., "Epp.," b. iv. n. 21.

CHAPTER IX.

BERNARD AS AN AUTHOR.

Bernard's extensive correspondence; remarkable character of it—His influence as a preacher; testimonies to this—Doubt whether he preached in French or Latin, or sometimes in each of these—His various Treatises, and the occasion of writing each—The "Treatise on Grace and Free Will," a summary of S. Augustine's teaching on the subject—His Hymns—Specimens of each of these.

THE literary activity of Bernard naturally took two great forms: that of the theologian simply, and that of the preacher, A third might, perhaps, be added—that of a writer of letters; for it may justly be said that very many of his letters are treatises, as many of his treatises are certainly in the form of letters. His correspondence was vast; and though it cannot be doubted that many of his letters have perished, yet those which remain are four hundred and fifty in number, and occupy folios 101–818 of the fourth edition of his works, which is closely printed in quarto size. Nor are they the least remarkable of his writings. They are addressed to people of every class in society, from the highest to the lowest; to kings, queens, and statesmen, to noblemen and knights, noble ladies, and men and women of the people. He was the correspondent of one Pope

after another as long as he lived, and one came after another in quick succession; of cardinals, archbishops and bishops, clergy, monks and nuns, young men and young women. He was consulted upon all manner of strange subjects by people who only knew the great and saintly abbot by report; but he never seems to have grudged thought and trouble to reply with wisdom and sympathy to his questioners, while his correspondence with the various popes shows that he watched, reported, and advised upon all public events which affected the work of the Church.

II. This was, however, but, so to speak, a *private* work. It did not bring the writer before the public eye, nor enable him to affect great numbers of the people at once, as was the case with his sermons and public addresses. In these, according to the testimony of his contemporaries, there was a magnetic, persuasive power, which produced marvellous effects. He was the greatest preacher of the century in which he lived, probably throughout all the Middle Ages, says Schleiniger.[1]

When he preached the Second Crusade in France and Germany, vast multitudes were won to take the

[1] "Der hervorragendste Redner des Mittelalters war aber unstreitig der grosse heilige Bernhard (1091–1153) der durch die Salbung wie das Feuer seines Wortes wie der ganz andie hl. Väter erinnert und aussordentliche Erfolge feierte."—"Das Kirchliche Predigtamt," von Nikolaus Schleiniger, Auflage ii. Einleitung, p. 22.

Cross, by the mere sight of his face and form wrought into a tenuity and pallor almost ghostly,[1] and by the music of his voice, though they could not understand the language in which he spoke.

Sermons and preachers were not so frequent then as they have since become. It was St. Bernard himself who introduced the practice (then unusual) of preaching to his monks constantly, sometimes daily, when he was well enough. His "fertility of eloquence" is spoken of by a critic by no means friendly, as "everywhere known."[2]

These sermons, though written in Latin, as we have them now, were (at least, some of them) in all probability delivered in French. Audiences consisting only of clergy were indeed usually addressed in Latin. It would have been considered disrespectful to them to do otherwise. The Latin "*Concio*," delivered at the opening of every new Canterbury Convocation, is a survival of the practice. But unlearned audiences were of necessity preached to in the vernacular.[3]

[1] Siquidem vir ille bonus longo eremi squalore et jejuniis ac pallore confectus, et in quamdam spiritualis formæ tenuitatem redactus, prius persuadet visus quam auditus."—Wibald, abbot of Stabulo, "Ep.," 147.

[2] Berengarii Scholastici Apologeticus.

[3] Even so early as the time of Provost Notker (d. 1008) this was the practice, as we learn from his epitaph :—

Vulgari plebem, clerum sermone latino
Erudit, et satiat magni dulcedine verbi.

Bouquet, "Gallic. et Francic. Rer. Script.," x. 286, ap. Vaughan, "Life of S. Thomas of Aquin."

In the fourth edition of the works of St. Bernard (tom. iii. p. 1631), we have a fragment of a sermon of his for the First Sunday in Advent, in very old and rude French, which had been found in an ancient MS. at Feuillans.[1] And the story that is told of S. Bernard, that he once said in preaching, that the first time a woman opened her mouth, she upset the whole world; and that the women who were among the audience rose up and protested before the congregation against the unfairness of such imputations, tells in the same direction. For clearly these ladies understood the words of the preacher, which they would hardly have done had they been Latin. In 1213, as we learn, the abbot of *Jumièges* used to explain the Gospel in French for the sake of the less instructed brethren (*simplicioribus fratribus.*)[2]

Bernard had, we are assured by contemporaries, an extraordinary charm in speaking, "of which his pen, however eloquent it might be, could not reproduce the warmth and sweetness." God had bestowed upon him the gift of speech equally learned, pleasing, and persuasive. "His discourse," says Sixtus of Siena, "is everywhere sweet, and yet fiery; it so

[1] It is fair to say that Mabillon is of opinion that they were delivered in Latin; but, on the other hand, it is certain that the large majority of Cistercian monks were unlearned persons, to whom a Latin sermon would have been unintelligible. Comp. Mabillon's Excursus on the question.

[2] Vaughan, vol. i. pp. 437–440.

delights, and at the same time inflames, that honey and milk seem to flow together from his persuasive tongue, while jets of fire and flame burst from his heart of fire." A description which is a proof how triumphantly the preaching of St. Bernard is able to endure that which is, indeed, the true test of oratory, in showing how profound was the impression which it made upon his contemporaries who saw and who heard it. For the tongue of the orator produces its effect at once; while the pen of the writer is less powerful in immediate effect, though it lasts when the other has passed away.

III. It would occupy too much of our space here to give a *catalogue raisonné* of all the treatises of St. Bernard. We can but mention a few of the chief.

1. *Four Books* "*On Consideration.*"—This was addressed to Pope Eugenius III., with regard to the duties and responsibilities of his office. This is, on the whole, the most important of his works. Neander speaks of it as "a mirror of humiliation to all subsequent Popes;"[1] and Calvin declares of it that "Abbot Bernard, in his books 'Of Consideration,' speaks as sublimely as if he were the very Truth Himself speaking."[2]

2. *Treatise* (or Letter) *on the Character and Office*

[1] Life, p. 305.

[2] Bernardus abbas in libris de Consideratione ita loquitur, ut Veritas Ipsa loqui videatur.

of Bishops, addressed to Henry, Archbishop of Sens.—Besides sketching the character of a truly Christian chief pastor, who, by his genuinely spiritual life, makes himself an example to his flock, this treatise contains much curious information respecting the condition and circumstances of the higher clergy at that time. It proves incidentally how extensively the Episcopate had been secularised, and how generally worldly it had become.

3. *Sermon on Conversion: to the Clergy.*—This deals with the special requirements in heart and soul, and the special duties of the priesthood.

4. *Books upon Precept and Dispensation.*—As the preceding had for subject the various orders of the clergy, so this deals with the monastic rule (*i.e.* of St. Benedict), and the way it should be observed by those under its authority, .viz., all orders of monks. It is introduced by a letter to the Abbot of Columba, and a "Preface" addressed to the monks of St. Peter at Chartres.

5. *Apology*, addressed to William, Abbot of St. Thierry.—In this is stated St. Bernard's strong objection to the growing laxity and luxurious habits of the monastic orders, and particularly of that of Cluny. In the "brief Preface" (*Præfatiuncula*) he remarks that he knew it to be his correspondent's wish that he should make some satisfactory reply to those "who complain of us as being detractors from

the Cluniac Order," and he is only sorry that this cannot be done without the appearance of "carping criticism."

6. *On the Praise of a New* (spiritual) *Warfare.*—A treatise intended for the then newly-founded Order of the Temple; and the prologue is addressed to Hugo de Payen, the founder and first Grand Master of that order.

7. *Treatise on Humility.*—This is in two parts; the first on Humility, the second on the "Twelve Degrees of Pride." It was written about 1127, and seems to have been the first treatise that Bernard composed.[1]

8. *On the Love of God*, addressed to Cardinal Haimeric.

9. *Treatise on Grace and Free-Will*, addressed to William of St. Thierry.—"It contains much teaching respecting the free-will of GOD, of the angels, and of man, whether in his state of innocence, fallen, or when glorified; also of the grace bestowed upon the first man before the Fall, and after it" (Mabillon). This is really a learned and able summary of St. Augustine's treatise under the same title, "Ad Valentinum et cum illo monachos Adrumetinos."

10. *Treatise* (or Letter) to Hugo of St. Victor, *concerning Baptism* and other Questions proposed by

[1] See Letter 18.

him. And about twenty-five others; together with the beautiful hymns, "De Contemptu Mundi"; "De Nomine Jesu"; "Ad Membra Christi Patientis" (*i.e.*, On the Passion of Our LORD); "To the LORD CHRIST, and to the Blessed Mary, His Mother"; and "De Nativitate Domini."

We proceed now to give some translations as specimens of each of these classes, referring the reader for fuller information to the English edition of the whole works of St. Bernard, now in course of being published.

First, of the Letters. Of these we extract two. The former was addressed to the Bishop of Pavia, after Bernard's wonderfully successful mission there was over, and he had left the city, in reply to one of praise and thanks from him. It shows his habitual humility, and how he gave the praise to GOD for all that was done by his means :—

"TO PETER, BISHOP OF PAVIA.

"If good seed, sown in good soil, seems to have brought forth fruit, His is the glory who gave the seed to the sower, fertility to the soil, increase to the seed. What have we to do with these? I certainly will not give Christ's glory to another, much less will I claim it for myself. Surely it is *the law of the Lord that converteth the soul*, and not I; it is the testimony of the Lord that is sure, and giveth wisdom unto the simple, and not I. It is the hand and not the pen

that is praised for the fair shape of the letters, and if I am to claim for myself what belongs to me in anything I have done, I confess that *my tongue is the pen of a ready writer.* But, you say, why, then, *are the feet of them that preach good tidings called beautiful?* What are their advantages? Much every way. First, because they are the children of their Father, which is in heaven; they think that the glory which they offer to Him as tribute is none other's but His, and, being children, they are His heirs. Then, also, they reckon that the salvation of their neighbours is also their own, for they love them as themselves. Thirdly, the labour of their lips shall not utterly perish. For *every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour.* I have not prevented my lips; thou hast opened thy heart also, and therefore wilt doubtless receive more inasmuch as thou hast laboured more. I am certain that thy reward awaits thee, for thou hast given drink to the thirsty, and met with bread those that were flying. Nor wilt thy kindly offices, nor the exhortations to salvation with which thou hast refreshed the bowels of Christ in His poor go unrewarded. We are both fellow-labourers, fellow-helpers of GOD; let us both hope for our reward in the sight of the souls of the saints saved through us. May GOD grant that I never forget you, nor you cease to remember me."—*Letter* 135.

The next we quote for its thoughtful and beautiful statement of the conditions of ministerial success :—

"To Baldwin, Abbot of the Monastery of Riéti.

"The letter which you have sent me is full of your affection; it stirs mine. And I am grieved that I cannot reply as I feel. Nor will I waste time in making excuses, knowing that I speak to one who knows me.

"But do you see that you are found a faithful and prudent servant. See that you give their heavenly bread to your fellow-servants without grudging, and that you pray without ceasing; and do not make any empty excuse about your being new to the office, and inexperienced; for this, perhaps, you feel or put on. For a barren modesty is unpleasing, and humility beyond the bounds of truth is not praiseworthy. Attend, then, to your duties. Drive away false shame by considering the dignity of your office. Act as a teacher. . . . But I am not, you will say, sufficient for these things. As though your devotion were not accepted from what you have, and not from what you have not! Prepare to give an answer about the one talent entrusted to you, and be easy about the rest. If you have received much, give much; but if little, then give that little. For he that is not faithful in the least will not be faithful in the greatest. Give

all, because all will be asked for again from you, even to the last farthing, but only what you have, not what you have not.

"Remember also to give to your voice the utterance of power. What is that, do you say? That your works harmonise with your words; nay, rather your words with your works; that is to say, that you take care to do first, and then to teach. It is a most beautiful and most wholesome order of things that you should first bear yourself what you impose as a burden on another, and so learn from yourself how you ought to rule others. Otherwise the Wise Man will address you as the sluggard, to whom *it is a labour to lift up his hand to his mouth.* The Apostle, too, will reprove you: Thou that teachest others, dost thou not teach thyself? Moreover, you will be stamped with the fault of the Pharisees, who *bind heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders, but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.* The example set by actual work is indeed a speech that is living and efficacious, easily making that which is said persuasive, by showing that that which is ordered can be done. On these two kinds of commands, viz., of word and example, understand that there hang the whole of your duty and the safety of your conscience. Yet if you are wise you will add a third, viz., devotion to prayer, as a kind of complement of that threefold repetition in

the Gospel, concerning feeding the sheep. In this way you will find that the Sacrament of this Trinity is in nothing made void by you if you feed by word, by example, and by the fruit of holy prayers. And now abideth these three—word, example, prayer; but the greatest of these is prayer. For although, as I said, work is the life of the word spoken, yet prayer gives both to work and word, grace and efficacy."—*Letter* 201.

We come now to the Treatises; but here any specimens we may give must be still more inadequate representatives of the great mass of cogent reasoning, of earnest, and highly spiritual pleading of which they consist. We take first some quotations from the "*De Consideratione*," in which he blames the multiplication of legal causes brought for decision to the Pope, which withdraw him from the duties rightfully belonging to him, and so injure his spiritual usefulness:

"I ask you why it is that you are occupied only from morning until evening in hearing suits and suitors? Even the night is partly occupied; and scarcely time is left for the needful repose of the body, when you rise again to return to these pleadings. Day hands on to-day these processes without end, and night leaves to-night interminable perplexities; it is hardly possible for you to devote a thought to good things, to have an hour for rest or repose. . . . Do not say to me with the Apostle: *Though I be free from all men, yet I have made myself the servant of all.*

The words of St. Paul do not apply to you. It was not to minister to shameful ambition that he made himself the servant of all the faithful. It was not the case with him that a crowd of intriguers flocked to him from all the ends of the earth; of covetous, of simoniacs, of sacrilegious, of unclean, and such like monsters in human form, to solicit, or to obtain permission to retain the dignities of the Church, from his Apostolical authority: so that man who said, *for me to live in Christ and to die is gain*, made himself a servant only to gain men for GOD, and not to increase the treasures of avarice. . . . . What can be more slavish, and more unbecoming a Pope, than to be employed every day, and all the day, in such labours and for such men? When, then, can you find the time to engage in prayer, to instruct the people, to edify the Church, to meditate upon the law of GOD? There is indeed frequent mention of laws in your palace, but they are the laws of Justinian, not the laws of GOD. Should this be so? The law of the LORD which converts the soul; but these are not so much laws as disputations and cavillings, *subverting* the judgment. How then do you, I pray you, you who art a pastor and bishop of souls, suffer yourself to keep silence upon the one, and to allow the others to be constantly heard?" [1]

And his precept for avoiding the evils which he has mentioned is as follows:—

[1] "De Consid.," b. i. c. ii., iii., iv.

"Do you think yourself dishonoured, you who are the disciple and the servant of our LORD and Master, if you are not the judge of all? It seems to me that it is not to estimate things at their right value, to think it a cause of complaint that Apostles or apostolic men who are called to judge matters of a higher order, should not be judges in matters of this temporal kind. It is over the transgressions of men, not over their worldly possessions, that you have a power of judging; it is on account of the former and not of the latter that you have received the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and it is sinners that are to be excluded therefrom, not with regard to their temporal possessions. . . . These low and earthly things have their proper judges, the kings and princes of the earth. Why do you invade the territory of others? Why do you put forth your sickle into another man's harvest? Not that you are unworthy of them, but that it is unworthy of you to delay upon such functions, while you are called to greater ones." [1]

We may put beside this Bernard's beautiful description of the character and the duty of a minister of Christ, taken from his tract on the office of bishops:—

"A right intention of the heart (in a Christian bishop or priest) consists in two things; in seeking the glory of GOD and the benefit of his neighbour; so that a bishop should, in all his words and actions,

[1] "De Consid.," c. vi.

seek nothing for himself, but only the honour of GOD, or the salvation of his brethren, or both together. It is thus that he will be able to fulfil the office of a pontiff, and, according to the derivation of the word, become as it were a kind of bridge (*pons*) of communication between GOD and man. For as a bridge he reaches even unto GOD by the faithfulness with which he seeks GOD'S glory and not his own. On the other hand, he touches his neighbours by the pious devotion with which he seeks to do good to them, rather than to himself. Like a good mediator, he offers to GOD the prayers and vows of the congregation; and brings back to them blessing and grace from GOD. He supplicates the Divine Majesty on behalf of the offences of sinners, and rebukes sinners for the wrong that they do against GOD. The unthankful he puts in mind of the benefits of His goodness, while he reminds despisers and impenitent of the severity of His power; yet he strives, nevertheless, to appease the wrath of their offended GOD on behalf of each; thus touching at one time the weakness of men, and at another the greatness of the Divine Love. Finally, whether he shows himself exacting on behalf of GOD, or circumspect on our behalf, he has never any other desire than to serve GOD, or to be of advantage to us as much as in him lies; and seeks not his own advantage, but that of many.

"The faithful priest is he who regards with dove-like simplicity all the wealth which passes through his hands, whether it be the benefits bestowed by GOD upon men or the offerings of men to GOD; and keeps back nothing for himself, for he seeks not the gifts of the people, but their good; not his own glory, but the glory of GOD. The talent which he has received he does not enfold in a napkin, but distributes among the money-changers, from whom he receives the interest not for himself, but for his LORD. For him there is not a lair as foxes, a nest as birds, nor purses as had Judas; nor has he any more than Mary, a place in the hostelry. For he imitates Him who had not where to lay His head; for the present world he has become, as it were, a vessel of little worth: but without doubt there shall be a time when he shall be a vessel to honour and not for dishonour. Finally, he loses his soul in this world in order that he may find it in the life which is eternal."[1]

We have noticed already that St. Bernard, like the whole of the Cistercian Order at its first foundation, was excessively jealous of the luxury and display of the day, and that as well in the decoration and costliness of churches as in other matters. He had, like many earnest men, a bias towards Puritanism. We add here a passage from his Apology addressed to William of St. Thierry, bearing upon this subject:—

[1] "De Offic. Episc.," c. iii. x., xi.

"I will not speak of the immense height of the churches, of their immoderate length, of their superfluous breadth, &c. (see pp. 116, 117).

"To speak plainly, is it not avarice which does all this? By the sight of wonderful and costly vanities men are prompted to give rather than to pray. The eyes are feasted on relics cased in gold, and thus the purses of the spectators are opened. . . . . In the churches are hung not mere *coronæ*, but wheels studded with gems and surrounded by lights, which are scarcely brighter than the jewels with which the wheels are set. Instead of candlesticks, I behold as it were great trees of massive brass, constructed with wonderful labour and skill, and glittering as much with jewels as with the lights set upon them. Why at least do we not reverence the images of the saints with which the very pavement we walk on is covered? Often the mouth of an angel is spit upon, and the face of some saint battered by the heels of the passers-by. If we cannot spare the sacred figures, cannot we spare at least the beautiful colours? Why decorate what must speedily be soiled, why cover with bright colours what must be trodden on? What do you suppose is the object of all this? to promote the penitence of the contrite or the admiration of beholders?"[1]

"Again, on the walls of the cloisters, where the

[1] "Apologia," c. xii. p. 28.

brethren read, what place have those absurd monsters, those odd and beautiful deformities, and those fair forms twisted into deformity? What is the use there of those hideous apes, those fierce lions, those monstrous, half-human centaurs, those variegated tigers, those soldiers combating, and hunters blowing their horns? There you see one head with many bodies, and again many heads on one body; there is beheld a quadruped with the tail of a serpent, and further on a fish with the head of a quadruped. Sometimes you are confronted by a creature whose fore parts are those of a horse, and whose hind parts those of a goat; or with the head of a horned animal and the rest of the body like a horse. So great is the number of these representations, and so striking and varied their character, that the brethren are attracted rather to gaze at the walls than to read manuscripts; and to pass their day in admiring the paintings rather than in meditating upon the law of God."—(*Ibid.*)

Passing now to the sermons of Bernard, we may divide them under four distinct headings:—1st. *De Tempore*, which follow the course of the fasts and festivals in the Christian year; 2nd. *De Sanctis*, for the various saints' days; 3rd. *In Cantica*, consisting of eighty-six sermons,[1] professedly an exposition of the

[1] They are continued by Gilbert of Holland in forty-six sermons more; and even then "morte præventus absolvere non potuit."

Song of Solomon, but really branching off into long and eloquent dissertations on a variety of subjects; and 4th. *De Diversis*, or Miscellaneous Sermons. From the third of these divisions we take the following:—

"OF THE FOUR ORDERS OF SPIRITS: THAT IS, THE SPIRIT OF GOD, OF ANGELS, OF MEN, AND OF BEASTS.

"1. Four orders of spirits are known to you: that of animals, that which we ourselves have, that of the angels, and of Him who has created all these. To each of all these a body, or bodily form, is necessary, either on its own account, or on account of communication with other beings, or both; He only being excepted, to whom every created being, whether corporeal or incorporeal, rightly offers its homage, saying: *Thou art my God, thou needest not any great thing of mine.* Now it is plain that the first of these Orders needs a body, in such sort that it cannot so much as exist without one; for when the animal dies, the spirit also ceases to live, and to vivify the body. But we continue to exist even after the [death of] the body; yet to those things among which we happily live, we have no access, except by means of the body. This is what he had experienced who said: *The invisible things of God are clearly discerned, being understood by the things which are made.* For indeed those very things which

are made, that is, things visible and corporeal, do not come to our knowledge unless they are perceived by the help of the bodily senses. The spiritual being, therefore, which we are, has a body which is necessary to it, and without which it can by no means attain unto that knowledge, which is the only means to reach those things, in whose knowledge it becomes blessed. And if here the case of little children is objected to me, who, being regenerated, depart out of the body without any knowledge of things corporeal, and are believed, nevertheless, to pass into a life of blessedness: I answer briefly that grace, not nature, confers this upon them. And as I am discoursing of natural things, I have nothing to say here of the miracles of GOD'S grace.

"2. That the heavenly spirits also need a body appears clear from that truly divine saying: *Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister unto them who shall be heirs of salvation?* For how, without a body, can they fulfil their ministry, especially to those who are dwelling in the body? Finally, it is only bodies of which it can be said that they pass from place to place; but that the angels frequently do this there is abundant authority for asserting. Hence angels were seen by the Fathers, entered into their homes, ate with them, and suffered their feet to be washed. Thus spirits, both of the lower and the higher order, need their

own bodies; but only that they may render assistance, not that they may receive it.

"3. But the animal indeed discharges its debt of servitude, yet it serves only for the supply of temporal and corporeal necessities; and, therefore, its life both passes away with time and perishes with its body. For *the servant abideth not in the house for ever;* although those who use them well refer all the use of this temporal servitude to the gaining of things eternal. But the angel is quick and full of energy in the freedom of the spirit to discharge his office of compassion, showing himself to mortals, his fellow-citizens and joint-heirs of heavenly joy, a prompt and ready minister of good things to come. Both the animal then, that he may serve us according to obligation, and the angel, that he may assist us in his pious charity, have doubtless need of their bodies. For I do not see how they themselves are helped by them as regards the attainment of eternal good," &c.[1]

The last quotation for which we have space is on a very favourite subject of St. Bernard, the love of Christ to mankind, as shown in His Passion:—

SERMON ON THE PASSION.[2]

"'Greater love,' He saith, 'hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.' Thou,

[1] "Serm. in Cant.," v. 1–3.

[2] "Sermons for the Seasons of the Church," trans. by Rev. W. B. Flower, B.A.

O Lord, hadst greater still, laying it down even for Thine enemies. For whilst we were yet enemies, we were reconciled to Thee and Thy Father by Thy death. What other love can be, has been, or will be like Thine? Scarcely for a righteous man will one die; Thou sufferedst for the unjust, dying for our sins, for Thou camest to justify sinners freely, to make slaves brethren, captives co-heirs, and exiles kings. And surely nothing so clearly sets forth alike this patience and humility, as that He gave up His soul to death, and bore the sins of many, entreating even for transgressors that they might not perish. A faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation! For He was offered because He willed. He not only willed and was offered, but was offered because He willed. He alone had the power of laying down His own soul; none took it from Him; He voluntarily offered it. When He had received the vinegar He said, 'It is finished. Nothing remains to be fulfilled: now there is nothing for which I have to wait.' And bowing His head, being made obedient unto death, He gave up the ghost. Who could so easily fall asleep, on willing it? Death is indeed a great weakness; but thus to die is matchless power. For the weakness of GOD is stronger than men. The madness of man may lay wicked hands upon himself and kill himself; but this is not to lay down one's life; it is rather to destroy it by forcible means than to lay

it down at pleasure. Thou, wicked Judas, hadst a wretched power, not of laying down thy life, but of hanging thyself: and thy wicked spirit went out, not given by thee, but pulled by the rope; not sent forth by thee, but lost. He alone gave up His soul unto death, who alone returned by His own power to life: He alone had power to lay it down, who also possessed the full power to take it up again, having the power of life and death.

"Worthy, then, is love so inestimable, humility so wonderful, patience so insuperable; worthy, clearly, is this so holy, unpolluted, and acceptable a Victim. Worthy is the Lamb who was slain to receive power, to accomplish that which He came to effect, to tak away the sins of the world."

Bernard's hymns have most of them been several times translated into English, and are well known. He must not be confounded with his contemporary, another Bernard, born at Morlaix, in Brittany, of English parentage, and a monk at Cluny, who wrote "De Contemptu Mundi," a poem of nearly three thousand lines, which he dedicated to his abbot, Peter the Venerable. Out of portions of this the popular hymns, "For thee, O dear, dear country," "Brief life is here our portion," "Jerusalem the golden," and others, have been translated.

CHAPTER X.

THE PREACHING OF THE SECOND CRUSADE.

Cause which produced the Crusades—Their beneficial effect in keeping Mohammedanism at a distance—Condition of the Latin principalities in the Holy Land—Fall of Edessa, and the feeling produced by it in Europe—Remorse of Louis VII. for his cruelty and his resolve to attempt a Crusade—Approval of the Pope, and appointment of Bernard to preach the Crusade—Meetings at Vézelai and Chartres—His letter to the Church at large—Enthusiasm produced by his preaching—His visitation in North-East France and in the Rhineland—His miracles—Departure of the Crusaders.

THE impulse which gave rise to the Crusades was really the reaction of Christendom against the continual and increasing aggressions of Mohammedanism. We should make a great mistake if we regarded this great movement as due only to the warlike enthusiasm of a number of knights and nobles, seeking new fields for the exercise of their skill in that great game of war, which was the great business of their lives in that age, and which spurred them on to find "new worlds to conquer"; or even to the religious enthusiasm of priests and monks, shocked by the captive and distressed condition of

the Holy Land. It was far more than this; for its causes lay deep in preceding history, and it would be hard to find any other historical fact (in the modern period), with the single exception of the invention of printing, which has had consequences so extensive and enduring to the social system of Europe, up to the Reformation, when an altogether new order of things came into being, as the fact of the Crusades.

It would, indeed, be difficult to say what would eventually have been the lot of Christian Europe had it not been for these expeditions. That they checked and even turned back the tide of Mohammedan conquest, is incontestable. They transferred the conflict between Christendom and Islam from the continent of Europe to the plains of Asia, and thus ensured the safety of the former. It was well that this should have been so; for it is doubtful whether the age could have produced another Charles Martel to resist the shock of that spreading wave of the Moslem fanatical enterprise, which was dashing itself into spray ever more and more all along the southern borders of Europe.

Christendom had made its first great effort against this new foe in the First Crusade. Jerusalem was taken by Godfrey de Bouillon in 1099, and the Latin kingdom founded. The sceptre passed rapidly from hand to hand, for the calls upon the courage, watchfulness, and activity of the little garrison of Europeans

were incessant. In 1145 it was wielded by Queen Milisendis, widow of King Fulk of Anjou, as regent during the minority of her son, Baldwin III. She was one of many ladies of sovereign rank who were friends and correspondents of the saintly Abbot of Clairvaux; and the letters of kind sympathy and wise advice which he wrote to her are still extant.[1]

Towards the end of the year 1144, the attention of Christendom was painfully drawn to the affairs of the Holy Land by an unexpected disaster. The town and frontier fortress of Edessa fell again into the hands of the Mohammedans, with a dreadful slaughter of the Christian inhabitants. The fact was that the second generation of Crusaders was by no means equal to the first. Joscelyn de Courtenay, count of Edessa, the son and successor of one of the most gallant leaders of the First Crusade, neglected the defence of the fortress in his charge to give himself up to a dissolute and luxurious life, while his dominions were abandoned to the incursions of Zenghis and Nourreddin, successively emirs of Mosul. It was stormed by the former, but retaken; and then a second time captured, when almost the whole population was massacred. Its fall laid open the whole principality of Antioch, while Jerusalem trembled behind her guarded walls.

The news of this deplorable event arrived in

[1] Nos. 206, 289, 354, 355.

Europe at the beginning of the year 1145, and caused a great sensation throughout the more cultured and intelligent nations. France was principally interested in the matter, since most of the actors in the First Crusade had been Frenchmen, and by that nation the various petty principalities in Syria were chiefly maintained. The young king of France, Louis VII., who was tormented by the reproaches of his conscience for the cruelty displayed by him in his war against the Count of Champagne three years before, took the matter up with eagerness, regarding it as an expiation. In that contest he had laid siege to the town and castle of Vitry. The houses were of wood, and were set on fire by the soldiers of Louis, and, presumably, by his order. The fire spread and consumed almost the whole town, including a large church, in which numbers of the townsmen had taken refuge. There *thirteen hundred persons* were burned alive[1]—a shocking catastrophe, due to the unthinking ferocity of Louis.

The regret and remorse which he felt for this frightful massacre affected him to tears ("plorasse dicitur"), and assisted to revive a project which he had for some time meditated; whether of going

[1] Cujus castrum Vitriacum cum Rex Ludovicus VII. cepisset, igne admoto ecclesia incensa est, et in eâ mille trecentæ animæ diversi sexus et ætatis sunt igne consumptæ.—"Hist. Francorum," ap. Bouquet, xii. 116.

upon pilgrimage or undertaking another Crusade, is not quite clear. Bernard, whom he consulted, while approving of his penitence, and encouraging him to persevere in good works, did not feel himself able to advise in a matter of such importance as a new Crusade, and suggested recourse to the Pope for direction. This course was adopted: the Pope (Eugenius III., who had been a monk at Clairvaux) replied to King Louis, approving and sanctioning his project. He also addressed a public letter to all Frenchmen: "*Dilectos filios principes et universos Dei fideles* per Galliam constitutos,"[1] recommending the project, in which the following passages occur:—

"At the call of our predecessor, Urban, of happy memory, the brave warriors of the kingdom of France and of Italy, inflamed with holy ardour, took arms and conquered, at the price of their blood, that city in which the Lord suffered for us, and where are found the memorials of His Passion. . . . At the present time, for our sins and the sins of Christian people (we confess it with grief), the town of Edessa, with other towns, has fallen again into the hands of the enemies of the Cross, and the Archbishop of Edessa has been massacred with all his priests. . . . A great danger threatens the Church of God and all Christianity. If the conquests of your fathers ought to be strengthened and consolidated by the valour of their sons, I hope that you will give good proof that the heroism of Frenchmen has not degenerated."

This letter of the Pope was well received. He delegated to Bernard, his former chief, the office of

[1] Otto Frisingens., "De Gest. Frider.," i. 35.

recommending the Crusade to the peoples of France and Germany; and with the assent of all, appointed a meeting to be held at Vézelai, in the county of Nivernais, after Easter of that year, to decide further upon the matter. The historian of the Second Crusade, Odo of Deuil, a monk of St. Denys, who went all through it in the capacity of chaplain to Louis VII., declares that the Pope also laid down certain rules as to the dress and arms of the soldiers;[1] and it is certain that an indulgence was offered to all that would take the Cross, carrying forgiveness for all sins, even the greatest, committed up to that time, special protection for the wives and children who were left behind them, and other privileges.

The task thus laid upon him Bernard at once prepared to obey; throwing off for the time, with the wonderful recuperative power which was a characteristic of that feeble frame, the heavy burden of bodily infirmities under which he laboured. He was now

[1] Nuntii lætantes remissi sunt, litteras referentes . . . . armis modum et vestibus imponentes, &c.—"Odo de Diogilo, de Expedit. Lud. VII. in Orientem," lib. i. Ratisbonne founds on these words the conclusion that we have here the origin of military uniform, an inference which seems more extensive than the words support. The Pope's interference with the dress of the steel-clad soldiers of the twelfth century could only have extended to prescribing the cross badge to be worn on the shoulder by each; and it is difficult to conceive of the kind of orders about *arms* that a Pope can be supposed to have given, or soldiers to have been willing to conform to.

fifty-five years of age, and he had been in feeble health for many years past. Though all his sympathies were with the project, he had not anticipated being called to undertake the chief post of labour for it himself. About a year before he had written to his friend, Peter, abbot of Cluny: "I do not intend to leave Clairvaux for the future, except for the yearly meeting of our Chapter at Citeaux. Here, supported and consoled, I trust, by your prayers and kind offices, during the few days still remaining of my earthly warfare, I am waiting until my change come. My strength has left me; and I am unable to bear the fatigue of travel as I did once; which is an undeniable reason for staying at home."[1]

We find him writing in a similar strain to the Pope: "If any suggestion be made to you of adding to my present labours, I would beg you to believe that my strength is unequal to those which already devolve upon me; and my intention of not leaving the monastery is, I think, not unknown to you."[2]

Pope Eugenius would, he said, have been glad to come to France himself to open the proceedings; to "put his lips to the Evangelic trumpet," as he phrased it, to summon the brave warriors of France to the defence of the Holy Sepulchre.[3] But he

[1] Letter 228. [2] Letter 245.
[3] "Odo de Diog.," p. 12.

could not come, as matters were so critical in the city of Rome; and Bernard must therefore take his place.

The meeting at Vézelai was duly held; and the enthusiasm which prevailed there reminds the reader of the similar meeting at Clermont, just half a century before, preparatory to the First Crusade, when Pope Urban II. made his famous speech, and his words were drowned in the roar of the great multitude. "It is the will of GOD." *Dieu le veut!* A greater than Urban, in the power of swaying the hearts and sympathies of audiences, was at Vézelai. The meeting was attended by King Louis, Eleanor his queen, a great number of his vassals, prelates, knights, and men of every degree; and so vast were the numbers, that, says a chronicler, neither the largest church, castle, nor public hall, was able to contain them; and the meeting was held on the side of a hill which dominates the town. There was erected a wooden platform or tribune[1] from which the Abbot of Clairvaux might speak to the people."[2] On this appeared Bernard, with the young King, who was already wearing the Cross, beside him. He began to speak, and as the address went on, and the rich accents of that wonderful voice, vibrating with passionate feeling, rolled over the sea-like audience, they were wrought up to a degree of excitement which could no longer be controlled. "Give

[1] Vastam machinam.—"Odo Diogil." [2] Ibid.

us crosses!" "Give us crosses!" was the cry from all sides, and the listeners surged up round the platform to receive them from Bernard's own hand. Having distributed the whole of the great bundle of crosses already prepared out of red linen or cloth, which had been provided in anticipation of such a requirement, he was fain to tear into shreds his own vestments to supply the continued demand, without even then being able to equal it; and thus he continued day by day gathering recruits for the crusade as long as he was in the town.[1]

Shortly after another great meeting was held at Chartres, which took the odd step of electing Bernard the Commander-in-Chief of the Crusading army. Bernard had too much good sense to suppose this to be more than a compliment, and in a letter to the Pope he points out his own ignorance of the rules of war, his weak health, and his unfitness, because of his rule of life, to arrange an army in battle or to oversee the evolutions of soldiers. (Letter 256.) The Crusaders, no doubt, thought that by attaching to the army such a man as Bernard, who seemed, as they in their simplicity supposed, to have at command the

[1] Ascendit S. B. vastam machinam cum rege cruce ornato .... et cum cœleste organum more suo divini verbi rorem fudisset, cœperunt undique clamando: Cruces! cruces! expetere .... coactus est vestes suas in cruces scindere et seminare. In hoc laboravit quam diu fuit in villa.—"Odo de Diog.," lib. i. c. i.

Almighty power of GOD, they were rendering the army invincible, and ensuring victory to its banners. But the humility of the abbot, as well as his sense of fitness, rendered him firm in his refusal to accept the honour, and he was supported in this by the approval of the Pope.

In the meantime he pushed on actively his task of preaching the Crusade. In the first place he put forth a circular letter, addressed to "My lords and honoured fathers, the archbishops, bishops, and clergy, to the nobles also, and all the people of eastern France, Germany, and Bavaria,"[1] in which he says, amongst other stirring appeals to their valour and patriotism :—

"Soon, alas! if the fury of the enemies of the Cross be not resisted, the Holy City will be taken; the sacred monuments of our religion, and the places where the blood of the Lamb without spot was poured out, will be given over to profanation. What then are you doing, brave knights? What are you doing, O disciples and followers of Jesus Christ? Will you yield up holy things to dogs; will you allow precious pearls to be trampled under the feet of

[1] This letter is found also under very various superscriptions, addressed to the people of England, Switzerland, and other places. It may be called a circular letter to the greater part of Europe. It shows the unique position and great influence of Bernard, that, although holding no official public station, he should issue such a circular, so to speak, to the whole Church.

swine? How many sinners have sought those spots in penitence to implore there the mercy Divine, since the time when the consecrated valour of our fathers rescued them from the hands of unbelievers? . . .

"Do you then, whose countries abound in young and valiant warriors,—you whose renown is widely spread,—hasten to prove your zeal, hasten to take arms for the defence of the Christian name!"

So stirring an appeal from such a man had instant and great results. Volunteers flocked in from far and wide; wherever Bernard appeared his irresistible eloquence carried all before it: husbands left their wives, parents their children, to offer themselves for the Holy War. Bernard himself writes to the Pope in wonder at the suddenness and violence of the popular feeling. "Towns and castles," he says, "are deserted; scarcely one man is left to seven women; so many are left the widows of *living* husbands" (Letter 247).

All the rest of the summer of 1146 was spent by Bernard in the performance of this task in various districts of France, and with the autumn he moved on to Germany, accompanied by three monks of Clairvaux,—Philip, Gerard, and Geoffrey, his biographer. He proceeded at once to Mayence, where another agitation had arisen through the preaching of a monk named Rudolph, who, by his violent diatribes, had inflamed the anger of the populace

against the Jews. The popular enthusiasm already aroused was directed by him into the wrong channel, and mixed with all manner of base passions, until the people, maddened by excitement, began to massacre the Jews wherever they could find them, to raze their houses to the ground, and in not a few instances to commit frightful cruelties on those who belonged to that hated race.

It is curious to recall that, before the First Crusade, popular fury had turned in a similar way upon the Jews, under the pretext that it was not right to leave at home unmolested the same class of people as they were going to the Holy Land to combat with. They were pursued so unrelentingly that in not a few cases they stabbed first their children and then themselves, while their women flung themselves into rivers and were drowned, rather than fall into the power of their cruel persecutors.

There is extant a touching account of this latter persecution, written by a Jew, who was at the time it took place a boy of thirteen years, and witnessed many or most of the tragical scenes which he describes. We give some extracts from it :[1] —

[1] The original is written in Hebrew, and was printed first at Venice in 1554; then at Amsterdam, by Proops, in 1730. Wilken, in his "Beiträge sur Geschichte der Kreuzzuge" (Band iii. p. 12), has printed a number of fragments from it in German, from which the quotations in the text are translated. *See* Ratisbonne, "Histoire," tome ii. p. 177, note.

"I, Joshua Ben Meïr, was born in the month of Tebeth, 5257.[1] My family belonged to the race of Aaron; and my father, having been driven from the realm of Spain, established himself in the town of Avignon, in Provence, beside the river Rhone. From thence we went to Genoa, where we remained until lately. . . . Now, when the Westerns learned that the Turks had taken by storm the city of Edessa, and other towns of Judæa taken formerly by those uncircumcised ones, the Pope Eugenius sent messengers in all directions to say to great and to small: 'What are you doing? Hasten, set off for the land of Israel; exterminate the Turks and cut them of from among the nations!' Then the priest Bernard went from town to town, and gave utterance in all quarters to the lamentations of the uncircumcised of the West. . . . But that time was for the house of Jacob a time of mourning and desolation. . . . For a priest named Rudolph came into Germany in order to mark with a particular sign all those who would enlist to fight for Jerusalem. That wicked man excited the people by his furious addresses to attack and exterminate the few of us whom former persecutions had spared. . . . He declared to them that they ought to massacre all the Jews before they went to fight in Palestine. The Jews were a prey to terror,

[1] *I.e.*, the tenth month.

. . . they feared and trembled, nor did they find refuge anywhere."

Then the writer gives in detail a great number of cruelties and outrages which had been committed upon his people in various towns of Germany, and continues :—

"But our God, Adonai, raised up against Belial a wise man named Bernard, of Clairvaux, a town of France. That Religious (according to their manner of speaking) appeased the people, and said to them : March upon Zion, and defend the Sepulchre of our Christ! But do not harm the Jews, nor speak to them except with kindness; for they are the bone and the flesh of the Messiah; and if you molest them, you are in danger of wounding the LORD in the apple of His eye. No, the cruel Rudolph has not spoken to you according to the Spirit of truth; for the Truth has said by the mouth of the Psalmist : *Slay them not, lest my people forget* (Ps. lix. 11).

"Thus spake that wise man, and his voice prevailed, since he was respected and loved by all. They listened to him, and the fire of their wrath was cooled, nor did they accomplish all the evil which they proposed to do to us. Yet the priest, Bernard, had received neither money nor goods by way of ransom from the Jews : it was his heart which brought him to love and to speak good words for the house of Israel. . . . . Had not the tender

mercy of the LORD sent that priest, none had survived."

Bernard's intercession on behalf of that persecuted race was, indeed, as one of his biographers well styles it, "a miracle of Christian love and fortitude." There is, perhaps, no action throughout his whole life, set thick as it was with shining and splendid actions, which shows us so clearly the real nobleness and greatness of his character. The man who was capable of rising so far superior to the prejudices of his age, was also the only one who would have dared to swoop down on the frantic city like an avenging angel, to confront the furious and yelling mobs, and their loud-tongued leader, Rudolf, to stretch his hand between them and their helpless victims, and reduce both the one and the other to silence and submission.

This is what Bernard did ; it may well be called a miracle of moral superiority.

The word leads us to another part of our subject, and one which no biographer of St. Bernard is at liberty to pass over, viz., *the miracles which St. Bernard is asserted to have worked* in great numbers : as during the greater part of his life, so most conspicuously during this mission.

We have on this subject an unexceptionable testimony in the "Book of the Miracles of St. Bernard," written by Philip, a monk of Clairvaux ; and if the intention had been to constitute a committee of

testimony to hand down to succeeding ages an account of the facts, unimpeachable on account of the high character of the witnesses, their personal knowledge of the actions done, many of them in their own presence, and the precise nature of the declarations they make respecting them, it could hardly have been done more effectually.

"Those who accompanied Bernard," says the chronicler, "were, without counting myself, Hermann, bishop of Constance; Eberhard, his chaplain; two abbots, Baldwin and Frowin; two monks, Gerard and Geoffrey; three clerics, Philip, archdeacon of Liége, Otto, and Francus. To these was added, during the journey, Alexander of Cologne, who was on his way to Rome."[1]

The accounts given by these good and trustworthy persons are marvellous enough. The breathing, the touch, the prayer, the benediction of Bernard had wonderful effects. At his voice, the most inveterate complaints disappeared instantly; and entire populations, in many different towns, related with astonishment the cures to which they had been witnesses. Everywhere along the line of his route the blind regained their sight, the deaf and the dumb heard and spoke; paralytics recovered the use of their limbs; those supposed to be possessed by evil spirits were calmed and restored to reason. To Bernard himself

[1] Philip, "Life," b. vi. p. 1, c. i.

these events were, it would seem, as much a cause of wonder as to any one. He was frequently known to speak to his intimate friends in this way :—

"I ask myself with the deepest astonishment what these miracles mean, and why it has pleased GOD to do such great things by the hands of a man like me. It seems to me that I have read of nothing more wonderful even in Scripture. Signs and wonders have been wrought sometimes by holy and perfect men, and sometimes by deceivers. As for me, while I know that I am not perfect, I believe that there is in me nothing of the nature of an impostor. Doubtless I do not possess those saintly virtues which deserve to be distinguished by miracles ; yet I hope also that I do not belong to the number of those who do wonderful things in the name of the LORD, and yet are unknown by Him." Thus moralised this holy man in his simplicity and humility. The explanation on which his own mind at length rested was this : "I know, he said, "that miracles are performed, not on account of the saintliness of one person, but for the salvation of many persons. GOD regards in the man by whom they are wrought, not so much his actual saintliness, as the opinion which others may form of that saintliness, and the good that may be done to them thereby. They are not performed, in fact, for the sake of those who do them, but rather for those who see and hear of them. The

LORD works these miracles, not at all in order to show that he by whom they are done is more holy than others, but because he inspires others with greater love and zeal for holiness. There is, then, nothing of mine in the miracles which I perform. I see that they are due rather to the opinion which is entertained of me than to my holiness of life; nor are they intended for my honour, but for the benefit of others."[1]

Day by day the number of cures grew and multiplied, until it reached, we are told, an average of thirty daily, and once it rose to thirty-six. As the traveller approached this or that town he would hear church bells ringing out a merry peal, and the people singing, "Lord have mercy upon us." "Christ have mercy upon us!" These sounds were well understood by those at a distance to mean that Bernard had just performed another miracle. We can give only a short extract from the narrative before us, which embraces hundreds of cases:—

"On the same day we came to Molesmes, which is a monastery, from which formerly our fathers went forth who founded the Order of Cîteaux. It was on Wednesday, and they received the man of GOD with great devotion. When Bernard was seated in the guest-house, a certain man, blind with one eye, came in, and, falling on his knees, begged his mercy. Bernard made the sign of the cross with his holy fingers,

[1] Alan, formerly Bishop of Auxerre, "Life," c. 27.

and touched the blind eye, and immediately it received sight, and the man returned thanks to GOD. About an hour afterwards, as it was getting dusk, the holy man went out to lay hands on the sick who were waiting before the doors. The first who was cured was a boy blind with the right eye, who, on shutting the left eye, with which alone he had seen previously, discerned all things clearly, and told at once what everything was which we showed to him. And again, at the same place, a little girl who had a weakness in the feet, and had been lame from her birth, was healed by the imposition of hands; and her mother bounded for joy that now, for the first time, she saw her child standing and walking."[1]

We cannot discuss adequately here the great question which is raised by these statements. The good faith of the reporters appears to us, however, to be beyond question. It is hardly possible to doubt that they were honourable men, who have set down without conscious alteration or exaggeration what they had witnessed. But men of critical minds or adequate judges of evidence they were not; nor is there any sign whatever in the narrative of any sifting or verification of the statements made. Everything is lumped together as it came to hand; it is not rendered certain whether the disease or ailment said to have been cured did in many cases exist at all, or if it existed,

[1] Geoffrey of Clairvaux, "Life," c. iii. p. 15, par. 52.

whether it was not easily curable by normal means. In a time of overpowering enthusiasm, such as is indicated here, the imagination is sure to run riot. Statements run from lip to lip and are rounded off and rendered complete from hearsay, so that they become greatly exaggerated. Thus, much may fairly be deducted from the statements before us. But there will be unquestionably a large *residuum* of fact when this has been done to which such criticisms do not apply; and in our ignorance of the powers which a highly-gifted nature like that of Bernard is possibly capable of exercising over this class of diseases, mostly, it will be observed, of a nervous character, it seems not possible to carry investigation further. That certain abnormally-gifted organisations are capable of exercising a degree of control over ailments, whether real or imaginary, of a nervous kind, recent developments of medical science have rendered clear. But beyond this point in analysis it seems not possible to go.

To return to the main stream of our subject, the final result of this extraordinary mission was that Bernard, by the eloquence of his preaching,[1] by the

[1] What is remarkable in his popular preaching at Strasburg and other German towns is, that although he spoke only Latin or the *lingua Romana* (French) he was understood by every one, and converted even those who understood only German. "These peoples," reports the Monk Geoffrey, "listened to him,

ascendency which he established over populations which came to regard him as a personality almost divine, and lastly, by the moral effect of numerous reputed miracles, brought a very large part of the male population of those countries to offer themselves for the Crusade. The Emperor Conrad himself, after long hesitation, yielded to the urgency of an address made to him by Bernard during a sermon in the Cathedral at Spires, and promised to lead the Crusade.

The expedition set out partly by sea, partly by land through Hungary and Bulgaria during the summer of 1147, making rendezvous at Constantinople. With its future history and the distressing failure in which it issued we have here nothing to do.

and were impressed the more strongly that, as they spoke another language, it was the inherent power of his address with which they were touched and penetrated much more than by the explanations of an interpreter who translated his discourses; and that they were so affected was shown by the compunction with which they beat their breasts and shed tears."—"Life," b. iii. c. 3.

CHAPTER XI.

LATTER DAYS AND DEATH OF BERNARD.

The "Truce of GOD" and quiet in Europe—Heretical teaching of Peter de Bruys, Henry the Cluniac, and others in Languedoc—Mission held by Bernard in that district, and great success—His letter to the people of Toulouse—Interesting visits to Clairvaux; Peter, Prince of Portugal; Guimard, King of Sardinia; Archbishop Malachi; Death of the latter; Synod of Rheims, and condemnation of William de la Porrée, Bishop of Poitiers—Visit of the Pope to Clairvaux; his letter of approval—Failure of the Crusade, and popular indignation against Bernard—Books "De Consideratione"—Increased weakness of Bernard—Treachery of his secretary Nicholas; his successful intervention at Metz—Death of Abbot Suger, Count Theobald, and Pope Eugenius—Lastly, the death of Bernard; his canonization.

WHEN the Crusading armies had set out on their long march south-eastward, over the great plains of Hungary, Bulgaria, and Thessaly, a great calm settled down over Europe. The "Truce of GOD" had quieted for the time all wars, public and private. The noise of arms died away in the distance; and now the Pope, Eugenius, determined to spend some time in France, and to employ it in an examination, with the assistance of Abbot Bernard, of certain tendencies

to strange and erroneous doctrine, which had shown themselves in various parts of the French Church. The first of these to receive attention was the case of the heresies which were widely spread through Languedoc and the south of France generally.

In the beginning of the twelfth century, a priest named Peter de Bruys made his appearance in the south of France as an itinerant preacher throughout Provence, Languedoc, and Gascony. He was master of a heated and powerful eloquence, and gained many adherents to his tenets, which consisted of a negation of almost all that was held by the Church at that time. He attacked all outward ordinances as being improper methods for the worship of GOD; and going a step further, he rejected all appropriation of particular buildings to divine worship. "GOD," he said, "may be invoked in all places, from the shop as well as from the Church and the altar, and will ever hear those who deserve to be heard; the true Church is formed not by piles of stones heaped together, but by the community of faithful souls"; a perfectly true statement in itself, but from which he drew the wrong inference, that it was unnecessary to build churches, and that all those already built should be pulled down. The Cross, he thought, should be despised and hated as being the instrument of the sufferings and death of Christ; the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper he derided, and forbade the use of

them to his followers; and regarded the clergy, apparently, as of no service whatever. The natural consequence of these violent and revolutionary teachings was an extreme revolt on the part of his disciples (Petrobrusians, they were called) against most of the usages of the Christian society. Altars and churches they pulled ruthlessly down, wherever they were in the ascendant: the priests they scourged; and, driving monks from their cloisters, compelled them to marry. After having preached for almost twenty years in various parts of the south of France, and having aroused the furious resentment of all those to whom religion, in the form in which alone they knew of it, was dear, he was at length seized and put to death by an infuriated mob in the town of St. Gilles in Languedoc. But another leader took his place: Henry, called "the Cluniac," because he had been a monk in some house of the Order of Cluny, and who is heard of first at Lausanne in Switzerland. He laboured in common with Peter de Bruys for some years, and after his death succeeded him. The Bishop of Arles apprehended Henry in 1134, and brought him before a Synod at Pisa, where he was induced to retract all the errors which he had taught; and is said to have been given into the charge of the Abbot of Clairvaux, as well for safe custody as for instruction; for he was declared by Bishop Hildebert of Le Mans, who had examined

him at an earlier period, to be an unlearned monk, quite unacquainted with spiritual things. However this may have been, he is soon found at liberty again and traversing the mountainous country about Toulouse and Albi. Here he was protected by many of the *seigneurs*, and found an asylum in their lonely castles perched high upon almost inaccessible rocks. In these he was a welcome guest; and found numerous converts among the peasantry, particularly the humbler burghers and handicraftsmen. Among the weavers he had so many adherents the sect was frequently known as the *Tisserands*. While the clergy were apathetic, the growth of the new sect went on unchecked. Bernard, writing in 1147 to Hildefonsus, Count of St. Eloy, the overlord of this district, thus describes the state of affairs produced by the predominance of these Henrician and Petrobrusian sectaries:—

"The churches are without congregations, congregations without priests, priests without their due reverence, and, worst of all, Christians without Christ. Churches are regarded as synagogues, the sanctuary of God is said to have no sanctity, the sacraments are not thought to be sacred, feast days are deprived of their wonted solemnities, men are dying in their sins, souls being dragged everywhere before the dread Tribunal, neither reconciled by repentance nor fortified by Holy Communion. The way of Christ

is shut to the children of Christians, although the Saviour lovingly calls them." [1]

Such was the state of things when Bernard appeared upon the scene.[2]

The original idea of the Pope was to send his legate, Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, accompanied by other bishops, to traverse the infected districts and root out the heretical doctrines. Alberic went thither accordingly; but the reception he met with everywhere was discouraging in the extreme. At

[1] Letter 241.

[2] It would take up too much of our space here to give a complete account of the tenets, frequently contradictory, absurd, and repulsive, always arbitrary and illogical, held by the Cathari, Passagii, Arnoldists, Paterins, Pontians, Tanchelmists, and other sects subsisting at this period. They may be found in the Church histories. Several of them were accused of "fraudes pias," *i.e.*, magical arts. Heribert declares that "they cannot by any means be kept in custody, because, if they are taken, no bonds are able to retain them, the devil setting them free. They do also many wonderful things; for if they are bound with iron chains and thrown into a wine butt, which is then turned bottom upwards, and watched by a strong guard, on the morrow they will not be found in it, nor until they voluntarily show themselves again."

Evidently they were twelfth century prototypes of the Davenport Brothers!

It is amusing to be told that they possessed the very convenient power of putting a drop of wine on one day into an empty bottle, and on the next finding it filled with wine: "vas vini vacuum, ex suo vino parumper immisso, in crastino plenum invenitur." — Heriberti, "Epist." ap. Mabillon; "Veter. Analect.," p. 483.

Albi he was received with a kind of *charivari*, the townsmen coming out to meet him mounted on asses, and beating kettle-drums in derision of his pretensions; and when he celebrated Mass in the Church, and expected to have all the inhabitants assemble to meet him, barely thirty persons attended. In the face of this marked alienation of an entire population, the legate felt himself helpless; and there was nothing to be done but to send for the one man living whose persuasive eloquence, whose winning personality, whose wonderful miracles had invariably the effect of bowing the heart of a community as the heart of one man; the one person whom the wildest sectaries could not despise, and dared not ridicule, nor deny to be the holiest man then living. So Bernard was sent for.

But could he come? He was never backward to answer to a call of duty; a call to win back a misled people was one after his own heart. He had but just returned to Clairvaux, exhausted by the enormous fatigues he had undergone in connexion with the Crusade. But he did not long hesitate; and notwithstanding all his weakness, he set off with his secretary, Geoffrey, to join the bishop at Albi.

Everywhere he was received with respect and rejoicing, and occupied himself diligently, despite his great weakness, in preaching to the crowds of people who flocked to hear him. Here, too, miracu-

lous cures are said to have been performed; and Henry, defeated on his own ground, and in the presence of his own disciples, was fain to leave the district and seek a hiding-place.

"At the coming of Bernard, the people of the district received him with wonderful veneration, as if he had been an angel from Heaven. He could not stay long among these people because of the great crowds who flocked around him day and night to ask his blessing and his help. He preached for some days in Toulouse and then in many other places. . . . . Everywhere he enlightened the faith of the simple, strengthened the wavering, recalled those who had strayed, raised up those who had fallen, shamed and repressed by his authority the obstinate, and those who troubled the faith of others, so that none of them dared, I do not say merely to resist him openly, but not even to come to his conferences and appear in his presence."[1]

At Albi, when he was to celebrate, the people came together to the church in such numbers that the ample nave was insufficient to contain them. After the service, he mounted the pulpit to address the great multitude of men, curious and anxious to hear him. He spoke to them kindly and gently, explaining to them one by one the true meaning of the various Articles of the Catholic Faith, which the

[1] Bishop Alan, "Life," c. xxvi.

innovators had rejected or altered, contrasting their distortions with the true doctrine. Then, not content with enlightening their minds, he set himself to win back their hearts, according to the recommendation of the prophet: *Speak ye to the heart of Jerusalem*,[1] a ministry which was so much the more easy to him that his discourse was full of unction and sweetness, and flowed from his heart spontaneously as from a fountain of love.

Little by little the divine grace worked on the vast auditory, and took captive even the most rebellious wills. The people's hearts were in the grasp of the great orator; they could not restrain their tears; and though the address was not yet over, the truth had already triumphed.

"Repent, then," cried the preacher at length, "return, O wandering children, to the home of your Father! And in order that I may be able to recognise those among you who have received the word of salvation, let them stretch their right hand towards Heaven in token of their submission to the Church."

Immediately, every one throughout the congregation lifted up his right hand, and all announced with unanimous voice their return to the path of obedience and peace.

Geoffrey, the biographer who describes this touching scene as one of the most astonishing results

[1] Is. xl. 2 marginal reading.

of the sanctified eloquence of the Saint, mentions many other conversions not less admirable which were accomplished by him at Bergerac, Cahors, at Vertefeuille, Toulouse, and at other places where he preached the Gospel.[1]

That the opposition which he thus met and overcame was, nevertheless, very real and obstinate may be gathered from the following incident:—

"On one occasion, when he had been preaching with great effect before a considerable number of people, and, on the conclusion of his sermon, was about to mount his horse, one of the sectaries came forward and called aloud to him, 'Know, my lord abbot, that the horse of our master, against whom you have been speaking so freely, is by no means so fat and well-conditioned as yours.' Bernard, without manifesting the least disturbance, replied with a good-humoured glance at the man, 'I do not deny it, my friend; but I would thou shouldst remember that this is a *beast* for the which thou didst reprove me. Now to be fat and well-conditioned is suitable to the nature and appointment of beasts; and GOD, who will not judge us for such matters, is not thereby offended; but every man shall answer for *himself*.' And so saying, he threw back his cowl, and discovered his wasted throat and thin, withered countenance; and this was

[1] Geoffrey, "Life," b. iii. c. vi.; Ratisbonne, vol. ii. p. 143.

to the people the most conclusive refutation of the sectarian."[1]

After a time the heretical teachers fled out of each town as he approached it; and Bernard, when he had conferred with and won over the people, as he invariably did, was wont to require from them a promise not to receive the false teachers again. When he had at length returned to Clairvaux, leaving the southern provinces reconciled and quiet behind him, he wrote an earnest letter to them, as being solicitous for their continuance in well doing.

"I was glad," he says, "and rejoiced greatly to hear of the constancy and sincerity of your faith in GOD, of the perseverance of your love, and of your devotion to me. . . . I thank GOD that my coming to you was not useless; and that my stay with you, though short, was not unfruitful. When I had made plain the truth, not only in word, but also in power,[2] they were seen to be wolves who had come to you in sheep's clothing . . . therefore, beloved, follow after them and seize them, and stop not until they utterly perish and flee from all your territories, for it is not safe to sleep close to serpents.

"My desire is, if in any way by the will of God I may be able, to see you again; though I am feeble

[1] Neander, "Life," p. 280.

[2] This is an allusion to the miracles supposed to be wrought by him.

and sick in body, I should think nothing of the labour, since it would be for your exhortation and salvation. But in the meanwhile, beloved, so stand fast in the LORD as ye have begun, and as ye have heard of me. . . . I give you also the same advice which I gave you when I was with you, that you receive no strange or unknown preacher unless he be sent to preach by the Pope or have permission from your bishop. These are they who put on the form of godliness, but within deny its power; who intermingle, like poison with honey, their profane novelties of terms and ideas with words from Heaven. The Grace of GOD and His Peace be with you. Amen."

It seems to have been in this year that the Abbey of Clairvaux received two interesting visitors, whose rank requires a brief mention. The first of these, Peter, Prince of Portugal, had been sent by the king, his brother, Alfonso-Henriques, to convey his thanks to Bernard for the assistance he had received from the Crusaders in his struggle against the Moors. The circumstances were these: A division of the Crusading forces, composed principally of English, on its way to the Holy Land, was driven into the Tagus by stress of weather, and learning that Lisbon was besieged by the Moors, went to its assistance and relieved the city; when the combined forces defeated the Moors, and re-established Count Alfonso in his

dominions. After the victory, he was saluted by his soldiers with the title of king, which was confirmed by the Pope through the intercession of Bernard, and has since been borne by the sovereigns of Portugal.—(*See* Letter 308 of St. Bernard

[1] The annalist of Cîteaux relates that the king believed that he had seen Bernard in a dream, and that he had promised to him the great victory which was afterwards gained over the Moors. The gratitude of Alfonso was shown by his founding the Abbey of Alcobaça, the richest of all the monastic foundations in Portugal. In its greatest prosperity it numbered more than a thousand monks, who succeeded each other in detachments day and night in the choir, so that Divine Service was continued there without any intermission from one year to another. The vast possessions included no less than *thirty towns*, among which were *four seaports*. The abbot had jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over his vassals, more than six thousand in number. By the act of endowment of his magnificent foundation Alfonso made his kingdom a feudatory of the Abbey of Clairvaux, and enjoined his successors to pay to that institution an annual tribute of fifty gold maravedis, to be offered at the Chapel Royal on the Festival of the Annunciation, and received by its treasurer for transmission to the Abbot of Clairvaux through the Abbot of Alcobaça. This was actually paid every year until the Burgundian line of sovereigns died out, in the person of Cardinal Henry, in 1580. Then the succession to the throne was disputed; the monks of Clairvaux actually asserted a claim to it; and for a time the annual tribute was omitted; but in 1646 King John of Braganza, who was then established on the throne, wrote to the then Abbot of Clairvaux, Dom Claude L'Argentrier, to inform him that it should again be paid yearly; and requesting, at the same time, to have a copy of the ancient portrait of St. Bernard, which was still preserved at Clairvaux. Up to the year 1738, when Père Merlin was at Clairvaux, the fifty golden maravedis had been regularly paid each year.—*Hist. de Cîteaux*, vol. vi.

This young nobleman was so struck with the ordered devotion and calm peacefulness of the life at Clairvaux, that ten years later he returned to it, and became a monk within its walls. There he died, in the odour of sanctity, in the year 1165.

Almost at the same time occurred the visit of Guimard, the king of Sardinia. He was making pilgrimage to the tomb of an earlier saint, St. Martin of Tours, and was induced by the high reputation of Abbot Bernard to pay a visit to him and to his abbey. He was hospitably entertained, and had much conversation with Bernard. The latter, amid much sweet consolation and spiritual instruction, mingled not a few praises of the monastic state, and recommendations to the king to adopt it. The good abbot had this fault,—it amounted to a foible with him,—of desiring to bring everybody he met with under monastic rule. It was, in his view, the "better part," the "way of salvation," the "conversion of the soul," the "service of GOD" *par excellence*, in comparison with which all other service was valueless;—nay, it is not distinctly recognised that any merit at all can possibly exist in any other condition. This was rather a ruling idea of the time than anything personal to the Abbot of Clairvaux; and, as we have shown in an earlier chapter, there was much in the circumstances of that age to recommend or to excuse it. But this being the habit of Bernard, he mingled

with his preaching of the Gospel to King Guimard some exhortations to adopt the monastic vocation; and, when taking leave of him, he added to his final blessing the words, "I have earnestly besought Our LORD for your conversion, but I have not yet been heard. I leave you, then, to depart; but know this, that one day you shall return here."

The young king (he could not have been more than thirty-five years old at this time) had no idea, however religious he might be in disposition, of becoming a monk at Clairvaux or anywhere else. He was, therefore, greatly surprised at so precise a prediction, though at the time he made no response to it. But it could not fail to come back to his mind in after years. The end was, that the prophecy brought about its own fulfilment: Guimard resigned his crown to his son, and returned to Clairvaux to adopt the monastic life there. "The peace of the cloister," adds the chronicler, "appeared to him more attractive than the agitations of the world; the humility of Clairvaux more precious than the splendour of a throne; the company of men of angelic life more delightful than that of a train of courtiers; and, in one word, *heaven seemed to him more desirable than the island of Sardinia.* . . . Our LORD made him understand that nothing is so noble as Evangelical perfection; that to serve GOD is to reign; and that true greatness consists, in the first place, in

ruling over one's own self and in rising above the world and its attractions."[1]

Guimard was forty years of age at the time of his return, and he died, in extreme old age, about the year 1190.

In March, 1148, a synod was convoked at Rheims to consider the alleged errors of Gilbert de la Porrée, bishop of Poitiers. The question of his book had been brought forward in the previous year, and had been adjourned to enable him to prepare his defence at leisure. Now he was called upon to state and to justify his position.

Gilbert, whom we last saw assisting at the trial of Peter Abélard at Sens, and being warned by him that his own turn would come to occupy a similar position, was, without doubt, one of the most learned theologians of that period. He had been opposed to Abélard in philosophy, since he professed himself a Realist, while the latter maintained a modified Conceptualism. Abélard warmly opposed Gilbert's theory of universal ideas existing in created things, not (as thoroughgoing Realists maintained) in the mind of GOD."[2]

[1] "Exord Cist. Dist." iii., c. 27; "Hist de Cît.," vol. vi. p. 265.

[2] "Universalitatem formis nativis tribuit, forma nativa originale exemplum, quæ non in mente Dei consistit, sed rebus creatis inhæret, εἶδος habens se ad ideam ut exemplum ad exemplar, sensibilis in re sensibili, sed mente concipitur insensibilis."—Joh. Salisb. "Metalog.," book iii., c. ix.

Yet Gilbert had unquestionably adopted Abélard's method of reasoning, *i.e.*, he *rationalised* upon religious truths, a practice which was bound to bring him into error at some point. The particular question upon which he was accused was contained in an "Exposition of Boethius," by Gilbert. On complaint made, the Pope empowered Godescalc, abbot of Mont S. Eloi, near Arras, to examine the book in question and report upon it. He read and marked those passages which seemed erroneous, and drew up a schedule of passages from the Fathers which taught in a different sense; but, as he was not a practised speaker, the book, with the remarks which he had made, were delivered by the Pope to Bernard for the purpose of maintaining the prosecution. Gilbert and his friends came provided with piles of ponderous tomes in support of their views, and these they proceeded to read at great length, so that the council became, after a while, bewildered and confused, not seeing where this was to end. Bernard, therefore, strove to bring the matter to an issue thus:—"What need is there to delay longer upon expressions of that kind? The origin of this scandal arises from nothing else than this, that a great many persons believe that you think and teach that the Divine Essence, or Nature,—the Divinity, Wisdom, Goodness, Greatness,—are not GOD, but the Form in which GOD is. If this is what

you believe, avow it openly or deny it." Gilbert then affirmed that all this was the Form of GOD, and not GOD Himself. Then Bernard replied, "Behold, here we have what we were seeking; let that confession be written down." And while this was being done by the secretary, Gilbert cried out, addressing Bernard, "And do you avow also that the Divinity is GOD." To this Bernard replied, "Let it be written with an iron pen with a point of diamond."[1]

The question being remanded for further consideration by the cardinals, the French bishops and clergy, under the guidance of Bernard, assembled privately and drew up a Confession of Faith, in opposition to the errors of Gilbert, which they presented to the Pope, and obtained his approval of it, much to the annoyance of the Cardinals, who were many of them inclined to support Gilbert.

The decision of the council was finally against the views of Gilbert, who however submitted, and promised to correct his teaching. He was, therefore, permitted to return to his diocese "in full honour, and in the completeness of his powers."

[1] This is the account given by Geoffrey, secretary of St. Bernard, who was present in the council. There is another, written by Otto of Frisingen, which makes the question by which the debate was brought to a point, to have come from the Pope, not S. Bernard. But Otto was not himself at the council, being at the time with the Emperor Conrad in the East; and it seems better, therefore, to follow the account given by an eye-witness.

After the council at Rheims broke up, Pope Eugenius paid a short visit to Clairvaux, where he greatly edified his former companions by the humility and modesty of his demeanour; and from thence to Cluny, and other Burgundian houses; closing his round of visitation at Cîteaux.[1] After leaving the famous Cistercian community, he addressed to the heads of houses a kind and fatherly letter, conveying to them his high approval of their state, and loving exhortations to them to remember how much they owed to the greatness of GOD, and to regard themselves always as unprofitable servants.

[1] A biographer of St. Bernard says, with regard to this famous abbey:—The deserted site of Cîteaux presents now a sad spectacle; I visited it in the month of October, 1839, and was deeply wounded by the sight. Modern industry, more pitiless than the Vandals of a past age, had stripped those precincts of every trace of the community which cleared and sanctified them. On the ruins of the abbey rises a manufactory of beetroot sugar, itself in a ruinous condition, and a miserable playhouse is on the site of the monks' library, perhaps even on that of their church! The little cell of S. Bernard, which still existed within the last twenty years, has had to give place to the utilitarian office of a furnace! The rubbish of it was shown to us. A château, or rather a pleasure-house, plastered with yellow, contrasts singularly with the tombstones and the bones which are trodden under foot. I have examined the ancient plans of that immense enclosure, which comprised more than 200 *hectares* (nearly 500 acres) without counting parks, farms, courtyards, and other appendages of the monastery. At the present day the site is scarcely to be recognised; three villages have been built with the materials of the monastery and its dependencies.

The reply to this gracious communication was, of course, entrusted to the well-practised pen of Bernard. We have it still remaining among his letters. It begins thus :—

"The voice of the turtle has been heard in our chapter; we have exulted and rejoiced. Your words are pure, burning with zeal, prudent, and discerning. The spirit of life breathes in your letter; a spirit mighty, thundering, chiding, and provoking us with a godly jealousy. I cannot say which pleased me most, your graciousness, or our benefit; the condescension of your majesty, or the exaltation of our humility; the sharpness of your severity, or the soothing sweetness of your fatherly love. Those among us who, in any small degree, were hungering after righteousness were refreshed; those who cared little for it were moved; those who cared nothing were confounded. I beseech you to act in this way always." . . . (Letter 273).

This year, 1148, was rendered still more eventful for Bernard, by the second and final visit of his old and dear friend, Archbishop Malachi, from Ireland on his way to Rome, to obtain from the Pope the *pallium*, which was a valued badge of his rank. Bernard's joy at meeting him was very great. "Though he came from the West, he was truly the dayspring from on high which visited us. What an

addition was that brilliant sun to our Clairvaux; what a bright festival shone upon us when he came; how quickly did I, though trembling and weak, spring forward to meet him; how I hastened to embrace him! . . . What days of festivity did I pass in his company! but, alas, how few!" For Malachi had been but a short time with his friend, when he was seized with fever, and passed away on November 2nd, according, it is said, to his own prediction. He was in the fifty-fourth year of his age, three years younger than Bernard himself.[1]

The following year, 1149, was rendered sadly memorable to Bernard, as to the whole of Europe, by the news of the entire and miserable failure of the Crusade which had gone forth in such high hope and confidence. A storm of grief, astonishment, and anger swept over the whole of Europe; and as popular indignation always selects some individual as an object to discharge itself upon, so Bernard presently found himself held responsible for all the calamities which had befallen the unfortunate expedition. His name, which had been the object of universal respect and affection, was now assailed with a tempest of obloquy. He had preached per-

[1] *See* the "Life of St. Malachi," by Bernard; his two Sermons on the same Saint, and his Letter 374,—"To the Brethren in Ireland, on the occasion of the death of the Blessed Bishop Malachi,—a most admirable and touching *éloge* of that holy man.

suasive sermons, he had worked innumerable miracles to draw recruits to the Crusade; now he was accused as a deceiver and a false prophet because of its ill-success. So great was the exasperation of the multitude, that even Bernard himself declared him happy who had not been scandalized by it. He himself was more deeply afflicted than any at the failure of the Crusade; and the popular indignation, unjustly and undeservedly directed against himself, distressed him but little in comparison. Thus he says, at the commencement of Book II. of "Consideration": "If it is needful for one of two things to happen, I prefer that the murmurs of the multitude should be against me, rather than against GOD. It would be a happy thing for me if the world would deign to use me as a shield to ward off blows directed against Him. Willingly do I accept the detraction of evil tongues," &c.

Yet, upon calm consideration, justice requires it to be said, that Bernard can in no way be held responsible for the ill-success of an expedition, of which he was not the original author, and over the conduct of which he had not the least control; and the most that can be said is that he was too sanguine in expecting that, with such forces and such leaders, any more fortunate result could follow.

As for the military leaders of the Crusade, no words can be too severe for their selfishness, their open and notorious licence of profligacy,[1] their mutual jealousies and quarrels, their entire want of any military skill, beyond that of doing their knightly devoir bravely in the field before the enemy. Such faults were enough to wreck any expedition whatsoever, no matter how powerful, and if we add to this the secret hostility and constant treachery towards them of the Greek Emperor and all his officers, it

[1] "From the very commencement of the march of his army, Louis VII. seemed to recognise that he had made a mistake in allowing his young Queen Eleanor to accompany him. That example authorised the knights in general to be also accompanied by their wives; and these in turn were *accompanied by female attendants, not in all cases of good and virtuous character.* Even more elements of disorder were allowed to introduce themselves into the midst of these undisciplined troops. Speculators, effeminate minstrels, adventurers of various nations, drawn by the hope of novelty or of gain, marched in the train of the soldiers of the Cross, greedy to devour their substance."—Ratisbonne, "Histoire," ii. 237.

Later on, King Louis attempted to apply some remedy to these grave disorders; how ineffectually, we are left to infer from the *naïve* statement of the historian of the Crusade, who himself was marching with the army: "I have," he says, "forgotten what they were, for as they were never observed, I did not keep them in mind." (Odo de Diog., ii. p. 18. "Quibus cum cubiculariæ deesse non possent, in castris christianis, quæ casta esse oportebat, feminarum multitudo versabatur; quod utique factum est exercitui nostro in scandalum.")

is not too much to say that the Crusade was foredoomed to failure from the day of its setting out.

But for all this Bernard cannot in fairness be held accountable. Nevertheless, the catastrophe of an enterprise which he had done so much to promote was almost a death-blow to his feeble frame. He withdrew altogether into the quiet of his beloved Clairvaux, and there he occupied this time of tribulation and gloom in writing his five books, "De Consideratione," that "Golden Epistle" which he addressed to his former pupil and subordinate, Pope Eugenius III., a work which, by the clear and elevated insight into great matters both divine and human, shows how well its author merited the praise bestowed upon him by the learned Archdeacon of Châlons, of being "the chief judge of questions, both divine and human, the teacher of all Christian people, the chariot of the Church and the charioteer thereof."[1] This may be called the last great work of a great and noble life. The end, so constantly looked for by that humble and saintly man, was now at length at hand. Forty years of persistent ill-health had worn his physical strength down to so low a condition that even his indomitable vitality could no longer keep him in life. "My life is ebbing from me, drop by

[1] "Divinarum et humanarum rerum maxime arbiter, magister christicolarum, currus Ecclesiæ et auriga ejus."—*Epist.* 133.

drop," he writes about this time to a friend. It had long been the case that his extreme weakness of stomach hindered his taking any solid food. Now even liquids caused him great pain. He was reduced to the most distressing prostration; he was rarely able to sleep, and his legs and feet were swollen enormously. To add to his troubles, his trusted secretary, Nicholas, was just about this time found to have been guilty of the grossest treachery towards him. Having charge of his abbot's seal, he availed himself of this in order to write letters in Bernard's name, without his knowledge, and in many cases in a manner precisely opposed to Bernard's sentiments, and had done much mischief thereby; so that complaints had come back to Clairvaux as to the promotion of improper and even disreputable persons, who had been recommended to responsible posts in Bernard's name. This apparently caused the treachery of Nicholas to be discovered; and when all his misdoings were brought to light, he fled.

"It was partly proved and partly he confessed," writes Bernard to Pope Eugenius, reporting the matter, "that he had written to you more than once in this underhand way. . . . Besides books, silver, and much gold, there were found on him when he left, three seals,—one his own, one the prior's, the third mine, and that not a very old one, but the new

one [1] which I had been forced to use because of his treachery and secret frauds." (Letter 298.)

But the indomitable spirit was still capable of mastering the weakness of the frail body, as it had so often done before. Just at this time he was called upon for one more work of mercy. Hillier, Archbishop of Trêves, came to him to entreat that he would try to compose a quarrel which had broken out into sanguinary war between the town of Metz and the neighbouring barons. Already more than two

thousand lives had been lost in the struggle, and many more would be sacrificed if terms of accommodation could not be found; and at present both combatants were so exasperated that they refused even to treat for peace. Bernard was never able to resist such a call as

[1] We give here a *fac simile* of this seal of St. Bernard, which is still extant.

this. He rose from his sick bed, was carried in his litter to Metz, and there effected, almost at once, a complete and happy, but altogether unlooked-for, reconciliation between the two parties. This expedition of his was attended as usual, say his biographers, by a crowd of miracles. But this exertion was as the last flash of the expiring flame. It would have been impossible, even to him, to make such an effort had it not been for the help of GOD, "who held that holy soul within His hands, and did with it all that He thought good."

But the work of that great heart and busy, toiling brain, which for an entire generation had been laden with the business of the whole Church in Europe, was now over. His great contemporaries,—the men with whom he had held sweet converse, and been united in bonds of friendship,—had mostly passed away before him. Abbot Suger, the gifted and politic statesman, and sometime Regent of the realm, had died in January, 1151; Count Theobald of Champagne, Bernard's munificent patron and lifelong friend, in January, 1152. Then in July, 1153, Pope Eugenius, first his pupil, then his co-abbot, and afterwards as Pope, ever docile to the promptings of Bernard's strong guiding hand, laid down in death his weighty charge. Well might Bernard feel like a belated traveller on a deserted road. The monks of

[1] Geoffrey, "Life," b. v. 4.

Clairvaux, who in his death were losing the glory and the main prop of their newly-founded Order, lamented with tears and prayers his leaving them. "Bernard then weeping with them, and lifting up to heaven his dove-like eyes, felt his spirit agitated by the same conflict as the Apostle St. Paul. He was drawn two ways at once: towards earth by the fatherly love which inclined him to yield to the entreaties of his children, and to remain among them; and away from the earth by the desire to be with Christ. Finally, he said that he knew not which to choose, but that he desired that the good and holy will of GOD should be done."[1]

But his actions seemed more and more each hour to say, "I have finished the work which my Father hath given me to do." Every bond was being detached which held him to the shore of this world, that his happy soul might float away with ease and land with safety on the shores of Eternity.

When his cousin Geoffrey, the venerable Bishop of Langres, came to consult him about some church affairs of great importance, in which the abbot had been greatly interested, he found that he could not gain the attention of Bernard at all. "Marvel not," said the dying saint, "I am already no longer of this world."

[1] Geoffrey, "Life," b. v. ii. 12. [2] Ibid., b. v. ii., 8.

And thus this brave and gentle soul passed away. It was on the 20th May, 1153, about nine a.m., when Bernard was in his sixty-third year.

There have been, it may be fearlessly said, few nobler souls, or more blameless lives than his. He was honoured in his lifetime as a saint, and it is not surprising that, after his death, he should have been regarded with still greater veneration; that miracles in abundance should be said to have been wrought at his tomb, and that he should appear in vision and dream[1] to those who had known him in life.

The traces of his great influence remained still fresh in the minds of Christians until the generation

[1] Thus Amaury, King of Jerusalem, when warring against the Turks in Egypt, and sleeping one night on the sand with his soldiers, in presence of the enemy, "with his head in the hollow of his shield," saw St. Bernard appearing to him in a vision. The saint seemed to awake him and reproach him for his sins. saying that he was not worthy to bear in the combat the fragment of the life-giving Cross which he bore, according to his custom, suspended from his neck. Then the king, seized with trouble and fear, confessed his sins to the saint with tears. The Blessed Bernard then, taking off the Cross from the king's neck, blessed him three times with it, and said to him: "Have confidence, O King, for you shall obtain the victory by this sign, and you shall escape from your enemies safe and sound (*sain et sauf*) though exposed to the greatest danger that you have ever yet encountered." With these words it seemed to Amaury that he was about to retire, carrying with him the Cross which he had taken from off the king's neck, but he, re-

that had known him in life had passed away. About ten years after his death, therefore, it was proposed that he should be canonised as a saint and doctor of the Church.

It would be easy to add to this, the highest mark of honour in the power of the Church to bestow, numerous testimonies to the respect and admiration felt for Bernard by persons of all varieties of religious opinion; but it will be sufficient to close with the forcible words of Luther :—"Thus did Bernard, a

taining him, said, "I will not let you go until you have restored to me my Cross." The saint replied, "No, no, prince, for I have still other children for whom I ought, with this Cross, to obtain blessings from Heaven." At these words the king awaked and found that it was morning, and the sun beginning to spread its brilliant light. The two armies advanced to combat, and the little troop of the king fell upon the multitude of their enemies. The king seemed in the midst of that vast multitude as if he were swallowed up by the waves of the sea; nevertheless, by the strength of faith, he made many enemies of the Cross to bite the dust. (Here follows a detailed account of his exploits, of the extreme danger in which he was in the course of the battle, and of the victory which he finally obtained.) This was how it happened that King Amaury obtained the protection of the Cross, according to the promise of the Blessed Bernard. The same prince afterwards gave a full and complete account of the vision which he had had to Richer, abbot of St. Sepulchre, who, at a later period, faithfully reported it in France. Also, Amaury presented to the monks of Clairvaux the cross which their father had demanded of him for them, according to a vow which he made during the battle in case he should escape with life out of the hands of his enemies" (*Ibid.* v. 3. 26).

man so godly, so holy, and so chaste, that he is to be commended and preferred before all the Fathers. He, being grievously sick, and having no hope of life, put not his trust in his single life, in which he had yet lived most chastely; nor in his good works or deeds of charity, whereof he had done many; but removing them far out of his sight, and receiving the benefit of Christ by faith, he said, 'I have lived wickedly, but Thou, Lord Jesus, dost possess the Kingdom of Heaven by double right; first, because Thou art the Son of God; secondly, because, Thou hast purchased it by Thy Death and Passion. The first Thou keepest for Thyself as Thy birthright; the second Thou givest to me, not by the right of my works, but by the right of grace.'

"He set not against the wrath of GOD his monastic state, nor his angelical life; but he took of that one thing which was necessary, and so was saved."

[1] Comment. Epist. Galat.; Wrench's "Neander," p. 313.

THE END.

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