

**ASPECTS OF THE EUCHARIST: THEOLOGY AND ICONOGRAPHY IN
FRENCH ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE 1070-1150**

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Elizabeth Ann Saxon

University College London

September 2001

ProQuest Number: U642035

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest U642035

Published by ProQuest LLC(2015). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346



ABSTRACT

The later eleventh century was a period of increasingly intense eucharistic piety. This is evidenced by large numbers of eucharistic expositions, sermons and Mass commentaries, by the development of votive Masses and Masses for the dead, by Mass miracles, and by lay piety which was sometimes manifest in unorthodox ways. Devotional intensity continued to grow in the twelfth century and led towards the later developments centering on Corpus Christi.

This thesis attempts to present some of the currents of this devotion, a number of which sprang from the ninth century but which were given a new penitential-eucharistic focus in a period when interiority and the individual's love for Christ, particularly for the humanity of Christ, were confirmed by developments in theology which stressed the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

Debate on the nature of eucharistic union with Christ, on the salvific functions of the Mass, and on eucharistic change were sharpened by the need to counter heretical ideas. Gregorian reform, although not primarily concerned with eucharistic ideas, accelerated the separation of the priesthood from the laity and encouraged the on-going debate on the nature of valid reception of the sacrament. Greater focus on sacrificial offering in the Mass, (which had a complex development) was revealed, in part, in increasing numbers of votive Masses and Masses for the dead, and further emphasised the unique role of the priesthood.

Eucharistic imagery, notably that found in sculpture in France, is assessed in the light of these developments. The period does not, with a few exceptions, create new imagery but some early images which had fallen from favour were re-adopted and adapted. In a time of great creative intensity, however, familiar motifs were presented in new ways which clearly, and often vividly, expressed current trends in theology and devotional practice.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	.....1
Abstract	.....3
Table of Contents	.....4
Introduction	.....5-9
Chapter 1, The Theological context	.....10-43
Chapter 2, Sacrifice, Offering and Atonement	.....44-59
Chapter 3, The Penitential-Eucharistic Focus	.....60-105
Chapter 4, The Eucharist in the Context of the Reform Movements	.... 106-119
Chapter 5, Mass Commentaries	.... 120-143
Chapter 6, The Image of the Hand-held Host	.. 144-175
Chapter 7, The Continuity of Offering in the History of Salvation	... 176-198
Chapter 8, For the Love of Christ	....199-221
Chapter 9, Response to the Heresies of the Eucharist	....222-248
Conclusion	249-253
Select Bibliography	....254-274
List of illustrations	....276-279
Illustrations	....280-413

**ASPECTS OF THE EUCHARIST :
THEOLOGY AND ICONOGRAPHY IN
FRENCH ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE 1070-1150.**

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the period 1070-1150 most of the major themes of the contemporary eucharistic debates were vigorously argued, and aspects of these debates were reflected in art. There were art works in France exhibiting Romanesque features well after 1150, and theological trends and interests which overlap 1150, but the date does roughly mark a change in both artistic ideas and in certain emphases in eucharistic theology.¹ The methodology of religious debate also changed around 1150. Whilst Scholastic methods were used to varying degrees in eucharistic theology throughout the period, it was only after the mid-twelfth century (and accelerating in the thirteenth century) that these methods came to dominate much of the discussion.

Although it might have been desirable to write a thesis on eucharistic imagery produced throughout Western Christendom, such a broad topic would have been unmanageable. The works of art discussed are thus largely confined to the lands nominally owing allegiance to the French crown² or which were within bishoprics accepted as being in Gaul as opposed to the Holy Roman Empire or one of the Spanish kingdoms.³ It would be pedantic however, to exclude all examples from outside this area. Occitan and Catalan were far more mutually comprehensible than Occitan and northern French, and there were close contacts also with northern Spain. Flanders had a network of connections spreading east and west, and England under her Norman kings and bishops was closely linked to French ideas. The great monasteries spread their theology and their iconography through daughter houses across Europe. Latin-speaking clergy moved easily from one country to another. The culture of

¹ There is no simple definition of Romanesque. Zarnecki has said that its beginnings were 'imperceptible' and that the period of transition to Gothic 'varied in duration from region to region'. Zarnecki 1989, 13.

² This too could be uncertain. Many border areas were claimed by both France and the Empire, and vassals sometimes had commitments to both.

the Church was Europe-wide, even allowing for regional variations in administration, art forms and, to a lessening extent, liturgy. Copies of manuscripts and of famous cult images were found throughout Europe, and craftsmen moved from region to region. Even links with Constantinople and the East were not uncommon, and would increase with the crusades. This is not to deny the very real regional variants, but it would be distorting to confine all examples to those art works, if any, which could be seen as 'purely French'.

Many of the Roman administrative areas, *civitates*, eventually became the bishoprics of France, and lasted virtually unchanged from the tenth century to the French Revolution. This administrative continuity, however, masks the great diversity of France in culture and language. The boundaries had been moved many times. Their definition was often questionable in the twelfth century. It is not possible now to make a fully accurate map of twelfth-century France, but nor would it have been possible at the time nor, probably, seen as valuable to have done so. Loyalties were largely local.

Scholars are generally agreed that this was a period of increased piety, much of which centered on the Mass. Miri Rubin has said that the age from about 1100 ~~the age~~ was 'one of sacramentality, with the eucharist at its heart. An ethical world was constructed through this language, with the final sanction that reception of the Eucharist could be experienced beneficially only by those who lived in a certain type of virtue, or who made amends for trespasses through the penitential system of the Church'.⁴

It has been argued by Gary Macy that increased devotion to Christ present in the Eucharist 'arose suddenly and dramatically between the death of Berengar [1088] and the opening of the Fourth Lateran Council [1215]'.⁵ It was manifest in a 'tremendous proliferation of miracles, visions, and miracle stories

³ Even bishoprics could straddle borders as in the case of Arras-Cambrai.

⁴ Rubin 1991, 1.

⁵ Macy 1984, 86 referring to work by Browe and Dumoutet. This 'suddenness' applies particularly to popular devotion. Increased eucharistic piety in monastic, especially Cluniac, circles well pre-dates 1050.

surrounding the sacrament'.⁶ I have tried to show that the increasing numbers of art works employing eucharistic imagery, and the greater sophistication and complexity of much of this imagery, are also evidence for mounting eucharistic fervour of all sorts. The growth of eucharistic piety is also reflected in the very large number of Mass commentaries written in this period, some of the most important of which are discussed in chapters 5 and 7.

Chapters 1 and 2 attempt to give an art historian unfamiliar with theology enough background to make the eleventh and twelfth-century theological debates understandable and historically meaningful. Daniélou has said that 'from the beginning of the Offertory to the Communion, two themes dominate the theology of the Eucharist: that of the efficacious memorial of the Passion, the Resurrection and the Ascension, and that of participation in the sacrifice and the banquet of heaven'.⁷ I have made an attempt to explain how these themes came to dominate, and how they were viewed, theologically and visibly, in the twelfth century.

The period is one in which a penitential focus is given to eucharistic piety. This is developed in chapters 2 and 3, but reference is made throughout to this trend. This significant tendency is accelerated by a growing introspection and a consciousness of self-identity (which was conceived differently from post-renaissance individualism, since to reflect much on one's own sufferings in the twelfth century would have been seen as succumbing to a temptation from the devil.) An awareness of being largely responsible for one's own salvation, despite the still-valued prayers of others, does, however, seem increasingly to characterise the twelfth century, and these issues are raised in chapter 8.

Trends in theology, particularly those leading to an increased emphasis on the distinct role of the priesthood, and on the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist led to the new eucharistic intensity. Pressures from Gregorian reform also contributed, and these two distinct areas of concern were sometimes, but not always, related. Gregorian reform is discussed in chapter 4, but too briefly

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Daniélou 1960, 141.

to do more than suggest the inter-linking of 'power and aesthetics' which 'turned the eucharist into the battle-ground where the new vision of Christian society would be won or lost'.⁸

All Passion iconography is memorial, but it is not exclusively so, and certainly it is not simply narrative recalling. It has to be seen in the context of consideration of the salvific nature of the union, of both Church and individual, with Christ present in the Eucharist. Nor can Passion iconography be separated from concepts of the timeless nature of the Redemption, which is revealed in shadow throughout the Old Testament, and partly clarified in the gospels, but which will not be fully clarified until the eschatological banquet. This theme is developed in chapter 7 where the typological imagery of the history of salvation school of thought, associated particularly with Ivo of Chartres, is discussed.

Some aspects of the debate on salvific union do not lend themselves readily to visual illustration. It has thus been easier to illustrate ideas stemming from a Paschasian interpretation of the Real Presence, as in chapter 6, than those stemming from more mystical theologies. The latter are introduced in chapter 1, raised throughout chapter 3, and discussed in a little more detail in chapter 8, but there largely in terms of their contribution to affective imagery.⁹ Hopefully it has been possible to indicate that both areas of interpretation are significant in the period.

The permitted thesis length has inevitably curtailed comment on a number of interesting areas. In particular, lay belief and practice, although raised throughout, has only been considered in any detail, and then too briefly, in chapter 9 on heresy. Nor has it been possible to enter into the hazily defined relationships between patrons and artistic practitioners. The eucharistic images have, therefore, largely been discussed in the terms of the clerics, monastic and secular, in the educated milieu of the theologians.

⁸ Rubin 1991, 22.

⁹ Attention has largely been confined to Benedictine and Augustinian sources because it is in these circles one finds most of the architectural sculpture.

Dating Romanesque sculpture is hazardous, particularly in respect of capitals. Where reputable evidence exists I have tried to indicate it, but in the case of many of the small remote churches it has seemed wisest not to be specific. Sophisticated sculptural technique alone is not evidence of a dating late in my period. There is, ^{conversely} ~~for example~~, a group of churches in the area north of Châteauroux where the craftsmanship is crude but where the iconography is quite complex ~~and would suggest a date not earlier than 1120~~. A deliberate archaism of form can sometimes be found even in important churches in towns.

This is primarily a study of iconography as expressed in stone sculpture, but where it has seemed helpful, clarifying examples from other art forms have been used. The influence of manuscript illustrations and liturgical drama on sculpture has long been emphasised, but all art works interact in this period as in most others.

CHAPTER 1

THE THEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The first part of this chapter attempts to outline the complex problems inherent in defining the Eucharist, its nature, and sacramental and salvific functions and looks largely at the early Church. I then concentrate on the theology of eucharistic presence and change. A brief account is given of Carolingian ideas on the Real Presence because the concepts then developed underlay the debates of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The final section indicates some of the directions Eucharistic debates followed once the concept of the Real Presence was no longer a divisive issue amongst orthodox theologians.

The early Church.

The four Biblical accounts of the Last Supper¹ have from the early days of the Church been seen as describing the institution of the Eucharist, a thanksgiving² and memorial rite, which would become the central act of Christian worship.

Some form of worship centering on a shared meal, a 'breaking of bread', seems to have taken place from the very early days of the Church. There is no certainty that this was a Eucharist in the liturgical sense of the term. There is no evidence of a daily Eucharist before the time of Cyprian (d. 258) and no clear description even of the Sunday morning service (which was followed by the Eucharist) before Justin Martyr in the mid-second century.³ The first text of the Eucharist is in the *Apostolic Tradition*, probably by Hippolytus, which gives an account of rites probably in use in Rome in the early third century.⁴

¹ Mt 26:26-8; Mk 14: 22-24; Lk 22: 17-20; 1 Cor 11: 23-35. Jn 6: 32-58 suggests the institution but without describing the Last Supper directly.

² From Greek *eucharistica* - thanksgiving.

³ Dugmore 1965, 11.

⁴ ODCC.

Quite what was understood by these early rites is not now clear, and much of the rite must have been varied and evolving at the time.⁵ It is questionable whether the Last Supper itself was a Passover meal. The oldest form of the Mass may have been a development of the Sabbath rather than the paschal meal.⁶ Taking place at the same time as the Passover, however, the Last Supper would have recalled ideas of deliverance from the destroyer, and been associated with the sprinkling of blood which enabled Moses and his companions to see God on Mount Sinai and eat and drink in his presence. The as yet uncomprehending disciples would have recalled in Jesus' words 'This is my blood of the Covenant'⁷ those of Moses 'Behold the blood of the Covenant'.⁸ A continuum with the Old Covenant (reflected in the idea that Christians are a holy priesthood able to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Christ⁹) may have been recognised even in very early eucharistic prayer. The disciples would also have understood that when Jesus said 'I will eat it [i.e. the paschal meal] no more until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God' (Luke 22: 15) that he was referring to Jewish hopes of salvation and the messianic banquet to come. The resurrection was seen as an anticipation of the coming of the kingdom and this eschatological theme was given point by the meals shared with Christ after his resurrection at Emmaus and Tiberias.¹⁰

At some early point the paschal lamb became the figure of the Passion¹¹ and, somewhat later, the Eucharist came to be seen as the sacrament of the Passion, both a memorial and a participation in the death and resurrection of Christ.¹²

⁵ Bradshaw 1999, gives clearly the uncertainties of modern historians (unlike the more rigid interpretations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) in trying to find a monolinear direction of liturgical development from the time of the apostles.

⁶ Jungmann 1959, 31. Dugmore 1965 gives a useful account of the debates.

⁷ Mk 14: 24.

⁸ Ex.24: 8.

⁹ 1 Pet 2: 9.

¹⁰ Lk 24:28-43 and Jn 21: 9-14. See my chapters 6 and 7.

¹¹ Jn 1:29 'Behold the Lamb of God' and I Cor. 5:7 'Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us' are ambiguous figurative statements.

¹² Cyril of Alexandria [d. 444] gives the first fully developed eucharistic symbolism of the paschal meal. Daniélou 1960, 109.

The early Church laid stress on the common sharing of an actual meal, on fellowship, and, maybe, on holding goods in common – on communion in its widest sense. By the time of the *Didache* (a late first or early second-century manual on Church practice), however, there is evidence of a disengagement of the Eucharist from the preceding meal.¹³ By the mid-second century the 'earliest reasonably detailed account of the Eucharist'¹⁴ (one following baptism and the other an ordinary Sunday service) shows no survival of the communal meal as such.¹⁵ The prayer over the bread and wine seems to have been an extempore one (but on a fixed pattern) consisting mainly of thanksgiving for redemption, and offering the bread and wine as a memorial of the Passion.¹⁶

A very significant eschatological emphasis continued, drawn from Judaism, on future heavenly feasts at end of the world. For the Christians Christ's resurrection was 'a kind of anticipation of the coming of the kingdom.'¹⁷ The Eucharist was also a memorial but not one of simple subjective memory. It was a liturgical action in some way making present two of the most vital events in salvation history: the Last Supper and the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. The idea of the body of Christ as the Temple in the heavenly Jerusalem was a powerful image which linked to other eschatological themes, as well as to the images of the Church where Christ is the corner stone and the faithful the 'living stones'.¹⁸

The liturgical action of the Mass came to be seen as a *sacrament* but the term is complex and was not clearly defined even in the early twelfth century. *Sacramentum* in the early Church had multiple meanings. In classical Latin it could mean an oath or a solemn engagement or a pledge in support of a legal claim. In Greek it could mean any religious ritual or spiritually significant object

¹³ The *Didache* is highly controversial. Chapters 9 and 10 show, 'a ritual meal quite unlike that of all later known eucharistic texts.' Bradshaw 1999, 1.

¹⁴ Noakes 1993, 211.

¹⁵ Noakes 1993, 211. Justin 1 *Apologia* 65-67. PG 6, 327-440.

¹⁶ Justin 1 *Apologia* 66. PG 427-430. Couratin 1969, 148.

¹⁷ Moloney 1995, 13 for a good account of the various possibilities of eucharistic interpretation in the early Church.

¹⁸ Eph.2: 20 and 1 Pet 2: 5-10.

or action, sometimes suggesting initiation, mystery and a fusion between sworn pact and occult symbol.¹⁹

Tertullian (c.160-c.225) the father of sacramental terminology in the West, used *sacramentum* in the sense of an oath of loyalty, a physical sign of faith, and as initiation. The initiate was *sacratu*s, sworn to obedience and introduced to religious secrets. Tertullian also used *sacramentum* more generally to mean verbal religious devotion. He also used the term in a range of metaphorical ways as in the indicating of prefigurement - the cross was a sacrament of future salvation. *Sacramenta* could include 'symbol, figure, allegory, symbolic virtue or power, a symbolic object or person, as well as the *ordo* or *dispositio* of which the symbols were a part'.²⁰ After Tertullian there were further changes in terminology. The idea of oath gradually disappeared and a new division appeared between *sacramentum* as ritual and symbol which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The developing Christian churches tried to puzzle out the nature of the Eucharist, its salvific qualities, and its implications for Christian living. There was considerable diversity, but real controversy was largely local, and less divisive than some other theological issues (in some of which, however, the Eucharist was an important secondary element, as in the case of Christological or Trinitarian debates).

Jesus was seen as having offered himself as a sacrifice to atone for the sins of the world, fulfilling the prophecy of a 'pure sacrifice' spoken of in Malachi 1:11. From early on the Church had thought of the Eucharist as a sacrifice, an offering. The term *sacrifice* was commonly used from the second century onwards but there was no clear doctrine of the nature of this sacrifice.²¹ Kelly sees Justin as 'feeling his way to the conception of the Eucharist as the offering

¹⁹ Stock 1983, 254.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 257.

²¹ See my chapter 2.

of the Saviour's Passion', but others saw the offering as primarily first fruits of the earth, pleasing to God because they showed man's faithful disposition.²²

By the end of the fourth century there was a sense in some writers of the worshipper at the Eucharist standing 'in the presence of Christ sacrificed'.²³ Even in the first century the concept of an altar in heaven where God receives the praises of angels and the prayers, praises and oblations of man, and was probably directly linked to the Eucharist. The idea emerged of a minister at the heavenly altar²⁴ who is sometimes described as an angel and sometimes as Christ himself.²⁵ Christ was seen as both priest and victim but there was no sense of a repeated sacrifice or of the Eucharist being perpetually offered in the heavens. The Eucharist was eternal and Christ perpetually makes available his redeeming work until the Second Coming.²⁶

The sense of Christ present in the Mass, and thus intimately close to the congregation, became a vital aspect of eucharistic theology. It is this aspect which will be considered further in this chapter. This is not to diminish the idea of the Eucharist as an offering: it was the vital liturgical way of offering thanks for creation and redemption. The service was both a memorial and a thanksgiving in which the offering was the Church.²⁷ For Chrysostom offering and memorial were synonymous.²⁸ Issues of the Mass as an offering and a sacrifice will be developed in chapters 2 and 7.

²² Kelly 1958, 197.

²³ Halliburton 1993, 248.

²⁴ Hebrews 8. 2 had introduced the idea of Christ as 'an High Priest [...] a minister of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle' and Clement writing to the Corinthians c. 96, talks of Christ as the High Priest of our oblations. *Epistola 1 ad Corinthos* PG 1, 279 and 282. Couratin 1969, 153.

²⁵ In the early centuries the term 'Angel of the Christ' was sometimes used, thus linking both terms. Couratin 1969, 153. There is in a number of eastern liturgies the idea of Christ present in his divine omnipotence, accomplishing the mystery as an invisible operative. Jungmann 1965, 239-263 for an overview of eastern and western developments.

²⁶ Halliburton 1993, 248-9.

²⁷ Thanksgiving largely disappeared from the liturgy of the Mass in the middle ages. The *Sanctus* remained but the prefaces were cut down and the thanksgiving aspects were removed from the Canon to more outlying parts of the Mass. Brilioth 1956.

²⁸ *Homiliae* 34 on Heb. 17:3. Halliburton 1993, 249. Liturgical language can be wide-ranging. Chrysostom also used *sacrifice* as applying to all worship, even to preaching. Stevenson 1986, 4.

The attention of the early Church was more on the total act of redemption than on any attempt to define the means by which sacramental rituals might be connected directly to this redemptive act.²⁹ Christ was said to be present in the Eucharist (although the manner of this presence was not analysed in the detail it would be in later centuries and there were considerable variations of approach³⁰) and thus his body and blood could be said to be conferred on communicants. The analogy was made between the Word taking on flesh at the incarnation and Eucharistic change.³¹ The issue was much more one of eucharistic presence than of the eucharistic change of bread and wine into the body of Christ.

From at least the fourth century, communion was seen as effecting a salvific union between believer and the risen Christ. Defining the nature of this union was potentially problematical, raising Christological questions of whether one could usefully talk of union through eating the impassible Logos or the resurrected transfigured Christ. If the emphasis was on receiving the body of the consubstantial God then the element of fear and awe increased but the sense of closeness to the humanity of Christ the mediator decreased.

Jesus' words in John 4:2 'Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life in you', were increasingly emphasised. Cyril of Jerusalem said 'God makes us alive not merely by granting us a share in the Holy Spirit, but by granting us in edible form the flesh which he assumed'.³² The communicant was joined to the Logos by eating the body of Christ and thereby, after death, sharing in Christ's divinity. By these means

²⁹ Macy 1984, 19.

³⁰ From the fourth century greater attempts were made to explain eucharistic change. Earlier Justin had talked about food [...] made the Eucharist by the prayer of his word and which nourishes our flesh and blood through a change, [which] is both the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh.' 1 *Apologia* 66. Irenaeus was the first to talk of *epiklesis*, in the sense of invocation, in an eucharistic context. Moloney 1995, 97. Irenaeus used *become* in talking about the change resulting from invocation, and this would be adopted as one of the standard terms for eucharistic change. Cyril of Jerusalem talks of a *metabole* and related words were used by others at the time. Halliburton 1972, 249-50 and Kelly 1958, 212-13 and 440-49..

³¹ Halliburton 1993, 250.

³² On John 4:2 PG 73, 560-85. Pelikan 1971, 235-36.

man could be made immortal and incorruptible.³³ This salvific union was more than symbolic. Because Christ was both united in his humanity to man and in his divinity to God, the Eucharist created a perfect unity of Father, Son and believer.³⁴ For Hilary of Poitiers (c. 315 -67) the presence of the risen Lord in the Eucharist created a perfect and *natural* unity of communicant, Father and Son. 'we [...] have Christ dwelling in us through His flesh'.³⁵ Only by taking into himself the flesh of Christ could man dwell in Christ. The emphasis on the idea that only through a natural union with Christ could one advance to unity with God was very important. Christ, Hilary stressed,

was divine and in the Father at the same time as 'we are in him in virtue of his birth in the flesh and he is in us through the mystery of the sacraments and thus we should have a doctrine of a unity consummated through the Mediator since, while we abide in him, he would abide in the Father, and, thus abiding, should abide in us, and thus we should advance to unity with the Father'.³⁶

Hilary's ideas would be crucial for later developments in the West of the concept of Real Presence.

Communion itself was generally seen as salvific, although there were differences as to what constituted valid reception. The terror of unworthy communion goes back to apostolic times, 'he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself'.³⁷ By the fourth century there is also in Eastern liturgies 'terror language about the sacrament itself' and these ideas appear in Western Gallic-type liturgies from the early seventh century onwards in the priests' Apologies or confessions of unworthiness to celebrate.³⁸ This terror may have produced the tendency to withdraw the celebration from the eyes and, by the use of silent prayers, from the ears of the congregation.³⁹

³³ Pelikan 1971, 238 for differences on uniting with the Logos or with Christ of the incarnation.

³⁴ The Trinitarian emphasis was important in Hilary's argument against the Arians who said Christ was only a creature. Macy 1984, 20.

³⁵ *De trinitate* PL 10, 245-249B.

³⁶ *De trinitate* quoted in Bettenson 1970, 57-8.

³⁷ 1 Cor. 11:29.

³⁸ Jungmann 1965, 253-54.

³⁹ Couratin 1969, 175.

At some point early in the fourth century (and maybe earlier) intercessions began to be clearly associated with the eucharistic prayer. Cyril of Jerusalem, linking this to sacrifice, taught that great benefit could be obtained for those for whom prayers were made during the time the 'terrifying sacrifice' was on the altar.⁴⁰ The nature of the Eucharist changed once obtaining forgiveness for sin became a prominent element in the rite.⁴¹ Cyril also linked effective intercession to consecratory invocation, wherein God was asked to send the Holy Spirit to transform the oblation into the Body of the Word.⁴²

In order to understand patristic ideas on the Eucharist one needs to see biblical typology placing the sacraments in the context of the history of salvation. Celebrating the sacraments in the early Church presupposed a thorough biblical awareness as a preparation for congregational participation. Participation in the rites evoked an association between the sacramental signs and the Old Testament types that prefigured them.⁴³ This typological approach is also evident in early Christian art. The Fathers found three principal types of the Eucharist in the Old Testament:⁴⁴ The offering of bread and wine to Abraham by Melchisedek in Genesis 14: 18 –20; the feeding of the people with manna (Exodus 16); the eschatological meal traditions, for the banquet of Wisdom (Proverbs 9: 5).

The locating of present liturgical action in a historical framework was combined in the patristic world with a philosophical framework where 'sacraments are related as symbols to the reality that they signify'.⁴⁵ The idea of a symbol was very different in this period from that of today, or even from the twelfth century. Crockett says that 'in antiquity, the symbol is the presence of that which it represents and mediates participation in that reality'.⁴⁶ The symbol

⁴⁰ *Catechesis mystagogicae*, 5. 9. PG 33, 1115. Couratin 1969, 176.

⁴¹ The West quite soon also adopted intercessory prayers for the living into the eucharistic liturgy. Prayers for the dead were adopted later. See chapter 3.

⁴² *Catechesis mystagogicae* 5, 7. Couratin 1972, 178. The history of *epiklesis* is controversial. ODCC.

⁴³ Crockett 1989, 79

⁴⁴ See chapter 7.

⁴⁵ Crockett 1989, 79.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 80.

was what it signified even though the heavenly element was not identical with the visible form. The symbol participated in the reality rather than merely representing it. Thus one could not usefully distinguish between a symbolic and realistic conception. De Lubac has called this 'ontological symbolism', where the reality is in some sense given with the sign.⁴⁷ This was easier for those to understand who accepted Plato's view of a world beyond sense experience that was more real than that of sense experience. The world of sense experience is the *image, symbol, sign, figure; type, shadow: or copy* of the real world, but 'it cannot be thought of apart from the reality in which it participates'.⁴⁸ For the early Christians the bread and wine were symbols or types that signify the reality which was the anti-typos, the body and blood of Christ. The sacramental signs participate in the reality that they signify. They render it present. Those who participate in the rites participate in the reality.

The Fathers used three different kinds of language to describe the Eucharist, what Crockett calls *spiritualistic, symbolical* and *realist*. They co-exist, three different modes of expression rather than three different doctrines of the Eucharist.⁴⁹ The *spiritualist* describes the eucharistic gifts as 'spiritual food and drink'; one is spiritually feeding on Christ's body by faith as in 1 Corinthians 10: 3-4 where Paul talks of manna as 'spiritual food'. Ambrose said 'in that sacrament is Christ, because it is the body of Christ, therefore it is not bodily food, but spiritual'.⁵⁰ Augustine often used spiritualist language, for example, 'the body and blood of Christ will be life to each one, if what is visibly received in the sacrament is spiritually eaten and drunk in very truth'.⁵¹ The *symbolic* mode of expression is common amongst later Patristic writers. Ambrose, often a realist, could also say that the wine in the chalice was the 'likeness of the precious blood'.⁵²

A *realist* strain is present in patristic tradition from an early point. It was useful against Docetic and Gnostic writers who undermined the idea of Christ's

⁴⁷ de Lubac 1949, 260.

⁴⁸ Crockett 1989, 82.

⁴⁹ Crockett 1989, 83.

⁵⁰ *De mysteriis*. PL 16, 408.

⁵¹ *Sermon* 131 1. PL 38, 729.

real humanity (thereby raising doubts about the nature of atonement and redemption).⁵³ Gregory of Nyssa saw the elements being *transelemented* at the words of consecration, thereby acquiring the form and properties of Christ's body and blood.⁵⁴ Chrysostom (in language anticipating eleventh-century anti-Berengarian physicality) said 'Not only ought we to see the Lord: we ought to take him in our hands, eat him, put our teeth into his flesh, and unite ourselves with him in the closest union'.⁵⁵ The body which the communicant receives is identical with that scourged and nailed to the cross.⁵⁶

In the Fathers there is a fusion between biblical typology and Christian Platonism. 'To speak of the sacraments as signs, figures or symbols is to evoke at once the whole world of the Bible and the whole invisible heavenly world. The Eucharist is both a recapitulation of the history of salvation and an image of heavenly realities'.⁵⁷ In the middle ages this dialectic between symbol and reality would become obscured and confused.

The roots of this confusion in the West can be found in strands of thought progressing from Ambrose and Augustine. Living in a world still touched by antiquity and Platonism, they were not themselves confused by the co-existence of the three strands. Moloney has shown Ambrose's eucharistic ideas existing in a context of salvation history whereby the old Law is a shadow of truth to come; the New Testament an image of the reality of future salvation in heaven. Divisions of time are not meaningful. The identity between Christ on the cross and in the sacrament may be called *figura* whilst emphasising the reality of Christ's presence.⁵⁸

Ambrose =
transformation

Ambrose was the first in the West to introduce a *transformationist* or *metabolic* view of eucharistic presence, by which a change is seen as taking

⁵² *De Sacramentis* 4. 20 PL 16, 443A.

⁵³ Docetists saw the humanity and suffering of Christ as apparent rather than real. ODCC. Similar ideas emerge in heretical circles in the twelfth century.

⁵⁴ Kelly 1958, 443.

⁵⁵ *Homilia in Joannem* 46 quoted in Bettenson 1970, 175.

⁵⁶ *In 1 Cor. Homilia* 24 Kelly 1958, 444.

⁵⁷ Crockett 1989, 87.

⁵⁸ *In psalmum* 38 PL 14, 1051-52. Moloney 1995, 104-06.

place in the *nature* of the elements at the words of consecration.⁵⁹ He said of the elements, 'through the mystery of sacred prayer they are transformed (*transfigurantur*) into flesh and blood'.⁶⁰ He emphasised Christ's role in the consecration, saying that the sacrament was effected by the words of Christ, 'before the blessing of the heavenly words something of another character [*alia species*] is spoken of; after consecration it is designated [*significatur*] body'.⁶¹ He identifies the body of Christ in the sacrament primarily in the Christological sense rather than in the ecclesiological sense, 'this body which we consecrated is that which was born of the Virgin [...] it was certainly the true flesh of Christ, which was crucified, which was buried: truly therefore it is a sacrament of that flesh'.⁶²

Ambrose also continued, however, to see the Presence and the manner of eating as spiritual: 'the body of Christ [...] is not bodily food, but spiritual [...] the body of a divine spirit'.⁶³ That the Eucharistic body is a divinized body is central to Ambrosian thought. The order of nature need not apply to the body of Christ since God, who made creation out of nothing, could change the nature of the elements.⁶⁴ The sacrament is received 'in a likeness (*in similitudinem*) but conveys the virtue of the reality it represents'.⁶⁵ Looked at this way it is hardly surprising that Ambrose could use both realist language and the language of symbolism. In the eucharistic prayer used in Ambrose's Milan the eucharistic offering is called explicitly 'the figure of the body and blood of Christ'.⁶⁶ Metabolic and symbolic languages exist side by side in Ambrose but his metabolic views would come to dominate later Western thought.

Augustine was even less easy to categorise than Ambrose. His ideas changed or developed, partly in response to the heresies he attacked. There is in Augustine a degree of open-ended speculation which would lead to his being

⁵⁹ Crockett 1989, 96-7.

⁶⁰ *De fide* 4, 124 PL 16, 641A.

⁶¹ *De mysteriis* 52, 4. Bettenson 1970, 185-86.

⁶² *De mysteriis* 53, 54. PL 16, 407. Crockett 1989, 97.

⁶³ *De mysteriis* 58. PL 16, 408. In seeing a divinized body he stands in the tradition stretching from Origen to Gregory of Nyssa. Moloney 1995, 107

⁶⁴ *De mysteriis* 52-53 PL 16, 406-07. Moloney 1995, 107.

⁶⁵ *De mysteriis* 54 PL 16, 454-55.

⁶⁶ Crockett 1989, 97.

mis-used by both realists and symbolists as their exclusive property, as happened at the reformation and to a lesser degree in the eleventh century.

Augustine, like Ambrose, used the general vocabulary of the Platonic theory of signs, thus '*sacramentum* or *signum* is the outward visible sign; the *res* is the invisible reality that it signifies'.⁶⁷ There is a resemblance or *similitudo* between a sign and the reality it signifies. The sign of Christ's body is, in some sense, that body. Augustine could, on the one hand, be realist, as when he said to the newly baptised: 'That bread which you see on the altar, sanctified by the Word of God, is Christ's body'.⁶⁸ Since it would be blasphemous to adore the earth Augustine felt psalm 98 (99):5 had commanded man to adore the eucharistic body.⁶⁹ On the other hand, in opposition to the Manichaeans, he avoided too bold a use of realistic language. He distinguished between *signum* and *res*. The outward signs of bread and wine are perceived by the senses but the invisible reality is only attained by the mind. Christ is eaten in a spiritual manner. The body consumed at communion is not strictly the body which ascended in integrity to heaven. Jesus gave us the flesh born of Mary 'to eat for our salvation, flesh which no one eats unless he has first adored', but Augustine then imagines Christ explaining 'you will not be drinking the blood which those who crucify me are to shed [...] I have entrusted you with something sacramental which, when spiritually understood, will give you life'.⁷⁰ The eucharistic flesh is not 'flesh rent asunder in a corpse or sold in the meat-market'.⁷¹ What is received is the essence of Christ's human flesh received *in figura*.

Augustine spoke not only of the *res* of the sacrament but also of its virtue (*virtus*) or grace. The sacraments are both signs of faith and means of grace. Those who receive the sacrament with faith receive the grace of it for their salvation. Sometimes Augustine seemed to say that the unfaithful too receive the body of the Lord, but in others places he suggests that they eat only the

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁶⁸ *Sermo* 227 PL 38, 1099. Kelly 1958, 447.

⁶⁹ *In Psalmum* 98 [98:9]. PL 37, 1264.

⁷⁰ *In Psalmum* 99.[99:8]. Crockett 1989, 90.

⁷¹ *Tractatus* 124 *In Joannis* 27:5. PL 35, 1617.

sacramentum and not the *res*.⁷² In either case he felt 'Those who eat unworthily, eat and drink damnation to themselves'.⁷³ This discussion of the relationship between *res* and *virtus* would open a debate on valid reception which would be critical in later thought.

Augustine, although he did not deny the reality of Christ in the Eucharist, preferred to stress the faithful community itself as the true body of Christ. The reality signified by the sacramental signs was not an individual relationship with Christ but a communal one, a unity of all believers and Christ:

'The Apostle ... says, speaking of this sacrament: 'We are many but we are one loaf, one body'. [...] Remember that the bread is not made from one grain of wheat, but of many. When you were exorcised you were, in a manner, ground; when baptised you were, in a manner, moistened. When you received the fire of the Holy Spirit you were, in a manner, cooked. [...] Many grapes hang in a cluster, but their juice is mixed in unity. [...] So the Lord has set his mark on us, wished us to belong to him, has consecrated on his table the mystery of our peace and unity'.⁷⁴

The sacrifice of the Mass was, for Augustine, the sacrifice of the Church, itself the body of Christ, 'the whole redeemed community, that is, the congregation and society of saints, is the universal sacrifice offered to God through the great high priest, who offered himself in his Passion, so that we might be the body of so great a head [...] the Church [...] herself is offered in the very offering she makes to God'.⁷⁵ There is no suggestion here of eucharistic change. As in Ambrose, communion is necessary to complete the sacrifice⁷⁶ but the body and blood are received *in figura*. Augustine does not seem to have been interested in defining eucharistic change. He believed in the eucharistic presence but felt this could be expressed either symbolically or in realist language. His aim was to make vivid his central concern which was to show that the Eucharist was a revelation of the love of Christ and his humility,

⁷² Crockett 1989, 95-6.

⁷³ *De baptismo contra Donatistas* PL 43, 181-83.

⁷⁴ *Sermo* 272. PL 38, 1246-48. Crockett 1989, 95.

⁷⁵ *De civitate Dei* 10. 6. All future references to *The City of God* will be to ed. Knowles 1972.

saying 'If Christ had not become lowly, he could not have been eaten or drunk'.⁷⁷ The believer must not only imitate the historical Jesus but recognise that 'by eating and drinking the crucified one we are filled with light', and so Christ's gift of himself in the Eucharist could also be imitated in self-effacing love.⁷⁸

The Carolingian debates.

How far the elements were symbols or figures of the historical body of Christ caused no further major debate until the ninth century. About 831, Paschasius Radbertus, *scholasticus* of Corbie, wrote for his monks the first monograph on eucharistic doctrine, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*.⁷⁹ The work concerned many aspects of the Eucharist⁸⁰ but it was on the nature of the eucharistic presence and on the change at the words of consecration that controversy was to centre then, and again more fiercely in the eleventh century. There were two major questions at issue. The first was whether Christ was present in the Eucharist as a symbol/figure, or in reality. The second was whether the body of Christ in the Eucharist was the same as that born of Mary and that suffered on the cross, rose from the dead and ascended into heaven.

Paschasius said that the body of Christ present in the Eucharist was 'none other than the one that was born of Mary, suffered on the cross and rose from the grave'.⁸¹ What was present after the consecration was indeed 'the true flesh and blood of Christ'.⁸² It was critical to recognise this identification since Hilary's natural and salvific union, which Paschasius accepted, required that the God-man be received in his essential nature, which included both his humanity

⁷⁶ Augustine does not assume all present at every Mass will receive communion.

⁷⁷ *Sermon* 99, 10, 14 PL 38. 85. Moloney 1995, 109.

⁷⁸ *In psalmum* 33. PL 36, 313. Moloney 1995, 108-09.

⁷⁹ Moloney 1995, 116. This was revised and more widely circulated in 843-4 and presented to Charles the Bald when Paschasius was abbot. For Paschasius see also my chapter 5. *De corpore et sanguine domini* PL 120. 1267-1350. A more modern edition is ed., Paulus CCCM 16.

⁸⁰ His primary aim was not to discuss eucharistic change but to increase the love of Christ expressed by partaking in 'the feast where each day the King of all creation unites himself with his bride'. *De corpore* PL 120, 1266. Leclercq 1968, 90. See my chapter 8 for the Eucharist as wedding feast.

⁸¹ *De corpore* 1 CCCM 16, 15. Pelikan 1978, 75. *Epistola ad Fredugardum* CCCM 16, 145, 149, 159-60. Macy 1984, 27.

⁸² *De corpore* 1. CCCM 16, 15.

and his divinity, and be united as such with the human flesh of the communicant. Man could not unite directly with the divinity of Christ; only by uniting with the human Christ could the communicant, flesh of his flesh, share in Christ's divinity and thus ensure salvation.⁸³ In its boldest and most basic form, Paschasius expressed this as, 'we live on account of Him, because we eat Him',⁸⁴ but such crude language did not, in fact, prevent Paschasius from seeing reception as a spiritual matter, saying, 'a sacrament is whatever is handed down to us as a gage of salvation in a divine celebration, in which a visible deed acts from afar and from within upon something invisible and is therefore to be understood in a spiritual manner'.⁸⁵ The figure was that of the bread and wine *per se*, since the appearance remained, but the reality was the body and blood of Christ.⁸⁶ Paschasius stressed that the means by which all this happened was a mystery of God, hidden from man. God was all-powerful and could, if he willed it, replace the bread and wine with the nature of the God-man even though this nature was impassible⁸⁷ and unrestricted by location.⁸⁸

Another Corbie monk, Ratramnus, in a work written a few years later, also called *De corpore et sanguine Domini*,⁸⁹ held views different from Paschasius. Later ages saw the two Corbie monks as opponents, but it does not now seem clear whether there was any major open controversy.⁹⁰ Certainly the topic must have been of fairly wide interest since Ratramnus wrote his analysis of the Eucharist as a response to questions put to him by Charles the Bald.

Ratramnus was more sophisticated (or more Augustinian) than Paschasius in his definition of *figure* and *reality*. For Ratramnus reality means empirical reality, but figure (*figura*) referred to 'a kind of overshadowing that

⁸³ *De corpore* 19. CCCM 16, 101-02.

⁸⁴ *Epistola ad Fredugardum* CCCM 16, 148, 160. Macy 1984, 28.

⁸⁵ *De corpore* 3 CCCM 16, 23. Stock 1983, 261.

⁸⁶ *De corpore* 10 CCCM 16, 69.

⁸⁷ Impassibility: God is not subject to action from without, changing emotions from within or feelings of pleasure or pain caused by another being. ODCC.

⁸⁸ Macy 1984, 30.

⁸⁹ Ratramnus *De corpore et sanguine domine* PL 121, 125-70.

⁹⁰ Moloney 1995, 116. Bakhuizen van den Brink 1965 shows clearly that there were many points held in common.

reveals its intent under some sort of veil'.⁹¹ The Eucharist was a *mystery*, showing one thing to the senses and proclaiming another to the minds of the faithful. The bread and wine remained what they were but 'as far as their power is concerned' they had become the body and blood of Christ.⁹² To say otherwise, Ratramnus felt, would be to 'substitute sense experience for faith'.⁹³ On the same count, the historical body, born of Mary and crucified, belonged to empirical reality and could be called the real body of Christ. Christ's body in the Eucharist bore a certain *resemblance* to this, and so could also be designated the real body but only in the way Easter Sunday in each year could be called 'the day of the Lord's resurrection'.⁹⁴ There is a mutation at the consecration but not corporally. The bread and wine really become the body and blood of Christ, but according to their interior substance.⁹⁵ Christ's human body ascended into heaven. It is the Spirit which feeds the soul.⁹⁶ The sacrifice is celebrated daily *in mysterio*.

It was not just a question of whether Christ was actually present in the Eucharist that caused discussion but also the role of the Eucharist, and particularly of communion, in the salvation of the individual. For Ratramnus, relying heavily on Augustine, the salvific union symbolized by the Eucharist 'was a spiritual union between the divine Christ with the soul of the believer achieved by faith. Certainly there was no need here for the God-man in his divine and human natures to be present in the sacrament'.⁹⁷

For Paschasius, however, the salvific union was achieved by means of the eucharistic reception itself. Man must be united with the God-man in his body in order to create the perfect spiritual union. Looked at crudely, the means might seem to place undue emphasis on the physical, but Macy confirms that Paschasius always insisted that in the eucharistic presence 'nature was

⁹¹ *De corpore* 7. Pelikan 1978, 76.

⁹² *De corpore* 48. Pelikan 1978, 77.

⁹³ *De corpore* 11. Pelikan 1978, 77.

⁹⁴ *De corpore* 37.

⁹⁵ Bakhuizen van den Brink 1965, 60-61.

⁹⁶ Jn 6: 63.

⁹⁷ Macy 1984, 30.

completely subject to, and enveloped in the spiritual realm'.⁹⁸ Reception was so vital for salvation that only those already united to Christ in faith could receive worthily; those taking communion unworthily would be damned, even though what they had received was the very body of Christ.⁹⁹

The doctrine of the Real Presence was not the only eucharistic issue which would continue to be debated in and beyond the late eleventh century. In part all the continuing debates stem from the imprecise nature of Christian language, including liturgical language, which had given several meanings to the phrase *body of Christ*. Even Paschasius had recognised that the phrase could mean the Church (in the sense of all believers), or the Eucharist, or the body born of Mary.¹⁰⁰ The terms *eating* and *drinking* also had several meanings, ranging from living in faith to reading the Word.¹⁰¹ For Paschasius, although the unity of historical and sacramental body is vital, the essential mystery is flesh of the Word, as it was for Ratramnus.

The ninth century was 'a watershed' in the history of Western liturgy.¹⁰² Emphasising the sacredness of priestly power to consecrate the body and blood of Christ in the Mass distinguished the priesthood from the laity. The congregation were no longer acting with the priest as the Body of Christ which is the whole Church, but became passive spectators, adoring Christ present on the altar but no longer having a liturgical function in the offering.¹⁰³ This would become crucial in the development of the Church particularly when combined with the pressures arising from Gregorian reform in the eleventh century. In the ninth century this spiritual separation is evidenced once the placing of the host in the communicants' hands begins to be abandoned, and when the chalice is increasingly withdrawn from the laity. Moloney sees Paschasian literalism

⁹⁸ Macy 1984, 30.

⁹⁹ *De corpore* 22, CCCM 16, 127. Pelikan 1978, 76.

¹⁰⁰ *Epistle to Fredugard* CCCM 16, 173. Pelikan 1978, 78.

The concept of the body of Christ as the Temple in the Heavenly Jerusalem is also an important image linking to eschatological themes. Eph.2:20 and 1 Pet 2: 5-10.

¹⁰¹ In Latin *corpus* can mean either physical body or a body of written work. See chapter 3 on the image of eating the book.

¹⁰² Moloney 1995, 118 quoting Mitchell 1982, 96.

¹⁰³ It is not now clear how clergy or laity viewed these roles. The priest may have offered and received grace as the symbol of the community. Macy 1984, 26.

playing a part in these developments and preparing the ground for later controversies.¹⁰⁴

In the tenth century the eucharistic questions raised by the Carolingian theologians continued to be debated, although at a rather low level and generally taking a Paschasian line.¹⁰⁵ One interesting secondary issue, however, was whether the host could be digested. Earlier Paschasius had dismissed the idea as *frivolous*.¹⁰⁶ Others, including Rabanus Maurus, warned against 'too literal an understanding of the Lord's presence'.¹⁰⁷ Heriger of Lobbes (c. 925-1007), nevertheless, accused Rabanus Maurus of stercoranism¹⁰⁸ and, to justify the vital Hilarian-Paschasian natural union, argued that Christ was absorbed into the body of the communicant in order to ensure immortality, but that the body of Christ was not excreted as it had not been absorbed in the terms of normal food.¹⁰⁹ It is possible, (although evidence is unclear), that Heriger discussed this to counter neo-manicheans.¹¹⁰

Even without any threat of heresy, the mode of the presence and the different functions of the Eucharist would have continued to be of concern. The highly influential abbot Odo of Cluny (879-942) had stressed the centrality of the Eucharist when he said that the 'holy mystery of the Lord's body' was vital to salvation.¹¹¹ Such centrality ensured that theologians would attempt to define the Eucharist in some detail.

The Berengarian crisis and eleventh-century debates.

¹⁰⁴ Moloney 1995, 118.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, there were only two significant writers on the Eucharist in the tenth century, Gezo of Tortona (*De corpore et sanguine Christi* PL 137, 371-406) and Heriger of Lobbes. Both were Paschasian. Pelikan gives other examples, all Paschasian. Pelikan 1978, 185-86.

¹⁰⁶ *De corpore* 20. CCCM 16, 107. PL 120, 1331.

¹⁰⁷ Macy 1984, 32.

¹⁰⁸ Latin *stercus*, dung. Stercoranists said the host was digested and evacuated like normal food.

¹⁰⁹ *Sicut ante nos dixit* PL 139, 186-88 (in PL attributed to Gerbert of Auvergne, later Pope Sylvester 11.) Macy 1984, 34. Heriger tried to reconcile Paschasian and Ratramnian views by saying that there were two ways of talking about the body of Christ, *special* and *natural*, which were not in opposition but merely distinguishing modes of presence.

¹¹⁰ Macy 1984, 32-35.

¹¹¹ *Collationes* 2. 28 PL 133, 572. Pelikan 1978, 185. Odo drew extensively on Paschasius.

Berengar of Tours, (c.1000-88), was the *scholasticus* of St-Martin of Tours from about 1040 to 1080. We do not know exactly what Berengar said in most of his works, which he or others destroyed,¹¹² and can only gather his meaning from the works of his detractors, especially Lanfranc. The undoubtedly bitter character of the debate about his views, underlines the intense adherence of many theologians to Paschasian-type views.¹¹³ Following a Ratramnian line (which he wrongly attributed to Erigena), he seems to have argued that one could refer meaningfully to the bread and wine after consecration as the body and the blood, but in substance they remain bread and wine, visible signs (*sacramenta*) of a spiritual reality (*rei sacramenta*). If a subject changed, the qualities or accidents (*qualitates, accidentia*) must also, by logic, change. The Lord was truly present in the Eucharist but it was a spiritual presence perceived by the faithful. Berengar did not reject a Real Presence, but he rejected the sacramental change (which would later come to be widely called *transubstantiation*), claiming this was contrary to nature and logic.¹¹⁴

Looked at in this way it is difficult to accuse Berengar of *impanation* - the idea that the body of Christ is substantially united in some form of co-existence with the unchanged substances of the bread - this would have been seen by him as illogical. That he was so accused, both then and after his death, says much about the complexity and the terminological confusion of the debate.¹¹⁵

Berengar had tried to use the new and still evolving Aristotelian logic to clarify Augustine's distinction between *sacramentum* defined as *sacrum signum*, and *res sacramenti*. This division was used by Berengar to stress that Christ's body in substance could exist only in heaven, it was impassible and immutable and could not be divided, blasphemously and in an undignified way, into bits

¹¹² In 1770 Berengar's *De sacra coena*, written specifically to refute Lanfranc's attack on him in *De corpore*, was discovered by Lessing and published in 1834. Pelikan 1978, 187. Gibson, 1978, 92.

¹¹³ Berengar was reacting to 'the exaggerations of Paschasian realism'. Moloney 1995, 118.'

¹¹⁴ Berengar was in the vanguard of early scholasticism, feeling his way to an idea that that the sensible qualities of things must be distinguished from their substance. This early Aristotelianism puzzled over whether a material object could be a spiritual truth, or an image could have intrinsic value. Moloney 1995, 119 and Gibson 1978, 78.

¹¹⁵ *Impanation* is close to later concepts of *consubstantiation*. There were various versions.

(*portiuncula*) piled up on earth on all the altars and other bits in heaven.¹¹⁶ He stressed this very firmly because he felt that if Christ's body was fragmented on earthly altars then his 'heavenly integrity [...] upon which the Christian hope of salvation depended would be destroyed'.¹¹⁷ This suggestion that the Mass might not be salvific was the crucial issue. Because of this, countering the fragmentation argument would form a major platform for all Berengar's opponents.¹¹⁸

There were two major stages in the attack on Berengar. In 1059 Berengar, following at least ten years of debate and a compromise creed agreed with Hildebrand in 1054, was recalled to Rome and forced to sign an oath drawn up by Humbert, Cardinal-bishop of Silva Candida, which contained 'the strongest statement of physical presence yet put forward by any author':¹¹⁹ 'The bread and wine which are laid on the altar are after consecration not only a sacrament but also the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they are physically taken up and broken in the hands of the priest and crushed by the teeth of the faithful, not only sacramentally but in truth'.¹²⁰

This blunt statement, widely circulated as the official papal position, passed into canon law collections.¹²¹ It had to be defended as a conciliar edict, but Macy says that it 'was an embarrassment in more learned circles, and with very few exceptions, it would be the subject of reinterpretation and

¹¹⁶ *De sacra coena* 37.

¹¹⁷ Cowdrey 1998, 501. Cowdrey gives a very clear account of the Berengarian crisis and of Gregory VII's hopes (which lasted until his mysterious *volte face* on the eve of the Lent synod in 1079) that although Berengar's views differed from his own they could still be 'deemed intrinsically acceptable in the light of biblical and patristic authorities'. Cowdrey 1998, 500.

¹¹⁸ See chapter 6 for the use of visual imagery in countering this argument.

¹¹⁹ Macy 1984, 36. Gibson 1978, 82-83 thinks that for Lanfranc the essential aim of taking action against Berengar was not to support the oath as such but to preserve Church unity.

¹²⁰ Lanfranc *De corpore et sanguine domini* 2. PL 150, 410 trans. Gibson in Macy 1984, 36.

The harsh treatment of Berengar may have been partly because Humbert felt Berengar was dangerously close to Monophysitism [the doctrine that Christ had only a divine and not a human nature] and insisted that only the salvific body and blood of Christ, unified on earth and in heaven, existed after the consecration, there could not be two Christs. As Humbert also saw Monophysitism as suspect in the Eastern argument for leavened bread, which was current area of major disagreement, the extreme wording of the oath may also have been intended to convey a message to the East. Macy 1984, 38 citing Geiselman.

¹²¹ It was copied in Ivo of Chartres' *Decretum* and then into Gratian's *Decretum* 111. Macy 1984, 149 n. 86.

2

rationalization'.¹²² It was 'the furthest extreme' to which the Paschasian line would be taken in credal statements.¹²³

On his return to France, Berengar repudiated the oath, saying, he had been under duress, and he wrote a pamphlet (which is now lost) justifying his views. Lanfranc of Bec responded to this in 1063. Lanfranc did not make a general statement on the purpose of the Eucharist, nor did he offer an overtly Paschasian explanation using Hilary's argument of natural union.¹²⁴ He attempted to deal with the question of how the body of Christ could be *naturally* present if it is not sensed by arguing that the body in heaven and the body on the altar are in essence the same but they have different outward appearances. Gibson says that Lanfranc 'has in effect put forward the theory of transsubstantiation: the substance changes, the accidents remain. But his language is still hesitant and experimental'.¹²⁵

There was much confusion over the terms. Lanfranc at one point defined the invisible flesh and blood as *res sacramenti* and the visible species as *sacramentum* but later he reverses these terms and settled for using *sacramentum* in a wide sense because 'not even the divine codices use it in one signification only'.¹²⁶ This looser and wider usage remained satisfactory to many in the twelfth century, even whilst others were refining the terms.

Lanfranc tried to put an end to divisive argument by giving due weight to the *mystery* of eucharistic presence and change: 'On the one hand, there is the

¹²² Macy 1984, 36. Gibson 1978, 81-83. Lanfranc did not attempt to justify it as theology. She thinks that for Lanfranc the essential aim of taking action against Berengar was not to support the oath as such but to preserve Church unity.

¹²³ 'If during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries no orthodox theologian would deny, as Berengar had, that Christ was substantially present in the Eucharist, several theologians would understand that substantial presence to have spiritual form and function quite similar to [the concepts] of Berengar. [...] When Berengar argued [in *De sacra coena* 45] that 'in sign the body of Christ is broken, in sign the body of Christ is accepted; nothing here is asserted against the incorruptibility and impassibility of the body of Christ', he anticipated what would become the standard explanation of the theologically embarrassing oath of 1059'. Macy 1984, 42-3. For a fuller treatment of the heritage see Macy 1999, 20-35.

¹²⁴ Macy 1984, 47.

¹²⁵ Moloney 1995, 120. Gibson 1978, 90-91. She notes that Lanfranc's book became widely accepted throughout northern Europe.

¹²⁶ *De corpore* PL 150, 437D. Häring 1948. Häring says Berengar won a Pyrrhic victory in that his terminology was generally accepted but not his conclusions.

sacrament; on the other, there is the *thing of the sacrament* (*res sacramenti*). The *thing* (or the *reality*) of the sacrament is the body of Christ. Yet Christ is risen from the dead. He does not die, and death has no more power over him (Romans 6:9). So [...] while the bits of [Christ's] flesh (*carnes*) are really eaten and his blood is really drunk, he himself nevertheless continues in his totality (*integer*), living in the heavens at the right hand of the Father until such time as when all will be restored. [...] it is a mystery of faith. To believe it can be healthy; to investigate it cannot be of any use'.¹²⁷

Perhaps in order to complement his theological opposition to Berengar's ideas Lanfranc arranged the first procession with the Blessed Sacrament.¹²⁸ Significantly at the dedication of his new Christ Church cathedral in Canterbury on Palm Sunday in 1077 there was no translation of relics, as was customary. A procession, from outside the city to the foot of the great crucifix in the nave of the cathedral, carried palms and a shrine containing a consecrated host. The procession of the consecrated host emphasised that Christ himself was the cult and real treasure.¹²⁹ In the thirteenth century this type of procession would develop in the feast of *Corpus Christi*.¹³⁰

The issue of salvific integrity of the body of Christ was vital. Guitmund, later bishop of Aversa, (d.c.1085-90), was firmly in the Paschasian mould when he wrote against Berengar in about 1073-75 whilst at Bec. Guitmund said that since man fell by eating real fruit it was fitting that he should be saved by eating the real fruit of the cross which is Christ's body. Man could not be substantially one with Christ by receiving only his shadow, the substance in which he walked on earth must also be received in order for both body and soul to be redeemed.

¹²⁷ *De corpore* quoted in McGrath 1995, 298.

¹²⁸ Moloney 1995, 122-5 says it was the first procession of which we know. Constable 1996, 280 and n 118 which refers to Lanfranc *Decreta* 25 in CCCM 111, 22-5. The first mention of genuflecting before the sacrament and incensing it comes from Bec and Cluny at this time. Reserving the sacrament on the altar rather than in the sacristy had been taking place since the ninth century but the late eleventh century saw an increased devotion to the reserved sacrament.

¹²⁹ Gibson 1978, 172-73.

The cathedral had been dedicated (from the late sixth century) to Christ alone, and this therefore made such a procession appropriate. There were also political implications in the demoting of the Anglo-Saxon saints but neither of these points lessen the theological significance of initiating a procession with the consecrated host.

Berengar had said fragmentation deprived man of redemption: in turn, Guitmund said Berengar's figurative concepts robbed man of salvation. Christ must be substantially present in the Eucharist to ensure salvific union.¹³¹

Berengar's opponents argued that Christ was not being cut up into bits as Berengar said, but that there was only one body, in heaven and in earth, one that was received by communicants wherever they were.¹³² John of Mantua, writing about 1080 developed the important principle of concomitance that said that the whole Christ, body, blood, soul and divinity, exists in either species.¹³³ This countered Berengar's point that the fragmentation of Christ's body destroyed his integrity and therefore mankind's hopes of salvation. Guitmund of Aversa confirmed this concept when he said that every particle of the body of Christ in the host and the chalice was the entire body of Christ in heaven.¹³⁴ Moloney thinks that because of this approach it is not by chance that in this period can be found the first evidence of the custom of addressing Christ directly in the eucharistic species.¹³⁵

In many ways the simplest and most direct means of countering the arguments that Christ could not be in several places at once was to argue that since the human and divine aspects of Christ were inseparable, and God existed in all things, he did not need to conform to the normal rules of nature.¹³⁶ Even during his time on earth, Christ had not been subject to the limitations of space as had been shown in the Transfiguration and in the post-resurrection

¹³⁰ See Rubin 1991.

¹³¹ *De veritate* 1.1-3. PL 149, 1427-94. Macy 1984, 48.

¹³² Pelikan 1978, 194 gives several examples of this way of thinking eg. Peter Damian *Opuscula* 11. 8 PL 145, 238.

¹³³ John, like many before him, saw the salvation of bodies as linked to the reception of Christ's body, and of the soul to Christ's blood. Macy 1984, 165 n.152. The idea of concomitance may also have helped justify the growing practice of offering communion only in one species. John was writing for Matilda, Countess of Tuscany to warn her against the heresy of Berengar whose ideas had clearly spread beyond the clerical classes.

¹³⁴ *De corporis et sanguinis Christi* 2. PL 149, 1434. Pelikan 1978, 194. Guitmund is important in furthering the definitions of substance and accidents. His stress on corporality opened up the stercoranist debate, and also discussion of the implications should the reserved sacrament be left to decay or be eaten by a mouse. These latter issues were not frivolous but issues of real practical pastoral concern. They would also be raised later by mocking Cathars when attacking the concept of eucharistic change. Macy 1991.

¹³⁵ Moloney 1995, 124 citing Mitchell 1982, 164-65.

¹³⁶ Pelikan 1978, 194 gives examples of this reasoning from Alger of Liège, William of St-Thierry and Hugh of St-Victor.

appearances. It was not, on its own, however, a sufficient explanation of how man could unite with Christ in the sacrament. For this it was necessary vigorously to confirm that the body on the altar was Christ's human and not his divine body; it was the very body born of the Virgin.

However superior in logic Berengar may have been, in practice he was defeated. He was forced in 1079 to take a new, if modified, oath. This stated that 'the bread and wine which are placed on the altar [...] are changed substantially (*substantialiter transmutatem*) into the true and proper vivifying (*vivificatricem*) body and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord and after the consecration there are [there] the true body of Christ which was born of the virgin [...] and the true blood of Christ which flowed from his side, not however through sign and in the power of the Sacrament, but in their real nature and true substance'.¹³⁷ The crucial words here were *substantially* and *vivifying*. Cowdrey ~~says~~ thinks it surprising that this development had been delayed for so long, but finally in this oath 'the connection between the unqualified reality of Christ's presence in the eucharist and the hope of human salvation was officially recognized and expressed in the widely circulated profession that Berengar was compelled to make'.¹³⁸

This oath ensured that in some form a Paschasian approach to the Real Presence would continue officially into the twelfth century. It was not, ^{however} only in tracts against Berengar that the Paschasian approach continued to be expressed. Four commentaries on Psalm 21, variously dated from the late eleventh to the mid-twelfth centuries, based on the so-called 'Ambrosiaster' gloss on 1 Corinthians 11:26, all stress that through the consumption of the Lord's body we become sharers in his immortality. The commentary by Bruno, founder of the Carthusians, and by the Pseudo-Remigius of Auxerre both stress that the Word became flesh *in order* that we might be saved through eating the God-man. The body and blood is sustenance for this life and pledge of future glory. All four glosses elaborate on the symbolism of bread and wine as signs of the union of Christ and his Church and state that the mixing of water and

¹³⁷ Macy 1984, 37.

¹³⁸ Cowdrey 1998, 501.

wine is a symbol of the sharing of Christ's Passion, they link this to the Christian life of faith and love. They all also stress concomitance.¹³⁹

New directions in eucharistic theology in the twelfth century.

In one way the 1079 oath was the end of a debate.¹⁴⁰ There were major eucharistic debates in the twelfth century but they are largely to do with the nature of the *salvific* function of the Eucharist, and do not, outside heretical circles, question, in a *credal* sense, the Real Presence. The concept that eucharistic change takes place was generally accepted, but there were a great many versions of the term *substantia* and consequently of the nature of the change.¹⁴¹ One significant theory was that of annihilation/succession whereby substantial change is accepted but the bread and wine were seen as being annihilated on being succeeded by Christ's body.¹⁴² The simpler idea of illusion (as of a stick in water appearing to be bent) was an aid to many theologians who preferred not to enter this debate in any detail and were content, or felt it wisest, to leave the idea of the change as basically a mystery of faith.

Perhaps the most telling phrase in the widening of debate on eucharistic change came from the clearly Paschasian Odo of Cambrai. The sacrifice (*hostia*), he said 'is flesh, not carnal, but uncontaminated light. It is a body, and not corporeal, but spiritual light'.¹⁴³ This concept would effectively form a bridge to the mystical Laon-Victorine school. Hugh of St-Victor expressed a similar

¹³⁹ Macy 1984, 60-61.

This issue of indivisibility will become of significance in later debates against the Petrobrusians and Cathars. See chapter 9.

¹⁴⁰ Although *Berengarian* was a fairly common term of abuse in the twelfth century, and a few writers did express views very close to those of Berengar, there was no real school of Berengar, nor is his influence, even upon heretical groups easily provable. See Macy 1999, 59-80. There was, however, sufficient concern, even after Berengar's death in 1088, for the Council of Plaisance in 1095 to issue further condemnation of Berengarian views. Toubert 1990, 384.

¹⁴¹ The introduction to Macy 1984 (revised in Macy 1999) lays out clearly the way academic studies on this topic have developed in the twentieth century. The articles in Macy 1999 expand on this.

¹⁴² Moloney 1995, 130-31 and n. 63 where he states that Roland of Bologna, sometime before 1150, seems to have accepted this theory and to have used the term *transubstantiation* for it.

¹⁴³ *In canonem missae* PL 160,1064C. See chapter 5 and Schaefer 1982/3, 86 n. 31.

idea, based on Pseudo-Dionysian concepts, seeing the union of the recipient in the ecclesial body of Christ in terms of divine light.¹⁴⁴

Hugh of St-Victor removed the sensual from the equation by saying that Christ retained his incorrupt unity and was not broken in the Mass, only the external appearances were fractured, and that as a means of instruction.¹⁴⁵ Hugh, by this statement, effectively repudiated the oath of 1059, as did most others. Peter Lombard, writing in the early 1150s, specifically repudiated it saying 'those words of Berengar that the body of Christ is said to be handled [...] broken [...] and crushed, not sensually in the mode of a sign (*non modo in sacramento*), but in truth, are to be distinguished; something truly (is done), but in sign alone (*in sacramentum tantum*)'.¹⁴⁶ Macy said Peter Lombard reversed the meaning of the oath. 'Since the Body of Christ is certainly now risen and immune to all division, the words of the oath, for the Lombard, must mean the opposite of what they appear to mean. The Lombard had thus simply explained the oath away'. This reversal became the standard interpretation.¹⁴⁷

Alger of Liège (c. 1055-c.1132) developed eucharistic terminology. He said that as a general rule the species of bread and wine are the *sacramentum* of the body and blood on the altar that is the true *res sacramenti* of the Eucharist. One could talk of the body of Christ, however, as the historical body; the invisible spiritual body of the risen Christ; and as the Church.¹⁴⁸ Macy explains Alger's position as:

'A *sacramentum* can signify a *res* either through similitude, or through some external action performed in respect to the *res*.¹⁴⁹ The bread and wine are *sacramentum* of both the risen body and of the Church through similitude.¹⁵⁰ Because the actions of the Mass represent the Passion of Christ, the invisible risen body present on the altar can be called the *sacramentum*, either of the historical body of Christ, or of the

¹⁴⁴ *De sacramentis* 2, 8. 1. PL 176, 461D Colish 1994, 566.

¹⁴⁵ 1.2, 8, 11. PL 176, 696B. Macy 1999, 25-26.

¹⁴⁶ *Sententiae* 1.4, dist. 12. Macy 1999, 26.

¹⁴⁷ Macy 1999, 26-27.

¹⁴⁸ *De sacramentis* 1. PL 180, 743B-44D. Macy 1984, 50.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 794A-B.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 794C.

Church according to the second use of this term.¹⁵¹ According to this usage, the body of Christ can be referred to as a signifying and signified sign (*sacramentum significans et significatum*).¹⁵²

Alger still spoke traditionally of the Mass as the commemoration of the Passion and as the sign of unity in the Church,¹⁵³ but he stressed the central importance of the Real Presence as the *res* of the Eucharist. For him the body and blood are not mere signs. Alger's wording was still unwieldy but it was more precise than the terminology of Lanfranc.

Authors in the Laon-Victorine circle also refined eucharistic terminology. The *res* of the Eucharist was both the true body of Christ and the spiritual bread (*panis celestis*) on which the angels feed. The former is a sign of the latter.¹⁵⁴ By the *panis celestis* one is joined to Christ in faith and love. The *res sacramenti* is also described as both the body and blood and the union by faith and love.¹⁵⁵ In a sentence collection, *Summa sententiarum*, of the second quarter of the twelfth century, stemming from the school of Hugh of St-Victor, came an important tri-partite definition that was to become the standard terminology.¹⁵⁶ The appearances of bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ, and the spiritual union of God and man effected by worthy reception, were called respectively *sacramentum tantum* (sacrament only), *res et sacramentum* (sacrament and reality) and *res tantum* (reality only).¹⁵⁷

Sacramental and spiritual reception.

The idea that the grace being mediated by the sacraments might be invalidated by the immorality of the officiating bishop and clergy had raised

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 796B.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 792C. Macy 1984, 50 -51.

¹⁵³ Macy 1984, 51.

¹⁵⁴ William of St-Thierry said that the accidents have an existence, by an act of God, independent of the body of Christ or the bread and wine. *De corpore* 3. PL 180, 349B-350A. This approach was adopted by Peter Lombard and became the most popular method theologians used to extricate themselves from the dilemma of eucharistic change. Macy 1984, 98.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁵⁶ Peter Lombard adopted this terminology and it was carried on into the high scholastic period.

¹⁵⁷ *Tractatus* 6, 3. PL 176, 140A-B. Moloney 1995, 126 thinks this can first be traced to the highly Paschasian Alger of Liège in *Liber de misericordia* PL 180, 884D and *De sacramentis* PL 180, 752-754.

serious issues for the Church many times. Origen felt that spiritual food eaten unworthily was not salvific.¹⁵⁸ The Donatists made the unity of the Church contingent on the holiness of its members and sacraments by evil priests were seen as invalid.¹⁵⁹ Augustine, talking of baptism, had said that the validity of the sacrament depended on the institution of Christ and not on the minister or the recipient. Paschasius had transferred this idea to the Eucharist in an attempt to prevent unworthy priests from being seen as nullifying the sacrament.

Berengar was more interested in the part played by the communicant. He said that 'eternal salvation is produced in us if we accept with a pure heart the body of Christ, that is, the reality of the sign (*rem sacramenti*) whilst accepting the body of Christ in sign (*in sacramento*), the bread of the altar, which has a temporal function'.¹⁶⁰ There was under this definition no need for the presence of the risen body in the sacrament, and indeed to insist on this presence was inane and, more significantly, blasphemous because it suggested the division of Christ. Lanfranc, in a different way, and in an attempt to reconcile Paschasian natural union and a spiritual reception, also focused on the communicant's intentions. He argued that a sacramental reception of the flesh and blood must be joined to a spiritual reception entailing the recalling of the Passion and the imitating of this in purity and love. Vital as this spiritual union was, however, it was insufficient for salvation unless accompanied by reception of the body and blood in the Eucharist.¹⁶¹

In the early twelfth century the *Sententiae Anselmi* (which is not by Anselm of Laon personally) said there were two forms of reception: sacramental and spiritual reception. All received the body and blood in sacramental reception but real reception is only made by the good who receive in faith and love. The wicked receive the body and blood unto damnation.¹⁶² He differed

¹⁵⁸ *In secundum Mattheum* 14 PG 13 943-51. Young 1979, 252-53 gives similar Patristic views.

¹⁵⁹ Pelikan 1971, 309.

¹⁶⁰ *De sacra coena* 45 Macy 1984, 39.

¹⁶¹ *Epistola* 33 PL 150, 533. Macy 1984, 47.

¹⁶² Guibert of Nogent went further than this in saying that sinners who received even unconsecrated species were in mortal sin if they believed they had received the body and blood of Christ. *De pignoribus sanctorum* PL 156, 636 B-C. By emphasising that the union of faith made the sacrament operative Guibert was able to quash the debates about animals or corrupt

from Lanfranc, who had earlier been moving in this direction, however, because in a mystical redefinition, the union in faith is seen to be salvific even if the true body and blood have not been received.¹⁶³ The concept of the Real Presence was not rejected, but the reality of the Eucharist was seen in the spiritual rather than natural union.¹⁶⁴

Macy has said that 'it was a thin line, not too clearly distinguished by the theologians of the time, between invoking the injunction by Gregory VII that the laity should reject the sacraments of simoniacs and non-celibate priests, and preaching a form of Donatism'.¹⁶⁵ William of St-Thierry, writing against Henry of Lausanne, was doubtless aware of this danger when he insisted that it was 'the faith of the receiver and not the giver' that mattered and that one could receive the sacrament 'from any priest with confidence'.¹⁶⁶, but by that time (after about 1132) the heretical disruption was unavoidable. By 1150 Roland of Bologna¹⁶⁷ produced a compromise which was generally agreed. For the Eucharist to be validly consecrated the priest must be validly ordained, regardless of his moral qualities. This does not apply, however, to the unfrocked, heretics, schismatics or excommunicates since these are not in communion with the Church and the Eucharist is the sacrament of unity.¹⁶⁸

The nature of the sop given to Judas at the Last Supper raised many questions.¹⁶⁹ Augustine commented, 'for as Judas, to whom the Lord gave a morsel furnished a place within himself for the devil, not by receiving an evil thing but by receiving evilly, so whoever receives unworthily the sacrament of the Lord does not cause that it is evil because they themselves are evil or that they have received nothing because they have not received to salvation'.¹⁷⁰ There was much twelfth-century debate on the issue because of the

priests damaging the host, since these affect neither the *sacramentum* nor the *res sacramenti*. PL 156, 640D. For other aspects of Guibert's eucharistic theology see Macy 1984, 80-82.

¹⁶³ This was comforting to those who had unknowingly received unconsecrated species.

¹⁶⁴ Macy 1984, 77. Some sentences are less explicit but all stress the spiritual union.

¹⁶⁵ Macy 1984, 55-56 and n.91 for papal sources.

¹⁶⁶ Moore 1975, 53. See my chapter 9.

¹⁶⁷ Who is not now identified as the future Pope Alexander III. Macy 1984, 117.

¹⁶⁸ *Sententiae* ed Gietl 1891, 216-18 and 235-37 quoted in Colish 1994, 572-73.

¹⁶⁹ See chapter 4 for the visual imagery.

¹⁷⁰ *De baptismo* quoted in Crockett 1989, 93.

implications for the overall conception of sacramental validity. A pastoral issue was raised here too, in that some priests felt that they should withhold communion, or give an unconsecrated host, to known impenitent sinners lest the sinners be damned by unworthy reception.¹⁷¹ Guibert of Nogent, felt that Judas may have received something holy because of the touch of the Lord but not from any change having taken place in the bread (*non ex mutatione sui aliqua*). The sop was a sign of the betrayer and not a sign of the sacrament because the sop had been given 'before the tradition of that new sacrifice' (that is before the words of consecration).¹⁷² Guibert felt however that Judas 'fully merited the entry of the devil, not so much for the unworthy taking of the little morsel, as for his attitude towards the Lord'. Guibert, by even partly suggesting that it might have been unworthy to take the sop, was revealing his belief in spiritual reception. He believed in the Real Presence but did not stress substantial union, arguing that the purpose of the sacrament was to lead man to a divine understanding of Christ and of his mystical presence in heaven and in our hearts. Like the Laon school he argued that it was possible to receive the effects of the Eucharist without sacramental reception.

Honorius Augustodunensis raised the issue in a long section about the sacraments of unworthy priests. Like Augustine he saw the merit of the sacrament not resting in the priest, but he nevertheless felt that it was possible to receive unworthily and unto damnation.¹⁷³ Originally, he said that sinners did not receive the body and blood of Christ.¹⁷⁴ They were prevented from receiving this by their evil intentions, and so received only the outward appearances, the 'inward quickening virtue is withdrawn from them'.¹⁷⁵ Without this virtue they could not be naturally joined to Christ and through this union to the Godhead. Honorius then changed his mind, and said that Christ's body is 'the same in the mouth of the worst of men as it is in the mouth of the most holy' but it produces different results, and is 'the cause of glory to the worthy and the

¹⁷¹ Colish 1994, 571-72.

¹⁷² *Epistola de buccella Judae* PL 156, 527-37 especially 530. Macy 1984, 80-81 is somewhat unclear here saying that Guibert said that Jesus received the true body.

¹⁷³ *Elucidarium* 1, 1, c.195 ed Lefèvre quoted in Macy 1999, 61 n 21. Guitmund of Aversa saw this type of thinking which can seem close to Donatism as heretical and 'Berengarian' (*De corporis* PL 149, especially 1491C-1494), but it was not uncommon even in orthodox circles.

¹⁷⁴ *Eucharistion* PL 172, 1254A. Stone 1909, 278-80.

cause of punishment to the unworthy'.¹⁷⁶ The wicked could not receive the salvific spiritual union.¹⁷⁷ The sop, he said, was not the body of Christ because it was given to Judas before the words of institution; nevertheless, the devil entered Judas the moment he took the morsel which had been given as a sign of his treachery.¹⁷⁸

The Mystical Body of Christ.

As emphasis shifted from questions of eucharistic change to those of the nature of the efficacy of the Eucharist and the possible modes of salvific reception, the Laon-Victorine more mystical approach, would lead, for many, to a deep devotion to the Eucharist.¹⁷⁹ By allowing that sacramental communion was desirable, but that the union of faith and love could come about without this, it risked, however, emphasising the individual at the expense of the Church. This was a position dangerously akin to that of the increasing number of heretics. Accordingly, Peter Lombard, Gilbert of La-Porrée and others after them, have been seen as reacting against what they saw in the Laon-Victorine position as an insufficiently ecclesial emphasis. They asserted that it was the unity of the organised corporate body of the Church that ensured salvific reception. In this school, influential largely after 1150 and so not developed in this thesis,¹⁸⁰ the term *mystical body* (which had originally been used to differentiate the Body of Christ, both present on the altar and as the Church itself, from the body of Christ born of Mary and present in heaven) came to be seen as describing 'the Church as the body of Christ symbolized in the Eucharist'.¹⁸¹ It should be noted that although this movement gained prominence after 1150, some theologians earlier in the century had also envisaged the Church as the mystical body of Christ. For example, Hugh of St-

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 1253.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1255.

¹⁷⁷ Macy 1984, 65 n.188 felt Honorius may have been influenced in this change of mind by William of St-Thierry.

¹⁷⁸ *Elucidarium* 1 cap 30 PL172, 1132A.

¹⁷⁹ Popular religious thought (which in different ways might include popular lay and popular monastic thought) showed a range of eucharistic concerns in this time of growing eucharistic fervour. These concerns often centered on devotion to the body of Christ in the sacrament (and on the development of rituals to express this devotion) but they were not a simple reflection of the analyses of the academic theologians.

¹⁸⁰ See Macy 1984, 106-32.

¹⁸¹ Macy1999, 6.

Victor saw the salvific function of the Eucharist as resulting from 'the incorporation of the recipient into the ecclesial body of Christ'.¹⁸² Emphasis on reception as valid only for those free from sin, an idea more fully developed after 1150, helped bring about a new type of individual emphasis within a *juridical* setting, but it also echoed the penitential-eucharistic focus of the earlier twelfth century discussed in chapters 2 and 3.

By the Laon-Victorine redefinition of *mystical body*, the Church lost, according to de Lubac, the patristic sense of balance and awareness of the full range of possibilities in eucharistic symbols and language.¹⁸³ *Mystical* was here being used in a narrower way than in the Fathers, as befitted the more juridical and bureaucratic climate. Macy, however, feels that de Lubac over-stated the narrowing of definition by the early Scholastics.

The hierarchy of the sacraments.

An area perhaps developing in part as a result of Berengar's definition of *sacramentum* was the question of the hierarchy of sacraments.¹⁸⁴ Whilst not universally held, it was generally felt that the Eucharist, 'confectured by the very Logos of God',¹⁸⁵ was greater than baptism which was carried out 'through nothing more than the invocation of the Trinity'.¹⁸⁶ Alger of Liège said that the Eucharist was the greater, and was 'not only on a par with baptism but its foundation and its completion'.¹⁸⁷ Hugh of St-Victor felt that since the Eucharist

¹⁸² *De sacramentis* 2, 8, 1 PL 176, 461. Colish 1994, 566.

¹⁸³ There are a few early references to the Church as the mystical body of Christ but normally in the first millenium the Church was referred to as the *body* of Christ. The twelfth-century use of *Mystical Body* for the Church was not intended to lessen the reality of the Church as the Body of Christ but to 'ground the Church's identity in the very mystery of Christ's proper flesh'. O'Connor 1988, 180.

¹⁸⁴ Pelikan 1978, 205-214. There remained in the twelfth century a lack of clarity in wording. Guibert of Nogent defined a sacrament as 'an oath, as a thing that has been consecrated, and as a mystery'. *De pignoribus sanctorum* 2.3.6. PL 156, 638. Hugh of St-Victor tried to solve the problem by distinguishing between 'those sacraments in which salvation principally consists and is received' and 'others which, while not necessary for salvation, contribute to sanctification', *De sacramentis* 1.9.7. PL 176, 327. The Holy Spirit continued to be seen as the author and power of the sacraments but 'certification' of that power came to be seen as proved by the institution of the sacraments by Christ during his earthly life (this proved difficult in respect of sacraments like penance and matrimony). Pelikan 1978, 207 - 209.

¹⁸⁵ Guibert of Nogent *De buccella Judae* PL 156, 532. Pelikan 1978, 205.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ Alger *De sacramentis* 3.8 PL 180, 840. Pelikan 1978, 205.

Eucharist contains the body of Christ it is the primary sacrament and source of all sanctification.¹⁸⁸ Naturally such views accelerated eucharistic fervour.

Conclusion.

In attacking Berengar on his own ground the Church became somewhat trapped into an over-emphasis on eucharistic change. This resulted in the Eucharist becoming even less a part of the mysterious process by which the Church, the Mystical body of Christ, is the joining of Christ with all communicants, than an end in itself - the rite of consecration of the Real Body, the *corpus verum*, (the creation of which was a miracle which had to be believed.)¹⁸⁹ Even before this idea came to fuller development in the later twelfth century, the separation of the reserved sacrament from its primary context in the Mass, and the movement from Bec and Cluny to have the reserved sacrament placed on the altar, had paralleled the neglect of the total sacred action of the rite in order to concentrate on the Real Presence.

It is important not to see the late-eleventh and the twelfth-century theologians as participating in a linear development towards the 1215 definition (in as far as it was this) of transubstantiation.¹⁹⁰ Nor did the Church attempt (then, or between 1215 and the Council of Trent¹⁹¹) to force theologians into this path. Macy has effectively demolished these long-held ideas by demonstrating the diversity of thought in the period.¹⁹² In Hilarian-Paschasian theology eucharistic change is vital because it allows natural union with Christ, but natural union was not the only important definition of the means to salvific union. By the earlier part of the twelfth century natural union was no longer the primary approach to salvific union. There was fervent and almost universal

¹⁸⁸ Colish 1994, 566.

¹⁸⁹ de Lubac 1944, 269.

¹⁹⁰ The 1215 credal statement did not define transubstantiation but merely included a, by then, commonly used term in an attempt to assert the Real Presence (not the mode of that presence) against the claims of the Cathars. Macy 1984, 140.

¹⁹¹ At Trent too great an emphasis was placed on Aquinas as defining an orthodoxy which had not, in fact, ever existed.

¹⁹² Macy 1984 and 1999. Thibodeau 1996 says Durand's late thirteenth century treatise was by far the best known in the later middle ages and enjoyed a 'quasi-canonical status' but that Durand concluded 'that there was no precise canonical definition of transubstantiation to be had'. Durand accepted that the Real Presence was a 'mystery of faith' beyond human comprehension, and did not even declare any particular definition heretical.

acceptance of the Real Presence in both lay and clerical circles, but this in no way prevented vigorous debate on other aspects of eucharistic theology.

CHAPTER 2

SACRIFICE, OFFERING AND ATONEMENT

In chapter 1 the development of eucharistic theology concentrated mainly on ideas of the presence of Christ in the sacrament. In this chapter the focus is on concepts of sacrifice and the way the theory of Christ's atoning sacrifice, as developed in the late eleventh century, provided a new context for eucharistic thought.

The concept of Christian Sacrifice.

Any doctrine of the Real Presence will focus attention on sacrifice since what is being offered is not merely a sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving, important though this is, but involves, in some way, flesh and blood. Although the sacrifice of the Mass is a ritual action which has never been claimed to be a repetition of Christ's perfect and once-only sacrifice, in a variety of ways the Mass can be seen as an entering into this unique sacrifice, a sharing, a pleading of its merits. It is a renewal but not a repetition, a supra-historic action that can meaningfully be called a sacrifice even though the definition is (and was in the middle ages) inevitably imprecise.

In the ancient world a religion without sacrifice would have been counted as no religion. The early Christians had therefore to develop a concept of sacrifice yet one which was essentially spiritual because the unique sacrifice of Christ had been made for ever. Thus in Hebrews 13: 15 the Christian sacrifice is presented as a sacrifice of praise and in 1 Peter 2: 5 Christians were shown as 'an holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices.'

When trying to define the memorial-sacrifice of the Mass, medieval theologians had to attempt to assess how the ritual sacrifice of the Mass related to the actual sacrifice of Christ on the cross. There was nothing simple or obvious in this. Modern theologians are unsure in what ways the very early Church related Calvary and the rememorative and commemorative rites evoking the Last Supper which became the Christian Thanksgiving or Eucharist.

Definition of this relationship could not be attempted until the very nature of Christ was agreed (in as far as this is possible). It is not by chance, therefore, that the early Church was more preoccupied with ideas of the Trinity and the interconnected ideas of Christology than with the nature of eucharistic sacrifice.

Once the death of Christ had been connected with forgiveness and expiation, in recognition of Jesus' statement that his death was 'unto remission of sins' (Matthew 26:28) and his definition of himself as Isaiah's divinely sent 'servant' who 'bare the sin of many' (Isaiah 53:12 and Luke 22:37), it might have been expected that the language of sacrifice could have been clarified in terms of the New Covenant's essential continuity with the Old Covenant. The issue was, however, extremely complex. Although Christ himself had used the words 'blood' and 'flesh' and evoked the sacrificial references of the Old Testament in respect of the Messiah, the biblical accounts of the Last Supper do not use the word *sacrifice* as such.¹

There was a range of types of sacrifice in the Jewish world (and further diversity in Greek and Roman concepts and practices). Jewish sacrificial rites changed during the long period of the Old Testament but, to over-simplify crudely, they basically fell into three types. Firstly communion sacrifices, where the priest and offerers together eat parts of the sacrificial animal. Secondly holocausts, which were basically praise offerings and not, as in Greek religion, an offering of aversion to the powers of the underworld. Thirdly expiatory sacrifices (sin offerings and guilt offerings) for the removal of ritual impurities, resulting from unwitting sin and defilement, which had caused the covenant to be broken. These offerings could not take away sins but only deal with breaches of ritual law. In these the flesh of the sacrifice was eaten only by the priest.²

¹ Jones 1991, says there is no word in either Testament for sacrifice as a whole and that the Vulgate translates the various OT specialised Hebrew words fairly indiscriminately, and generally uses *hostia* and *victima* synonymously and only rarely *sacrificium*.

² Young 1979 gives a detailed account showing how difficult and complex was the transferring of OT sacrificial concepts to Christian ones.

With hindsight John the Baptist's reference to 'the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world,' (John 1:29) was understood as implying that Jesus was a sacrificial victim, a sin offering, but the concept was not clarified by these words. In Mark 10: 45 Jesus talked of the Son of Man³ giving 'his life a ransom for many',⁴ but this too seems less to clarify than to blur the difference between a ransom and a sacrifice. One could offer thanksgiving, propitiatory sacrifice or sin-offerings without involving the concept of a ransom. The question of whether man was ransomed from the thrall of the devil, as Origen thought,⁵ or in some other way ransomed from his own and Adam's sins, would become an on-going issue. This matter was brought into prominence in the late eleventh century with Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* which will be discussed later in this chapter.

In the Epistles there are many references to Christ's sacrifice. Paul, in 1 Corinthians 5: 7, refers to 'Christ our passover [...] sacrificed for us', and this identification is reiterated and given yet greater force in Ephesians 5:2 'Christ loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour'. This last phrase evoked ideas of Exodus 29:18 where the offering of the burnt ram gave off a 'sweet savour'.⁶

The linking of Old Testament examples of sacrifice with Christ was necessary to prove the seamless plan of salvation throughout all time, to specify the vital continuity of sacrifice from the Old Testament to the New Testament, and to stress the superiority of the concluding one perfect sacrifice of Christ on the cross which brought in the New Covenant.⁷ The repeated sacrifices of the Old Covenant were no longer needed because Christ's atonement⁸ for

³ The 'Son of Man' is a highly ambiguous phrase. It was sometimes used merely to mean 'I'. It was certainly taken by the Church to refer to Jesus himself here.

⁴ Isaiah 53 (which was seen as a prophecy of Christ's death) carries associations of ransom even if this is not explicit.

⁵ *In secundum Matthaem* 13. 8-9 PG 13, 1111-19. Pelikan 1971, 148.

⁶ Ex. 25-30 gives God's instructions to Moses on the setting up of the Levitical priesthood and the sacrifices to be offered.

⁷ See my chapter 7.

⁸ The Jewish Day of Atonement was a time when the sanctuary, priesthood and people were cleansed from sin and reconciled with God. This was the only day on which the high priest, in order to perform expiatory blood rituals, entered the Holy of Holies.

mankind's sins was eternal.⁹ These ideas are brought out forcefully in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the vital document in the development of Christian sacrificial ideas. Old Testament continuity is asserted in two particular ways: Christ is presented as the priest at the sacrifice and also as the victim. Christ is seen as 'a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek', which echoes the words of psalm 109: 4 (110 AV).¹⁰ Melchisedek, the high priest and king, had offered bread and wine to Abram (Genesis 14:18).¹¹ Because Melchisedek predated the Covenant with Moses and the setting up of the Levitical (Aaronic) priesthood, he could become for the Christians a prefiguration of Christ's timeless sacrifice for all races.¹² The contrast between the perfect sacrifice or sin-offering by the sinless Christ and the limited value of the repeated Old Testament sacrifices offered by human, and therefore sinful, priests is made in Hebrews 10: 12 where Christ is said to have offered 'one sacrifice for sins for ever'. Christ's high priesthood is thus eternal, stretching back beyond the Levitical priesthood and onwards into eternity. The impassibility of God is a vital doctrine, and because of this the God-man and Logos had also to be seen as timeless and immutable if Trinitarian unity was to be maintained.¹³

Christ was the victim because 'by his own blood' (Hebrews 9:12) [and] 'through the eternal Spirit [he] offered himself without spot to God' (9:14) so that sin should be purged by blood. Even in the sacrifices of Moses (which could only cleanse from ritual impurity) it was said that 'without shedding of blood [there] is no remission' (9:19-22). Thus Hebrews 13:12 re-emphasised that Jesus had sanctified 'the people with his own blood.' Hebrews lays great stress on the Jewish expiatory blood rituals of the Day of Atonement being fulfilled by Christ as the high priest entering heaven, once for all, and purifying

⁹ Later debate would stress the value of propitiatory sacrifice in terms of daily sins as well as being a dutiful praise offering.

¹⁰ Heb. 6:20; 7:1-28.

¹¹ Jesus may have intended the bread and wine at the Last Supper to allude to Melchisedek in contrast to the animals offered by the Levitical priesthood. From the time of Clement of Alexandria (c. 200) Melchisedek's offering has been seen as a type of the Eucharist.

¹² Melchisedek came to be seen as a timeless figure without genealogy or end of days. For Melchisedek in typology see chapter 7.

¹³ This posed many problems for Christology and the concept of the full humanity of Christ.

men with his blood. The propitiatory rites of the red heifer without spot in Numbers 19 also prefigure Christ the spotless victim.¹⁴

In Hebrews 9: 11 Christ is seen as the 'high priest of good things to come'. This refers to the banquet of Wisdom which men will share with the angels and God at the end of time.¹⁵ This feast was prefigured by Moses eating and drinking in God's presence after he had sealed the Covenant by sprinkling the people with the blood of sacrificial animals (Exodus 24). For the Christians of the New Covenant the 'true tabernacle' (Hebrews 8:2) was with God in heaven and it was there that Christ, the high priest and himself the Temple, fulfilled his office and offered the oblations of the Church.¹⁶ The Eucharist looks forward to the Second Coming, and in this sense it is the sacrifice of the last days. The sacrifice of Christ, however, pre-ordained from all time, is perpetually available at any time and any place.

Despite the mystery and complexity of Christ's sacrifice as presented in scripture, the Church seems to have accepted, quite early on, Christ's death as a sacrifice *per se* (regardless of what type of Old Testament sacrifice was implied) and that the Eucharist in some way related to this, mirroring and partaking in it, and not merely as a memorial, vital though that aspect was.¹⁷ Jungmann said that the primitive Church considered that at the Eucharist a sacrifice was offered up to fulfil the prophecy of Malachi (1:11) who had said that a clean oblation would one day be offered up in all places, and that 'that thought has definitely figured in every text of the eucharistic celebration which is known to us'.¹⁸

In the New Testament the term *priest* was used widely for the Jewish priesthood, for Christ, and for the entire Church membership. Clement used the

¹⁴ For Ivo of Chartres on these rites see chapter 7.

¹⁵ The role of the angels in the Mass is significant. They link the faithful on earth and in heaven. See chapter 1 for Christ, as minister of the heavenly altar.

¹⁶ Irenaeus *Contra Haereses* IV. 21.

¹⁷ Pelikan 1971, 146 says that the application to the Eucharist of the term 'sacrifice' was quite natural by the time of the *Didache* (late first or second century). Interestingly, *Didache* XIV also raised the theme of a personal sacrifice that would not be pure unless the communicant had confessed his sins. Bettenson 1967, 72. See my chapter 3.

¹⁸ Jungmann 1950, 179.

term *Christian ministers*, but by the third century it was normal to speak of a Christian *priesthood*, and of altars, thereby further emphasising the sacrificial nature of the Mass.¹⁹

The issue and language of sacrifice would be vitally important in shaping high medieval thought, and art. Pelikan says 'Not what the 'Fathers had said about the eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ, but what they had said about the sacrifice of the Mass would determine the teaching of the church about the presence'.²⁰ This can be seen, for example, in Chrysostom. The idea of unity between the sacrificed Christ and the communicant, discussed in chapter 1, is clearly stated; we become partakers of the divine nature by feeding on Christ and becoming 'one body and one flesh with Christ'.²¹ He tied this to the idea of an 'awesome sacrifice' and 'the priest bending over the sacrifice and interceding'. The sacrifice of the Mass is identical with the one Christ offered at the Last Supper and it is 'the same Jesus Christ we offer always [...] the victim is always the same, so that the sacrifice is one'.²² The sacrifice of the Church and the eucharistic memorial were synonymous for Chrysostom. All the eastern writers saw the Eucharist as a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, but it was also a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead as well as for the living. Chrysostom said that we commemorate the dead in the Mass and 'intercede for them, entreating the Lamb who lies before us'.²³

Gregory the Great ensured that the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass became established teaching in the West, stating with force 'We ought to immolate to God [...] the daily sacrifices of our tears, the daily offerings of His flesh and blood... For who among the faithful can have any doubt that at the very hour of the immolation, in response to the voice of the priest, the heavens

¹⁹ Pelikan 1971, 25.

²⁰ Pelikan 1978, 78-79.

²¹ *In Matt. hom.* 82, 5 Kelly 1958, 450.

²² *In Hebraeos. homilia* 17, 3 Kelly 1958, 450.

²³ *In 1 Cor. homilia* 41,4 Kelly 1958, 452

are opened and the choirs of angels are present in this mystery of Jesus Christ?'.²⁴

The early medieval Church in the West increasingly came to focus on the remembrance of the events of the Passion, as revealed in the communal sacrifice of the Mass, rather than on the idea of partaking in a communal thanksgiving meal that had sacrificial overtones.²⁵ The middle ages produced no clear definition of how far, or in what way, the Mass itself was a sacrifice, but the idea of a sacrifice, past and present, was emphasised. It was normal to conceive of the Mass as a means for man on earth to gain God's grace and favour (which could perhaps be seen as a propitiatory sacrifice).²⁶ Stevenson confirms this, considering that 'the Carolingian theologians assume *offer* as the dominant theme in the Eucharist'.²⁷ Many of the prayers of the Canon are supplicatory and sacrificial in tone, for example *Te igitur*- We offer (for the whole Church); *Memento* We offer (for particular persons); *Communicantes* We offer (in union with); *Hanc igitur* We offer (for special needs); *Quam oblationem* Accept our offering; *Unde et memores* In his memorial we offer; *Supplices te* Make it pleasing and beneficial for us.²⁸

The focus on presence and intercession can be clearly seen in Paschasius Radbertus, who echoing Ambrose's quotation of the words of the canon of the Mass 'Command that these things be borne by the hands of thy angel to thy sublime altar', stressed that the sacrifice of the Mass linked heaven and earth. Behind the visible priest stands Christ the high priest. Paschasius taught that the death of Christ had saved the world once and for all; this was a sacrifice which could not, and need not, be repeated. The Mass was thus a

²⁴ *Dialogues* 4, 58. PL 77: 425-28. Significantly Gregory said this in the context of a discussion on purgatory and intercession - see chapter 3. Gregory was less specific on the Real Presence, repeating Augustinian ideas but leaving the matter vague. Pelikan 1971, 356.

²⁵ Jungmann 1950, 179.

²⁶ Increasingly an allegorical interpretation of the whole Mass ritual in terms of the life of Christ was made (the first in the West by Amalarius of Metz c.780-850) so that the historical events could be meditated upon during Mass. See my chapters 5 and 7.

²⁷ 1986, 116. Moloney 1995, 121 argues that there was less concentration on the notion of Eucharistic sacrifice than on Eucharistic change, and that this produced an imbalance in Eucharistic theology. In that the medieval ideas of sacrifice are not original he is correct but the focus on the sacrificial language of the offering, does create its own dominance as well as imbalance.

memorial but it was not, as Ratramnus felt, merely a figure of things past. The idea that the Mass is a re-presentation as well as a representation of Christ's sacrifice gains ground from here onwards. In the eleventh century both Fulbert of Chartres and Lanfranc would firmly stress eucharistic sacrifice. Lanfranc said that although Christ was sacrificed once and for all he is nevertheless immolated (*immolatus*) every day in the sacrament.²⁹ Already Bede, amongst others, had seen Christ as daily taking away the sins of the world in the eucharistic sacrifice.³⁰ Paschasius too felt that man's daily sins, as opposed to his inherited Original Sin, required the offering of a daily sacrifice.³¹

The emphasis on offering the Mass *for* something is increased as votive Masses became the most common form of Mass. Jungmann confirmed the significance of this trend saying that the later middle ages 'did so much to emphasise the sacrificial aspect and stressed in so many forms and fashions the value of the Mass for gaining God's grace and favour for the living and the dead'.³² The trend was also reflected in the changing nature of the ordination rites. In all cases by the eleventh century, and often by the tenth century, great emphasis was being placed on the *traditio* (or *porrectio*) *instrumentorum*, the ceremonial handing over of the objects symbolizing the new office, thus the deacon received the gospel book, the priest the chalice and paten, and the bishop the pastoral staff, ring and gospel book.³³ The Romano-German Pontifical gave the accompanying prayer;

'Receive the power to offer sacrifice to God, and to celebrate Mass for the living and the dead in the name of the Lord.'³⁴

Priesthood was thereby defined by the offering of sacrifice and ordination was primarily the granting of the power so to do. The other duties which ordination

²⁸ Stevenson 1986, 79-80.

²⁹ *Contra Berengarium* cap. 15 quoted in Bakhuizen van den Brink 1965, 60. Stevenson 1986, 117 feels Lanfranc uses the idea less as 'an overt stress on eucharistic sacrifice for its own sake, than to emphasise sacrifice in the interests of promoting a doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ'.

³⁰ *Homilies* 1:5. CCSL 122:105-6.

³¹ *De corpore* 9 CCCM 16:52-53.

³² Jungmann 1950, 179.

³³ This giving of some instrument dates back to the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua* (late fifth century Gaul) but is found for the first time in the Roman rite in the tenth century Romano-German Pontifical and in the Roman Pontifical from the twelfth century.

³⁴ Power 1969, 93.

conferred were not ignored, nor was the vital necessity for holiness of life, but the ability to offer Mass was seen as paramount. The fact that it is not until 1215 that there is a linking in an ecclesiastical document of ritual ordination and the ability to consecrate³⁵ in no way alters the emphasis because, as so often, formal pronouncement of doctrine lagged far behind officially accepted ideas. The 1215 statement that 'no-one is able to confect the sacrament except priests who have been ritually ordained according to the keys of the Church which Jesus Christ entrusted to the apostles and their successors',³⁶ had underlain traditional thinking for several centuries.

St Anselm on Atonement.

The confusions inherent in the New Testament account of Christ's sacrifice, confusions which were compounded by the imprecise terminology of Patristic and early medieval theologians, were partly clarified by St Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* completed in 1098 (hereafter CDH). Closely linked to the nature and function of the Mass are questions of the incarnation and the atonement. These areas needed to be assessed before any satisfactory attempt could be made to see why a sacrifice was necessary for man's redemption and in what way Christ could be considered as a sacrifice or as offering a ransom. In this area CDH makes a major break with tradition, setting a new framework for both Christology and for eucharistic theology.³⁷

Earlier writers had stressed that in order for reconciliation between God and man to take place the devil, who had led man astray but to whom man had freely surrendered, had to be vanquished. Satan had rights over sinful man which God had to respect unless the devil abused his power. In trying to exercise power over the sinless Christ-man by killing him, Satan by failing to recognise the nature of God in Christ, had forfeited his rights. He had not acted justly in killing an innocent. This was in contrast to God who, Augustine said,

³⁵ Macy 1999, 174.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Anselm did not enter the debate about the eucharistic change as such.

had both justly given man into the power of the devil and equally chosen to treat the devil justly in order to give man a model for human practice.³⁸

A second set of ideas, responding to Matthew 20:28, stated that the devil, having acquired rights over man, had to be paid a ransom. Irenaeus, Origen and Gregory of Nyssa held this view on the grounds that man had sinned through free will and thus it was just that the devil should take possession of mankind. God must redeem humankind in a just manner and did indeed act justly in offering Christ as a ransom. The devil had recognised that Jesus was a greater prize than humanity but as he had not understood Christ's true nature he was defeated, since he could not hold God in hell.³⁹

The offering of Christ in human form was essentially a deception worked by God on the devil. The idea that Christ had deceived the devil by dying on man's behalf also had a long history.⁴⁰ This deception theory gave a serious role to the devil and to the concept of evil,⁴¹ but it was unsatisfactory in that it made deception and justice appear to co-exist.⁴² This seemed to Anselm 'unfitting' to God and therefore untrue.⁴³ The idea of what is right and fitting to God, who is all justice as well as mercy, is crucial in Anselm's thought.

Redemption, Anselm argued, could, fittingly and rightly, only come through the blood of Christ. Man could not offer the satisfaction⁴⁴ himself that

³⁸ Augustine *De trinitate* PL 42, 819-1098 quoted in Marx 1995, 8-9. The theme of justice was central but it should be noted that Augustine's ideas on evil were complex and that his main interest was not the devil but the reconciliation of man to God through redemption.

³⁹ Gregory of Nyssa *Oratio catechetica magna* PG 45, 9-106 quoted in Marx 1995, 11.

⁴⁰ Pelikan 1971, 355. Gregory the Great talked of the devil as the Leviathan of Job 41:1 who Christ deceived by baiting the hook of his divinity with his humanity. *In Job* 33.7.14. PL 76, 680-81 - a work well-known in the middle ages. The hook image was still being used in the thirteenth century in *The Golden Legend* (ed. Ryan 1993, 210) even though Voragine also uses some of Anselm's ideas from CDH cap. 9.

⁴¹ A role in which Christ as battling victor was also stressed.

⁴² Leo the Great got round this by saying that God had planned to defeat the devil by justice but that the devil was deceived by his own wickedness in tempting Christ in order to discover his identity. Sermon 22 PL 54 196-7 quoted in Marx 1995, 16.

⁴³ 'as truth deceives no-one, so it does not mean anyone to deceive himself.'

Meditatio XI de redemptione humana PL 158 762-769. Ward 1973, 231.

⁴⁴ The term *satisfactio* came from penitential practice and canon law. A truly contrite sinner, who confessed and was absolved, nevertheless had to make 'restitution of what the sin had taken away'. There may also have been echoes of feudal ideas of making good for a crime in accordance with the social importance of the injured party. Pelikan 1999, 108.

justice demanded because he had nothing left to offer that did not already belong to God. Only God could pay the ransom to himself, but if the satisfaction was to be made for man's sins, sins into which man in Adam had consciously entered using his God-given free will, then, in justice, only a man could give this. God had therefore himself to become a man, and a descendant of Adam. He had, nevertheless, to be without Adam's sin, because if God had merely made another man who was not of a 'sinful substance' (as Adam had been before the Fall) and allowed this man to "rescue man from eternal death", mankind would, out of gratitude and sense of justice, have had to become the servants of that being, 'a being who was not God, and whom the angels did not serve'.⁴⁵

By dying for man the God-man had expiated man's sins by becoming a sacrifice; he had willingly offered himself for the salvation of mankind. To offer a sacrifice other than to God would have been idolatry. The sacrifice was made to God and the ransom paid to him. Thenceforth the devil had power over man in the world, but not rights, and neither God nor man owed him anything.

Anselm made this theory compatible with the immutability of God by stressing the idea of rightness (*rectitudo*) underlying creation. God had to be seen as both merciful and just and this posed difficulties when Adam's sin (a sin of pride which did not render to God his due) was seen as justly requiring punishment. A way had to be found to recognise God as just but immutable in dignity and honour as in all else. He could not be seen as changing his mind in the matter of man's salvation.⁴⁶ He could not merely forgive man and give him back his prelapsarian position, nor could he offer damaged man a place amongst the angels.⁴⁷ To do so would be to violate justice. 'There is no liberty except as regards what is best or fitting; nor should that be called mercy which does anything improper for the Divine character [...] honour taken away must

⁴⁵ CDH cap. 5 transl. Deane 1962, 198-99. This attitude to sin meant that Anselm saw Christ's, freely accepted, suffering as necessary in order to expiate man's sin 'if you had not suffered these good things would not have been mine'. *Meditatio* XI PL 158, 762-769. Ward 1973, 235.

⁴⁶ Predestination and free-will have always posed problems for theologians. There were major debates in the ninth and tenth centuries and the issue was by no means dead in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

be repaid, or punishment must follow; otherwise, either God will not be just to himself, or he will be weak in respect to both parties; and this is impious even to think of'.⁴⁸ The God-man had to render what was due and then the just reward which was due to the Son, 'who freely gave so great a gift to God', but who had himself no need of anything or of the abandoning of any claim, could freely be given 'to whomsoever the Son wished'. He could give the reward to 'those for whose salvation...he became a man'.⁴⁹ They would then be able to 'Take my only begotten Son and make him an offering for yourself'.⁵⁰ Anselm by this wording confirmed the centrality of the Eucharist.

This theory of atonement allowed a greater emphasis to be placed on Christ as the willing but suffering victim. What was fitting had been offered to God because the God-Man was the only fitting victim. The theory also laid great stress on the incarnation by shifting emphasis away from the cosmic battle (in which man was a helpless spectator) to the suffering figure of Christ the Son of Man.⁵¹ Since only God could pay the ransom to himself he willingly became God-man. Through sharing in man's humanity he saved man. There were many implications in this for individual spirituality. By focusing on the sharing of humanity with Christ, that shared human nature became a new comfort to mankind, allowing the individual to think with greater hope and love of the relationship between himself and God. This relationship was, to a significant degree, to be expressed in a penitential-eucharistic context. It also was expressed in a yet greater 'tenderness and compassion for the sufferings and helplessness of the Saviour'⁵² and also in an increased homage to the Virgin who had dutifully accepted her role and thus made the incarnation possible.⁵³

⁴⁷ Anselm thought that at the Last Days the elect would replace the fallen angels.

⁴⁸ CDH cap. 12 Deane 1962, 219 and cap. 13 Deane, 221.

⁴⁹ CDH cap. 19 Deane, 298.

⁵⁰ CDH cap. 20 Deane 1962, 300.

⁵¹ Southern 1998, 240-41.

⁵² Southern 1998, 236 and 239. Stress on ardent love of the suffering wounded Christ pre-dates CDH and Anselm was greatly affected by the writings on this topic by men like Odilo of Cluny earlier in the century. In CDH Anselm 'prepared a theoretical justification for the new feeling about the humanity of the Saviour'. For further discussion of the way the love of the humanity of Christ developed in the following century see my chapter 8.

⁵³ Shifting attention from baptism to the Eucharist inevitably increased the focus on the Virgin Mary since she had no part in Christ's baptism.

In some of his other writings, Anselm placed great stress on the essential inter-connection of penitence and the Eucharist. G.H. Williams has persuasively argued that Anselm had set a new pattern for eucharistic thought by shifting the emphasis from baptism to the Eucharist as the paramount, and significantly, re-iterative sacrament. Emphasis was placed on the suffering, utterly obedient, *Christus patiens*.⁵⁴ Perhaps this was less a new pattern, than that a change, one which had been taking place at least since Carolingian times, had been given a new impetus in the eleventh century, and particularly in the late eleventh century by Anselm, and would continue to accelerate throughout the middle ages. Williams sees this as resulting in part from the post-Berengarian theology of the Eucharist which shows the sacrament of the altar, unlike the sacrament of baptism, possessing Christ substantially.⁵⁵

Eleventh-century reform had sharpened an already accelerating emphasis on penance, an issue which will be covered more fully in Chapter 3. Peter Damian, who was particularly influential in this development, had stressed the need for penitence, prayer and poverty and for frequent confession and daily communion.⁵⁶ This linking of confession (and not just private remorse and prayer) and communion was not yet fully formalised but it was a significant trend for both monastic and lay communicants. Anselm too believed in reiterative penance, in confession to a priest and in the effectiveness of priestly absolution including general absolution and indulgences.⁵⁷

In CDH Anselm said little about penance directly and dismissed the suggestion that man might pay his dues to God in repentance because such

⁵⁴ Williams 1957.

In the early Church baptism was largely an Easter sacrament for adult believers. God's conquest of the devil through *Christus victor* was stressed and the believer joined in a dramatic renunciation of Satan which echoed the exorcisms performed during the Lenten preparation. By the eleventh century baptism was largely of infants and the renunciation of the devil by the godparents lost much of the ancient ritual force. Attention came to be placed on sins to be avoided rather than on exorcising demons (although warnings of daily demonic attacks continued) and this linked with the development of penance as a re-iterative and private sacrament. See my chapter 3. Anselm, like Peter Damian, meditated on the wounds of Christ (see his *Orationes*) and struggled to increase his penitence through such meditation.

⁵⁵ Williams 1957, 252.

⁵⁶ See chapter 3.

repentance must necessarily be insufficient. But in *De monte humilitatis* (part of the *Similitudines* accepted as being by Anselm), he converted the twelve rungs of the Benedictine ladder of corporate humility into seven truly progressive steps up the mount of individualistic salvation.⁵⁸ In the highly personal, guilt-ridden *Orationes* Anselm refers often to the way the soul, 'wounded in its first parents', was healed by the atonement and given in baptism a purity which was lost in the sins of later life so that the penitent must beg again for what he had once received as an infant.⁵⁹ The connection between repentance and eucharistic removal of sins is made indirectly as in his *Prayer to John the Baptist* when Anselm pleads '*tolle qui tollis peccata mundi [...] tolle peccata*' with its liturgical evocation of the Mass.⁶⁰ In *Prayer to the Holy Cross* he quotes the introit for the Mass of the Feast of the Holy Cross (*Nos autem gloriari oportet in Cruce Domini*).⁶¹ The Cross, and its eucharistic parallel, is seen as bringing individual man on earth to new life on earth, whilst the references to the harrowing of Hell⁶² Williams sees as revealing the daily *descensus* upon the altar by which the penitents in purgatory too are eventually redeemed.⁶³ Anselm in his *Prayer before receiving the Body and Blood of Christ* adapts a number of Pauline texts in order to lay stress on himself as a confessing individual communicant, who 'by virtue of this sacrament' asks to be incorporated into Christ's body, which is the Church, and into eventual glory.⁶⁴ The emphasis is on daily paying to God due honour in the Mass and by penitent reception being gradually and progressively transformed so that eventually one will be incorporated into the eschatological body.

In *Meditation on Human Redemption* Anselm reiterates the ideas of CDH that Christ has fully and freely paid man's debt on the cross and so redeemed man. Penitence is vital; man must come to God with 'genuine penitence' [...] 'then whosoever wills to come to this grace with the love it deserves, will be saved'. The Eucharist is vividly shown as the path to renewal: 'See, Christian

⁵⁷ Williams 1957, 251.
⁵⁸ Williams 1957, 254 gives full details.
⁵⁹ Ward 1973, 128.
⁶⁰ Ward 1973, 132.
⁶¹ Ward 1973, 102.
⁶² Ward 1973, 103. See my chapter 7.
⁶³ Williams 1957, 256 and notes.

soul, here is the strength of your salvation, here is the cause of your freedom, here is the price of your redemption. You were a bond-slave and by this man you are free. By him you are brought back from exile, lost, you are restored, dead, you are raised. Chew this, bite it, suck it, let your heart swallow it, when your mouth receives the body and blood of your Redeemer. Make it in this life your daily bread, your food, your way-bread (*viaticum*), for through this and not otherwise than through this will you remain in Christ and Christ in you, and your joy will be full'.⁶⁵ This is an interesting passage because here the normally contemplative and intellectual Anselm is as physically explicit in his language as Humbert of Silva Candida or Alger of Liège. The reality and immediacy of eucharistic involvement is dramatically portrayed.

Pelikan has said that CDH 'more than any other treatise between Augustine and the Reformation on any other doctrine of the Christian faith, Anselm's essay has shaped the outlook not only of Roman Catholics but of most Protestants'.⁶⁶ C.W. Marx saw Anselm as 'focusing attention on central issues' but considered Anselm's widespread influence as 'delayed by at least a generation'.⁶⁷ Others have argued that Anselm's approach to atonement was not the one most formative in later centuries⁶⁸ but that in his own age it was of real significance.⁶⁹ There were twelfth-century writers who continued to talk of a

⁶⁴ Williams 1957, 257. Ward 1973, 100-01.

⁶⁵ Ward 1973, 234-35.

⁶⁶ Pelikan 1985, 106. ODCC says that CDH 'was the most considerable contribution to the theology of the Atonement in the Middle Ages'.

⁶⁷ Marx 1995, 17.

⁶⁸ Aquinas did not follow Anselm on incarnation, arguing that God need not have made the Word flesh for the restoration of human nature but that this was done to raise man's hope by proving how much God loved us. ST, 3a, Q1, art. 2, vol 48 Blackfriars Summa.

⁶⁹ Honorius Augustodunensis, whose work circulated widely, seems to have copied Anselm's ideas quite quickly both in terms of satisfaction theory and of the incorporative Eucharist. '... the people redeemed by the blood of Christ are washed by the water of baptism; by the *pastum* of this food and the *potum* of this wine they are brought into communion (*communicatur*) with Christ.' *Gemma Animae* 1, 34. PL 172, 555. Williams 1957, 267 gives other examples and comments on Anselm's influence on Odo of Tournai which was confirmed by Odo's twelfth-century biographer even though *De peccato originali* probably just pre-dates the completion of CDH.

Abelard took his ideas on the devil's rights from CDH although he has been seen as questioning the satisfaction theory because the atonement had been brought about by a new sin (crucifixion) but like Anselm he emphasised that the crucifixion demonstrated God's love, a love which demanded response. Luscombe 1983. Abelard took a more subjective view of redemption than Anselm, seeing the love of Christ kindled in man by Christ's death as freeing us from the slavery of sin. *Commentaria super S. Pauli Epistolarum ad Romanos* bk 2 PL 178, 836B.

debt or ransom to be paid to the devil, thus carrying on the older tradition of expressing Christ's death as the great victory in the cosmic battle against Satan but many were content to view the concept of *Christus Victor* in broadly Anselmian terms of love and justice. Anselm's argument that atonement by the God-man was *logically* necessary did not always hold sway in later years. What did was his emphasis that the figure on the cross was a man. This ensured that man could face God more directly, in a more intimate relationship than ever before. Those who did not adopt Anselm's views on atonement were often, nevertheless, influenced by other aspects of his work. The prayers and meditations were widely copied.⁷⁰

Southern has argued that Anselm cleared out the devil in order to enforce more completely the submission of man to God; the only way man can gain union with God.⁷¹ He was in no way 'promoting the movement towards individuality which characterised much of the piety of the Later Middle Ages'.⁷² Certainly Anselm would have deplored as self-indulgent much of the later excess. Nevertheless, he did play a major part in setting the twelfth century on the path to intense love of the humanity of Christ, including (and, for many, particularly) that humanity as revealed in the Eucharist, a trend which will be considered further in chapter 8.

⁷⁰ Ward 1973, 17-19.

⁷¹ Southern 1990, 207.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 452.

CHAPTER 3

THE PENITENTIAL-EUCHARISTIC FOCUS

A significant development of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, probably stemming from, or accelerated by, Anselm's theories of redemption, was the view that the individual Christian was *gradually and progressively* transformed by being incorporated into the body of Christ on the altar and as the Church itself (a process which can only be completed in the next world). Williams has argued that this new approach to personal transformation was 'recast in language conforming to the enhanced significance of penance and the Eucharist [...] was bound to prevail because of its greater consonance with the evolved sacramental system of the medieval Church'.¹ This emphasis on personal rather than communal Christian development fulfilled the demand of Anselm and Bernard of Clairvaux that the individual know himself. Only then, recognising his faults and being penitent for them, could he rise to knowledge of God.

By atoning for the sin of Adam Christ had returned man to communion with God but sinfulness remained inherent and true penitence was essential. Acts of penitence had from early times been seen as a second baptism which 'wash us a second time from the sins which we commit after baptism'.² Ambrose had also spoken of the spiritual food of the Eucharist as strengthening the baptised and being itself a form of purification in the way that the 'manna came after the spring of Horeb'.³

The early Church enforced penitential discipline as part of habitual Christian observance albeit not necessarily linked to the confession of sins to a

¹ Williams 1957, 253.

² Aelfric *De paenitentia* ed. Thorpe *Homilies* 2:602 quoted in Frantzen 1983. This concept contained many problems because baptism was seen as unrepeatable, but in terms of personal, as opposed to Original Sins, the concept had utility. Baptism is the primary means of Christian initiation and as such the essential pre-requisite for eucharistic reception. The literature on baptism is beyond the scope of this thesis but baptismal centrality has always to be borne in mind.

³ *Exp. Psalm* 118:29 CSEL, 367 quoted in Daniélou 1960, 196.

priest.⁴ Church discipline included ascetic acts, such as almsgiving and fasting, which were not sacramental acts⁵ but they had sacramental implications as part of the preparation for receiving communion.

Very little is known about the earliest period of the history of the sacrament of penance, when it was seen as available once only and hence demanding of life-long continence.⁶ Because of these stringent demands penance was usually put off until the hour of death. From the third century the penitent had been excluded from communion whilst undergoing penances, whose severity depended upon the seriousness of the sin. Gradually it was found necessary to adopt a less demanding system as more converts were being drawn in from pagan areas on the edges Christendom but penance remained arduous and absolution was withheld until penance was completed. A greater realism in assessing human frailties would become evident both in the penance demanded and in the fact that confession became, except for very major sins, largely secret. By the ninth century the concept that repentance was necessary to the valid reception of the Eucharist was increasingly stressed as ever more attention was given to making in the Mass an offering acceptable to God. This penitential-sacrificial refocusing of Christian life in itself increased the significance of the sacerdotal primacy which was seen not only in the role of the priest as the offerer of the sacrifice, but also as the channel of absolution which increased in importance as the emphasis on individual pre-communion confession to a priest grew.⁷ This is not a movement originating in the eleventh century but it surged forward on the back of Gregorian reform and post-Berengarian theology. The Fourth Lateran Council's demand in 1215 for

⁴ By the third century minor sins such as envy and greed were seen as cleansed by individual prayers to God and by fasting and charity. The layman might ask advice from a priest.

⁵ The distinction between sacraments and sacramentals is not clearly defined before the mid-twelfth century.

⁶ ODCC.

⁷ Morris 1987, 73 argues that the stress was laid on confession not on priestly absolution because interior intention was the most important aspect and priests only proclaimed a forgiveness which God had already offered. He quotes an unknown twelfth-century writer who said 'Those who are cleansed before God are, by the judgement of the priests, shown to men to be clean'. *Homilia* 13 PL 158,662C (incorrectly attributed to St. Anselm according to Morris). The phrase *by the judgement of the priests* nevertheless seems to me to confirm a major sacerdotal role. Hugh of St-Victor said priests have the power to forgive sins and not merely a declaratory power. *De sacramentis* 2, 14, 8 PL 176,564-70 quoted in Luscombe 1969, 185.

confession to be made before the taking of communion⁸ merely formalised a trend that had been growing from the late eleventh century.

Confession to the priest was probably infrequent for early twelfth-century laymen. However lay confession was promoted by the school of Laon and others and it was well established by the mid-twelfth century.⁹ The idea of penitence, both for its own sake and as a means of avoiding eternal punishment, had long been closely bound to daily Christian life but it was particularly linked to the Easter cycle for both laymen and clerics.¹⁰ At Easter monks confessed to the abbot, who took the place of Christ, in a general confession at daybreak on Maundy Thursday. This was followed by the Good Friday Veneration of the Cross, 'the solemn climax of all the penitential rites throughout the liturgical year' and by a 'second baptism, as it were, of tears, penance, and confession' in the reliving of the events of the Cross.¹¹

By the third century public penance seems to have been the norm for major sins. Even in the twelfth century, when private penance was the norm, public penance for notorious public sins was sometimes performed (often in Lent) as in the case of noblemen who had burnt churches or killed priests.¹² Private confession was common in Frankish lands, and some other parts of Europe, however, by the sixth or seventh centuries and there are extant penitential handbooks giving the clergy advice on suitable penance for a range of sins. In the eighth century the Council of Clovesho urged frequent communion amongst the laity and demanded confession as a necessary preparation.¹³

In the eleventh century attempts were increasingly made to clarify the theory of penance for both clergy and laymen. Peter Damian saw penance as

⁸ This has been seen by some as a method of social control but by others as an aid to the examination of conscience. Kramer 2000, 21.

⁹ Constable 1996, 266.

¹⁰ For changes in the approach to penance and the afterlife see Brown 2000, 41-59.

¹¹ Parker and Little 1994, 172 quoting St Bernard 1st Easter *Sermon* ed. a priest of Mount Melleray 1950, vol. 2, 181.

¹² Bull 1993, 171-79 gives a number of such cases.

¹³ Frantzen 1983, 6. That both frequent communion and confession would be demanded in coming centuries suggests that this was an ideal rather than common practice.

'truly a sharing in the Passion of the Redeemer'.¹⁴ This tallied with CDH which, in shifting the emphasis from the cosmic battle in which man had no part to an identifying with Christ in the repetitive sacrament of the Eucharist, stressed that man owed God penance for his post-baptismal sins. Anselm also stressed here that 'the sin knowingly committed differs greatly from that committed in ignorance'.¹⁵ In the twelfth century this approach came to dominate and circumstances and intentions were considered when framing penances rather than, as earlier, the magnitude of the crime itself.

Whilst some stressed interior penitence above all¹⁶ others, including Anselm and Bernard of Clairvaux also believed firmly in confession to a priest and in priestly absolution although they in no way questioned the primary significance of interior disposition.¹⁷ Hugh of St-Victor devoted a substantial section of *De sacramentis* to the need to confess with a truly penitent heart to a priest.¹⁸ Peter Lombard, more practically in view of the shortage of parish priests, allowed a little more latitude, saying that the sinner must at least have the intention to confess orally even if he could not make confession at that point.¹⁹ The absolving of a penitent after confession but before the performance of the penance was gradually emerging in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and this reflected the concern to weigh intentions rather than actions. Since no penance could match the offence done to God there would always be, however, a 'balance of punishment in this world and the next' and the penitent must cast himself on God's mercy.²⁰

¹⁴ *Opusculum* 43 PL 145, 679.

¹⁵ CDH cap. 2 15.

¹⁶ See chapter 8.

¹⁷ Williams 1957, 251.

¹⁸ *De sacramentis* 2, 14, 1. PL 176, 549-554.

¹⁹ *Sententiarum* bk. 4. If no priest was available confession to a layman was seen as desirable by some. Morris 1987, 73.

²⁰ Bull 1993, 168. This approach underlay the gradual development of crusade penances and indulgences which provides another important evidence of penitential piety in the period. Bull traces this controversial topic very clearly and sees the full crusade indulgence as not emerging until the thirteenth century. What was offered in the early stages was a remission of penance for confessed sins. Neither Peter Lombard nor Gratian mention indulgences but Peter of Poitiers, one of the Lombard's pupils does. The definition of indulgences in this period is unclear but they do seem to stem from the late eleventh century. Shaffern 1992.

An awareness of their responsibilities as confessors and of the awesome nature of being the channel of absolution seems to have affected many priests. Ivo of Chartres talks of Christ reconciling himself to sinners through the service of the priests as shepherds administering confession, penance and the Eucharist. The shepherds must 'pour out tears' for the excesses of their flock when praying for their reconciliation.²¹

The faithful had constantly to ward off the attacks of the devil, as Jesus had done in the desert, and to 'cleanse the temple their bodies became at baptism to make a fitting dwelling place for the Holy Spirit'.²² The idea of the Temple as the sacramental and mystical body of Christ, the Church on earth and in heaven with the individual Christians as its 'living stones' and its 'royal priesthood' allowed Hugh of St-Victor, talking of Jesus cleansing the Temple, to point up the importance of penitence before attending Mass by saying that 'We perform our passover while we pass across from vices to virtues. For this purpose Jesus comes when he visits the church daily [i.e. in the Eucharist] and examines the deeds of each one, and he throws out those who among the saints [i.e. the Christian community] feign to do good things or openly do bad things'.²³ Hugh in *De arca Noe morali* presented Christ's incarnation as an outward voice calling people to turn from outward to inward realities.²⁴ This outward voice was expressed in the gospels and Hugh associated each gospel with a stage in the contemplative quest. The calf (Luke) mortifies the flesh and is associated with asceticism and penance.²⁵ Since Luke's calf or ox is the symbol of sacrifice, the eucharistic-penitential element is reinforced even though Hugh does not make that point specifically.²⁶

The same point is made in an inscription on the tympanum at Vandeins (Ain): 'When the sinner approaches the table of the Lord he must ask with all his

²¹ Ivo of Chartres *Sermo* 17 PL 162, 588-89

²² O'Reilly 1994, 389.

²³ *Allegoriae in novum testamentum* PL175, 754D.

²⁴ PL 176, 669A-70C. See Zinn 1992, 112.

²⁵ Zinn *ibid.*

²⁶ The calf is Luke's symbol because his gospel opens with the sacrifice of the priest Zacharius father of John the Baptist.

heart for pardon for his faults'.²⁷ To clarify the point the Last Supper and the Washing of Feet are depicted on the lintel at Vandeins below Christ in Majesty in the tympanum and the inscription is above the lintel.²⁸

Ivo of Chartres talked of the receiving of communion after confession, due penitence, and the performance of Lenten penance for those who had been cut off from the Church, as a sacrament of reconciliation. Ivo, like Hugh, warned of the dangers of hypocritical false penitence, and of the committing of sins which had been renounced in confession. He reminded his listeners that those who took communion in such a state were not 'fit vessels' for receiving Christ and that they thereby received unworthily. Those who took Christ's body with their mouths but not in their hearts were guilty of Christ's death and would pay the same sort of penalty as those who 'handed over the body of the Lord to death'. Only within the body of Christ, which is the Church, could one be saved.²⁹

The Penitential-Eucharistic Imagery.

1. The Raising of Lazarus.

One of the most important pairings of images illustrating the vital need for confession is that of the raising of Lazarus³⁰ with the hiding of Adam and Eve (Genesis 3:8). A basic text was Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* where the hiding episode is explained as 'when anyone is censured for his vice, he hides himself under his words of defence as under the leaves of a tree, and somehow seeks refuge from his creator's face in some secret shadow of his excuse, since he does not wish what he did to be known. In this hiding he does not hide

²⁷ Vergnolle 1994, 332 n. 344; '*Ad mensam Domini peccator quando propinquat/ expedit ut fraudes ex toto co[r]des relinquat*'. The *Missale Ambrosianum* had confirmed this linkage between the sacrifice of Christ and the penitence of the communicants: 'Come peoples, now is the time when we enact with fear and with faith, this immortal and holy thing, this mystery poured down. We come to it with clean hands, and we communicate the gift of penitence; for the lamb of God has proposed (*propositus est*) a sacrifice to the Father on our behalf', quoted in Cramer 1993, 304-5.

²⁸ Mâle 1978, 406 and 420-21.

²⁹ *Sermo* 17 PL 162, 588-89. The remorse and suicide of Judas, which merely confound his original crime, illustrate false penance. The suicide is fairly frequently depicted in sculpture at this period as at Autun, St-Mexme, Chinon, Vézelay and Saulieu, and in a fresco at Chailivoy-Milon.

himself from God, but God from himself; he acts so that he may not see the All-seeing, not so that he may not be seen himself. Contrary to this, the beginning of enlightenment is the humility of confession, because he who does not blush to confess the evil he has committed, already refuses to spare himself [...] For the same reasons the dead Lazarus, who lay oppressed by a heavy weight, was not at all told, "Come to life again!" but, "Come out!". This means 'that man, dead in his sin, and already buried under the weight of his bad habits, because he lies hidden within his conscience through recklessness, should come out of himself through confession. For the dead man is told, "Come out!", so that he be called upon to proceed from excuse and concealment of his sin to self-accusation by his own mouth'.³¹ This passage was often quoted in medieval commentaries on Genesis.³² Augustine's account of the Lazarus scene was also well known. He compared Christ's question to Lazarus's sisters 'Where have you laid him?' (John 11:34) to God's 'Adam where are you?' (Genesis 3:9) which allegorically refers to God's reproof of the sinners at the Last Judgement: 'I never knew you: out of my sight!' (Matthew 7: 23). The sisters direct Christ to the grave, saying 'Come and see,' (John 11: 35) and the reproof is reversed. God's 'seeing' means his mercy that leads to forgiveness.³³

Since early Christian times the story had been taken as an allegory for the sacrament of penance.³⁴ Jesus saying to the disciples 'Loose him; let him go.' (John 11: 44) had been related to Christ's mandate to Peter 'whatever you loose on earth shall be considered loosed in heaven', (Matthew 16:19) and the delegation of sacramental authority to the Church. Christ's reviving of Lazarus meant that remission of sins was reserved to Christ but the disciples taking off the shroud showed that priests could determine whether remission was granted.³⁵

³⁰ In the catacomb of Callista Christ, at the raising of Lazarus, holds a rod in his hand like Moses at the rock of Horeb thereby giving the Lazarus miracle eucharistic associations. See chapter 7.

³¹ *Moralia in Job* 22, 15, 31 PL 76, 230-31 quoted in Werckmeister 1972, 12-13.

³² Werckmeister 1972, 13. Bernard of Clairvaux also developed the idea of the raising of Lazarus as a symbol of penance in *Sermon* 3, 4 *In assumptione BV Mariae* PL 183, 423B.

³³ *In John* 44, 20 CCL 36, 430. Werckmeister 1972, 14-15.

³⁴ Augustine *Tractatus In Ioannis* 49,20. CCL 36, 430 interprets the story in this way, as does Ambrose. Werckmeister 1972, 14-15.

³⁵ Werckmeister 1972, 16.

In a common liturgy of public penance in use in the tenth to twelfth centuries on Ash Wednesday barefoot sinners in sackcloth prostrated themselves before the bishop at the church's north door and confessed their guilt. They were led into the church, blessed, and then ritually expelled. Crouching on knees and elbows the punishment of Adam and Eve was liturgically re-enacted.³⁶ Perhaps partly as a reflection of this rite the sculpture of Eve at Autun (Saône-et-Loire) [fig. 1] is shown crouching. On Maundy Thursday, if their penance had been accomplished, the penitents were re-admitted to communion.

Both the Genesis and Lazarus scenes were originally represented on the north portal of St-Lazare at Autun dated about 1125.³⁷ Three other images which were also used as allegories of penance in eleventh and twelfth-century penitential literature are the resurrection of Jairus's daughter (Luke 8: 49-56); the son of the widow of Nain ((Luke 7:11-17) and the Prodigal Son (Luke 15: 11-32). The first two also appear at on column capitals in the north portal at Autun.³⁸ The raising at Nain appears on a choir capital at Cassagnes, Lot [fig. 2] and at Vigeois(Corrèze).³⁹ This image of confession and penitence, in proximity to highly eucharistic images, reinforces the penitential-eucharistic theme which at Cassagnes is set forth in a particularly cohesive set of images. The other choir capitals here show the serpent in the tree, the adoration of the Magi, the Agnus Dei, birds drinking from the chalice, the Holy Women and the angel at the tomb, St Michael over-coming the dragon. The raising of the widow's son is, like the raising of Lazarus, also a type of Christ's resurrection which the angel proclaims to the women. Salvation comes through the resurrection but only the faithful penitent will be able to partake of its fruits in the final victory banquet which is indicated here by St Michael, the Agnus Dei held by angels, and the drinking birds.

³⁶ Werckmeister 1972, 18-19 gives further details of the ritual and its readings from Genesis.

³⁷ Eve is now in the Musée Rolin, Autun and part of the Raising of Lazarus is in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge MA.

³⁸ Werckmeister 1972, 16.

³⁹ Dalon 1989 argues that this scene at Cassagnes is Nain and not Lazarus because Lazarus is usually shown getting out of the tomb.

2. The Purification of Isaiah's Lips.

At Besse in Périgord [fig. 3] there is an equally clear visual explanation of the Lazarus theme but here it is shown in conjunction with other penitential-eucharistic subjects, notably the purification of Isaiah's lips.⁴⁰ In the centre of the outer archivolt are Adam and Eve, dressed and therefore shown after the Fall, and the serpent still twined around the tree of knowledge and life. Adam holds his head in a gesture of repentance.⁴¹ Eve turns towards the watching angel, perhaps aware that she must now be conducted out of heaven, but she still continues to touch the tree as if unrepentant. To their left Eve is shown hiding whilst God calls the reluctant Adam. To the right (beyond a mysterious scene of the chase, perhaps the quest for God, perhaps the legend of St Eustace) is Christ and Lazarus in his tomb-bands. Beyond this St. Michael vanquishes the devil. The capitals of the jamb shafts are fairly damaged but that of the outer shaft on the right below St Michael seems to show a miser with his purse around his neck, monsters, and a demon seizing a man by the hair. They probably represent the deadly sins and the punishment of the unrepentant. All of this is given point by the central placing on the inner archivolt of the Agnus Dei flanked by palms of victory. On the outer archivolt, angels conduct a soul to heaven saved by the second Adam.⁴²

On the lowest left-hand voussoir of the outer archivolt is another scene confirming the significance of purification [fig. 4]. Here the angel with the tongs is about to purify Isaiah's lips with a burning coal from the altar (Isaiah 6:5-13). Isaiah had seen the face of God and for this sin he had to be purged. Only then

⁴⁰ Secret 1968, 273-74. Secret recognises Isaiah but not the Lazarus scene which he calls a Virgin and child.

⁴¹ The clutching of the cheek was a traditional gesture of lamentation (it appears at Issoire on the choir capital of the Passion where the apostles lament, and on several depictions of Daniel) and became a sign of Adam's repentance. His repentance draws on apocryphal texts, widespread in the middle ages, like the *Vita Adae* (the origins of which may date back to 60AD and certainly not later than 300) where the formal penance of Adam and Eve is shown. There were many traditional apocryphal works on this theme by the thirteenth century some with origins even back to the eighth century. Quinn 1980, 29 - 33. Sometimes Adam's repentance is indicated by his pointing to, or striking, his chest. This image recalls the striking of the priest's chest at *mea culpa* and also may have turned partly on a pun between *peccatum* and *pectum* and partly on the monastic hand gesture for 'comprehension' thus linking to discussion, frequent in the twelfth century, on how far Adam chose to sin. See Ambrose 2000.

⁴² A damaged inscription includes the words *ANGELVS DOMNI* and *PETRUS*.

could he be sent forth to prophesy. This act is specifically recalled in the Mass by the priest praying for his own purification 'Cleanse my heart and my lips, O Almighty God, who didst cleanse the lips of the prophet Isaiah with a burning coal; so deign in thy gracious mercy to purify me' (*Munda cor meum*). Hugh of St-Victor saw Isaiah's vision of God as encouragement to the reshaping of all lives and thought in preparation for the next world.⁴³ On the capital of the outer jamb shaft on the left there is a damaged seated figure that could be the Virgin with the angel of the annunciation alongside. This would further confirm the significance of Isaiah, who was the first to prophesy the Incarnation (Isaiah 7:14; 9: 6 and 11:1) and so became the prophet of the incarnation and the fifth evangelist. The presence of the Virgin, even indirectly through Isaiah's words, emphasises the body of Christ in the Eucharist and at the eschatological banquet.

The heavenly liturgy is suggested at Besse by the presence of a seraphim above the angel with the tongs. The Mass is a sacramental participation in the heavenly liturgy where the deacons are figures of the angels. The Trisagion or Sanctus (Holy, holy, holy), the song of the seraphim which Isaiah heard, is sung after the preface *Vere dignum* signifying the community joining with the heavenly host in singing praises to God.⁴⁴ The sanctus is connected to the preceding *Sursum corda* with its emphasis on holy fear aroused by the coming presence of God. Immediately following the Sanctus, but within the same prayer, is the *Benedictus* (blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord). This acclamation of the crowd at Christ's entry into Jerusalem was a recognition of the Incarnation. Joining the two references in one prayer further links the angels and men. The entry into Jerusalem, the clearest messianic reference in the gospels, and the *Benedictus* marked the

⁴³ *De arca Noe morali* Zinn 1992, 105. Kupfer 1993, 145 quotes an anonymous twelfth-century treatise where Isaiah is shown as 'a type of clerical penitential services. Monk-priests are said to 'touch the sins of the people with the coal from the heavenly altar and show to the people their wicked doings'.

⁴⁴ The Sanctus in the Mass also represents the acclamation of Christ by the four beasts of the apocalypse and calls up the idea of the twenty four elders rejoicing with incense and music. This in turn evokes ideas of the eschatological banquet which the Mass prefigures.

start of the Passion and so forms a telling beginning to the Canon.⁴⁵ The Besse portal is a particularly clear example of a complex of inter-locking penitential-eucharistic motifs. The accounts of the penitence of Adam and Eve provided highly appropriate reading for Lent because of their emphasis on personal penance. They reminded the penitent of the terrifying consequences of alienation from God.

The purification of Isaiah's lips is also located in a fresco at Vicq (Berry) which Kupfer dates in the second quarter of the twelfth century [fig. 5].⁴⁶ Vicq was a parish church, belonging to Déols *Bourg Dieu* (Indre), one of the most powerful monasteries in France. The director of studies there was Herveus (d. c.1145-50) whose writings, Kupfer thinks, formed the basis for the Vicq designs.⁴⁷ It is possible that eucharistic fervour was particularly marked at Déols. It is considered that fragments of sculpture (probably from a Last Supper but possibly Cana) in the museum at Châteauroux may have formed part of a frieze, probably from the narthex, and if so this would have been, at 8-9metres long, the largest sculptured depiction of the Last Supper in France [fig. 6]. This sculpture is variously dated from early in the century to 1140-60, but even if it post-dated Herveus's death it may reflect an on-going fervour resulting from (or evidenced by) the fact that Déols was the site of a famous host miracle in 1116 when a child appeared above the altar during Mass.⁴⁸

At Vicq Isaiah has a strongly penitential-eucharistic focus as at Besse, but the depiction on the south wall of the choir relates this focus closely to the roles (and separation) of the priesthood. Kupfer says that this awareness of priestly duties and status informed the frescoes at Vicq: the cycle 'greatly expands on the penitential aspects of the ministry, within a complex visual exegesis of spiritual purification'.⁴⁹ Many aspects of the penitential-eucharistic

⁴⁵ Herveus of Bourg-Dieu *Commentary on the Mass* (Troyes Bibl. Mun. MS 447 fols. 121-34) emphasised this linking and showed how Isaiah purified parallels humanity restored to perfection through Christ's redemption. Quoted in Kupfer 1986, 51.

⁴⁶ Kupfer 1993, 37.

⁴⁷ Herveus was an influential well-respected author. Kupfer 1993, 131-34 and 138-45. See also Morin 1907 and Macy 1984, 68. Some of Herveus's works are in PL under Anselm of Canterbury. *Commentaria in Isaiam* PL 181, 18-592.

⁴⁸ Duret 1987, 185-89. Hubert 1927. For the miracle see Kupfer 1993, 136.

⁴⁹ Kupfer 1993, 121

focus related to all Christians, but in this time of reform there was also a specific emphasis placed on the need for true contrition on behalf of priests who not only consecrated the bread and wine but also were the channel for absolution following confession. Without such absolution communion could not effect the union of Christ and believer.

Jungmann has pointed out that in the interpretation of Byzantine liturgy, probably by Germanus of Constantinople (c.634-c.733), the priest standing at the altar, holding the spiritual coal, Christ, in the tongs of his hand, cleanses those who receive the host.⁵⁰ The priest thus recalls both Isaiah's angel with the tongs and Christ the high priest in action, giving communion with his own hand [fig. 7].⁵¹ Isaiah's purification was therefore applicable to the lay parishioners of Vicq, but they would not have been able to see the fresco from their places in the nave. This confirms that the primary reference here is to the clerics contemplating their roles of absolving confessor.

In exegetical tradition this coal was called a *carbunculus* and was seen as the purging fire of the Holy Spirit. It was related to the gospel since God's word was hard as stone and without contradictions. The carbuncle became a metaphor for the incarnation because Christ illuminates the world.⁵² Herveus saw Isaiah's purification as a revelation of the New Testament. This revelation is then illustrated in the Passion scenes on the west and north walls of the choir. The betrayal of Christ by Judas, the Washing of Feet, and the Last Supper are linked here to the Isaiah scene by the adjacent depiction of the Entry into Jerusalem.

Unusually at Vicq the angel holds the coal not in tongs but between his thumb and index finger.⁵³ Attention is thereby drawn to the coal which here was a small round disc (originally a stone or piece of glass was in place.) Herveus's extant writings do not interpret this disc as a host (Kupfer thinks it may have

⁵⁰ There is also a link in Byzantine liturgy between the divine coal and Christ held in Simeon's arms. Kupfer 1986, 51. See later in this chapter for the Presentation.

⁵¹ Jungmann 1965, 241-42. See also chapter 6 Christ giving communion to St. Denis.

⁵² Kupfer 1986, 51.

also carried this association⁵⁴). His Paschasian theology could have made this possible and might have accounted for the unusual depiction without the tongs. He did emphasise, however, that spiritual purification through confession was a necessary precondition to valid reception.

3. The Presentation in the Temple.

The Vicq Isaiah is seen only after one has entered the choir which is separated from the nave, and thereby from the parishioners, by a narrow chancel arch with a single opening [fig. 8]. Above the arch, facing the congregation, Christ, surrounded by the apostles, is enthroned above the Agnus Dei. The middle register emphasises the incarnation with the Magi on one side and the annunciation and the accusation of the Virgin on the other⁵⁵. Below this the sacramental significance of the incarnation is reinforced by scenes of the presentation in the temple, which prefigure Christ's sacrifice, and the deposition which is evidence of that self-sacrifice. These scenes now form back-drops to two later altars but it is safe to assume there were altars in that position in the twelfth century at which Mass was said for the laity. The arch marks the entry into the sanctuary, the most sacred space. To reinforce the point warriors on the intrados, representing the triumph of virtue over vice, guard the entry.⁵⁶

Herveus said that the sanctuary signified passage into heaven.⁵⁷ This image of passage within the church was crucial since although he emphasised that man could not complete his *dies purgationis* in this life⁵⁸ he did stress very firmly that both sacramental reception and good works were necessary to the salvific union. Like other Paschasians he saw the sacrament as a vital natural union between the body of Christ and the communicant. All would receive the

⁵³ This is unusual because exegetical tradition usually contrasted Isaiah to Jeremiah who received the touch of God's hand on his lips (Jeremiah 1:9). Kupfer 1993, 140 and n. 62.

⁵⁴ Kupfer 1993, 143 and n. 71. For other examples of the hand held host see my chapter 6.

⁵⁵ The Virgin called upon to defend her purity before Temple scribes occurs in chapter 15 of the apocryphal *Protoevangelium of James*, ed. James 1924.

⁵⁶ Kupfer 1993, 195 says that there is no archival evidence to suggest that a conventual priory existed on this site and that therefore this dramatic closure cannot be attributed to monastic occupation of the choir. Sacerdotal primacy was equally stressed by secular and monastic priests.

⁵⁷ Commentary on Heb. 10 PL 181, 1632-33 in *Commentarius in epistolas Pauli* PL 181, 591-1692.

true body and blood of Christ but only those who imitated Christ could receive unto salvation.⁵⁹

At Vicq the raising of Lazarus is not shown but two other penitential images are used in the choir, those of Lazarus and Dives, and Lazarus in Abraham's bosom. These appear on opposite walls⁶⁰, and were also out of sight of the laity. The bible does not say that Lazarus was penitent but Gregory the Great had seen Lazarus as exemplifying purification, saying that his sores represented sins released from the mind through confession.⁶¹ The dogs that licked Lazarus' sores represented holy preachers who heal the wounds with their words.⁶² Lazarus' significance is reinforced in the reference to him in the Mass for the dead (*In paradisum deducant*) as an example of one receiving eternal rest and participation in the eternal banquet. Isaiah's mouth was cleansed so that, like the other good preachers, he could spread the news of his vision, but Dives was judged for lack of charity and, Herveus said, for the garrulity that the banquet would have occasioned and the sins resulting thereby⁶³.

In his homily on the Virgin's purification Herveus explained that the Virgin, like her son, needed no purification but nevertheless she submitted

⁵⁸ *Homilia* VI PL 158, 621-27 (under Anselm of Canterbury).

⁵⁹ Commentary on 1 Cor. PL 181, 917-37 in *Commentarius in epistolas Pauli* (under Anselm of Canterbury) PL 181, 591-1692. Macy 1984, 68.

⁶⁰ Kupfer convincingly explains the reason for the discontinuities of the Vicq frescoes in terms of a dynamic interaction with the architecture which forces the clerical viewer to assess the ideas evoked from several angles, physically and intellectually to a greater extent than would have been the case with continuous pictorial narrative.

⁶¹ The Church had always taught that the uncaring rich would have to pay for their sins whilst the poor would enjoy a reward in heaven.

⁶² *Homilia in Evangelia* 40 PL 76, 1301-12. Kupfer 1993, 144. Augustine *In psalmum* 132 PL 37, 1729-36, had said that the poor were the humble in heart who, unlike the puffed up rich who had not seized their opportunities to do good works, would be satisfied by the Living Bread in eternity. The story was often represented in romanesque art. At Moissac Abraham holding Lazarus at the eternal banquet is set alongside the scene of his rejection by Dives.

⁶³ Garrulity would have been particularly offensive to those religious communities enforcing quietness and contemplation. Complaints about cloister socialising would suggest they did not all do so but Déols might have been exemplary. At Vigeois (Corrèze) in the central apsidal chapel (which probably was directly behind the high altar) there is a combination of capitals that confirm this penitential theme. The story of Lazarus and Dives: Dives' feast; death of Dives; Lazarus in paradise and Dives in hell, is, unusually, given on three capitals. The other capitals have Daniel in the lion's den, the first and second Temptations of Christ (on the same capital); the third Temptation (see later in this chapter for discussion of the Temptations and of Daniel). Proust 1992, 49-63.

willingly to the ritual of the Law in accordance with Leviticus 2:2. The scene of the Virgin facing Temple scribes who questioned her purity is included to show that she did not fulfil the Mosaic injunction in order to become pure but to prefigure the purification of the faithful. Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1028) had said in a sermon that the Virgin was always willing to help repentant sinners.⁶⁴ This sermon became exemplary and was subsequently included in all French lectionaries.⁶⁵ The forty days before Mary's purification signified the completed course of earthly life. This made her purification highly telling to the repentant who, as Herveus said, must struggle to fulfil their spiritual duties on a daily basis, though only after death can the process be completed.⁶⁶

The Presentation in the Temple is one of the most important penitential-eucharistic images being developed in this period. Hildebert of Lavardin showed the overall significance of this when he said that previous prophecies had been veiled but the Presentation was no longer a riddle but 'evident express witness'.⁶⁷ The Presentation was seen as proving Malachi 3: 1-4 'the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple [...] and purify the sons of Levi [...] that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness'. (epistle for 2 February). This offering was taken as a prophecy of the Eucharist. Malachi 3:5 was also seen as vividly predicting the purging of all sinners at the Last Judgement. His emphasis on those who profaned the offerings would have been particularly telling in an age of Gregorian reform and a time of hot debate about the validity of sacraments. The child who Simeon held is the one whose death will atone for Original Sin. For this suffering a sword would pierce Mary's heart, as Simeon foretold, but nevertheless the God-man will come again, and in terrible majesty, to judge men for their acts during life. The prophecy of the piercing sword ~~this~~ was seen as a foretelling of the wound in Christ's side, made by Longinus' lance⁶⁸, from which flowed the blood and water of the Eucharist.

⁶⁴ *Sermo* 4 PL 141, 323-24.

⁶⁵ Katzenellenbogen 1959, 10.

⁶⁶ *Homilia* 6 PL 158, 621-27 (under Anselm of Canterbury).

⁶⁷ *Sermo* 57 PL 171, 618 A-B.

⁶⁸ The penitence of Longinus, Christ's forgiveness of him and his restoration of sight, are highly significant penitential-eucharistic images made even more popular by medieval legend and drama.

The biblical narrative starts by emphasising Mary's purification, thus confirming the penitential aspect, but this example of obedience to the Law is, increasingly from the eleventh century, also given a visual aspect fitting to the penitential-eucharistic focus of the age.

There are two Jewish rites combined in this image. The first was the rite of purification which included a sacrificial sin offering,⁶⁹ in this case of two doves. The second was the presentation of a first-born male after his circumcision to the high priest in the temple. The meeting with Simeon (the *Hypapante*) is biblically a separate story; Simeon was not a priest, Luke 2: 25 merely calls him 'just and devout'. His significance lay in his recognition of the child as Christ with all that that implied for the dawning of salvation. In Romanesque sculpture, however, this meeting is presented as if Simeon were a priest, he is sometimes shown tonsured as at Chauvigny (Vienne) dated after 1150 [fig. 9].⁷⁰

The offering of the doves (in Jewish tradition merely the gift of a poor person) becomes a telling Christian symbol because Christ at his baptism was linked with the dove of the Holy Spirit. Ivo of Chartres, talking of types of sacrifice, makes the baptismal dove a directly eucharistic symbol 'through this the turtle dove and the dove, that is to say the flesh of Christ unites to the holy spirit through the mystery of the Passion'.⁷¹ He ties the point specifically to the Presentation in his remarks on the Introit, which he sees as representing the advent of Christ. As men sing the liturgy to bring Christ into their hearts so too

⁶⁹ The purification of the Virgin Mary (2 February) may have been established in the West at the end of the fifth century as a counter-attraction to the pagan Lupercalia. In the seventh century a procession with candles was included which by the ninth century, and commonly from the eleventh, became the rite of the blessing of the candles for use in the coming year. Shorr 1946, 17-19. The candle ceremonies eventually gave the name *Candlemas* to the whole festival but the images of light here apply both to the purification and to the meeting with Simeon who called Jesus 'the light to lighten the Gentiles'. Luke 2: 32. By the late middle ages identification was made between the candles carried in the procession and Christ: wax his body, wick his soul and flame his godhead. Duffy 1992, 18.

⁷⁰ This may refer to the increasing separation of laity and priesthood in the twelfth century and the rising status of the priest, or it may be a way of denigrating the Levitical priesthood which had been surpassed by Christ, the high priest and his priesthood.

⁷¹ *Sermo* 5 PL 162, 544B-C. For Ivo on continuity of sacrifice see chapter 7.

had Simeon and Anna sighed aloud for this (*suspirabant*)⁷². The chanting of the psalm and the reading of the lections of the Introit are the liturgy of the Word which is the new sacrifice, made of words, 'the calf of our lips', rather than by bodies as formerly. Fitting with this approach, depictions of the carrying of the child (the sacrificial calf) and the doves can be given, as at La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre, usually dated 1135-45) [fig. 10] the formality which evokes the offertory procession in the Mass.⁷³ Ivo confirms the eucharistic penitential requirement by calling the ethical sacrifices of good Christian living, inspired by the Church offices, 'sacrifices of Christ and the Church'.⁷⁴ He also says that Christ wanted to be presented in the temple to provide an analogy with the former offerings⁷⁵ and to signify that his Church would be made clean.⁷⁶ This cleansing would be made 'either through communal prayers, which the pigeons signify, or through private prayer, which the turtle doves signify'.⁷⁷

The eucharistic parallel is further confirmed as the Virgin offers, in veiled hands, the incarnate God to Simeon, thus confirming the union of Christ's divine and human nature.⁷⁸ Her very presence emphasises the incarnation, the source of salvation. She can also be shown, as at Chauvigny and La Charité, holding the child aloft above the altar in a way that may have evoked the elevation of the host.⁷⁹ Honorius Augustodunensis explained that in the third *ordine* in the Mass, (the consecration and elevation), in consecrating the bread and wine 'we take in hand the bread and we bless, and we make known the

⁷² 549C.

⁷³ Significantly in this period the offertory procession still included the gifts of the laity. Katzenellenbogen thought that at Chartres more figures than usual were shown in the scene to suggest the relatives of the Virgin who, believing the disciples' teaching about Christ, prefigure the Church. The idea appeared in a sermon of Fulgentius Ruspensis, copied in a twelfth-century lectionary which once belonged to Chartres. PL 65, 840 quoted in Katzenellenbogen 1959, 10.

⁷⁴ *Sermo* 5 552D.

⁷⁵ Ivo saw these as valid sacraments and the continuity between the old and new sacraments as highly significant - see chapter 7.

⁷⁶ Like the purification of Mary, Christ did not need this rite for himself. All cleansing imagery is linked to true penitence and faith, it is as much individual as institutional. For elaboration of cleansing imagery linked to Church reform see chapter 4.

⁷⁷ 550D-551A.

⁷⁸ Very rarely, it is Joseph who hands over the child as in a capital at Autun. Perhaps this departure from tradition was the reason the eucharistic aspect was reinforced by the presence on the altar behind Simeon of a huge chalice.

⁷⁹ The host was elevated by the early twelfth century before the institution narrative. See Hildebert of Lavardin *De mysterio misae* PL 171, 1186C-D, discussed in chapter 7. The date from which the host is elevated *after* the consecration, for adoration, is debated.

time of grace, by which Simeon took in hand Christ the living bread new born, and rejoicing bless [him] [...]. Then we take the chalice, and we bless, and we express the time of the supper, at which Christ raised [*e/evavit*] bread and wine in his hands and blessed, and thence handed over body and blood to the apostles. Whence up to now when the words of the Lord are recited in order, bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of the Lord'.⁸⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux seemed to go further in suggesting a priestly function for the Virgin at the Presentation saying 'Offer your son, sacred Virgin, and present the blessed fruit of your womb to God. For the reconciliation of us all, offer the holy Host [which is] pleasing to God'.⁸¹

The altar is clearly shown in most twelfth-century depictions.⁸² Usually the child is held aloft but at Chartres (Eure-et-Loire, not generally dated to before 1135)[fig. 11] and at L'Ile Bouchard (Indre-et-Loire, dated after 1135) [fig. 12] he stands firmly on the altar. Katzenellenbogen thought this was to symbolise 'the idea that His true body is forever the reality of the Eucharist'.⁸³ It is possible that the development of Presentation imagery is related to the growing popularity of host miracles. The child who miraculously appears in the Mass is, of course, the child of the nativity. The very presence of an altar in Presentation imagery may have evoked this image. As host miracles were multiplying in the twelfth century just at the time the Presentation scenes were

⁸⁰ *Gemma animae* PL172, 559C-D trans. Schaefer 1983, 163.

⁸¹ *De purificatione* PL 183, 370C trans. Lane 1984, 71. For the controversial topic of the priesthood of the Virgin see chapter 8.

⁸² In the West this iconographic form is usual from the eighth or ninth centuries but it is not universal. Shorr 1946, 20. By the early twelfth century, however, it is rare for the altar not to be given prominence.

⁸³ Katzenellenbogen 1959, I do not agree with all of Katzenellenbogen's interpretations of eucharistic theology. He says that the idea that 'the host had the same essence as the flesh Christ had assumed from the Virgin Mary' had begun to be asserted 'at the end of the eleventh century' whereas this is clearly Paschasian although reinforced in the later eleventh century. The child on the altar would have been clearly recognised as the true substance of the Eucharist well before the Chartres West portal. The question of whether the body of Christ in the Eucharist is the 'body no longer suffering' is a separate, if related, issue. Concern for, and identification with, the sufferings of Christ are certainly of major concern in the twelfth century and increasingly so as the century progresses, but it was not a new concern even in 1135 which is the earliest date generally suggested for Chartres' west portal. The Chartres representation of these central and current issues is, however, one of the clearest and most forceful at that date.

taking on an ever more overtly eucharistic a form there may be a connection.⁸⁴ The host miracles are not themselves penitential but their popularity, which attests to eucharistic fervour, may have encouraged penitence also. They certainly confirm the concept of the Real Presence and it is probably not by chance that Paschasius quotes two such miracles in *De corpore*, the second of which he links specifically to the Presentation saying 'the priest saw on the altar the Son of God as a boy whom Simeon had deserved [the right] to carry in his arms.'⁸⁵

4. Christ Washing the Feet of the Disciples.

A less multi-faceted image than the Presentation, but one even more central and direct in its application to the individual, was Jesus' washing of the disciples' feet before the Last Supper (*pedilavium*)⁸⁶. Not surprisingly, it is one of the most common subjects in Romanesque art. This act of humility and love epitomises Christ's entire life of dedication. Since such lowly acts were normally performed by slaves or women it provided a reversal of normal conventions which confirmed the yet more staggering reversal of norms in the fact that God became man. Only after the resurrection could the disciples, by the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit (symbolised by water), understand the full meaning of incarnation, and of this particular act. It both revealed Christ's humanity and set an example to 'do as I have done for you' and 'wash one another's feet' which is at the heart of good Christian living. Charity and humility are not in themselves aspects of penitence but true penitence implies amendment of life. The symbolic link between the Washing of the Feet and penance was traditional.⁸⁷ The connection seems to be implied at Autun in the capital of the vices and virtues, dated 1120-30, [fig. 13] where the figure of Charity carries a large chalice, a 'symbol of love and forgetfulness of self, a reminder of the Last Supper and the Cross.'⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Kupfer 1993, 136, thinks there may be a connection at Vicq between the eucharistic fervour evident in the miracle at Déols and the composition at Vicq where the child and the altar table are aligned.

⁸⁵ *De corpore* PL 120, 1320B.

⁸⁶ Jn 13:1-20. See chapter 8 for monastic views on imitation of Christ and on cloistered pilgrimage.

⁸⁷ *Glossa Ordinaria* on John 13:8 PL 114, 405.

⁸⁸ Grivot 1980, 57. Thourmieu 1996 sees this capital as representing Judas offering the blood of Christ to the representative of the synagogue.

The *pedilavium* has been seen as a comment on the necessity of baptism. This was particularly so in the East where it was bound up with the thorny issue of whether the apostles were baptised or not. In John 3:5 Jesus said 'except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Since this was generally seen as referring to baptism being necessary for salvation it seemed vital to some to ascertain whether the apostles had been baptised before taking the first communion of the Last Supper. There were various interpretations of this.⁸⁹ Augustine rejected the idea that their baptism had taken part at the Last Supper, but the Eastern Church came to see it in this way and this is reflected in their art.⁹⁰ Augustine said that the apostles had been baptised earlier than the Last Supper either by Christ or by John. The West generally was satisfied to leave the matter a little vague, although there may be vestiges of an interest in this topic in the fact that in medieval France the foot washing is generally shown before the Last Supper and not after it as was common elsewhere in the West.⁹¹

The linkage with baptism extends to the Church as a whole. Ambrose said that 'our personal (*propria*) sins are to be contrasted with those we inherit (*haereditaria*); baptism removes the former, but the rite of the washing of feet the latter.'⁹² Origen had seen Abraham washing the feet of the three angels at Mamre (Genesis 18:4) as a baptismal symbol with eucharistic implications: 'For Abraham knew that the dominical sacrament cannot be consummated except by washing the feet'.⁹³ In Gaul⁹⁴, unlike Rome, the *pedilavium* in the early middle ages had formed part of the baptismal service. This may have left a strong sense of the penitential aspect of the rite in accordance with Acts 2:38 where the need for repentance before baptism had been stressed. The later

⁸⁹ See Kantorowicz 1956. This is an on-going debate. Some have argued that Jesus baptised the apostles at a date before the Passion, others say the sacrament was not instituted until he gave the disciples the command to baptise in the three-fold name (Mt. 28:19).

⁹⁰ Kantorowicz 1956.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* The issue is confused since John seems to put the washing after supper but before the giving of the sop to Judas.

⁹² *De mysteriis* 32 PL 16, 398 and *In psalmum* 48, 8. PL 14, 1158. Kelly 1958, 354-56

⁹³ *In Genesim Homiliae* 4, 2 PG 12, 185B. There is a capital of Abraham washing the feet of the angels at Gerona cathedral but I do not know of one in France.

⁹⁴ This also applied in Ireland and Milan. Kantorowicz 1956, 233.

eucharistic fervour would have focused on the eucharistic implications. At Issoire (Puy-de-Dôme) Abraham welcomes the three angels [fig. 14] and this is given a companion-piece in the sacrifice of Isaac.⁹⁵ Between these two north wall panels is a smaller one (by another hand) of the multiplication of bread. This seems to reflect clearly the washing/penance as a vital eucharistic preliminary.⁹⁶

Hildebert of Lavardin confirmed the eucharistic-penitential importance of the image of the washing of the feet, rather than the baptismal-penitential one, when he said that in scripture states of mind were often expressed through images of feet, as in psalm 73:2 'my feet were almost gone, my steps had well nigh slipped'. We approach the Lord, Hildebert said, on our feet and equally with our feet distance ourselves from God. The distancing from God leads to invalid reception of the Eucharist. One must reach towards the sacrament with merit. Therefore the feet of the apostles were washed before they ate the bread of life and the feet are pre-washed 'so that those about to take this sacrament may be taught that their thoughts also must be pre-washed'.⁹⁷

The Washing of the Feet was re-enacted on Maundy Thursday as a liturgical rite (the *Mandatum*) imitating Christ's humility. The act seemed so symbolically significant that it also took place at St-Denis three times a week from the beginning of Lent to the beginning of November. At St-Victor and St-Benoît-sur-Loire the rite was also very frequent, and at Cluny (where it took place once a week for three poor men and at other times amongst the monks themselves) Peter the Venerable feared it was beginning to detract from the Divine Office.⁹⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, however, thought it valuable enough to be a sacrament in its own right.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Most of the sculpture at Issoire is dated after 1140. It probable that these exterior panels are not in their original location and they could be of a much earlier date.

⁹⁶ For other aspects of Mamre see chapter 7.

⁹⁷ *Sermo* 54 PL 171, 602-3 translation Caryl Green.

⁹⁸ Letter 28 (c. 1126-27) to Bernard of Clairvaux. Von Daum Tholl 1994. Hunt 1967.

⁹⁹ Sermon *De baptismo, sacramento altaris et ablutione pedum* PL 183, 271-74.

Kantorowicz thought Bernard was merely using the word in the sense of a holy act, a sacramental washing of daily venial sins and a sign of charity not a ritual to be performed before communion.

The *pedilavium* appears on capitals, as at Autun, La Daurade, Toulouse, and Moissac. At the latter St Paul is shown as present, despite the biblical inaccuracy of this, as away of stressing the involvement of the Church in penitential discipline.¹⁰⁰ More telling yet are the large depictions which take place with or alongside the Last Supper or, sometimes, as in the frieze at Selles-sur-Cher alongside the multiplication of bread. Savigny, Vandeins and Bellenaves [fig. 15] all reinforce the sacramental implications by showing on their tympana the Washing clearly in the context of the Last Supper. At St-Julien-de-Jonzy (Saône-et-Loire) dated 1130-40 [fig. 16] the *pedilavium* and Last Supper form the lintel under Christ in Majesty.¹⁰¹

All cleansing imagery is obviously penitential. It is not by chance that Maundy Thursday was the time when this idea was promoted. The Father and the Son as physicians were invoked to heal souls and afflicted bodies in some rites of consecration of the sacred oils.¹⁰² *Christus medicus* cured the wounds of sin. Ivo of Chartres talked of the Eucharist as medicine.¹⁰³ Hugh of St-Victor extended the metaphor to the priests acting on Christ's behalf and described the sacraments as medicine bottles containing grace dispensed by priest-physicians co-operating with God.¹⁰⁴ The central topic of *De sacramentis* is God's restoration of sinful man. God could bring inner healing without external signs (and may have done so in the past) but usually chose to heal by love 'nourished by Christ's self-gift in the Eucharist'.¹⁰⁵

In this period many of the cleansing images, especially the cleansing of the Temple, were used in a context of Gregorian reform and so are discussed in chapter 4 but the implications of such images were individual as well as institutional.

¹⁰⁰ A related point is made by Ivo of Chartres who in *Sermo* 2 PL 162-513-19, talked of Christ taking the role of a sub-deacon in this rite. Others also in this period talked of Christ's acts as symbolic of the range of ordained roles.

¹⁰¹ Mâle 1978, 420-21 saw these deliberate affirmations of the duties of confession and communion as a response to the rejection of the sacraments by twelfth-century heretics. This seems to me to under-play the penitential focus of the period although the heretics were certainly a cause of major concern. See my chapter 9.

¹⁰² Kantorowicz 1956.

¹⁰³ *Sermo* 17 PL 162, 588.

¹⁰⁴ *De sacramentis* 1. 9. 4. PL 176, 323.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid* 1,9,5. PL 176,323-26. Cooke 1990, 153.

5. Mary Magdalen.

The increasing interiority and penitential piety is reflected in the large number of representations of Mary Magdalen, one of the most popular twelfth-century saints.¹⁰⁶ The gospel accounts are unclear and present three anointings of Christ by women, two called Mary and one unnamed, all in the houses of men named Simon.¹⁰⁷ The character seems too inconsistent to be the same person but nevertheless in the West the Magdalen's cult developed yet further when the conflation of Mary Magdalen, Mary of Bethany, and Luke's sinner was accepted by Gregory the Great and she was given the feast day of 22 July.¹⁰⁸ There were four main aspects to her story in the gospels: she was one of Christ's followers who 'ministered unto him',¹⁰⁹ she was present at the crucifixion,¹¹⁰ she was the primary witness to his resurrection¹¹¹ and she was the first to be charged with proclaiming the message of the resurrection.¹¹² Her penitential role stems from her repentance (her sins traditionally included prostitution), her forgiveness by Christ, who cast seven devils from her,¹¹³ and her anointing of his feet and head. This anointing was an act of homage to his kingship (revealing foreknowledge of his death and something of its implication)¹¹⁴ and a response of love and gratitude for his forgiveness and for the raising of her brother Lazarus.¹¹⁵ She sought to embalm the dead body of Christ and this too has been seen as an anointing.¹¹⁶

Her long-time popularity as penitent sinner, *apostola apostolorum* and, taken from the Mary of Bethany story, as contemplative, had been accelerating

¹⁰⁶ Leclercq quoting Saxer, says there was a 'Magdalenian ferment' in the eleventh century, and he elaborates on its development in the twelfth century. Leclercq 1982, 92-99.

¹⁰⁷ Lk 7:37-50 (where she is identified only as the woman 'which was a sinner'); Jn 12:1-8; Mk 14:3-9; Mt 26:6-13.

¹⁰⁸ The East continued to recognise three separate feasts. Haskins 1993, 26.

¹⁰⁹ Mk 15:41.

¹¹⁰ Mk 15:40; Mt 27:55-56.

¹¹¹ Mk 16:9; Jn 20:14:17.

¹¹² Jn 20:17. In Mt 28:10 Jesus appeared both to Mary Magdalen and 'the other Mary'.

¹¹³ Lk 8:2; Mk 16:9.

¹¹⁴ She was the only disciple to foresee his death.

¹¹⁵ See earlier in this chapter for the raising of Lazarus as a symbol of penitence.

¹¹⁶ Haskins 1993, 26.

in the West during the ninth and tenth centuries.¹¹⁷ In the tenth century she appeared as one of the myrrhophes in the Easter trope *Quem quaeritis*. Also in the tenth century Odo of Cluny wrote the sermon *In veneratione Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae* which was thereafter read at least annually and which said that as herald of the resurrection she removed the dishonour of the female sex created by Eve. Odo praised her particularly for her love of Christ and for the monkish virtues of poverty, obedience, chastity and servitude.¹¹⁸ Because she was *apostola apostolorum* she was the only female saint, apart from the Virgin, to have the honour of having the Creed said during the Mass of her feast day.¹¹⁹ She was listed in the litany before all virgin saints apart from the Virgin.

Mary Magdalen's popularity arose from her being especially loved by Christ.¹²⁰ He had trusted her to be the herald of the resurrection. Her love had earlier been returned when, as Luke's sinner, Christ had said to the horrified Simon who feared defilement 'her sins which are many are forgiven, for she loved much'. To Mary he said 'Thy sins are forgiven [...] thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace'.¹²¹ It was felt that Christ by these words instituted the sacrament of penance.¹²² Christ's ministry was characterised by his willingness to forgive even those whose sins placed them outside conventional society. In an era when monastic virtues were seen as more likely to indicate the Elect, the example of sinful laymen lovingly received must have brought comfort to many.¹²³

¹¹⁷ Even earlier Bede had mentioned her feast day in his martyrology and she had appeared on the seventh or early eighth-century Ruthwell cross as Mary of Bethany, a figure of the contemplative life and on the other side as the penitent sinner wiping Christ's feet with her hair.

¹¹⁸ PL 133, 713-21. Haskins 1993, 114.

¹¹⁹ Jungmann 1950, 470 quotes Durandus in the thirteenth century but the practice is probably goes back into the twelfth century when her Mass developed fully.

¹²⁰ She symbolized the Church and was presented as the bride of Christ in ways not unlike that of the Virgin Mary. Hippolytus' third century commentary on the Song of Songs saw her as the New Eve, Bride of Christ, the Church and Apostle to the Apostles. These ideas passed to the West via Hilary of Poitiers and Ambrose amongst others. Haskins 1993, 64-66. Legends also saw her as the bride of St. John at Cana.

¹²¹ Lk 7: 47-49.

¹²² Warner 1976, 226. It was more usual to see John the Baptist as having instituted the sacrament with his call to repentance.

¹²³ At Arnac (Corrèze) and at Vigeois Christ is shown calling the tax-collector Zachaeus (Lk 19:1-10). At Arnac Zachaeus dances for joy as he gets down from the tree. His pardon would follow his penitential restitution of ill-gotten riches. This image of pardon is also used to show the covenant with the new Israel as Zachaeus is clearly depicted in Jewish dress.

A number of French churches were dedicated to her in the early eleventh century. In France she was especially popular because from the eleventh century she was believed to have spent her last years as a hermit fasting in the desert near Marseilles.¹²⁴ There her penitential and contemplative aspects were given a eucharistic element also as she was lifted to heaven every day by angels for spiritual sustenance.¹²⁵ Various places in France and elsewhere claimed to have her body but from the mid-eleventh century a massive propaganda exercise by Vézelay insisted that the body lay lost somewhere in the abbey. This made Vézelay a major pilgrimage centre even though the actual body was not 'discovered' until 1265.¹²⁶

Hymns to her as a penitential model began to appear from the tenth century, and from the early eleventh century were being written in the first person.¹²⁷ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries many major writers, including Marbod of Rennes, Honorius Augustodunensis, Abelard and Peter the Venerable, wrote on her sinful past, her copious tears and her exceptional love for Christ which was rewarded by the appearance to her of the risen Christ and by her special role as messenger to the apostles. In Abelard's hymn *Poenitentum severa* the harsh penances handed out by contemporary priests are contrasted to the gentle way Christ treated Mary Magdalen, 'As king and judge alike he moderates the law/And God who judges the heart aright pays less heed/ to the duration of the penance than to the depth of anguished repentance [of] one who displays her heart aright'.¹²⁸ Abelard's concern for penitents to show true inner sorrow rather than mere external acts was typical of much early twelfth-century thinking on penitence arising from newer, more

¹²⁴ She was said to have arrived there with her brother Lazarus and sister Martha. Martha's bones remained in Provence but the bones of Mary and of Lazarus, who became the first bishop of Marseilles (in contrast to Eastern versions which made him bishop of Ephesus), had been taken to Burgundy. She was the saint most closely linked with fasting in France because of this legend. Fasting was one of the most common penances.

¹²⁵ Haskins 1993, 110-11. There are many legends set in various places across Europe on this theme.

¹²⁶ Haskins 1993, 113. St-Maximin, Aix-en-Provence, claimed to have found the body in 1279 and they eventually trounced Vézelay.

¹²⁷ Morris 1987, 71.

¹²⁸ Szövérfy 1963, 79-146 and *Analecta hymnica* 48, 221 trans. Caryl Green.

personal, forms of love of the humanity of Christ.¹²⁹ In a poem-prayer of 1081 Anselm talked of Mary Magdalen, 'burning with love' and weeping because she had not been able to prevent Christ's death, being consoled by Christ. Her closeness to Christ made her for Anselm an important intercessor. With her help, he said, 'it will not be difficult for you to attain whatever you wish from your dear and beloved master and friend'.¹³⁰ Lyrical laments of Mary Magdalen at the foot of the Cross were popular from the mid-twelfth century and possibly earlier.¹³¹ They mirrored those written about the Virgin and reinforced a closeness between the two women which was much stressed, including in liturgical drama, in this period.

Depictions of Mary Magdalen are common in the period.¹³² They include capitals with a highly emotive tender depiction such as *Noli me tangere* at Autun [fig. 17] where Christ turns and bends towards the trusting woman who looks up lovingly at him as he blesses her even whilst telling her not to touch him. Christ's words 'Touch me not for I am not yet ascended to my Father' had always been puzzling. Some translations give 'Do not desire to touch me' or 'Do not cling to me' and these interpretations imply that Mary's love must be transformed, she must learn to love him spiritually as God rather than as a man. Something of this is suggested at Gourvillette (Charente-Maritime) [fig. 18]. Here Mary is bent low to touch his feet in homage, Christ gives his blessing but is shown deliberately stepping back from her.¹³³ At Vigeois (Corrèze) dated late in the second quarter of the twelfth century [fig. 19] the same sense of the eternal is evident in a remarkable capital which seems to confirm Mary's unique position both amongst the disciples and, by its very daring, in twelfth-century affection. Christ in the garden blesses Mary and she, amazingly, is shown

¹²⁹ See chapter 8.

¹³⁰ *Oratio ad Sanctam Mariam Magdalena* PL 158, 1010 (under Anselm Haverburgensis) quoted in Haskins 1993, 135. So powerful was she as an intercessor that she was believed to have resuscitated a knight dead on the battle-field and another in Aquitaine in the twelfth century. Haskins 1993, 116 quoting Sumption.

¹³¹ Dronke 1992, 457-489.

¹³² The most common are of the three Maries at the tomb. This is a traditional image for the resurrection. Christ stepping from the tomb is generally only found from the later twelfth century although it does appear on a capital from the second phase of cloister capitals at La Daurade, Toulouse dated 1125-35.

¹³³ See chapter 6 for discussion of the specifically eucharistic aspects of this scene.

kneeling within, or in process of entering, his mandorla. Although she could not touch him her penitence and love were being fully recognised and rewarded.¹³⁴

Even more telling in a penitential-eucharistic context are those major presentations as on the lintel of Neuilly-en-Donjon (Allier) which is dated 1125-1130 [fig. 20].¹³⁵ Here Mary Magdalen is shown anointing Christ's feet at the meal at Simon's house. The format is that of a Last Supper and thus her attitude of total contrition links specifically links penitence to the Last Supper and the Mass. The point is reinforced by the adjacent capitals containing images of lust and depravity and, in contrast, that showing the eucharistic symbol of Habbakuk bringing food to Daniel in the lion's den.¹³⁶ The theme of the Fall and the Redemption is confirmed by the inclusion of Adam and Eve, separated from Mary Magdalen, who had repaired the fault of Eve, by the Tree of Life.¹³⁷

6. The Temptations of Christ.

The Temptations and the Transfiguration of Christ reflect the struggle and hopes of Lent and are prominent in the liturgy. The Christian must join with the trials of Christ in order in the next world to join with him in his triumph.¹³⁸ Christ had 'suffered being tempted' and so was able to 'succour them that are tempted'.¹³⁹ The forty days of Lenten abstinence are paralleled by the forty days of Christ in the wilderness, a time prefigured by the forty years testing of Israel in the wilderness, and the forty days of fasting of Moses¹⁴⁰ and Elijah.¹⁴¹ The gospel for the first Sunday in Lent is Matthew 4:1-11 the account of Christ's temptations.

¹³⁴ Proust notes that the mandorla is used more frequently in this area than elsewhere to underline significance. Thus at Vigéois Abraham is given a mandorla (normally reserved for Christ or saints) to demonstrate his sacred aspects and also the continuity of the Old and New Testaments. See also the capital at Thiviers discussed in chapter 6.

¹³⁵ Hearn 1981, 169 dates it after c.1125, Vergnolle 1994, 334 suggests 1120-30.

¹³⁶ See Daniel later in this chapter and in chapter 6.

¹³⁷ For the eucharistic aspects of the Magi in this tympanum see chapter 6.

¹³⁸ Origen *In Lucam* ed., Fournier *Sources Chrétiennes* 87, 363.

¹³⁹ Heb.2:18.

¹⁴⁰ Exodus 24:12-18 read on the Wednesday of Ember Week in Lent.

¹⁴¹ 3 Kings 19:3-8 also read on the Wednesday of Ember Week.

Although the baptised had renounced the sin of Adam they still had to ward off the constant attacks of the devil. The threats were to individuals and to the Church. Augustine had said that the devil, foiled by Christ in his temptations, departed from him only 'for a time'¹⁴² because the Church, 'the whole body of Christ [...] is being subjected to temptation until the end of the world' attacked by 'bad Christians' be they heads of state or by a 'wicked populace'.¹⁴³ The same point would be made by Gregorian reformers attacking worldly luxury and this ensures that the third Temptation, in particular, would be depicted in the art works of reform.¹⁴⁴

Perhaps surprisingly, there are no depictions of the Temptations before the Carolingian period¹⁴⁵ but by the eleventh century they are common, which would seem to reflect increasing penitential piety as well as Gregorian reform. Sometimes, as at Vigeois, all three Temptations are shown, at Autun, the first and second [fig. 21]. Often the first Temptation stood for all three as at Chauvigny [fig. 22]. The urgency of penitence was reinforced at Chauvigny by nearby choir capitals depicting the weighing of souls and by a vivid presentation of the whore of Babylon, an image for the sins of the world including, perhaps, the corruption within the Church itself.¹⁴⁶ Major explorations of the theme of temptation occur in the porch at Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne (Corrèze).¹⁴⁷

The sequel to the Temptations in Mark and Matthew is the ministering of the angels to the hungry Christ. 'For he shall give the angels charge over thee...' (Psalm 90(91AV):11-12) is the gradual for the first Sunday in Lent. The angelic ministering is shown in a separate scene from the Temptations on a fresco at Brinay (Cher). At Saulieu (Côte-d'Or) [fig. 23] the angel stands supportively behind Christ, during the Temptation itself, as he does at Autun, but at Saulieu he also carries a victory wreath. Old Testament examples of God sending angels to feed his righteous are evoked. Both the feeding of Elijah and

¹⁴² Lk 4:13.

¹⁴³ *In psalmum* 30. PL 36, 239-47 ed Hebgin and Corrigan 1961, vol. 2, 22.

¹⁴⁴ There is a very detailed third Temptation in the Matilda Gospels f.43 r. see chapter 4 for this MS.

¹⁴⁵ Duchet-Suchaux and Pastoureau 1994, 321.

¹⁴⁶ See chapter 4 for other images of clerical corruption.

¹⁴⁷ See later section on Daniel and chapter 9.

the angel-borne Habbakuk carrying food for Daniel (discussed later) are prefigurations of the Eucharist. The *Sanctus* in the Mass and all the Mass angel references are also recalled.

On some capitals Christ is shown holding the Book as at Plaimpied (Cher) [fig. 24] and Vigeois [fig. 25] and Saulieu. On the Thursday after the first Sunday in Lent the lesson is Ezekiel 18:1-9, prophesying the resurrection of the just.¹⁴⁸ Ezekiel had eaten the book of God's instructions (Ezekiel 3:1-3), given to him by an angel, and found it 'honey for sweetness'. This is echoed in Revelations 10:8-11, where John found the eating the book 'sweet as honey'. The Bible was spiritual food, as was the Eucharist. The just could arise only through contrite reception of the sacraments; a union with Christ in both senses of tasting.¹⁴⁹ Christ is the Word. That Jesus was the Word was symbolised by the placing of the gospels on the altar. Processions, where the book is preceded by candles and is censed, symbolise Christ proclaiming the gospels. Christ in his humanity is the Book of Life, whereas his divinity is shown in his presentation as the Tree of Life. Beatus compared Jesus to a book saying 'Christ is our book. Outside is the page and the letter, which is the man both body and soul. Inside is divinity, just as the meaning is in the letter'.¹⁵⁰ Thus eating the Book can equate both to the consumption of the whole Bible and the Eucharist. Hugh of St Cher (c.1195-1263) commenting on Apocalypse 10:9 where John eats the book given to him by the angel, said 'this book is the life of Christ [...] the sacrament of the church'.¹⁵¹ I know of no twelfth-century text on this but would not be surprised to find one.

7. The Transfiguration.

On the second Sunday in Lent Matthew 17: 1-9 (on the Transfiguration) is read to encourage the faithful to persevere in their penitence and virtuous living so that they too may eventually see the glorified face of the Lord. The

¹⁴⁸ Ezekiel contains some of the Old Testament's most vivid and dramatic calls to repentance.

¹⁴⁹ *Sapientia* evokes *sapere* to taste and the search for the ultimate exceptional taste. Ivan Illich 1993, 101.

¹⁵⁰ *Adversus Elipandum* 1.112, ed Löfstedt, CCCM 59:86, 3305-6 quoted in Steinhauser 1995, 199.

¹⁵¹ Rubin 1991, 307.

Transfiguration is a crucial theophany and an image of resurrection, and thus a promise of victory over sin. The Transfiguration linked with the debate on the Eucharist in that it showed Christ's glorified body before the resurrection and thus, like the resurrection appearances, confirmed that Christ could be in all places at all times whilst in no way losing thereby his essential unity or nature as God-man. This was a useful counter to Berengar who argued that Christ could not be on the altar (and in many places) and in heaven simultaneously. Sometimes, certainly by the thirteenth century, the story of Jacob, a type of Christ, wrestling with the angel (symbolising the human struggle against sin) preceded the Transfiguration reading, thus hammering home the need for penitential effort but also the certainty of eventual victory.¹⁵² This scene appears on a pier capital of the Vézelay façade, dated about 1130 [fig. 26] and on a capital in the nave, dated after 1120, [fig. 27] and on the inside pier capital between the two main doors at Autun.

Elijah and Moses accompany Christ at the Transfiguration and represent the Law and the prophets.¹⁵³ Moses had been granted a partial vision of God when he was given the covenant (Exodus 33) and his face shone with light when he descended with the tablets of the Law (Exodus 34:29-35). The glorification of Christ, glowing with light, on Mount Tabor recalled this so that the apostles who witness the manifestation of divinity offered to set up tents¹⁵⁴ or tabernacles (evoking those set up after the return from Egypt) which had messianic implications.¹⁵⁵ The divine presence, associated with the tabernacles and with the commemorative and purification rite of the feast of Tabernacles, was shown as fully present not just on Mount Tabor but in the whole of the ministry of the Logos.¹⁵⁶ The penitential, messianic and eschatological overtones of the Jewish feast had been recognised by the Fathers.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² Mâle 1984, 182.

¹⁵³ Jewish tradition postulated the return of Moses and sometimes also of Elijah as forerunners of the Messiah. John the Baptist may have been seen by some as Elijah returned as prophet of the Messiah, or as working in 'the spirit and power of Elijah' (Luke 1:17.). For further consideration of the aspect of continuity in the history of salvation relating to the Transfiguration see chapter 7.

¹⁵⁴ In the capital at St-Nectaire these are significantly shown as churches.

¹⁵⁵ Daniélou 1960, 337-47.

¹⁵⁶ Glasson 1963, 65-73. See also my chapter 7.

¹⁵⁷ Daniélou 1960, 337-47 gives a number of examples.

La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre) dated around 1140, has, perhaps, the first use in the West of the Transfiguration on a tympanum, as previously illustrated. One of La Charité's dependancies was at Civitot, a suburb of Constantinople, and it may be from this connection that the Transfiguration as a subject for a tympanum was received. A fresco in Tchaouch in Cappadocia shows similarities with the La Charité tympanum.¹⁵⁸ La Charité, as the eldest daughter of Cluny, could perhaps have provided inspiration via her eastern contacts for the adoption at Cluny of the feast of the Transfiguration in 1132.¹⁵⁹ The scenes are rare in sculpture until about this date.¹⁶⁰ At La-Charité, Christ is enclosed in an almond-shaped mandorla which evokes the almond-shaped flowers of the flowering rod of Jesse symbol of Mary carrying Christ.¹⁶¹ This theophany is thus closely tied to the scenes beneath it, the Magi and the Presentation in the Temple, with their eucharistic emphases.

At Charlieu (Loire) dated 1140-50, the Transfiguration is set in the archivolt of the right narthex window above the Cana tympanum and the sacrifices of the ancient Law on the lintel, both depictions carrying a range of eucharistic associations [fig. 28].¹⁶² On the right capital the eucharistic theme continues with the fraction at Emmaus.¹⁶³ The essential link between the Transfiguration and the coming of penance-demanding judgement is reinforced not only by the presence of Christ in Majesty on the main tympanum but also by the inclusion of David (now mutilated), himself a type of Christ, on the left capital. David's repentance shapes many of the psalms and is recalled in the Mass with the cry *Asperge me* ('sprinkle me with hyssop and I shall be cleansed' psalm 50:9 (51 AV) when holy water is sprinkled over the congregation as a reminder of baptism and the renewing of its grace.¹⁶⁴ Many other psalms of penitence are used in the Mass in full or as antiphons and

¹⁵⁸ Guillon 1993, 30.

¹⁵⁹ This was two centuries before the official adoption in the West in 1457 but it had been adopted in the East before 1000.

¹⁶⁰ The Transfiguration is shown on a capital in Moissac cloister (c.1100) and at La Daurade, Toulouse.

¹⁶¹ This evokes Aaron's flowering rod (see chapter 7) Raw 1997, 122 and 127.

¹⁶² For the sacrifices of the Old Law see chapter 7.

¹⁶³ Ourcel 1973 vol. 2, 146-65.

¹⁶⁴ Davies 1972, 42.

responses. David tied the need for repentance to the offering of sacrifices pleasing to God. In psalm 50(51 AV) the contrite heart was valued above sacrifices offered by the unrighteous.¹⁶⁵ Peter the Venerable in his sermon on the Transfiguration said that the vestments like snow worn by Christ on Mount Tabor were like the faithful Christians who had washed away stains of sin by tears.¹⁶⁶ Whiteness could only be achieved by great effort and Peter exhorted the faithful to cleanse themselves by constant effort. They were to be purged as with hyssop.¹⁶⁷

The Floreffe Bible [fig. 29] from the Meuse Valley dated about 1156, pairs the Transfiguration with the Last Supper which includes the Washing of the Feet thus tying all the messianic and eschatological aspects into a powerful penitential-eucharistic image.¹⁶⁸ A caption in the right-margin confirms this: 'He transforms himself and reforms their hearts [...] that they may perceive the good things which are going to endure'.

8. The Marriage at Cana.

At Charlieu the Transfiguration is set in context by its proximity to the marriage at Cana (John 2:1-11), part of the great theophany of Epiphany with the Magi and the baptism. Cana is one of the most important eucharistic images carrying also eschatological and penitential overtones.¹⁶⁹ The essential sacramental linkage is made in frescoes in the catacombs where Cana is shown as a parallel to the multiplication of loaves, at that period the most common eucharistic motif.¹⁷⁰

This first miracle of Christ has traditionally been seen as an anticipation of the Eucharist, a link between the sacrifices of the Old Law and the sacrifice of Christ. Cana is sometimes given as a parallel to the first sacrifice, that of Abel,

¹⁶⁵ For other aspects of the Transfiguration related to eucharistic debates see chapters 6 and 7.

¹⁶⁶ The white robes of the catechumen/penitent evokes those of Christ at the Transfiguration.

¹⁶⁷ Sermo 1 PL 189 960A-962A.

¹⁶⁸ BL Addl. MS 17738 f. 4. Backhouse 1979, 28.

¹⁶⁹ The water element also leads to Cana being seen as a baptismal image as in Tertullian *De baptismo* 9. PL 1, 1210A quoted in Daniélou 1960, 221.

¹⁷⁰ See chapter 6.

himself a type of Christ. The *Glossa ordinaria* said that the six stone jars are the six ages of man.¹⁷¹ Invisible wine which was hidden in the water was like the Old Law behind whose letter Christ is hidden for the first six ages. The scriptures, tasteless water according to the mere letter, are wine to the spirit.¹⁷²

Daniélou says Cyprian talks of the wine failing for the Jews and that by changing water into wine Christ showed that at the marriage of Christ and the Church the gentiles will crowd in.¹⁷³ The Cana miracle demonstrated that God had taken the sterile vine from the Jews and given it to the gentiles; in the hands of the Church it flourished.¹⁷⁴ Cyril of Jerusalem used Cana as a way of showing the plausibility of the transmutation of species saying that if Christ could change water into wine, which is akin to blood, then it was in no way incredible that he should have changed wine into blood.¹⁷⁵ Peter the Venerable used the same idea when attacking twelfth-century heretics.¹⁷⁶ That Cana, which prefigured sacramental renewal, also evoked other ideas of purification can be seen in the reference in John 2:6 to 'water pots of stone after the manner of the purifying of the Jews'. The festival of Tabernacles was both a memorial of the wilderness years and a purificatory rite. Cana anticipates the Passion, the great purification, which will abolish the need for Jewish legal purifications.

Hugh of St-Victor used the Cana story to emphasise the purifying effect of Christ's love for man. The Church represented the honourable discourse of the wedding when faithful souls are united to Christ. This could be seen as a reference to the Eucharist, as such, or simply to faithful membership of the Church (which would itself involve participation in the sacraments). Hugh goes on to explain that Jesus turns water into wine when he converts the impious and

¹⁷¹ Those marked by Adam, Noah, Abraham, David, Jechonias and John the Baptist. Christ revealed himself in the seventh age and this age will last until the Day of Judgment. The eighth age will follow and last to eternity.

¹⁷² Glossa on Jn 2. quoted in Mâle 1913, 194-95.

¹⁷³ *Epistola* 63, 22; CSEL 711 quoted in Daniélou 1960, 220.

¹⁷⁴ Irenaeus *Contra haereses* 4, 36. PG 7, 1091-92. The vine is one of the commonest eucharistic images because wine was the blood of Christ and Jesus claimed 'I am the true vine' Jn 15: 1-17.

¹⁷⁵ *Catacheses mystagogicae* 22, 2 PG 33, 1098-99.

¹⁷⁶ *Contra Petrobrusianos* PL 189, 802B where Cana is seen as a prefiguration of the Eucharist.

intemperate. The water signifies the bad who are cold; the good, warm like wine, warm others through their teachings. Before grace is given men are stone jars, hardened through sin. If they fill the jars with tears of true remorse and confess Christ with both words and the work of their hands they wash their senses from sin and are purified.¹⁷⁷

Cana evokes ideas of the heavenly wedding banquet, the final Eucharist where people from every part will take their places with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Matthew 8:11).¹⁷⁸ The Cana wedding thus prefigures the celebration of the marriage of the Church and Christ.¹⁷⁹ The kiss of the Song of Songs, the great wedding image so loved in the twelfth century (see chapter 8) had since very early times been seen as a type of the eating of Christ's body at communion. Ambrose said that the pure received communion on their lips like the kiss of Christ to the soul.¹⁸⁰ The Epiphany antiphon of the Roman liturgy, drawing the three major elements together, proclaims: 'Today the Church is united to her heavenly bridegroom, since in the Jordan, Christ washes away her sins, the wise men run with gifts to the royal marriage, and the guests are delighted with water changed into wine, alleluia'.¹⁸¹ Honorius Augustodunensis, confirming the significance of this marriage and stressing the penitential aspects, said that confirmation, the initiation rite to the Eucharist, is the nuptial garment, 'without which it is dangerous to appear at the banquet of the king'.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ *Allegoriae in Evangelia* PL 175, 751A-753C. Hugh goes on to give another explanation of Cana (753C-754C) where the wine jars are the six ages of the world and he talks of man growing in spiritual strength, 'transmigrating from present to future things'. The water is turned into wine at the moment that the work of God becomes sweet in the mind of a man.

¹⁷⁸ The wedding banquet is also a symbol of baptismal initiation which demands an interior conversion. Daniélou 1960, 216.

¹⁷⁹ Eph 5:25-32 for the marriage of Christ and the Church. The Fathers developed this idea linking together the eucharistic aspects of the eschatological banquet: the banquet of Wisdom, Psalm 22(23AV), the parable of the wedding guests and the Song of Songs. Daniélou 1960, 204-5 and 215-221.

¹⁸⁰ *De sacramentis* 5, 5-7. Daniélou 1960, 204-05. Honorius Augustodunensis gave this idea a Paschasian interpretation saying 'for Christ is said to be a bridegroom *per simile*, since just as a bridegroom and a bride are carnally joined, and thus made one, so Christ is associated with the Church through the assumption of flesh, and she is incorporated into him through eating his body'. *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* PL 172, 349A, quoted in Matter 1990, 61.

¹⁸¹ Quoted in Daniélou 1960, 221.

¹⁸² *Sacramentarium* 12 PL 172, 750D quoted in Leeming 1956, 362.

Confirmation as a prerequisite for eucharistic reception, although less important than it would later become, was growing in importance in this period. Confirmation, initially an integral part of baptism, had increasingly been separated from this rite as infant baptism became the norm.

Cyril of Jerusalem had made a similar point that one must be in the 'white tunic of purity', which has been washed by penance, to enter the banquet.¹⁸³

The clearest example of the eucharistic prefiguration is at Charlieu where Cana is shown above the surpassed sacrifices of the Old Law.¹⁸⁴ To reinforce the eucharistic parallel the depiction is laid out in exactly the same way as most Last Supper scenes of this period except that the wine jars are being filled at the side in the place often given in such scenes to the *pedilavium*. The Virgin sits beside Christ to reinforce her vital role in the institution of the sacrament.¹⁸⁵ A fresco at Brinay (Cher), dated by Kupfer late in the second quarter of the twelfth century,¹⁸⁶ [fig. 30] makes the eucharistic prefiguration even more clearly than Charlieu in the placing of objects on the table. The fish (symbol of Christ) are shown alongside a wine-flask carefully placed between two broken pieces of bread to represent the breaking of Christ's body on the Cross and at the fraction of the Mass. Neither at Brinay nor Charlieu is the wedding couple central; the marriage being instituted here is that of Christ and his Church. All four sides of a cloister capital at Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne) dated 1100, are given to the story: the town, an inscription *Implete aqua* from John 2:7; the meal [fig. 31]; the miracle, with Mary on the right and astonished apostles [fig. 32]; the well and instruction to the servers.¹⁸⁷ The pots are clearly of stone, confirming the penitential significance. In the miracle scene the aspect of eucharistic change is reinforced by the inscription VINO VE FATA I (*in vino vere facta est aqua*) confirming that water has been changed into wine - it has not been created from nothing, although that could have been achieved.

9. Daniel in the Lion's Den and the Coming of Habbakuk.

One of the most all-encompassing penitential eucharistic images was Daniel in the lion's den being given food by the angel-borne Habbakuk. All aspects of the Daniel story, however, have penitential implications. It is not by chance that Daniel is prominent in the Lenten liturgies. The iconography of

¹⁸³ *Procatechesis* PG 33, 336B-341A and 428 A-B, quoted in Daniélou 1960, 216-17.

¹⁸⁴ See chapter 7.

¹⁸⁵ See chapter 8.

¹⁸⁶ Kupfer 1993, 37.

¹⁸⁷ This carries a range of associations about living water.

Daniel extends beyond penitential-eucharistic issues as such but is vital in this field too.

Daniel, one of the four Greater Prophets, was seen as foretelling the death of Christ (Daniel 9:26).¹⁸⁸ His visions are apocalyptic, the most important Old Testament forerunner of the Book of Revelations, describing a cosmic mission whereby God will transform the world. Goodness and evil are shown locked in struggle but eventually there will be an eschatological victory, after which Christians felt they would share with the angels Christ's ultimate banquet.¹⁸⁹

His prophecy of the Last Judgement, depicting the Son of Man sitting in awesome judgement of the world (7:9-14), was highly influential¹⁹⁰ and set him firmly in the centre of Christian penitential writings. His prophecies were equally applicable to reforming ideas¹⁹¹ because he said that an 'abomination of desolation' (9:27 and 12:11) would result from idolatry in the prophaned Temple: 'he shall cause the sacrifice to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even unto the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate'. (9:27). The judgement resulting from this abomination was one of the great themes of Lent. Jesus had referred directly to 'the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet' in Mark 13: 14 when talking of the danger of believing in false Christs and prophets.¹⁹² This must have seemed particularly chilling and relevant at a time of debate about valid and invalid sacrifices, both within the Church, as seen in some Gregorian reform debates, and within the membership of heretical sects.

¹⁸⁸ The other greater prophets are Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Daniel could also be linked with Job and Noah through the patristic identification of Daniel the prophet with the righteous Daniel, associated with Job and Noah in Ezekiel 14:14, and with Daniel of Ezekiel. 28:3. Mariani 1945, 33-38.

¹⁸⁹ The linking of Daniel with the concept of angels mediating between God and man was important. The writer of Daniel introduced a more developed angelology than previous writers.

¹⁹⁰ Mk 13 draws heavily on Daniel.

Daniel himself was the model of the good judge. This was emphasised by Jerome in his *Commentaria in Daniele* PL 25, 491-584, the most influential treatise on Daniel, and by Rupert of Deutz in *De Sancta Trinitate* 32. CCCM 23, 1972.

¹⁹¹ Nebuchadnezzar as the presumptuous king described by Daniel appears on a number of capitals in France, e.g. at Gargilesse (Indre) see Heimann 1979, and at Moissac and Airvault (Deux-Sèvres). The image may have been seen as particularly applicable to Gregorian reform.

¹⁹² Also Matt. 24:15.

Daniel, surrounded by persecutors in the form of the lions, became one of the most important types of Christ,¹⁹³ where the miraculous escape from the lion's den prefigured the resurrection of Christ and of the dead.¹⁹⁴ There are only two places in the Old Testament which unambiguously express faith in a future life: Isaiah 26:19 and Daniel 12:2.¹⁹⁵ Daniel's prophecy 'And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt' is set firmly in a context of judgement, and thereby emphasises the need for penitence, absolution and amendment. The prophecy of eternal life ensured the acceptance of Daniel as a suitable prefiguration of the resurrection. By emphasising the resurrection as the road to salvation the dual nature of Christ is further affirmed. Christ, resurrected in his human form, indicated that man too would eventually rise in both spirit and flesh. The dragon Daniel killed (Daniel 14:23-30) equates to Satan overcome by Christ in the Temptations and (in the last days which had been prophesied by Daniel) to the apocalyptic satanic dragon-serpent vanquished by St. Michael.¹⁹⁶ It also referred to the Harrowing of Hell: Daniel's descent into the lion's den symbolised the descent of Christ into Hell; his escape from the lions is a type of the Harrowing.¹⁹⁷

The Mass of the first Sunday in Lent, with its deeply penitential emphasis, reinforces the symbolism of Daniel as a type of Christ, as well as one who sought and prophesied the just deliverance and the Last Judgement.

¹⁹³ Samson overcoming the lion of evil, very common in Romanesque sculpture, was another such type carrying penitential implications.

¹⁹⁴ Daniel 6: 22. Clement of Rome saw Daniel as a type of the just man persecuted but saved by God. *Epistola 1 Ad Corinthios* PG 1, 302A.

¹⁹⁵ This is now sometimes questioned in respect of individual rather than national resurrection. Christians came also to stress Ezekiel's prophecy of the resurgence of Israel in the Valley of Dry Bones in Ez. 37:1-14 as prophesying the resurrection of the body at the Last Judgment. From the third century it was used it as an image of resurrection. Daniel's vision of God surrounded by the beasts with faces of man, ox, lion and eagle was developed into the symbols of the four evangelists, and his other visions were linked to Revelations and to the virgin birth. Significantly Ezekiel, like Daniel, became important in penitential thought because of his claim that individual responsibility before God was vital, and for his belief that 'the soul that sinneth, it shall die.' (Ez. 18:4).

¹⁹⁶ The book of Daniel is the first to give the archangels Michael and Gabriel their names.

¹⁹⁷ Rupert of Deutz *De Sancta Trinitate* 32. CCCM 23, 1738-81. In the Golden Legend version of the Gospel of Nicodemus the prophet Habbakuk is also shown as recited his prophecy of the resurrection during the harrowing. Mâle 1913, 225. For the eucharistic aspects of Christ's *descensus* see chapter 7.

Psalm 90 (the Introit and Gradual for the first Sunday in Lent) gave the delivered man power to 'tread upon the lion and the adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet.' Christ trampling on the beasts and thus over-coming persecutors and death was seen by Origen as an antitype of Daniel in the lions' den. At Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne (Corrèze) dated 1130-35, [fig. 33] two of the porch scenes show Habbakuk's coming to Daniel, and above Daniel and the lions, Daniel's overcoming of the dragon. These scenes parallel Jesus' overcoming of the Devil's temptations which is shown on the opposite side of the porch.¹⁹⁸

Origen said that Daniel in the Lion's den illustrated the supreme power of prayer.¹⁹⁹ Hildebert of Lavardin made the point yet more relevant to penance by saying that Daniel was a type of the monk who mortified the flesh.²⁰⁰ Jerome lay rather less emphasis on Daniel's contemplative aspects but stressed the active penitence of Christian life, claiming that the lions were restrained by the angel as a 'recompense for righteousness' (*justitiae retributio*) in respect of the good works the prophet had done previously.²⁰¹ Tertullian used Daniel as an example of disciplined fasting duly rewarded by God's concern.²⁰² Amalarius gave Daniel's prayers a specifically eucharistic context by using the example of Daniel praying (Daniel 9) to show the importance of rightful prayer in the preface which introduces the central sacrificial core of the Mass from *Te igitur* to *Agnus Dei*.²⁰³ In Daniel 9 the prophet, deeply penitent, praised the Lord for the deliverance from Egypt and then prayed for forgiveness and mercy for his people. The whole chapter conveys a sense of deep humility and awareness of sin. One of the most beautiful pieces of early twelfth-century Romanesque sculpture shows Daniel in contemplative mood [fig. 34]. This

¹⁹⁸ Vergnolle 1994, 246 identifies the second scene as Daniel overcoming the dragon. The Beaulieu tympanum illustrates the Second Coming which Daniel had prophesied (Dan. 7:13). The apocalyptic beasts of Dan 7:1-12 are suggested on the lintel. For a fuller discussion on Beaulieu see chapter 9.

¹⁹⁹ Duchet-Suchaux and Pastoureau 1994, 113. Lions are often symbols of sin in the psalms. The lions in psalms 16 and 34 were interpreted as types of Christ's persecutors, an image growing more significant as the twelfth century increasingly stressed Christ's sufferings.

²⁰⁰ *Carmina Miscellanea* 134 *De tribus ordinibus*. PL 171, 1440B.

²⁰¹ *In Daniele* 6:22. PL 25, 526D.

²⁰² *De Jejuniis* VII. PL 2, 963A-B. His concerns ranged beyond Lent (to various current disputes over types and dates of fasting) but Lenten fasting was important in the middle ages although not as regulated as it would later become.

capital is now in the Louvre and may originally have come from Ste-Geneviève-du-Mont in Paris.²⁰⁴ Prayer is shown as the means of rejecting the temptations of the flesh and of trusting in God's mercy. The lions are tamed guardians and may even evoke their positive images, which included symbolising the resurrection, hope and the hidden power of Christ in the world.²⁰⁵

The depiction of Habakkuk, carried by an angel, bringing food to the imprisoned, lion-threatened Daniel has a long history (from at least as early as the fourth century), sometimes as an eucharistic motif,²⁰⁶ but it was rare in sculpture between the fourth and the eleventh century. Habakkuk, who called out to Daniel, 'take the meal that God has sent you', came to be seen as 'the type of the priest who administers communion'.²⁰⁷ That the story was popular in the twelfth century can be seen from Peter the Venerable's comment in *Contra Petrobrusianos* that 'it is frequently read and heard with pleasure'.²⁰⁸ Peter was not commenting here specifically on the eucharistic prefiguration (although he may have accepted it as such) but on the value of this non-canonical source, in part because he identified Habakkuk as Habakkuk the prophet who had provided Paul with the vital statement 'but the just man shall live by faith'.²⁰⁹

The liturgy gives an important place to Habakkuk's bringing the meal to Daniel, namely the Mass epistle for the Tuesday after Passion Sunday. It is thus deeply embedded in all the penitential-eucharistic resonance of Lent and Easter. Liturgical drama also confirmed Daniel's significance. In the *Ordo Prophetarum* he foretells the cessation of the Old Law. Habbakuk and the lion's den do not appear in this but there was a Daniel play, written perhaps as early

²⁰³ *Eclogae de officio missae* PL 105, 1329D.

²⁰⁴ Vergnolle 1994, cover note.

²⁰⁵ Like many Romanesque images lions have good and evil personifications. Lion imagery is explored in some detail in Beigbeder 1989, 280-98. See also the Bestiary.

²⁰⁶ On the door of Sta Sabina, Rome, Habakkuk is held by his hair and carries a tray. On some early versions Habakkuk, or the angel, also brings a fish. Cabrol and Leclercq 1921. Daniel and Habakkuk are clearly shown in the tenth century Gerona Beatus and, possibly more significantly for French representations, in the mid-eleventh-century St-Sever Beatus. Illustrated versions of Jerome's Commentary on Daniel usually accompanied Beatus's apocalypse (but Jerome does not comment specifically on the Habbakuk episode other than to note that it was not canonical).

²⁰⁷ Schapiro 1993, 122. In the Septuagint Habakkuk is called 'son of Jesus of the tribe of Levi' and this would appear to place him in direct connection with the Levitical priesthood.

²⁰⁸ PL 189, 747 B-C.

as 1140 by Hilarius, a student of Abelard, and which probably developed from earlier lost versions. In this play Habbakuk and the angel do appear.²¹⁰

On the Neuilly-en-Donjon portal the right capital depicts Daniel and Habbakuk and so forms a parallel and reference to the Last Supper on the lintel alongside. The Daniel sculpture also relates to Adam and Eve on the lintel where their pride and disobedience, which necessitated the sacrifice of Christ, can be contrasted with Daniel's obedience, and the forbidden fruit contrasted with the saving food of the Eucharist which was prefigured by Habbakuk's offering. The same point is made, more crudely, in the chapel of St Gabriel in Provence [fig. 35] where Habakkuk is seen at the moment of arrival and the praying Daniel is shown immediately alongside Adam and Eve fearful in their nakedness and striking their breasts in remorse and repentance. Further comment on this important eucharistic image is in chapter 6.

The coming of Habakkuk to Daniel was seen as a prefiguration of the Annunciation.²¹¹ Honorius Augustodunensis carries this further by seeing Daniel, untouched by the lions, as a type of the inviolability of the Virgin Mary.²¹² The Mass as sacramental incarnation is thereby recalled.

The Tympanum at Conques.

The themes of the tympanum at Conques (Aveyron) which is usually dated c.1130-35²¹³ [fig. 36] extend beyond penitence and the Eucharist, but the very depiction of the weighing of the souls and the separation of the elect and damned focuses attention on earthly sins and their forgiveness. Conques is the first of the great tympana to show the Last Judgement actually taking place (at Beaulieu it is imminent). Christ is the wounded sacrificial victim, but the angels brandish as symbols of triumph the instruments of his Passion and proudly carry the cross [fig. 37] and swing the censers for the eschatological feast.

²⁰⁹ Hab. 2,4; Romans 1, 17 and Hebrews 10, 38.

²¹⁰ The text and translation are given in ed. Ogden 1996.

²¹¹ Réau 1955-59. This identification may not have been current in the twelfth century. If it had been current it would have fitted with the idea of the Eucharist as a spiritual incarnation.

²¹² Honorius Augustodunensis *Speculum Ecclesiae* (*In annunciatione Sanctae Mariae*) PL 172, 905D. Honorius also uses this image to show that the Virgin Mary had been ever-present in the OT (see chapter 7).

Martyrs and elders carry chalices to the feast where two small figures, probably wise virgins carrying their lamps and representing all the elect, rest in the bosom of Abraham. Near the humbly kneeling St Faith, the patron saint of the abbey blessed by the hand of God [fig. 38], there is a chalice on an altar. Alongside is a great chair which would have carried the reliquary-statue of the saint when she was carried in processions.²¹⁴ This very concrete depiction of the role of a mediator and her relationship to the penitent communicant is significant in consideration of the issue of prayers for the dead and votive Masses.

Prayers for the Dead.

A penitential focus need not be connected to a sense that prayers for the dead are valuable. It can be immediate and personal. It does, however, in this period complement developments in that area of theology. If the penitential-eucharistic focus held sway in the context of a changing approach to the individual's relationship to God, it was also given added emotional force by the growing awareness of purgatory. There is an element of the paradoxical here. Constable has pointed out that the twelfth century saw a decline in confidence in the value of intercessory prayer by monks and that 'the process of salvation, even in purgatory, was seen as a lonely affair, in which the sinner could look for only limited help from other people'.²¹⁵ This individualism is akin to that of Anselm and Bernard of Clairvaux referred to earlier. It may, however, have contributed not to a decline in ideas of purgatory, but to the development, particularly in the second half of the century, of the idea of purgatory as a place where 'the Christian was given a last chance'.²¹⁶ If there was no longer so great a reliance on the intercessory prayers of the traditional praying class as before, nevertheless it remained true that praying for the dead was an important part of the religious life of all estates. The penitent Christian was all too aware that he would not, as might a saint, pass directly to heaven, although his concept of the nature of his intervening punishment and its location was unclear.

²¹³ Denny 1984 dates it as about 1150 but this seems to me to be too late.

²¹⁴ Bousquet 1973, 144, thinks the chair would then have been placed alongside the altar at Mass. Usually by this period the reliquary statue would have been positioned behind the altar.

²¹⁵ Constable 1996, 305.

The requirement for prayers for the dead has a long patristic heritage. The proof-text was 2 Maccabees 12:43-45 where Judas prayed for the dead. The rather ambiguous statement of Jesus that those who speak against the Son of Man and the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven 'neither in this world, neither in the world to come' (Matthew 12:31-32) is also quoted as a proof-text for forgiveness after death. The early Fathers Tertullian, Cyprian and others witnessed to the regular practice of prayers for the dead.²¹⁷ Cyril of Jerusalem in the fourth century said that 'by offering to God our prayers for those who have fallen asleep and who have sinned, we...offer Christ sacrificed for the sins of all, and by doing so, obtain the loving God's favour for them and for ourselves'.²¹⁸ Augustine linked these prayers specifically to the Eucharist by saying 'prayers should be offered for those who have died in the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, when they are commemorated in their proper place at the Sacrifice'.²¹⁹ Other prayers, fasts and alms-giving were also seen as beneficial for the dead. Only those who had died repenting mortal sin could benefit from such prayers. It was not necessary to pray for the saints but their aid could be invoked in petitioning God.

As concentration increased on offering the Mass *for* something, so the number of votive Masses (a request accompanied by the thanksgiving memorial-sacrifice) increased, particularly in the form of Masses for the dead.²²⁰ A requiem Mass was said once for the repose of the soul but numerous other requests to aid the soul through purgatory could be performed, usually for payment or as a result of money left in wills to monasteries.²²¹ As increasingly

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 294.

²¹⁷ ODCC.

²¹⁸ *Fifth address on the Mysteries*, 9-10 in *Sources Chrétiennes* 126, quoted in McGrath 1995, 358.

²¹⁹ *Sermon* 172: 2. PL 38, 936.

²²⁰ There were often votive Masses as petitions for crops, good weather, good health etc. They could be private Masses, paid for (sometimes as part of a penance) by the donor who often was not present, thus confirming the general acceptance of the idea that the priest's role was to offer Masses. These Masses could have penitential overtones but specialised votive Masses for the dead are the most relevant in this respect, and the most formative of medieval piety.

²²¹ Cluniac observance of All Souls' day extended the prayers for the departed, at least for members of the community, but observance of All Souls' day was rare outside the Order until the end of the twelfth century. Morris 1989, 66.

by the eleventh century most monks were also priests, and they were not limited to saying one Mass a day (as generally was the case from the thirteenth century), Masses proliferated, although never sufficiently to meet demand. These Masses were frequently private, sometimes with a server, but with no congregation.²²² This confirms the trend away from a communal offering and further reveals the separation of priest and laity.

The Fathers had seen the possibility of sins being purged after death as well as in this life.²²³ Without this concept there would have been no point in praying for the dead. Ambrose had accepted that the souls of the dead might await the Last Judgment in different habitations, some being punished by purgatorial fire for their works in this life. Gregory the Great had said 'As for certain lesser faults, we must believe that, before the final judgement, there is a purifying fire (*purgatorius ignis*), for he who is the truth declares that "whoever utters blasphemy against the Holy Spirit will not be pardoned either in this age, or in the age which is to come" (Matthew 12:31-32). From this statement, it is to be understood that certain offences can be forgiven in this age, whereas certain others will be forgiven in the age which is to come'.²²⁴

Le Goff has argued that there was no word for purgatory as such, and therefore no clear conception of purgatory as a particular place, until the end of the twelfth century.²²⁵ Southern has rejected this idea, arguing that once the word *purgatory* came to be used in the twelfth century it had 'several different

²²² There were attempts from the ninth century to insist two others be present (since the liturgy demands responses) but often this was not possible. Odo of Cambrai, commenting on the words *et omnium circumstantium* (all the people standing around) said the priest performing solitary Masses could not change the plural salutations in the liturgy and so he turned to the Church and 'addressed the whole body in [one] body.' *In canonem missae* PL 160, 1057B quoted in Constable 1996, 21. This view was widely accepted.

²²³ 1 Cor. 3:10-15 was traditionally quoted as a proof-text for purgation by fire. Augustine said that this fire was different from the eternal fire of the damned. *City of God* 21.21, 26. He talked of intercession by the living as being beneficial to the 'not totally good' (in contrast to the totally good and the totally bad.) *Enchiridion* 29, 110. Even so Augustine seemed to think that not all of the 'not totally good' would be delivered from pain and that there might be a lesser damnation category '*tolerabilior damnatio*'. Conversely he did not deny the possibility of mortal sin being purged after death. He remained vague about both punishment and location.

²²⁴ *Dialogia*, IV.xli.3 in *Sources Chrétiennes* 265 quoted in McGrath 1995, 359.

²²⁵ Le Goff 1981. The doctrine is not fully formalised until the fifteenth century. See also Matsuda 1997 for a useful overview.

meanings, some localised, others not'.²²⁶ He felt the word had been adopted for convenience because the subject was so often talked about in this period. But he felt that 'classification of the role of the purgatorial process [...] had already been achieved'.²²⁷ There was a definite sense of purgatory, although only as a 'vague and emaciated idea'. Before about 1050 purgation was seen as for the few, and those mostly monks. The majority were going straight to hell. Southern considers that from the mid-eleventh century the idea that there was a new emphasis on purgation for all the truly repentant and that this was part of 'the complete recasting of the religious discipline of life for everyone in Western Christendom'.²²⁸ The huge penances of the past, which only the very wealthy could afford, came to be seen as unjust and 'rationally absurd'.²²⁹ Peter Lombard in the mid-twelfth century argued that any sin truly repented could be remitted by purgation after death and that minor sins could be purged even if they had not been repented.²³⁰ Southern's conception of a new atmosphere in society, one which married with the thought of the early Scholastic theologians, tallies with the views of Gurevich who argued that it was popular lay pressure which encouraged the development of the doctrine of purgatorial penance. Certainly there seems to have been comfort gained from the sense that even after death one might atone for sins and be aided by the prayers of the saints as well as of the Church on earth.²³¹ This new feeling of hope would have greatly aided the growth of eucharistic piety and ensured that vast numbers of Masses for the dead were said in this period.

A very real sense of the existence of purgatory appears in many writers before 1150. Peter the Venerable, for example, told of the appearance to a lay brother of the ghost of a notoriously sinful baron who was wearing a fox skin. When asked why he was wearing this he said that it was because he had once given it to a poor man and that it now protected the wearer from the fires of

²²⁶ Review article of Le Goff *La Naissance of Purgatoire* in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 18 June 1982, 651-52.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ Gurevich 1983.

purgatory.²³² Peter also told how the prayers of the monks of Cluny saved King Alfonso from the fires of purgatory.²³³ These examples seem to support McGuire's point that the concept of purgatory in relation to the communion of saints,²³⁴ although not fully developed until the next century, was alive in the early twelfth century.²³⁵

Twelfth-century prayers for the dead could be intense.²³⁶ This may have stemmed in part from the increasing awareness of the power of relics to make present interceding saints.²³⁷ The new eucharistic piety, together with the greater consciousness of purgatory, led to an emotional response to penance preaching. This was itself increasing in scope and intensity in an age touched by millenarianism or for many, at least by a sense of living in a time of decayed morality close to the end of time. Despair must have been common at every level of society and religious compensations sought.²³⁸ Hermits often saw themselves as penance preachers and preached simple sermons, drawing many people after them who had been alienated by the inadequacy of parish clergy.²³⁹ Pope Urban II's preaching of the First Crusade at Clermont-Ferrand in 1095 produced a movement verging on mass hysteria.²⁴⁰ Urban's subsequent visit to the area around Limoges, when he preached the crusade to very large crowds, would have been made in 'an ambience of penitence accentuated by the prospect of spiritual rewards and focused by devotion to

²³² *De miraculis* 1:10. PL 189, 873-74.

²³³ *De miraculis* 1. 11. PL 189, 874-76 esp. 875C.

²³⁴ The term 'communion of saints' has multiple complementary meanings. See Pelikan 3 pp. 174-77. It can refer to the sanctified bread and wine, to the communion by which saints are made, to the faith of the Church or to a union in love. In eschatological terms it can mean 'the reality of the sacraments of the church, in which the saints who have migrated from this life in the unity of the faith have had communion'. (Ivo of Chartres *Sermon* 23 PL 162, 606.)

²³⁵ McGuire 1989, 67.

²³⁶ A near obsessive concern with the nature of the resurrected bodies of the faithful remained a frequent theme in twelfth-century thought. The resurrection of the dead could be linked to the debate on the nature of the resurrected body of Christ and thus gained a further role in medieval eucharistic thought.

²³⁷ The aid of the saints could also be invoked for the living.

²³⁸ Southern 1970, 304-06 sees all religious movements of the later middle ages as attempts to 'harness, guide and express some elements in popular religion which drew their strength, not from the organized teaching and worship of the Church, but from pressures in ordinary life which were beyond all control' chiefly disease and despair. The only hope of making life tolerable for most people was in a sign from heaven.

²³⁹ Leyser 1984, 72-3. See also for the influence on popular heresy.

²⁴⁰ Lynch 1992, 161.

local religious centres with which the laity was familiar'.²⁴¹ That Urban II granted the first ever general indulgence in 1095 to those willing to support the crusade would have heightened the atmosphere yet further.

²⁴¹ Bull 1993, 257.

CHAPTER 4

THE EUCHARIST IN THE CONTEXT OF THE REFORM MOVEMENTS

The nature of the reform.

The reform movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were multifaceted and inter-connected in complex ways.¹ None of these movements focused exclusively upon the Eucharist but in every case concern for the right performance, satisfactory definition, and centrality in Christian life of what had increasingly come to be seen as the primary sacrament had a vital underpinning role.

The desire for a return to the unity of purpose which Christ had left to the disciples, increasingly came to be seen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as obtainable only through a conscious and spiritually demanding search for a renewal of the Apostolic Age. This was not a movement confined to clerical circles but it did take strength from monastic reform both within the old Orders and in the development of new patterns of communal living by monks, canons and hermits and, to varying degrees, by their associated lay followers.² This search for the apostolic life inevitably focused attention on the historical facts of Christ's life, on the places in which he lived, taught and died, and on his humanity. New or renewed theological concern with the nature of Incarnation and Real Presence influenced and gave impetus to the quest for this apostolic life.

¹ Morris 1989, 80-82.

Constable 1996, 42-43 and 207 talks of the contradictory tendencies within the reform movements which produced tension 1) between 'the reformers' emphasis on withdrawal from the world and their desire [...] to take an active role in secular society; between exclusiveness and openness in institutions; between inwardness and a battle against the forces of spiritual and material evil. 2) in the contradictory tendency to establish new forms of religious life and yet to have confidence in existing institutions, particularly monastic ones. 3) in the desire to look backwards to ideals from the past even when they clashed with the 'forward-looking vision' that opened the way to real innovations.

² The ascetic had the task of withdrawal from the world in order, by prayer and intercession, to raise the world to eternal life in the future. The priest's task, in contrast, was to alter, through the sacraments, man's state of grace in this world. Debate could be heated on whether monks or priests were spiritually superior, and about the extent of episcopal control over monks living within the diocese.

Because of the dramatic clashes to which it gave rise, the Investiture contest is sometimes seen as the crucial reform movement of the period. However, it is better seen as part of a complex of reform.³ Although this reform was less theological than institutional and juridical, the increased emphasis on the special function of priesthood (a definition which separated more than ever before layman from cleric) did have major implications for the way the Eucharist was perceived and administered. The importance of the apostolic succession was central to Gregorian sacramentality. By emphasising that the sacraments of those excommunicated for simony were invalid, Gregory confirmed this centrality in terms of the Eucharist. The question of the validity of sacraments performed by evil-living or simoniacal priests was a major theological issue, and one addressed by almost every important Church writer of the period to some degree.⁴

The Investiture contest proper came to an uneasy end in 1123 with a range of compromises that varied in France, England, Italy and the empire. But there would be many further clashes. It was not an issue that could be fully resolved even under a Pope as powerful as Innocent III.

There is a vast literature on Gregorian reform that cannot be addressed here.⁵ Tellenbach said that the Investiture contest was a 'struggle for right order in the world'.⁶ Gregory VII's aim was reform of the whole of society and a recognition that in the just Christian society the supremacy of the Church over the lay world must be conceded.⁷ In order to achieve this it was

³ It is convenient to talk of the whole reform movement as Gregorian reform but this is misleading, even in terms of papal reform, because many of Gregory VII's concerns had been shared by the seven reforming popes between 1046-73.

⁴ Union in the Church through sacramental reception was vital. This union was threatened by heretics who rejected the sacraments and claimed that salvific communion was made by individual inspiration from the Holy Spirit.

⁵ Constable 1996 and Morris 1989 give over-views and bibliographies. On Gregory VII see Cowdrey 1998.

⁶ Tellenbach 1959, 1.

⁷ In the attempt to define the nature of the power of the Church, disagreements arose less over the existence of dual power than over issues of direction and control. Kingship was accepted as having a divine role, although the nature of this was debated. The theory of the Two Swords (Luke 22.38) was used by both sides of the Investiture debate in agreeing that secular power ideally existed for righteousness and that material power could be used in the service of the Church.

necessary to do three things. The first was to stress the universality of the Church based on the idea that Christ himself founded the Roman Church. The idea of divine foundation led directly to the second idea which was to secure the economic independence of the priest and bishop from the secular authorities. The third idea was to stress the primacy of the Apostolic See.⁸ In 1047 Clement II had introduced a new term – *papatus* – which suggested an order higher than a bishop. This concept stemmed from what was seen as Christ's granting of the authority to bind and loose – the *traditio clavium* and *traditio legis*.⁹ It was particularly important to Gregory VII who fervently believed that Peter and Paul had chosen him personally as head of the Roman Church.¹⁰ As a result he identified himself more closely with St. Peter than did other popes of the period.¹¹

The eucharistic aspects of reform.

It is in the context of growing eucharistic fervour that the Gregorian reform movement will be set in this thesis. The increasing importance of an élite sacrificing priesthood would have ensured an eucharistic focus in this period regardless of any other pressures. Gregorian reform did, however, accelerate the eucharistic debate. In part this was because Gregory VII could only hope to carry through his reforms if he could escape any taint of heresy, the one charge on which traditionally even a pope could be deposed. Gibson considered it possible that Hugh of Cluny in 1078 urged Gregory to discipline Berengar in order to avoid this risk, a real risk since in 1080 the German bishops, at Brixen, withdrew their allegiance from Gregory, claiming he was tainted with Berengar's opinions. The silencing of Berengar seems to support

⁸ This was not, of course, a new idea. Gregory the Great, in particular, had aided its development.

⁹ Mt 16:18-19. Peter is usually depicted receiving the keys but sometimes the scroll or book of the new Law. Paul is often shown receiving the scroll when alongside Peter receiving the keys.

¹⁰ Cowdrey 1998, 525-29.

¹¹ Images of St. Peter increase everywhere in the period, particularly those of the *traditio legis*. These were of the greatest importance to Gregory VII, but the idea of Peter's leadership of the apostles was also relevant. Forsyth 1986, 77, notes that that in Romanesque art 'the college of the apostles was given a prominence they had never before enjoyed'. Old Testament prefigurative and eschatological images were also useful as a means of emphasising the centrality and continuity of the Church heritage.

this interpretation as Gregory VII was generally more concerned with good government and liturgical uniformity than with credal statements.¹²

Gregory VII was so insistent that individual Christians should reject the sacraments of simoniacal priests that, ironically, Gregorian reform indirectly helped fuel some of the heresies of the Eucharist by leading laymen to question the moral standing of their priests.¹³ Some laymen may as a result also have felt themselves competent to question the validity of sacraments generally.

Several of the major reform platforms had eucharistic aspects. The first of these was the rejection of simony. Gregory produced (by 1075 or 1076) a collection of canons defining the authority of the papacy, the *Dictatus Papae*. There is some debate as to whether this was an attempt to reinterpret canonical tradition or to supersede it. In either case, the result was that in his desire to reform the clergy Gregory 'intervened repeatedly in the ordinary course of ecclesiastical discipline' and this led to collisions with bishops and princes, especially in the empire.¹⁴ Gregory's belief in the sacramental mediating role of the Church and its priesthood ensured that he rejected the system of proprietary churches. More seriously, the investing by ring and staff of bishops by laymen (and thus lay assumption of sacramental celebration) and the performance of homage by bishops and priests to lay rulers, was seen as an outrage to God. From the mid-eleventh century onwards, the traditional right of kings to participate in the appointment of bishops was challenged as being simoniacal.¹⁵

The greater theological issue, however, was less simony itself than the validity of the sacraments. It was questioned whether Christ could be present in the consecration binding a cleric to his church if a layman had decided in advance who was to receive Christ's blessing.¹⁶ The implication for the Eucharist was particularly stressed by Urban II in 1095, and repeated by him in

¹² Gibson 1971, 68 and Gibson 1978, 94-5. See also Cowdrey 1998, 496-502.

¹³ It was not just simoniacs who were rejected. In 1059 the faithful had been told to absent themselves from the Masses of married priests and this was repeated by Alexander II and Gregory VII. Morris 1989, 104.

¹⁴ Morris 1989, 112-13, and 128-30 for further discussion of *Dictatus Papae*.

¹⁵ For simony as heresy see also my chapter 9.

¹⁶ Tellenbach 1993, 268.

1099. The pope, 'having excommunicated all laymen who gave investiture of churches, also bound by the same sentence of excommunication all who became vassals of laymen for ecclesiastical estates, saying that it seemed a horrible thing that hands which had been honoured even above anything permitted to the angels, with power to create by their agency the God who is the Creator of all things and to offer Him to God the Father for the redemption and salvation of the whole world – that these hands should be degraded by the ignominy of being made subject to hands which were infected by filthy contagions day and night, stained with rapine and accustomed to the shedding of innocent blood'.¹⁷

The celibacy of the priesthood also had eucharistic aspects. In one way it was purely a matter of morals and effective parochial administration. More crucially, it was also a way of stressing the essential separation of the priesthood from the laity, a ritually necessary separation because of the sublime function of the priest at consecration. Peter Damian very forcefully made the point that the purity of the priest was important when he said that fornicating priests cut themselves off from Christ's members and made themselves members of Anti-Christ. Christ had chosen the purity of the flesh and had both a virgin mother and foster father. Since he had 'wished to be touched with pure hands as he lay in his crib, how great a cleanliness will he wish to be touched with now that he is raised on high in his father's glory?'¹⁸

The iconography of Gregorian reform.

1) Images relating to the overall reform.

It is not my purpose to elaborate on Church reform overall. I give only a few examples of general reform imagery, sufficient to indicate that even here, in images not specifically eucharistic, the heritage and correct ordering of the apostolic Church informed the overall sacramental context. The sacraments were considered invalid if administered by schismatics or excommunicates, or by simoniacs or those ordained by them.

¹⁷ Southern 1953, 132 quoting Eadmer *Historia Novorum* ed. Rule, Rolls Series, 114.
¹⁸ *Opusculum* 17, 3 (*De caelibatu sacerdotum*) PL 145, 384-5 quoted in Brooke 1989.

It is interesting to note that visual propaganda was vigorously used.¹⁹ Gerhoh of Reichersberg, referring to papal claims of supremacy over the emperor, said that the Romans, i.e. the Papal apologists, 'paint, speak and write, indoors and out' to communicate their message.²⁰ Calixtus II had frescoes painted in the public rooms of the Lateran.²¹ These frescoes included a depiction of himself enthroned and the emperor standing. Gregory VII is shown treading on an anti-pope thus presenting the Church as triumphant over heresy and schism.²² Schapiro thinks that the assimilation of the host and the globe may also reflect 'papal reform and its temporal claims' since the miraculous sacramental body, the host, is the body of Christ as ruler and first pope, and as such is a symbol of a papal authority that can exclude from the host by excommunication.²³ I remain doubtful about this but certainly the image is fairly frequent in France (see my chapter 6) from the late eleventh century and may have been so elsewhere.

Reforming ideas were not confined to Italy. The frescoes at La Trinité Vendôme (Loir-et-Cher) [fig. 39] of about 1100²⁴ forcefully combine many of the Gregorian concerns.²⁵ These paintings are in the chapter house where Geoffrey, abbot of Vendôme 1093-1132 probably expounded his fiercely-held reforming (and anti-Berengarian) ideas.²⁶ The paintings are very damaged, but Toubert gives a convincing identification of the subjects. The first is the meal at Emmaus. This is the only directly eucharistic image and will be considered further in chapter 6. The second is the miraculous draught of fishes. The third, very damaged, is the investiture of Peter. The fourth is the appearance of

¹⁹ There is some debate over the extent. Rough 1973 notes a limited papal involvement but one of greater significance than earlier scholars suggested. See also Brieger 1965, 162 claiming that the production of giant illuminated bibles in Italy, that emphasised the continuity through the interconnection of the Old and New Testaments, may have been stimulated by Gregory VII.

²⁰ *De Investigatione Antichristi* 1,72 quoted in Morris 1989, 55.

²¹ Stroll 1991, 29.

²² Rough 1973, 2 who gives other examples of reformist art, although noting that they are rare.

²³ Schapiro 1954, 325, n.77.

²⁴ Constable 1996, 303 thinks they may date from the visit of Urban II in 1096. Perhaps coincidentally Urban was at Vendôme for the feast of Peter's Chair (22 February) which celebrates the establishment of the papacy at Antioch. Toubert 1990, 399.

²⁵ Toubert 1990, 365-402 and Davy *et al* 1997, 106-13 give useful bibliographies.

²⁶ Toubert 1990, 381-84. Geoffrey was instrumental in replacing the anti-pope Guibert by Urban II who rewarded him by making Vendôme a papal dependency.

Christ to the apostles in Galilee (Matthew 28:16-20), or the granting of the mission of the apostles (Mark 16:15), or, less likely, Doubting Thomas. The fifth fragment is probably the Ascension or Pentecost, or possibly the sending out of the apostles on mission.²⁷

The miraculous draught of fishes in Luke (5:1-11) becomes in John 21:1-8 a post-resurrection appearance and this is what is depicted at Vendôme [fig. 40].²⁸ Eleven disciples are shown, thus confirming that this is after the suicide of Judas. The reform application of this can be seen in a letter to Pascal II, where Geoffrey of Vendôme talks of the Church, headed by the papacy, regaining the peace Judas destroyed by the expulsion from the ship of the emperor Henry V, the new Judas.²⁹

The investiture of Peter was a vital image of papal primacy [fig. 41]. It appears on frescoes of St Clement at Rome about 1090-1100 and those about 1120 ordered by Callixtus II for the ante-chamber of the oratory at St Nicholas in the Lateran.³⁰ Ivo of Chartres, on a sermon for the feast of the Investiture of Peter (St Peter's Chair) linked the ceremony to images of the Cleansing of the Temple (discussed later in this chapter) with all their reform implications: 'Peter has been promoted from his fishing boat and today is placed not on the seat of the scornful [psalm 1:1] not [on that] of the sellers of doves but on the episcopal seat that he may sit with princes and hold the throne of glory'.³¹

A number of other images were used in support of reforming ideas. Especially relevant to the attack on simoniacs were the images of Simon Magus.³² There is a particularly dramatic fall of Simon Magus at Autun. On the Porte Miègeville, St-Sernin in Toulouse, Simon Magus with two devils is

²⁷ The Vendôme Charter reveals that there was a crucifixion scene amongst the lost frescoes. Toubert 1990, 381.

²⁸ For the eucharistic aspects of post-resurrection appearances see chapter 6.

²⁹ *Epistola 7* PL 157, 426. Toubert 1990, 386.

³⁰ Toubert 1990, 388-89, and 387-401, which gives detailed discussion of this image.

³¹ *De cathedra S Petri* Sermon 21 PL 162, 598D trans. Caryll Green. Significantly, Geoffrey had also written on psalm 1:1. Toubert 1990, 378 n. 22.

³² The source of the term simoniac (Acts 8:9-24). Images are frequent throughout France. The parallel story of Theophilus appears at Souillac in a penitential-Marian context (see chapter 8) but the Petrine associations would also make it suitable as reformist art.

depicted below St Peter accompanied by angels carrying the triple crown [fig. 42]. Séguret considers reforming ideas were also depicted at Conques.³³ Here, in the upper level of the damned, a crowned figure of some dignity and stature is forced to bend his head by a devil who tears off the crown with his teeth whilst kneeling in mock obeisance. Beside the monarch is a smaller figure in what could be a tiered crown. Séguret sees these figures as the Emperor and an anti-pope whom he had placed on the throne of St Peter.³⁴

2) Images with eucharistic associations.

The most significant image to be given prominence is a story often linked by commentators to Simon Magus, that of the Cleansing of the Temple.³⁵ In the late eleventh century Gospels of Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, ally of Gregory VII,³⁶ of the thirty-one pen drawings of a Christological cycle only one, the Cleansing, occupies an entire page and is also the only one framed. [fig. 43]. Christ, whip upraised, steps forward vigorously, even violently, to clear the temple of merchants and desecrators. The merchants fall and are forced beyond the frame. At the Roman Council of 1075, called by Gregory to declare reform of clerical abuses, he had specifically mentioned the Cleansing of the Temple, quoting Gregory the Great:³⁷ 'the seats of the dove sellers were overturned because they sold spiritual grace and before the eyes of men and the eyes of God the priesthood and virtue were debased'.³⁸ The just Church must be militant and coercive.³⁹ Christ saw 'men buying the sacrifices in the temple which are offered to Him and made haste to turn them out'.⁴⁰ Although

³³ Séguret 1992.

³⁴ If, as is now generally felt, the tympanum is dated 1130-35, then it would fall within the confused period of schism of Anacletus II (1130-38). Anacletus had considerable support in the region but also bitter opponents, including Peter the Venerable whose influence on Conques may have been considerable.

³⁵ Augustine related Simon Magus to the dove-sellers of the Cleansing. In *Joannis evangelium*, 10. PL 35, 1468-74 especially 1469-71. Kupfer 1993, 85. Rough 1973, 1, says the Cleansing is the 'key artistic expression of the Gregorian Reform'. He gives examples of other Gregorian reformers, particularly Peter Damian, adopting the Cleansing in the interests of the reform. 1973, 17-19.

³⁶ Pierpont Morgan library, New York MS 492.

³⁷ In *evangelia* 1,17, 13 PL 76, 1145 and others. Kupfer 1993, 85 n.36.

³⁸ *Concilium Romanum* 1, 9 PL 148, 761-2. Rough 1973, 12.

³⁹ Rough 1973, 31. Bruno of Segni taught that Jesus overturned the dove-sellers in order to show that simoniacs are not bishops and so violence could be used against them, without harming the Church, if other means were not available. In *Matthaeum*. PL 165, 244-45.

⁴⁰ Anselm of Lucca, an ally of Gregory VII and Matilda's spiritual advisor, In *Matthaeum* PL 149, 475-78.

the Cleansing is not directly an eucharistic issue, the reference here to sacrifices indicates that this topic was also seen as relevant to questions of valid sacraments.

In the twelfth century, Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux both wrote on the reforming aspects of the story⁴¹. Hugh of St Victor said in *Allegoriae in Novum Testamentum*, following Augustine, that those who preach for gain are as Temple oxen-sellers.⁴² The penitential-eucharistic aspects of the sale of sacrificial beasts and doves are evident, and are hammered home, when the scene is shown in conjunction with the payment of Judas.⁴³ In frescoes at Chalivoy (Berry), this emphasis is further confirmed as the Cleansing is also shown in proximity to the raising of Lazarus.⁴⁴

The question of whether there might be sacraments invalidly consecrated, or unworthily received, was not just a theological issue but one which threatened to destroy the unity of the Church. It was, therefore, important to all reforming parties, but particularly because of their concern over simony and clerical purity, to Gregorians. The three main issues in the debate, as discussed in chapter 1, were first, an assessment of the way in which the Eucharist is salvific; second, what constitutes an invalid sacrament; third, whether sinners could receive salvifically an otherwise validly consecrated sacrament. Gregorian concern over the unique role of the Church which could be damaged by simony, emphasised the second.

⁴¹ Kupfer 1993, 86 n. 45 gives a number of their letters on the topic.

⁴² *Collectanea: Albinus in libro secundo super Matthaeum* PL 175, 754D. Hugh also uses it as a penitential image of Christ, who, visiting the Church daily (probably a reference to the Mass) and examines individual deeds to throw out those who do bad things or feign to do good things.

⁴³ Judas' suicide is quite commonly portrayed as evidence of despair and lack of faith in God's mercy. Kupfer 1993, 88 and nn. for textual sources which were frequent in this period.

⁴⁴ Kupfer 1993, 50 dates the Chalivoy frescoes 1130-50. For the iconography of simony and cleansing, 84-93. Judas' lack of faith in Christ (like the devil in the Temptations who had not recognised the Son of God) is compared with that of Martha whose faith in Christ allowed the resurrection of Lazarus, a point confirmed by Peter the Venerable *Contra Petrobrusianos* PL 189, 825D on prayers for the dead, which strengthens the penitential impact of this story. The Cleansing also appears on a capital in the choir at Lubersac (Corrèze) but I have not been able to see this because the church is currently closed for major restoration.

Ivo of Chartres, in a letter to a priest named Leudo of 1096 or 1097⁴⁵, addressed the issue of the legal status of ministers, an issue that went to the heart of the Church's claims to be the sole sacramental channel. The question was whether anyone not ordained could confect the Eucharist by pronouncing the words of institution. Ivo argued that could anyone perform this the clergy would be superfluous, but that to suggest this was impious because God had established the priesthood, first *in figura* in the Old Testament, and then in truth in the New when Jesus committed the celebration of the sacrament to his own disciples and not to laymen.⁴⁶ Aaron's sons were ordained by Moses and later priests were ordained only by the high priest and this is compared to the imposition of hands 'as if through papal [*paternam*] succession'.⁴⁷ He also quotes Jerome on the importance of the apostolic succession.⁴⁸ The priestly rank is of great dignity and it is ordination, based on tradition, which gives the grace of the Holy Spirit and not the moral qualities of the individual.

Although Ivo is not primarily here concerned with the moral worthiness of ministers, he does point out that usurping priests (Leviticus 10:1-3 and Numbers 16) who offered invalid sacraments were rejected by God and killed.⁴⁹ Ivo does not press the point further but says that 'divine virtue invisibly consecrates the sacraments today administered by legitimate priests'.⁵⁰ Such an argument was useful because Augustine's argument that the grace dispensed by the sacraments came from God rather than from the minister or the recipient, had not addressed the issue of legitimate ordination. It may be simoniacs or other excommunicated priests who are depicted at Aulnay and elsewhere, (usually, suitably, on the exterior of churches) as asinine priests celebrating Mass, rather in the same satirical vein that showed donkeys teaching or trying to play musical instruments. A more serious depiction was of St Albinus forced by corrupt monks to bless false hosts [fig. 44].⁵¹

⁴⁵ Letter 63 PL 162, 77-81.

⁴⁶ PL 162, 77 and 79.

⁴⁷ PL 162, 78A-B and 79C-D.

⁴⁸ PL 162, 80.

⁴⁹ PL 162, 78C.

⁵⁰ PL 162, 78D.

The question of worthy reception is not, unlike the matter of invalid ordination, in itself an issue of Gregorian reform, but obviously, salvific reception has a crucial role in the cleansing of Christian society. The extent and depth of the debate probably ensured the frequent representation of the sacrifices of Cain and Abel (Genesis 4:1-16). Cain's offering of 'the fruit of the ground', was unacceptable to God and he was set to wander the earth for eternity. Cain's sacrifice is widely represented, eg. at St-Savin (Vienne), God firmly turns his back on Cain [fig. 45]. At Chalon-sur-Saône (Saône-et-Loire) [fig. 46] the hand of God points only to Abel. At Moissac [fig. 47] Cain's sacrifice is watched by a winged devil, and in a capital from the Agen region, now in the Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, [fig. 48], where Abel is suitably accompanied by his flock, Cain is menaced by a lion and a serpent.⁵²

There are two main aspects to Cain's story relevant to Gregorian reform, firstly, the unacceptable sacrifice and secondly, his killing of Abel, a type of Christ.⁵³ Sometimes also, as at Autun and Vézelay, Lamech, who stands for immorality and sexual perversion,⁵⁴ (and so can be seen as a type of the immoral priest) is shown killing Cain, contrary to God's command that no-one was to do so. Abel, who offered a lamb, became a type of Christ, and was predestined to salvation. His offering of the first sacrifice is recalled in the Mass in *supra quae* when, asking God to accept the bread and wine, the gifts of 'thy just servant Abel' is linked to the offerings of Abraham and Melchisedek. His murder by Cain made him the first martyr. In the Aulnay capital of the killing of Abel [fig. 49] Abel holds the lamb aloft to reinforce the analogy with Christ. Cain became a type of the Jews who killed Christ. The bible does not say why Cain's offering was unacceptable but his sinful intentions were elaborated in allegories where his offering of corn was seen as containing weeds and tares,

⁵¹ Late eleventh century life of St Albinus from St-Aubin at Angers. Paris, B.N. nouv. acq. lat. 1390, f.2. Schapiro 1954, 313 and Dodwell 1993, 220.

⁵² I think it appears more often in France in this period than any other OT story except for Adam and Eve, Abraham and Isaac, Daniel in the Lion's den, and Samson and the lion. It is rarely a choir capital which, since the importance of Abel's sacrifice would justify such a position, would seem to confirm that Gregorian reformers found it useful to point up Cain's invalid sacrifice.

⁵³ Honorius Augustodunensis *Summa Gloria* cap.1 PL 172, 1258-60 said the oppression of the priesthood by the secular power was prefigured by Cain's murder of Abel.

⁵⁴ *Glossa ordinaria* PL 113, 101.

symbols of sin.⁵⁵ God's displeasure at man's sins caused the world to become desolate with weeds.⁵⁶ The Fathers associated sinners and heretics with weeds and thus Cain came to represent not just the crucifying Jews but all heretics. Hugh of St-Victor emphasised contemporary relevance by seeing Cain as the author of discord and division.⁵⁷ Cain is also a type of Judas.

The question of invalid reception underpins the depiction of Judas receiving the sop at the Last Supper (discussed in chapter 1) which appears in nearly all twelfth-century depictions, for example at Beaucaire (Gard) [fig. 50], St-Julien-de-Jonzy (Saône-et-Loire) [fig. 51] and Issoire (Puy-de-Dôme) [fig. 52]. Judas' spiritual separation is usually shown by his being on the other side of the table to all the others. At Issoire, Judas holding the sop, is effectively blocked off in the angle by the other disciples.

If the issue of the sop received much attention, other Judas images also had relevance to reform. At Vicq (Berry), the betrayal and arrest of Christ appears above Dives and Lazarus, alongside the Last Supper on the adjoining wall, and opposite the purification of Isaiah's lips. This juxtaposition not only contrasts avarice and penitent simplicity, but also 'compares the traitor who kisses Christ to those who fail to purge their sins through confession and hence receive the sacrament unworthily. The *Purification of Isaiah's Lips*, which visually assimilates the proffering of the coal to the Eucharist, represents an antithesis to the *Kiss of Judas*'.⁵⁸ That the treason of Judas involved a sale to the high priest may have made him a type of corrupt and simoniac priests. Depictions of Judas' suicide, as at Autun where the money bag is clearly shown [fig. 53], confirm his treason and cupidity.

Toubert considers it possible that the urgency of the need to counter Berengarian ideas influenced another aspect of Last Supper iconography. The term *substantialiter* used in the 1079 oath (see chapter 1) may have partly been

⁵⁵ Mt. 13: 37-43 for the devil sowing, amongst good seed of the Son of Man, weeds which will be gathered and burnt as sinners will be at the end of the world.

⁵⁶ Is. 7:23-4.

⁵⁷ Hugh of St-Victor *De vanitate mundi* PL 176, 724.

⁵⁸ Kupfer 1993, 145.

introduced in response to a host miracle at Monte Cassino.⁵⁹ Alberic of Monte Cassino, closely involved with the Berengarian condemnation, emphasised the continuity of sacrifice between the Old and New Testaments, so stressing the timelessness of both Christ's sacrifice and the Church. Berengar's detractors said that he set the ancient sacrifices above the daily, and essential, sacrifice of Christ in the Mass rather than emphasising the prefigurative shadows as part of God's overall plan. At S. Angelo in Formis, Campania, a Monte-Cassinian church, the prefigurative sacrifices of Noah, Gideon⁶⁰ and Isaac are shown in frescoes, (dated about 1087) with an explanatory *titulus*.⁶¹ The true sacrifice is shown in the Last Supper scene [fig. 54]. Here, in a telling innovation, a lamb, symbolizing the Agnus Dei, and not the traditional fish, is shown on the table.⁶² On the opposite wall the crucifixion confirms the significance.⁶³

Conclusion

Gregorian reform was not primarily concerned with theological definition. Gregory VII was, however, albeit perhaps inadvertently, drawn into issues of eucharistic theology in three main ways. The need to condemn Berengar forced Gregory VII into the heart of the eucharistic doctrinal debate by his insistence on the inclusion of the term *substantialiter* in the 1079 oath. His mission for clerical purity, as part of the cleansing of society, was not initially a theological issue but it led to a potentially divisive encouragement of lay questioning of sacramental validity. This, in turn, linked into the more specifically theological debate about the means and mode of salvific reception. By emphasising the functional divisions in Christian society between clerics and laymen, the focus on sacerdotal primacy was enhanced. Since this primacy

⁵⁹ Toubert 1990, 164. Cowdrey 1998, 501 says it is unclear exactly what happened on the eve of the 1079 Synod but something miraculous or mysterious took place which caused Gregory to change his mind.

⁶⁰ Gideon (Judges 6-8) who delivered his people was a type of Christ and also of the doctors and leaders of Christian Church. His sacrifice under an oak tree after angelic instruction (Judges 6:7-29) prefigures Christ on the cross, and the episode of the fleece (Judges 6:36-40) is a prefiguration of the Annunciation and the Virgin birth. Toubert 1990, 173-189 for Peter Damian's use of Gideon as a type to stress the need for the Church to battle against heretics and enemies.

⁶¹ LEX NOVA MONSTRATUR RAPITUR VETUS ILLICO CASU. The New Law is instituted The Old one is carried away instantly by the calamity [of Christ's death].

⁶² Toubert 1990, 158-63.

⁶³ I do not know of a twelfth-century French depiction of this highly overt image, but it does appear in renaissance art and well may have been adopted earlier.

had been increasingly emphasised, since the ninth century, as a result of reformulations of eucharistic offering, and had been bolstered by the resultant new liturgical practices, the Gregorian focus, although having other aims and origins, could not avoid becoming engrafted into the eucharistic debate.

The art of the reform movement (of which some, if only a little, was deliberate propaganda) largely concerned the depiction of cleansing and of maintaining the unity and tradition which was the heritage from the apostolic Church. This heritage had implicit sacramental involvement at its heart, however. Conversely depictions, such as the invalid offering of Cain and that of Judas and the sop, which sprang basically from the debate about the Eucharist, could acquire, for reformers like Geoffrey of Vendôme, the aura and purpose of Gregorian reform in its wider aspects.

CHAPTER 5

MASS COMMENTARIES

The most common method of commenting on the liturgy of the Mass was by allegory. Durandus of Mende in the thirteenth century applied the term 'rememorative allegory' to linked together events in salvation history so that the reader recalled Christ's actions and words, and he saw in this the best hermeneutic for uncovering the hidden meanings in prayers and rites.¹ This approach to the Mass went back in the West as least as far as Amalarius of Metz in the ninth century and had its roots in patristic exegesis.

Liturgical commentary flourished in the twelfth century and 'in number and variety is unmatched by any other period'.² This growth would seem to be a reflection of increased eucharistic piety. Mass commentaries confirm the obvious but important point that all Passion imagery is eucharistic imagery. The growth may also reflect Gregorian reformers' attempts to standardise the liturgy on the Roman model, but whilst this was to some degree progressing throughout the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, the variety of Mass commentary does not imply particularly notable success, apart perhaps from Bernold of Constance's *Micrologus*, which Schaefer says was influential in establishing Roman liturgical practice north of the Alps. Significantly, this work also contributed to 'the progressive restriction of liturgical roles to the priest'.³

Mass commentaries were not the only writings on the Eucharist, but they are typical of the thought of the period, particularly up to about 1140. The theological ideas expressed in the commentaries were not uniform. What they did share was a desire to make the reader aware of the moral and spiritual demands placed on them by the liturgy.

¹ Thibodeau 1993.

² Schaefer 1983. Macy 1999, 2, says that there were some two dozen commentaries from the late eleventh century to the early thirteenth and that they were 'extremely popular in their own time.'

³ Schaefer 1983, 205.

I have chosen to concentrate largely on those aspects that relate directly to the idea of the Mass as a sacrifice, to the nature of the salvific union, to the role of Christ and the priest in the Mass, and to changing interpretations of the roles of the priest and the congregation. Less detail has been given to the ritual as such although it should be noted that as the twelfth century progressed there tended to be greater emphasis in the commentaries on such details of the rite as bowing or making the sign of the cross. Details of this kind are only entered into here where highly pertinent or to give a flavour of the type of imagery employed.⁴

The recognition of a need to progress spiritually beyond baptism by action in this life, both in daily living and by individual penitential action, is connected to the idea of the Eucharist as a sacrament conferring grace, an aspect which was never forgotten. The need to offer prayer, praise, and contrition to God also links to the emphasis on Christ's sacrifice which was daily *re-presented* for sins in the Eucharist, an emphasis that had for centuries been stronger in the West than the East but which had been increased as Carolingian theologians came to see offering as the dominant theme.⁵

Mass Commentaries from the Ninth Century to the Early-twelfth century. The Paschasian Commentators.

These commentaries give a central place to the idea of the Eucharist as a sacrifice. Theologians wanted to understand the implications of what was meant by calling the Mass a sacrifice. They were therefore anxious to assess the role of Christ in the Mass as both priest and victim, to discuss, at least to some degree what was meant by calling Christ the High-Priest⁶, and to attempt to lay down the relationship to Christ-in-the-Mass of the earthly celebrant. The increasing emphasis in Carolingian practice of regarding as offerer the priest in the rite, rather than the priest plus the congregation, both raised these questions and, in some ways, drew a curtain over them as though they had

⁴ Much fuller detail is given in Schaefer 1983.

⁵ Stevenson 1986, 102-28

⁶ The title of high priest is given to Christ many times in Hebrews, especially in 7:27, had been accepted for centuries but, hardly surprisingly, it is not clarified in terms of any liturgical action then or later.

already been answered. Eleventh-century reform movements and the Berengarian debate, or the backwash of that debate, would require sharper analysis to be made.

In *De corpore et sanguine Domini*⁷ and in his *Expositio in Matthaeum*⁸ Paschasius had raised five central questions that would subsequently concern all Mass commentators:

- 1) what is the relation between *veritas* and *figura* in the *mysterium* of the Eucharist? (*De corpore* chapter IV).
- 2) what is the relation of the sacrifice of the New Covenant to the celebration of the Eucharist? (chapter V).
- 3) why must Christ be offered daily after the unique sacrifice of the cross?
- 4) why is water mixed with wine in the chalice? (chapter XI).
- 5) why is a particle of the consecrated body of Christ mixed with the blood? (chapter XIX).

He answered these questions by saying:

- 1) the figure is the image by which the inner reality appears. Bread and wine are the truth once made into the body and blood of Christ by his word.
- 2) the active offering of Christ is present in the memorial. Christ's death is not repeated but he offers himself for us daily.
- 3) Christ is offered daily for our daily sins.
- 4) water is mixed with the wine because blood and water flowed from Christ's side and nothing that took place on the cross must be lacking in the Eucharistic offering. Water is the symbol of baptism and so must be mixed with the blood, the 'price of salvation' so that the two are 'manifestly one single matter'.⁹ Water represents the people (and the Church which was made from the water of the wound in Christ's side) and so if wine is offered without water Christ exists without us and if water only is offered the people seem to be without Christ'.¹⁰ Blood, water and bread must be offered in order for the whole man to be fully

⁷ References to PL 120, 1267-1350, and CCCM 16 (in the case of chapter and line quotations).

⁸ PL 120, 31-994.

⁹ *De corpore* PL 120, 1308A.

¹⁰ 1308B.

restored. Soul and flesh long for union with Christ but as the body returns to earth at death so the soul must be restored for immortality.¹¹

5) The whole man, body and soul, needs to be nourished by both the blood and the body of Christ being spiritually incorporated into our flesh just as he 'assumed our flesh into his own divine nature.' The blood restores the soul and this cannot be in correct relation to the body unless both the bread and wine are received.¹²

Paschasius always stressed that the Mass is a *mysterium* and that, although we cannot know exactly how he does so, nevertheless Christ does act in the Mass as the High Priest and provides his own body for the meal. The earthly priest is his instrument. He quoted the words of the Canon of the Mass 'Command that these things be borne by the hands of thy angel to thy sublime altar in the presence of thy divine majesty'. Nothing corporeal, he said, could be more sublime, and therefore more worthy of such an altar, than Christ's body and blood. In saying this he implied that the most important part of the Eucharist was the sacrifice linking the earthly and heavenly celebration.

The Mass commentator who most clearly enunciated Paschasius's views was Florus of Lyon in *De expositione missae*.¹³ Since the Real Presence, however defined, would be generally accepted as crucial after the Berengarian crisis, it might have been expected that, for the late eleventh century, the most influential ninth-century Mass commentator would have been Florus but he wrote in response, and in opposition to, the much more influential *Liber officialis*

¹¹ 1310A-B.

¹² Schaefer 1983, xvi. Pelikan 1978, 75-76, discusses his ideas on image/figure. Paschasius writing on Mat 12:26 (PL 120, 890) said that the Eucharist was 'reality' and 'figure' at one and the same time, the appearance was bread and wine but the true reality was the body and blood.

Paschasius said that 'the flesh is not correctly partaken of without the blood so that the flesh may have relation to the soul' (XIX,30) but does not clearly say that all communicants must receive both species, rather he talks of the body being 'food for the people' (XIX,51) but the blood in the chalice, 'as if poured out in the passion', is held up or displayed (XIX,53). That the commixture, an image of the Resurrection, is salvific through the re-uniting of Christ's body and blood is implied in the discussion of the bringing of eternal life to the communicating Christian.(XIX, 82-95). This influential image is much more clearly stated in Amalarius.

¹³ PL 119, 15-72

of Amalarius of Metz (died c. 850)¹⁴. Amalarius wrote two Mass commentaries.¹⁵ The *Eclogae* was an elaborate scheme for the older episcopal Mass, which was more suitable for a complex ceremony in a large church. The other was shorter and simpler. Amalarius's was the most influential and popular ninth-century commentary in the west.¹⁶ His general approach would be adopted by many, even by those who rejected some of his theological ideas.¹⁷

Amalarius followed Ratramnus's argument that the Eucharist was a memorial, not a real, true and proper sacrifice since Christ made his sacrifice 'once for all'. The presence of Christ in the Mass emphasised not his High Priesthood but his victimhood. The sufferings of Christ are in the past but in the daily example (*exemplum*), which is the Mass, the believer ought to approach the mystery of the body and blood of Christ to 'associate himself with his sufferings'.¹⁸ Amalarius followed Ratramnus too in saying that the Mass rites figure the Passion. The Mass is a dramatic ritual recreating the historical events. The role of the priest as intermediary comes to the fore as a *re-presenter*.

His works remained popular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries not because of his views on the Real Presence but because of his development of the idea that every part of the Mass could be viewed as a symbol of a part of Christ's life and Passion and resurrection.¹⁹ Some of Amalarius' analogies,

¹⁴ The theology of Florus was followed by Petrus Pictor and to some extent by Odo of Cambrai and Rupert of Deutz, but these authors also used allegory based on Amalarius.

¹⁵ *De ecclesiasticis officiis* PL 105, 985-1242 (of which bk. 3 *Liber officialis* PL 105 1102-64 is a Mass commentary) and *Eclogae de officio missae* PL 105, 1315-32.

¹⁶ Even his enemies said that his works had spread throughout Gaul. Cabaniss 1951.

¹⁷ The Council of Quierzy of 838 rejected as heretical Amalarius' claim that the three-fold fraction of the bread signified a three-fold existence of Christ's body – in the sacrament; in the Church; on earth and in heaven. Florus, and later Paschasians, saw this as a separation of the one body of the Lord, but interestingly Honorius Augustodunensis reproduced it without comment. Macy 1984, 22.

¹⁸ Schaefer 1983, xiv.

¹⁹ The idea that the Eucharist is the memorial of the Passion expressed in such a way that the believer can share in it was not unique to the ninth century although Amalarius gave this approach a new intensity. Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350 - 428) had said that by means of figures 'we must now see Christ being led on His way to His Passion, and stretched out on the altar to be immolated. When indeed in the sacred vessels, in the patens and in the chalices, the oblation appears which is to be presented, then you must think that Our Lord Christ appears, led to his Passion'. quoted in Daniélou 1960, 131-32.

such as his idea that the priest going up to the altar signified Christ going up to Calvary, or when he said that the priest moving from one side of the church to the other was Christ going from Caiphas to Pilate,²⁰ would be seen, then and later, as over-fanciful.²¹

Amalarius wanted people to feel that they were really present at the events of Christ's life, that they could recreate them in their imagination, and so he tried to give his correspondences a vivid immediacy. Thus he said that at *nobis quoque peccatoribus* the celebrant raised his voice and the congregation was encouraged to recall the centurion plunging the spear into Christ's side by the chalice being moved to the right of the paten so that it might catch the blood from Christ's side.²² Equally dramatically as the prayer of consecration ends the celebrant and archdeacon, acting the parts of Joseph and Nicodemus, wrap the chalice and paten in linen cloths and place them on the altar-tomb.

In his *Eclogae de officio missae* Amalarius explained that 'in the Mass, all that precedes the gospel reading is Christ's life from the time of his birth to the last journey to Jerusalem'. The introit represents the Old Testament prophets foretelling the coming of the Messiah. The Kyrie corresponds to the recent prophets, especially Zechariah and John the Baptist. The Gloria, only said on certain occasions, proclaims the nativity. The collect is, whatever the occasion, Christ in the Temple at the age of twelve. The epistle or Old Testament reading is the preaching of John the Baptist. This first part of the allegory ends with the gospel, representing the words and deeds of Christ in his ministry. The second part of the allegory starts with Palm Sunday and ends with Pentecost. The offertory prayers and Canon are the prayers of Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane. These lead through his trial, crucifixion, death and burial. The commixture is the resurrection. The peace is the greeting to the disciples and

²⁰ Martimort 1983, 158.

²¹ Agobard, bishop of Lyons (where Amalarius had made changes to the antiphony whilst Agobard was in exile) called him a '*philosophus, vagus et furibundus* [frenzied]' and '*stultus et improbus*'. Florus, who was deacon of Lyon, was equally dismissive. Cabaniss 1951, 34.

²² *De Ecclesiasticis officiis* bk. 3 quoted in Raw 1990, 184.

their knowledge of the resurrection. The fraction is the breaking of the bread at Emmaus'.²³

Looking at things in this way, the worshipper, whether he received communion or not, could ponder on the whole of salvation history during the Mass. Other writers focused on the meaning of the words, especially the words of consecration, but Amalarius interpreted the actions. His emphasis on the whole Mass as a symbol of the life of Christ encouraged the believer to relate to Christ by observing the actions of the priest and recognising their significance. Participants could feel that they were present at all the events of Christ's life and not just at the Last Supper.

The influence of this internalised approach to the Mass helped turn the focus in the West even further from the sense of a communal activity where the whole service was seen as a sacrifice of praise, towards a rite primarily conceived as leading up to the consecration. This may have not been Amalarius' intention. Brilioth sees Amalarius's allegorical explanations as 'an attempt to strengthen the historical link' in a period in which the historical side of the rite was being 'overshadowed by the offering of the sacrifice'.²⁴ The twelfth-century emotional attachment to the human Christ ensured yet greater interest in visualising his historical and geographical context and may have furthered the allegorical approach to the Mass.

The eleventh- and early twelfth-century Mass commentators Petrus Pictor, Odo of Cambrai and Rupert of Deutz all followed, to a varying extent, the Paschasian line in seeing the bread and wine transformed into Christ's very body and blood. They all stressed the need for a substantial union with Christ brought about by sacramental reception. The analogy of the incarnation was used to explain the eucharistic change: as the Word was made flesh, so in the Mass a sacramental incarnation takes place. They also saw the sacrifice of the Mass as truly renewing the sacrifice on the cross. Christ's self-offering on the cross was actually present in the Mass 'in a way not secured simply by the Real

²³ Stevenson 1986, 120, summarising *Eclogae de officio missae* PL 105, 1315-22.

²⁴ Brilioth 1956, 82.

Presence of Christ in the consecrated elements'.²⁵ Christ was active in the Mass as High Priest, victim and the host of the celestial banquet.

These writers all represented the theology of the Benedictine order (although Petrus Pictor seems to have been an Augustinian), a theology which relied on patristic theological perspectives. All three saw Christ as the liturgist of the Mass and the High Priest offering the sacrifice of himself in the Mass rites. The priests had a representative function; they were granted the right to act as co-offerers with Christ.

Despite the changes in the relationship between priest and congregation which had been taking place from Carolingian times, these writers still recognised the integral participation of the faithful in the co-offering of the Mass with the priest. The priest is an instrument of Christ and minister of the Church, itself the Body of Christ. In the uniting of these bodies the priest had a special role and Christ worked through his hands; the priest is leader of the community but he is by no means acting alone in the ritual act of offering as would become the case after about 1160.²⁶ They were all attempting to further Gregorian reform by rejecting simoniacs and arguing for the vital importance of a worthy priesthood.²⁷

In his poem *Tractatus de sacrosanctis venerabilis sacramenti Eucharistiae mysteriis*, c.1100, Petrus Pictor said that Christ was the High Priest of the Mass and therefore the sacrifice of the cross is present in the Mass.²⁸ Christ as head of the Church, itself the body of Christ, acts through his corporate body. The priest at the altar consecrates in the sense of setting something aside for God. Only a priest could do this, as had long been agreed in patristic tradition. It is Christ, however, who creates the holy food and 'sanctifies' the sacrifice. God

²⁵ Schaefer 1983, 15.

²⁶ Schaefer 1982/3, 78.

²⁷ Rupert even commented on the value of papal additions to the Mass liturgy. *De divinis officiis* 2, 21 Schaefer 1983, 76.

²⁸ Petrus's work has been variously attributed to Hildebert of Le Mans, Anselm of Canterbury, Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter of Blois. Some people had dated it as late as 1170 but it is now seen as being written in early twelfth century Flanders. Schaefer considers PL 207, 1135-54 the best of the two texts given in Migne. The edition *Carmina* (the editor's title) CCCM, 25, ed. L. van Acker (1972) is used here as quoted by Schaefer.

the Word presides at the Mass; Christ the Word blesses the bread and wine and declares it to be his own body and blood and offers himself as victim.²⁹

Petrus saw the Passover Lamb as a type of Christ and said that the rite of signing the doorposts with lamb's blood (Ex 12, 22-23) prefigured the Christian rite of signing the lips and heart with the cross. This rite commemorates the cross, and through memorial mankind participates in Christ's body and blood (chapter 4).³⁰ This suggests a penitential focus. See my chapter 3 for the links between the priest's prayer for purification and the purification of Isaiah's lips.

Such ritual acts were very important ways of directing attention to both the sacrificial and rememorative aspects of the Mass. Other Mass commentators gave very precise allegorising accounts of the numbers of times, and the points in the liturgy, that the priests made the sign of the cross. Alger of Liège, for example, emphasised the sacrificial aspects by saying 'Our priest...[at *Te igitur*] marking the sign of the cross sprinkles that oblation with the blood of Christ; and as often as he makes the sign of the cross on the heavenly sacrifice, he sprinkles with the blood of Christ the oblation that is set forth'.³¹

For Petrus the priest is the *figura* of Christ, a symbol of the *veritas*, (chapter 7). The bread is not made flesh by the merit of the consecrating priest himself and thus an unworthy priest could still consecrate (*non in merito efficitur consecrantis*) the power and virtue lies with the Word (chapter 8).

Odo of Cambrai (1050-1113) wrote *Expositio in canonem missae* as a sentence-by-sentence explanation of the Canon.³² The canon is a *process* analogous to the mystery of salvation and thus Odo does not ^{only} focus on the words of consecration ~~just~~ as the high point in the Mass. The Mass is grounded in salvation history, in the Last Supper, the cross, resurrection and ascension to God's right hand. These events are present in the Mass, even though little is

²⁹ Schaefer 1983, 22-23.

³⁰ Schaefer 1983, 9.

³¹ *De sacrificio missae*, PL 180 853-56. Stone 1909, 273.

said about the cross in the actual words of the liturgy. The Church's altar becomes the heavenly altar because of what is offered on it. Through the whole pascal mystery believers are 'incorporated into Christ's return to the Father and divinized with him'.³³ This divinization is the whole community formed in ecclesiastical unity as the bread and wine are divinized by becoming the body and blood of Christ.

Like Petrus Odo uses the analogy of the incarnation to explain the eucharistic change: 'the one who once created the body of his Word from the Virgin, daily creates his flesh from bread and his blood from wine'.³⁴ He explains that at the moment of consecration the elements become the body and blood of Christ: 'Now it is flesh, it is no longer bread'.³⁵ and goes on to reinforce the point: 'For in the species and taste of bread and wine we eat and drink the very substance of the body and blood, the substance under the same qualities being changed, so that under the figure and taste of the former substance the real substance of the body and blood of Christ is made to be'.³⁶

He stresses the mystery of this change: 'We daily consume Christ on the altar, and yet He abides; we eat Him, and yet he lives; we crush Him with the teeth, and yet He is unbroken. Now we consume and eat and crush not only in the species but also in fact, not only in the form but also in the substance. And in a marvellous way He who abides is consumed, He who is unmarred is crushed'.³⁷ Odo is more mystical than most of the other Mass commentators. There is a neo-Platonic element in some of his explanations as when he says 'This offering is flesh but it is not carnal. Rather it is unstained light [...] It is flesh but not carnal rather it is uncontaminated light [...] it is body but not corporal, but spiritual light, and therefore pure'.³⁸ As has been suggested in chapter 1, this was a passage which vividly attacked Berengarian ideas and pointed forward to later mystical definitions of eucharistic change.

³² PL 160, 1053–70.

³³ Schaefer 1982/83, 82.

³⁴ PL 160, 1069A. Schaefer 1982/3, 84.

³⁵ PL 160, 1061D.

³⁶ PL 160, 1062B trans. Stone 1909, 264.

³⁷ PL 160 1062A.

³⁸ PL 160 1064C

Odo saw the Mass as a sacrifice, one that is offered to protect men 'under its shield'. Men dare not offer sacrifice themselves but offer Christ since no offering could be more acceptable and so 'under His protection [they may] enter the presence of the Father'.³⁹ Odo also emphasised that the Mass, especially at *Te igitur*, was a sacrifice of praise.

Odo is less clear than Paschasius on the High-Priesthood of Christ. The text of the canon only allowed him to imply that Christ is the High Priest by referring to Hebrews 7 where Christ is seen as a High Priest prefigured by Melchisedek. Christ's self-offering was seen as taking place in heaven and being in some mystical way transferred to the worshippers at the earthly altar but Odo stressed that there is no transference of place or time since God is everywhere. He does not focus directly on Christ's humanity⁴⁰ but talks of the Divine Word in the consecration co-operating with the Holy Spirit. In the incarnation the Word assumed a human nature but the action in the consecration was purely divine.⁴¹

Odo was certain that because there was no valid Eucharist outside the communion of the Church the people who are the Church have an active role as co-offerers. The priest represents the people but he in some sense also represents Christ when he says the words of consecration (although Odo does not make it clear how the priest is related to Christ.)⁴² Nevertheless as the elements are, at the words of consecration, 'made' the body and blood of Christ and thereby divinized, so too the community of Christians is divinized and united. This is symbolized in the kiss of peace which unites all, including the majority of laymen who received sacramental communion rarely. Odo said that Christ daily makes Christians participants in his sacrifice and in this way they are able to be taken up to the heavenly altar with him. That the sacrificial

³⁹ PL 160, 1066A-B. trans. Stone 1909, 265.

⁴⁰ Although in comparing the indivisibility of Christ in the Mass with the offering of his spiritual body to be touched by Thomas (see chapter 6) he indicates a real awareness of Christ's dual nature and the relevance of his humanity to man.

⁴¹ He does not talk much of Christ as victim or of the Passion. This is, however, partly the result of his work being a literal commentary on the text of the Canon.

⁴² PL 160, 1056 and Schaefer 1983, 119-20.

activity is that of Christ with his Church is very important to Odo. He sees Christ putting the gift into the hands of the Church so that with him the people can offer God the gift.⁴³

Rupert of Deutz (c.1075–1129) completed *De divinis officiis*, his first major work, by 1111 or 1112. He was the most prolific twelfth-century writer. There are about 250 extant manuscripts of his works, seventy of which contain *De divinis officiis*. Clairvaux possessed, possibly in the lifetime of St. Bernard, *De divinis officiis* and *De victoria Verbi Dei*.⁴⁴ *De officiis* became the best known of Rupert's works and the only one widely read outside the empire. Rupert was frequently cited in later twelfth-century commentaries.

Although Rupert differs in details, he takes the same rememorative-allegorical approach as Amalarius. The entrance of the priest signifies Christ's coming into the world, and the antiphon signifies the expectation of this by the prophets and patriarchs. The rememorative value of this approach is clearly stated:

'The priest entering at length to the altar, both the priest himself and the whole Church present ought to dilate its soul and in the ample bosom of faith hold the memory of the incarnation, nativity, Passion, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ our Lord'.⁴⁵

Such an approach was particularly important to Rupert because he saw it as vital to stress the role of the Church united in offering. The presence of the Word was in the heart of the Church. Each bread of the Eucharist corresponds to the whole Church because both contain the one incarnate Word.⁴⁶ Rupert utilised forcefully the traditional idea that the bread and wine, being made from many grapes and grains, symbolize the universal Church, which is in some sense present at every Mass.⁴⁷ Priests act as representatives of the Church, the body of Christ, but do not substitute for the Church; the whole Church has a

⁴³ Schaefer 1982/83, 83.

⁴⁴ Van Engen 1983.

⁴⁵ *De divinis officiis* 1, 28 (references are to *De divinis officiis* ed H Haacke CCCM, 7 and translated by Schaefer unless otherwise stated) Schaefer 1983, 107.

⁴⁶ Schaefer 1983, 112 -13.

⁴⁷ II, 2. 124 -130. Schaefer 1983, 113-14 and II, 2. 131-32 '*universa (ecclesia) ad sanctum altare in loco vel tempore quolibet assistit*'. Schaefer 1983, 115.

role in the offering itself and not just in the partaking of communion. To offer worthily, however, the individual Christian must first offer himself.⁴⁸

Priests are Christ's vicars; Christ is the High Priest whom priests assist. The priest is only the instrument of Christ; 'The hands, I say, of Christ work this [eucharistic change] through the hands of the priest, which are strengthened by his hands'.⁴⁹ Christ dwells in the mouth and the heart of the priest and thus the celebrant can pour the 'living stream' of the Word over the bread and wine.⁵⁰

For Rupert Christ was actively present in the Mass as both host and nourishment of the banquet. The priest utters Christ's words but it is Christ who transfers the elements into his very flesh and blood. Christ was able to do this because his divine nature united with human nature taken from Mary and thus he could act as mediator between man and God. As Word he takes up bread and wine from the altar and 'transfers'⁵¹ them into his body and blood just as once he took on flesh at the incarnation.

Considerable emphasis is placed on the Mass as a sacrifice. He saw the rite performed at the Last Supper (and not just the death of Christ on the cross) as a sacrifice. The Last Supper had as its prototype the heavenly sacrifice. At the Last Supper Christ was immolated by his own hands. Both the Good Friday liturgy and the Mass were, for Rupert, reiterated immolation. The sacrifice was both in the present and memorial: 'He lies on the sacred altar, not that He may suffer again but that His Passion may be presented as a memorial to faith, to which all past things are present'.⁵² The matter of both sacrifices is earthly and divine; Christ in heaven is the High Priest and both absolves man and intercedes for him.⁵³ Rupert saw the moment of immolation not in the words of

⁴⁸ *'prius nosipsos offerentes'*, II, 13. 562 -63. Schaefer 1983, 116.

⁴⁹ II, 2. 93-97 Schaefer 1983, 101-02. This is not to see Rupert as in any way diminishing the priesthood. He was an ardent reformer and refused ordination for years because his bishop was simoniac.

⁵⁰ For further discussion of Rupert's emphasis on the activity of hands see my Chapter 6.

⁵¹ *transferre* not *convertere* which Lanfranc and Ivo of Chartres used.

⁵² *In Exodum* quoted in Stone 1909, 292.

Rupert saw all scripture and all history as part of God's plan for salvation. Schaefer 1983, 74-75.

⁵³ Schaefer 1983, 80-82.

consecration, although that effected the eucharistic presence, but in the prayer of offering, *Unde et memores*.⁵⁴

Rupert was in no doubt that the bread and wine become at consecration the very body and blood of Christ. After consecration it never ceases to be Christ's flesh and blood. In his commentary on John he uses an image of unity to explain this:

'And thus the Word, which is the bread of angels, was made flesh, not changed into flesh but by assuming flesh; so the same Word made flesh, is made visible bread, not changed into bread, but by assuming and transferring bread into the unity of his person'.⁵⁵

Rupert said that the work of the Holy Ghost in the eucharistic change was not to destroy or corrupt any substance; 'the good of the substance remains what it was' but it was added 'invisibly to what it was not'.⁵⁶ The bread and wine take invisibly (to spare us horror) the 'reality of each part, that is, the divine and human, of the immortal substance which is in Christ'. This was a mystery beyond human understanding. He saw there as being an 'earthly,' and a 'divine substance' (the Logos) in the Eucharist, as in the incarnation.⁵⁷ This was insufficiently realist for some twelfth-century theologians. Alger of Liège and William of St-Thierry both attacked Rupert for this, seeing it as impanation, and asserting that the bread and wine were wholly changed into the body and blood.

He also uses the idea of unity of earth and heaven to attempt to resolve the problem of the identity of the historical body of Christ born of Mary with the sacramental body of the Eucharist, saying:

'Neither are there two bodies mentioned ^{or} are there two, that which is taken from the altar and that which is taken from the womb of the Virgin. Because, namely, one and the same Word, one and the same God, is above in the flesh, here in the bread.[...] For the unity of the Word effects the unity of the sacrifice. For similarly the one Word once took flesh from the Virgin Mary

⁵⁴ Schaefer 1983, 93.

⁵⁵ *Commentaria in evangelium sancti Iohannes* II, 2212 –2217, CCCM, 9, 357.

⁵⁶ *In Exodum*, 2, 10. PL 167, 617-8. Stone 1909, 293.

and now takes the saving victim from the altar: therefore it is one body which, born of Mary, hung on the cross and which, offered on the holy altar daily, renews the Passion of the Lord for us'.⁵⁸

This unity of heaven and earth, present, past and future can also be seen in the image Rupert creates for the joining of the faithful communicant to Christ. A 'grain of wheat falls and dies; it grows on the altar and fructifies in our minds and bodies until Christ carries the harvest with him into the barns of heaven'.⁵⁹

Bernold of Constance (c.1050-1100) wrote *Micrologus*, a description of the Mass and Office according to the Roman rite, between 1086 and his death in 1100.⁶⁰ It was the first significant commentary on the liturgy since Amalarius.⁶¹ Its importance has to be seen in the context of Gregorian reform. Bishop Gebhard of Constance was the leader of the south German Gregorians. There was an unusually good library in Constance and this aided Bernold in his search for canonical sources of papal authority and of liturgical changes made by the popes over the centuries.⁶² He was anxious to aid the unification and ritual uniformity of the Church that was such an important element in Gregorian reform. In *Apologeticus* Bernold had stressed the pope's quasi-royal position:

'Each bishop does not have so great a power over the flock committed to him as does the apostolic prelate, for although the latter has divided his cure into particular bishoprics he has in no way deprived himself of his universal and principal power; just as the king has not diminished his royal power although he has divided his kingdom among different dukes, counts and judges'.⁶³

Bernold was influenced by Amalarius's allegorical method and quotes him several times, although he was uneasy about some of Amalarius' number symbolism. He particularly follows Amalarius in seeing the Canon as a

⁵⁷ *De divinis officiis* 2.9 CCCM 7, 14. Pelikan 1978, 203.

⁵⁸ 2, 2, 100-114. Schaefer 1983, 92.

⁵⁹ 2, 2, 511-516. Schaefer 1983, 97.

⁶⁰ PL 151, 978-1022. Taylor 1998.

⁶¹ Reynolds 1978.

⁶² Morris 1989, 123.

⁶³ *Apologeticus* 23 (MGH LDL ii. 88) Morris 1989, 130.

'commemoration of the Lord's Passion'.⁶⁴ He goes further, however, in stressing that this commemoration must be 'acted out most powerfully through the entire Canon'.⁶⁵ The Passion is recalled not just in the words of the Mass; the priest's movements and gestures are a reenactment aiding subjective recall by the faithful, which itself will be a form of active participation.⁶⁶

When talking of making the sign of the cross in chapter 14, Bernold introduces two important ideas. Firstly he confirms his commitment to Gregorian reform by stating that even numbers of the sign of the cross are never used because even numbers can be divided into two whereas the unity of the Church in no way allows this division. Secondly he draws attention to the wounds of Christ, an area of concern that will be greatly increased in the twelfth century. When making the sign of the cross at the words *Benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem* in the *Quam oblationem*, the fifth cross is made over the chalice to signify 'the fifth wound from which the blood flowed forth'.⁶⁷

Honorius Augustodunensis (born c.1090 – active to c 1156), who is now generally thought to have taken his name from Regensburg in south Germany, was a prolific and widely read writer. His catechetical handbook *Elucidarium*, contains some material on the Eucharist and was probably written about 1100. It was translated into English about 1125⁶⁸ and into French.⁶⁹ Many of Honorius's works deal with eucharistic questions, particularly *Eucharistion* and *Sacramentarium*, but only *Gemma animae* is a Mass commentary as such. It is clear and lively writing designed for busy monks with limited library facilities.

⁶⁴ *Micrologus* cap 17 PL 151, 988. Schaefer 1983, 129.

⁶⁵ 'commemorationem potissimum actitari', cap. 17 PL 151, 987. Schaefer 1983, 130.

⁶⁶ Schaefer 1983, 130.

⁶⁷ In the same chapter Bernold has a rather unclear comment which appears, grammatically, to indicate that the priest puts the chalice under his arm as if about to take up the Lord's blood from the Lord's side. He may be referring to placing the chalice under the sign of the cross which he has just said represents Christ's body in its upright movement and his arms in the transverse. In either case the significant reference is to the wound. *Micrologus* PL 151, 986.

⁶⁸ Flint 1975.

⁶⁹ Lefèvre 1954.

Some of Honorius's ideas on valid reception have been discussed in chapters 1 and 3. He adopted the Paschasian explanation of the value of the sacrament in all three of his works on the Eucharist, showing that through the reception of Christ's body the faithful would be naturally substantially joined to him and through him joined to the Godhead.⁷⁰ The body of Christ is a three-fold body. Firstly it is the body taken from the Virgin at the incarnation and which was raised to heaven after Christ's death. Secondly it is the body which by the consecration is daily made out of bread and wine and, although eaten by the people, remains whole. Thirdly it denotes the whole Church which both is Christ's body and becomes 'one flesh with him' in the act of eating it.⁷¹

Honorius emphasised that Christ was an ambassador of the Father to the human race whereas the priest was the ambassador to God on behalf of the Church. The legation of Christ is perfected by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit in the seven ages of the world and this is indicated by the seven-fold *Dominus vobiscum* said in the Mass.⁷² The priest can only bring about the eucharistic change in the context of the whole Church, the Church which had been made from the blood and water flowing from the side of Christ on the cross,⁷³ and which Honorius emphasises many times is made like bread from many grains and wine from many grapes. The believer is engrafted into the ecclesial body of Christ through the effects of communion. Spiritual nourishment begins in this world and is perfected, for the community of the elect, in heaven.⁷⁴

Honorius insisted that the 'sacrament is only made through the cross, because Christ hung on the cross a sacrifice to the Father'.⁷⁵ He therefore lays emphasis on the cross by including sections on why certain numbers of signs of the cross are made at particular points in the canon. For example, five signs of

⁷⁰ Macy 1984, 65.

⁷¹ *Eucharistion* 1, 3, 4 and 5, PL 172, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253. Stone 1909, 278-79.

⁷² *Gemma animae* 1 PL 172 543 and 570. Schaefer 1983, 145-46. The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit were Wisdom; Understanding; Counsel; Fortitude; Knowledge; Piety; Fear of the Lord. These are given in Isaiah 11, 2 (Vulgate). The seven ages of the world were: Creation; the Flood; Abraham; King David; the Babylonian captivity; incarnation of Christ; the present age which will last until the end of the world.

⁷³ *Sacramentarium* PL 172, 794.

⁷⁴ *Elucidarium* 1. Colish 1994, 566.

⁷⁵ *Gemma animae* 1, PL 172, 558D-559A. Schaefer 1983, 148.

the cross are made at the words *hostiam puram* to signify Christ's five wounds received on the cross.⁷⁶

Honorius often phrases his allegories in a lively and clarifying manner. Two examples are particularly noteworthy. The first is the priest as pugilist, an expansion of the traditional image of Christian life as a battle against evil but here given a specifically eucharistic focus. Ephesians 6 is quoted in reinforcement: 'For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places'.⁷⁷ Detailed battle images appear over and over again as the priest, his vestments related to the garb and equipment of a warrior, takes the field. Honorius had already in chapter 45 shown the bishop fighting the devil with signs of the cross and the ministers lined up on both sides of the altar like a row of fighters, forming, with the bishop and deacons, an army which will retreat in triumph after receiving communion. He develops the battle images in chapters 72-82. In chapter 72 the analogy is with Christ as an emperor fighting the devil. In chapters 74 and 81 the priest is compared to David as he marches to the altar, with the precentors as dukes, to overcome Goliath with the trumpets of the cantor blazing.⁷⁸ Chapter 79 likens the elevation of the host to David hurling the fatal stone at Goliath and the elevation of the chalice is David severing Goliath's head with his sword. The offering of the oblations (chapter 77) is like the dividing of the spoils of battle before the emperor and the offertory chant is the praise offered to the emperor. Chapter 81 expands on the comparison between Christ and David and ends with an analogy between David leading the joyful people and Christ harrowing hell. David bringing the crowd to Jerusalem with song is compared to Christ ascending to the hymns of angels.

⁷⁶ *Gemma animae* 1, 53, PL 172, 560A.

⁷⁷ Honorius, like Rupert and Bernold was a supporter of Gregorian reform and saw the church as threatened from all sides. The battle imagery of *Gemma animae* may have evoked discussions of the Two Swords theory and the idea that in extreme cases the Church could protect herself by taking up arms although normally this was the role of the Christian nobles.

⁷⁸ All the officiating clergy are given military roles, eg. the lector who reads the Epistle is the herald who announces the edicts of the emperor to the besieged castle. (cap 77).

The second of Honorius's particularly striking analogies is that of the priest as tragedian:

'It is known that those who recited tragedies in theatres represented acts of fighting to the people with gestures. So our tragedian represents the battle of Christ to the Christian people in the theatre of the church with his gestures, and impresses on it the victory of his redemption. And so when the priest says "*Orate*", he expresses Christ put in agony for us, when he admonished the apostles to pray. Through the silence of the secret, he signifies Christ led as a lamb without voice to the slaughter. Through the expansion of the hands, he designates the extension of Christ on the cross. Through the chant of the preface, he expresses the cry of Christ hanging on the cross'.⁷⁹

Honorius was not suggesting that the Mass is in any sense an entertainment; that would have been seen as blasphemous. Nor does he see it as a liturgical drama in the normal contemporary sense because such dramas merely complemented the liturgy and were additions to it. Honorius's tragedian is clarifying the memorial aspects of the Mass which include emphasis on the horror of Christ's willing sacrifice. The congregation is not a group of mere spectators. In the priest's prayer at the Collect 'He does not say *oro* but *oremus*, because he expresses the voice of the whole Church'.⁸⁰

In discussing the role of the tragedian priest Honorius was by no means rejecting the idea of Christ's activity in the Mass: the Mass is not only a memorial. Honorius knew the tradition that Christ was the High-Priest in the Mass who consecrates and distributes his own body but he concentrated less on this than did Paschasius or Rupert. He tends to show the priest standing in the place of Christ. He does, however, confirm the significance of Christ's direct participation in the offering by pointing out that the words of consecration use the passive voice to stress the divine action: 'When the words of the Lord are recited in order, bread and wine are changed (*commutantur*) into the body and

⁷⁹ *Gemma animae* 1cap 83 PL 172, 570. Schaefer (1983), 162.
⁸⁰ *Gemma animae* 1 cap 93, PL 172, 574. Schaefer 1983, 163.

blood of the Lord'.⁸¹ In *Eucharistion* he says that the bread was 'transformed' by the words of Christ at the Last Supper. In the Mass Christ consecrates the bread and wine through the Holy Spirit, translating his body into bread and wine so that the faithful may chew it and the third body of Christ, the Church, can be incorporated into the body of Christ.⁸² Honorius gave a vivid picture of the institution of the Eucharist when arguing for the indivisibility of Christ, saying that Christ did not institute the sacrament by giving the apostles 'a finger or a toe or by cutting off any other little part of the body [...] but distributed to them the substance of the consecrated bread and wine'. When Christ rose from the table he went away 'unimpaired' to be crucified the next day and to 'transfer himself whole, unimpaired, to the right hand of the Father'. The body of Christ in the Eucharist is the very body born of Mary but incorruptible in heaven.⁸³

Both Rupert and Honorius were lively creators of verbal images and they both recognised the value of visual imagery. Rupert talked of decorating the walls of churches with metalwork and sculpture which would recall the acts of the Saviour, the patriarchs and prophets, the glory of kings and the bliss of the apostles and the victory of the martyrs. Above all the cross with the redeemer should shine forth.⁸⁴ Honorius said that pictures in churches were books for the laity, decoration, and served to recall to mind the life of the ancients.⁸⁵ He makes reference to the sculptured portal of St Jacob's church, Regensburg, in his commentary on the Song of Songs.⁸⁶ The vivid rememorative allegory of the Mass commentaries would influence twelfth-century imagination regardless of differences in eucharistic interpretation. This is, I think, particularly so in the case of the development of affective imagery of the wounds of Christ discussed in chapter eight.

⁸¹ *Gemma animae* 1 cap 52, PL 172, 559-60.

⁸² *Eucharistion* cap 3, PL 172, 1251-52.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Beitz 1930, 39 (source not given). This presumably refers to the rood screen above the entrance to the sanctuary.

⁸⁵ *Gemma animae*, cap 32, PL 172, 586.

⁸⁶ Sanford 1948, 398-9, reference not given.

Mass commentaries in the Early-Twelfth Century.

Ivo of Chartres.

A Mass commentary much copied throughout the twelfth century, was Ivo of Chartres' Sermon 5, *De Convenientia Veteris et Novi Sacrificii* (the concordance of the old and new sacrifice).⁸⁷ In chapter 7 I will assess Ivo in terms of his contribution to the debate on the continuity of sacrifice. In this chapter I look only at his views on eucharistic change and on the role of the priest and the Church in the Mass.

Eucharistic change was not Ivo's main concern in Sermon 5. He does, however, note that the bread and the wine are to be changed into the body and blood, repeatedly using the terms *commutare* and *transferre*.⁸⁸ The body of the Lord can be both in heaven and 'taken from the altar' but Ivo preferred to leave the nature of the change a mystery: 'It is a sacrament of faith; search can be made into it healthfully, but not without danger [...] We have Christ whole in heaven making intercession to the Father for us through the showing forth of his flesh; we also have his body whole in the sacrament of the altar'.⁸⁹ Rather surprisingly in the *Panormia*, a collection of canon law, he included the unsophisticated wording of Berengar's 1059 oath.⁹⁰

Ivo did not develop ideas of substantial union. His concern for the unity and control of the Church reveal him moving nearer to the ecclesiological model. His emphasis was both individual and ecclesial when, as he did often, he stressed the penitential aspects of the Eucharist. In *De coena domini*, a sermon on the Easter penitents, he talks of their re-admittance to the 'body of Christ which is the Church' through the 'sacrament of reconciliation', which was the body of Christ that had been handed over to the disciples to eat.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Ivo bishop of Chartres (c.1040-1115). Sermon 5 PL 162, 535-562, may have been part of a course of instruction in the liturgy for priests.

⁸⁸ 550C; 553B; 556A; 556C; 557A. Schaefer 1983, 222.

⁸⁹ 556-58. Stone 1909, 269.

⁹⁰ PL 161, 1072. Stone 1909, 266.

⁹¹ Sermon 17, PL 162, 588C.

For Ivo, the priests reconcile and absolve, but they act on behalf of Christ and not in place of him.⁹² He did not elaborate on Christ's role as the invisible priest at the Mass, but he did see Christ acting in the Eucharist both as victim and in the consecration. Ivo chose to focus on Christ sitting in heaven and interceding at the heavenly altar for man. Ivo thus stressed the Trinitarian aspects of Christ's *ascensus* as well as equating him with the angel of Revelation 8 who cast incense on the altar of heaven [fig. 55].⁹³ He called Christ 'our great High Priest, *Angelus magni consilii*. Once Christ, the Angel of Great Counsel, had filled the censer from the altar fire such great virtue ascended from the 'fullness of the Godhead dwelling in Christ bodily' as to exceed all human understanding'.

Christ was the once-for-all victim, but for Ivo the Church was also the offering, 'the sacrifice of fine flour, foretelling the nature of the catholic Church which is gathered together from its congregating members, like fine flour from the many grains of the believers'.⁹⁴ It is through the sacraments that the laity, largely passive in the rites, as were the people in the Old Testament, are made ready to be offered. Their humility made the Church a pleasing offering to God.⁹⁵ The victim-Church was also the offerer at the Mass and as such the priests performed sacramental acts on behalf of the people.

Hildebert of Lavardin.

Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans (1096-1125) and Archbishop of Tours (1125-33), who closely followed many of Ivo's ideas from Sermon 5, was also influential and well-known even beyond France.⁹⁶ Like Ivo, Hildebert's main concern in his *Versus de mysterio missae*⁹⁷ was not to enter into the detailed debate over the Real Presence. He in no way questioned this reality, saying 'between the hands and words of Christ the bread becomes the flesh of Christ', but he firmly asserted that man should not seek to understand the way this

⁹² 518D. Schaefer 1983, 241.

⁹³ 555B-C. I do not know of any French sculpture of this image but it is shown at Atlingbo in Sweden. There may have been depictions elsewhere since the concept is so significant and so frequently discussed.

⁹⁴ 543.
⁹⁵ 544C.

⁹⁶ He was noted as one of the most elegant Latin stylists of his day.

happens because he who is God and man *mysteriously* changes the bread so that 'in very truth it becomes his flesh'.⁹⁸ Communicants destroy the bread with their teeth, but the spiritual strength of Christ's body which nourishes the soul, arrives in the mind unharmed.⁹⁹ Eucharistic change is not directly compared by Hildebert to sacramental incarnation. It is God's creative power that is at the root of sacramental conversion. But Hildebert does stress that God the Word in renewing all good things through Christ, 'clings to humanity'. God sanctifies, vivifies (*vivificat*) and blesses the bread.¹⁰⁰ For Hildebert liturgical memorial is an objective reality. The Mass is a memorial, but he is much more aware than Ivo that Christ is present in the liturgical rite as if in the sacred banquet.¹⁰¹ More than Ivo, Hildebert relates the Mass text to the ritual actions of the priest. He states, for example, the relevance of placing the chalice to the right of the bread to catch the blood from Christ's wound.¹⁰² The reality of the bloody offering is thereby emphasised. For Hildebert the Mass commemorates but, unlike Ivo, Hildebert says that it is a sacrifice 'repeated daily', even though Christ's redeeming action is in the past. As with eucharistic change Hildebert is content to leave the nature of this repetition as an unexplained mystery.

The priest offers bread wine and water and the people, as with the people of Judah, offer what they can. They are also called upon to offer themselves: 'You believe in order that you may become a sacrifice'.¹⁰³ The role of the people is not clearly given; the priest is their intermediary. In contrast to his comment on the individual faithful, he also makes, albeit without elaboration, the ecclesiological point that the mixing of the wine and water signifies the joining of humanity with Christ so that the head shall not be separated from the

⁹⁷ PL 171,1177-96

⁹⁸ Sermo 54, PL 171,601C-D trans. Caryl Green.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 603.

¹⁰⁰ 1189 C-D. Although Schaefer contrasts Hildebert and Odo of Cambrai in this respect, it seems to me that Hildebert's use of '*vivificat*' comes close to implying sacramental incarnation. Schaefer 1983, 273.

¹⁰¹ Schaefer 1983, 271.

¹⁰² Whilst noting that the Church often put the bread in front and the chalice behind. 1180B-C.

¹⁰³ 1179C. The priest too must live a moral life, attuned to the attitude of the angels, but Hildebert does not here expand on the validity of the sacraments conferred by immoral priests as he does in Sermon 54.

members. The priest in prayer is united with the assemblies both on earth and in heaven.¹⁰⁴

The priest acts in place of Christ and offers the sacred gifts with him in the words of consecration. The priest has no power of his own. When the priest prays that the mystical gifts shall be carried on high Hildebert does not identify the angel with Christ. He reinforces the correspondence between the Law and the cross by saying, 'Thus the priest himself remembers the law, remembers the cross/ begging that both gifts be carried on high'.¹⁰⁵ Hildebert stresses the mystery of the Mass. Bread, which before was common bread, becomes 'food of the soul'¹⁰⁶ but it cannot be known how 'the mystery of the cross brings forth the food'.¹⁰⁷ The bread is elevated with both hands before the institution narrative and not put down again until after the consecrating words. The same applies to the chalice.¹⁰⁸ Hildebert does not call upon the people to adore the host, but in reporting the action at some length he clearly sees it as forcibly underlining the meaning of Christ's words.

Ivo and Hildebert were no less certain of the Real Presence and its vital significance than the more strictly Paschasian authors discussed in this chapter. In concentrating less than the others had done on natural union they were able to avoid becoming entrammelled in the problems of the nature of eucharistic change. Their concern to emphasise the unique role and separation of the priesthood marked them as men of their age.

¹⁰⁴ 1182A.

¹⁰⁵ 1189B. Schaefer 1983, 273.

¹⁰⁶ 1187A.

¹⁰⁷ 1186A.

¹⁰⁸ 1186 C-D. This practice of elevating before the institution narrative was later condemned by the bishop of Paris in c.1220. Hildebert does not explain this liturgical practice but merely reports it. Schaefer 1983, 270 -71.

CHAPTER 6

THE IMAGE OF THE HAND-HELD HOST

The host held in the hand is an image which takes on considerable prominence from the late eleventh century and illuminates a number of crucial points in eucharistic theology. The first of these issues is obviously the debate about the nature of the Eucharist itself, its centrality to Christian life, salvific efficacy and the concept of sacramental incarnation. This area involved eschatological emphases and the concepts of indivisibility and impassibility of the body of Christ. The second issue involves the reform and authority of the Church with a particular reference to the priesthood. Questions of Christ's participation in the Mass as both the High Priest and the victim, and in his relationship to the visible celebrant, were crucial, as was the concept of sacrifice and the nature of Christian offering in a penitential-eucharistic focus.

The image is also relevant to changing approaches to the Eucharist in popular devotion, changes which stemmed in part from the increasing awareness of the awesome Real Presence and the fears of invalid reception by the impenitent. In what might loosely be called the wider debate over the Eucharist there are multiple strands, some less intellectualised than others. The growing reverence for the reserved sacrament pre-dates the Berengarian dispute.¹ In the twelfth century people began to enter churches specifically to pray before the reserved sacrament.² Clearly such reverence would be deepened by, and perhaps even depend on, an awareness of the Real Presence, however articulated. Host miracles too depend on a concept of Real

¹ The sacrament had been reserved for the sick and dying since at least the second century but the first official regulation for reservation comes in 1215. Davies 1972, 333. Leo IV (d. 855) allowed the pyx to be kept on the altar. Parker and Little 1994, 120. Moloney 1995, 125 notes that the presence of reserving the sacrament on the altar rather than in the sacristy had been spreading since the ninth century but that it was promoted particularly by Bec and Cluny in the eleventh century.

In the eleventh century, and more so in the twelfth century, particularly in Cistercian circles, the pyx came to signify the body of the Virgin Mary at the Incarnation, and thus reservation of the host becomes linked with the growing cult of Mary. See also chapter 8.

² Macy 1984, 86.

Presence³ and they were believed by millions who would never have heard of Paschasius or Berengar. The increasing reverence for relics, where something material, but nevertheless filled with divine grace, can be touched in order to link the faithful with the supernatural world through the spiritual essence of the saints, may also have aided the development and impact of the image of the host held in the hand.

The hand-held host recalls the words of the canon of the Mass, 'Who the day before he suffered, took bread into his holy and venerable hands' (*Qui pridie*). This alone would have been enough to give the images major significance. Secondly, but importantly, the images would also have recalled the passage in Augustine where, commenting on the rubric to Psalm 33 (34 AV), he refers to 1 Sam. 21, 13 (in the Septuagint) 'He was carried in his hands'. This comes in the story of David, a type of Christ, fleeing from Saul to Achis of Gath for protection, but being afraid of Achis he 'as if seized with mania *changed his countenance and, as we read, affected, and drummed upon the doors of the city, and was carried in his own hands, and fell down at the doors of the gate*'.⁴ Augustine said this is a prefiguration of Christ crucified because a drum is skin stretched on wood as Christ was stretched on the cross. The doors of the city are hearts closed to Christ which are opened by 'the drum of his cross'. In reference to the Eucharist Augustine said that Christ was 'carried in His Own Hands' when he offered his very body, 'when He commended His Own Body and Blood, He took into His own hands that which the faithful know; and in a manner carried Himself, when He said *This is My Body*'.⁵ Augustine makes the point again when, talking of Christ as the Angel of Great Counsel delivering man from fear and evil, he says:

'Now he intends to speak openly of that mystery wherein he was carried in his own hands *O taste and see that the Lord is sweet* (Psalm 33:8). Does not the psalm unfold and disclose the meaning of that

³ see chapter 3 for the impact of the Déols miracle and for Paschasius' recounting of two host miracles *De corpore* PL 120, 1318-1320.

⁴ *In psalmum* 33. Hebgin and Corrigan 1961 vol 2, 195. PL 36,307-22. The Greek refers to unco-ordinated or jerky/wild movements in his hands (as of one mad or drunk). The Vulgate *et collabebatur inter manus eorum* is incorrect as is the Authorised Version 'feigned himself mad in their hands'. Private correspondence Barbara Goward/Saxon. Augustine was probably working from an old Latin version.

feigned madness and deliberate mania, the sane insanity and sober intoxication of a David who prefigured something further when those who represented King Achis said "How can that be?" Our Lord has said: *Except a man eat my flesh and drink my blood, he shall not have life in him* (John 6:53-54). And those who were ruled by Achis, that is error and ignorance, what did they reply? *How can this man give us His flesh to eat?* If you do not know, taste, and see that the Lord is sweet: if you do not understand, you are King Achis. David will change his features and depart from you, he will dismiss you and go on his way'.⁶ In his madness David's spittle 'ran down upon his beard' and this is an image for Christ's external weakness in his human body being covered by the divine power of the beard which must impress upon us the lesson of humility and lead us to love and to 'humble yourself by penance'.⁷

Schaefer considers that Rupert of Deutz knew Augustine's work on psalm 33 and made use of it in *De officiis*.⁸ She also remarks that 'the theme of the hands of Christ is conspicuous in Rupert's commentary,⁹ quoting Rupert's important argument that 'The hands, I say, of Christ work this [i.e.eucharistic change] through the hands of the priest, which are strengthened by his hands'.¹⁰ The priest can only consecrate the offerings because of Christ's presence in the Mass.

Odo of Cambrai also referred to the Augustine passage, saying of Christ at the Last Supper 'He was whole and at the same time he was divided into parts. He was holding himself in his hands and from his hands he was offering himself to the disciples to eat. This signified David who, according to one

⁵ Hebgin and Corrigan 1961, 159. PL 36 308-09.

⁶ Hebgin and Corrigan 1961, 171.

⁷ Hebgin and Corrigan 1961, 170.

⁸ Rupert refers to Achis four times in *De officiis* 1,17 PL 170,20C (which repeats Augustine's interpretation of 'closed hearts'); 2,2 PL 170,33C; 2,2 PL 170,35D and 2,8,PL 170,39D. Schaefer does not expand on the Augustinian interpretation but she notes that Heriger of Lobbes (d. 107) had also used this passage in *De corpore* PL 139, 186A-B (under Gerbertus Silvester Papa 11). Rupert must have known Augustine on Psalm 33 because he uses his image of Christ stretched on the cross like a drum that comes from the same sermon, in a passage on a drum calling the faithful to church in Passiontide. *De officiis* 5, 29 PL 170, 150A-B.

⁹ Schaefer 1983, 103 -04.

translation 'was carried in his own hands before the eyes of Achis the king'.¹¹ Odo did not expand on the Achis reference, which may indicate that he felt Augustine's clarification was well-known. The immediacy of the image, however, clearly suited his Paschasian focus.

Honorius Augustodunensis also very deliberately drew attention to the hands of Christ who, giving himself to the disciples at the Last Supper, said ' "This (you understand, that I hold in my hands) is my body which is given for you". See he held in his hands the body born of a virgin, the body transformed from the substance of bread by the word.' Honorius spoke of Christ's hands (*habuit in manibus*) again in reference to the wine: 'Behold the body born from the virgin up to now uninjured by any wound, he held in his hands, the blood changed from the substance of wine'.¹² He used the whole passage forcefully to confirm the Real Presence of Christ, born of Mary, given undiminished to the disciples and existing in heaven, 'In truth' he said 'he transferred himself whole (*integrum*) to the right hand of the Father'.¹³ Honorius, writing on the Presentation, had also repeated insistently the words *in hand/in his hands*, giving a clear affirmation of the Real Presence and suggesting the physical closeness necessary for substantial union:

'we take *in hand* the bread and we bless, and we make known the time of grace, by which Simeon took *in his hands* Christ the living bread new born, and rejoicing bless [him]. Then we take the chalice, and we bless, and we express the time of the supper, at which Christ raised [*elevavit*] bread and wine *in his hands* and blessed, and thence handed over body and blood to the apostles. Whence up to now when the words of the Lord are recited in order, bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of the Lord'.¹⁴

The attention paid to the symbolism of hands was reinforced in the ordination rites where the priest's hands were anointed with chrism in the

¹⁰ *De officiis* 2, 2, 93-97 Schaefer 1983, 101-02

¹¹ *In canonem missae* PL 160, 1062A.

¹² *Eucharistion* cap 3 PL 172 1251 C-D.

¹³ 1252A.

¹⁴ *Gemma animae* cap. 52. PL 172, 559D-560A. Schaefer 1983, 163.

pattern of Christ's nail wounds on the cross.¹⁵ By the twelfth century this was clearly taken as signifying the reception of grace to consecrate. The marks linked the priest and Christ in a special and intimate relationship. Hildebert of Lavardin also refers to the priest's anointed hands making the mystical signs of the cross as he brings the same blood offerings as Aaron and Christ.¹⁶

It has been noted in chapter 3 that the priest's penitence and unworthiness is stressed at the very same time as his special sacerdotal closeness to Christ on the altar is increasingly recognised. In the literature on the priest's own recognition of his unworthiness there are examples of an awestruck awareness of holding the host.¹⁷ Encouragement to the laity to recognise the awesome implications of the holding of Christ was provided by the ruling of the Council of Rouen in 878 which forbade communion in the hand for the laity.¹⁸

The images of the hand-held host

1. Christ in Majesty.

The emphasis on hands in the twelfth-century writers just quoted suggests a utility for the hand-held host image especially in a Paschasian interpretation. It has been argued that this had emerged much earlier, and that the Real Presence was reflected in religious art quite quickly after Paschasius wrote *De corpore*.¹⁹ Schapiro gives a number of examples dating from the ninth century in which Christ holds a small disc 'delicately and ostensively' between the thumb and the index, or middle or fourth finger, as a priest would hold a

¹⁵ The rite appeared first in Ordo Romanus VIII in the early tenth century.

¹⁶ *De mysterio missae* PL 171, 1184B.

¹⁷ The idea of holy fear (*Phrike*) is common in the Fathers. Daniélou 1960, 134. Chrysostom, for example, talked of the awful mysteries, the dreadful sacrifice, the fearful moment and of how one should approach reception of the awesome blood with fear and trembling. Jungmann 1965, 246-63.

¹⁸ Benedictine monk (anon.) 1999, 109. Moloney 1995, 118.

¹⁹ Paschasius wrote *De corpore* in about 831-33 but the hand-held host does not seem to appear in art until after Paschasius presented the newly-crowned Emperor Charles the Bald with a revised version in 844. In 843-44 Charles the Bald had asked Ratramnus to clarify for him various eucharistic ideas. This may have been as much from a desire to settle questions which had arisen at the Council of Quierzy in 838 over Amalarius's explanation of the threefold fraction of the bread as signifying a threefold existence of Christ's body in the sacrament, in the Church and in earth and heaven (ideas which had questionable Christological and Trinitarian implications) as to open up debate between Paschasius and Ratramnus. Macy 1984, 22 quoting

consecrated wafer.²⁰ The interpretation of this disc as a host is in contrast to the more common depictions of Christ holding a small disc representing the globe of the world.²¹ There are, however, examples of a purposeful conflation of the two images in the eleventh century (when the orb as an image of Christ's kingship, an image gaining ground in the tenth century, will also be used frequently and perhaps create a conflation of all three ideas).

In the ninth century, as in the miniature in the Bible of Charles the Bald made in Tours about 845 [fig. 56],²² the main references would seem to be to the crucial significance of the Eucharist, and to the unity of the sacrificed body of the historical Christ and the body of Christ reigning in heaven. Christ in Majesty holds a host (marked with XP, his symbol, thus distinguishing it from a globe) in his right hand and the Book in his left. He is depicted between the evangelists and prophets, as the victorious saviour foretold in the Old Testament and revealed in the New Testament. Here the host relates the salvific Eucharist to the whole history of salvation, past, present and future. Since this is a depiction of Christ in glory the reference is to the heavenly banquet, which Christ at the Last Supper promised he would celebrate with the faithful: 'I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom' (Matthew 26:29). The early Church had often in funerary art used the eucharistic motif of chalice, vine and peacocks to refer to the eschatological banquet, when Christ, the high priest,

Bouhot. For whatever reason, however, the eucharistic debate was opened up as was shown in my chapters 1 and 5.

²⁰ Schapiro 1954, 306-27.

The host could be held between thumb and first second or third finger in these images. This may have had particular meanings. The gesture was always ritualistic and ostensive, but particularly so when the thumb and any one other finger was used. It also carries a suggestion of great care with something precious. In the eleventh century monks at Cluny from the moment of washing of hands at the Offertory would keep the thumb and index finger of each hand fully joined in order to prevent any profane contact with fingers which would hold the consecrated host. A Benedictine Monk 1999, 94.

This gesture can be used in medieval art with other significant objects, notably the keys of St. Peter, the rod of Jesse and sceptres. Careful assessment needs to be made of context.

²¹ A conflation of the images of *mundus* and the host is also meaningful. The Church is the body of Christ and Origen had called the Church 'the cosmos of the cosmos, because Christ has become its cosmos, he who is the primal light of the cosmos.' Origen *Commentaria in Joannis* 6, 38. PG 14,302C. Pelikan 1971,160

²² Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris, BN, ms.lat.1), formerly called the Vivian Bible, probably presented to Charles the Bald while the Emperor was in Tours in 845-46. Dodwell 1993, 71.

would drink the new wine.²³ In this miniature there is no inhabited border, no vine, no peacocks, the host itself says all.

Kessler does not accept this disc as a host and quotes a number of other authorities in support of this rejection.²⁴ He sees the Bible of Charles the Bald as concerned with royal power and the need for a just Christian king; the orb and the world are the relevant symbols. His rejection of the disc as a host because it is gold with red writing upon it seems verging on the simplistic, however.

The ninth-century debate may have made possible and relevant a new iconographical theme. By showing Christ in Majesty holding the host *per se*, the centrality of the Mass ritual itself was emphasised in a new way. Even if the host is conflated with the image of the world (saved by Christ's sacrifice) and the orb (image of the universal power that enabled him to do so) this emphasis on the salvific Eucharist remains crucial. Like the orb, the sceptre is a symbol of royal power, and Paschasius related this to Christ's triumph, saying that the sceptre was the reed placed in Christ's hand by Pilate's mocking soldiers. Christ thus received a fragile sceptre so that he could triumph by breaking it on the cross.²⁵ If the Gospel book of Charles the Bald does indeed show Christ holding the host then it is linked in form and subject matter to a group of images of a later date (particularly from the second half of the eleventh century) which seem to point to a number of very central concerns, all with eucharistic implications.

The marble relief on an altar frontal [Fig. 57]²⁶ in the Musée Fenaille, Rodez, may perhaps be too early to be a reflection of the Berengarian dispute,

²³ O'Reilly 1994 expands on this funerary motif and on the related exegesis of Origen.

²⁴ Kessler 1977, 42.

²⁵ *Expositio in Matteo XII*, xxvii. 31. CCCM 56B 1984 ed. Paulus 111, 1362-3. Raw 1990, 149.

²⁶ Reconstruction illustrated in Bousquet 1948, pl. xiii, who argues, from fragments of an altar found in Rodez cathedral, that it was the cathedral main altar. He saw relief and altar as contemporary. The altar itself however, may have pre-dated the carving and was perhaps from the tenth or very early eleventh century. The evidence is unclear. Deschamps 1925, 149 accepted Bousquet's dating of the altar fragments but felt the relief was from a lost tympanum probably of the first half of the twelfth century.

²⁷ but it does relate to the continuing debate from the ninth century, the probable period of its artistic sources. Bousquet originally dated it to first half of the twelfth century but later decided it was probably from the third quarter of the eleventh century. If this were so it would date from the major period of the Berengarian debate.²⁸

The carving is of great refinement, the drapery folds forming complex symmetrical and asymmetrical patterns, the circles of heaven and glory, the halo, the book and the footstool, and most importantly, the wafer are all linked, balanced and structured. The halo and the figure-of-eight mandorla are not closed circles but spiral segments in complementary patterns intercepted by the body. Only the host, held with deliberate delicacy, is a full circle, the image of perfection. It is 'the symbol and vestment of the miraculously present, metabolized body of Christ. Fingers and host are a nucleus of this body in form as well as meaning'.²⁹ Like the gospel book of Charles the Bald and the other Carolingian examples given by Schapiro, this altar frontal links the body of Christ on the altar with the body in heaven and in the world to come.³⁰ The alpha and omega of Revelations 1:8³¹ are elegantly and clearly carved, their

²⁷ Schapiro 1963, 285-305. Schapiro originally dated the relief to about 1000. Schapiro 1954, 306-27, but later amended this to the first third of the eleventh century. This seems to me rather too early.

²⁸ Bousquet 1948, 150-51.

²⁹ Schapiro 1963, 290-91.

³⁰ Delaruelle 1958 rejects the idea that this is a host. He links it to an Apocalyptic view of the Eucharist where Christ's body in heaven is a glorified body not needing to be presented as a host to the angels. Where angels hold discs in Carolingian art he sees these as seals marked with a cross, a sign of the *crucis mysterium*. These could reasonably be conflated with the orb or the globe. The Rodez altar-piece he sees as more in tune with the Carolingian regal approach than with the emphasis on the adoration of Christ in the sacrament which he sees as originating only from the time of St. Francis but which is, in fact, evident to some degree, from the twelfth century. Jungmann, however, sees the roots of this adoration in the incorporation of the *Agnus Dei* into the western Mass in the eighth century. Jungmann 1965, 259.

³¹ Bousquet 1948, 140 says that the Mozarabic liturgy contains the words 'Christ is the alpha and omega, the beginning and the end'. He sees Mozarabic sources in the Rodez altar surround and similarities to Catalan altar-frontals. Schapiro rejects this simple Mozarabic link, seeing the sources of the altar decoration as Carolingian and Lombardic, and those of the relief itself as Carolingian, particularly from Tours, and the developments of this in the south-west French manuscript tradition.

The ninth century eucharistic debate made limited impact in Spain (perhaps accounting for the host being mis-labelled as 'mundus' (as in the Gerona Beatus of 975). Roussillon, Catalonia and South West France had close links however and there are depictions of Christ holding the host in eleventh-century Catalan Bibles from Ripoll and Roda. Schapiro 1954, 304 n.65.

size and the low relief of Christ making them seem not so much behind Christ as surrounding him; the sacrament links past and future.³²

If identification of what Christ holds as a host is questionable in the previous examples, there can be no doubt that this is the correct interpretation of Christ's action in the eleventh-century missal of St-Denis [fig. 58]. Directly beneath his hand is a chalice and paten on the altar. This is Christ as the High Priest offering the host to the mouth of the kneeling St Denis, whose hand seems to be held out less to receive the host than in a gesture of awe.³³ The same subject appears in the twelfth-century manuscript from St-Denis of a collection of homilies [Fig. 7 in chapter 3].³⁴

The earthly Eucharist as a prelude to the coming eschatological feast would seem to be shown in a drawing from a missal now in Auxerre. Schapiro considered that this manuscript [fig. 59] was probably written in Tours, either for the dedication of St-Julien in 1084 or for the translation of relics there in 1097.³⁵ The drawing, which originally belonged with the text of the Preface and Canon of the Mass, gives an apocalyptic vision of Christ and the twenty-four elders. Christ, enthroned and in the mandorla of glory, holds aloft the host (clearly marked with a cross³⁶) almost directly under the symbol of the Agnus

³² Old Testament prefigurations of the Eucharist could be recalled in an assessment of such an image.

³³ Paris B.N., lat. 9436, fol. 106v. Beckwith 1964, 182 dates this MS from the middle of the eleventh century. Katzenellenbogen 1989, 33 said it is Rhenish and early eleventh century. The image of Christ as the high priest giving communion is not common in the west at this period. For the eastern roots of this image see Jungmann 1965, 241-45. See also my chapter 3 for the eucharistic aspects of the Purification of Isaiah's lips.

³⁴ Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 11700, fol. 105r. There was a legend that Christ had given communion to St Denis whilst the saint was awaiting execution in prison.

³⁵ Auxerre cathedral missal unnumbered MS. Schapiro 1954. The Tours connection is a heritage of the great Carolingian art centre but it may not be by chance that these images re-emerge during the controversy surrounding Berengar of Tours. Local feeling must have been particularly intense both in support and opposition.

Cahn 1996 vol. 2, 14 considers the missal to be early twelfth century.

³⁶ Not all cross-inscribed objects are hosts, they are sometimes orbs. As with the assessment of the meaning of delicate ostensive gestures suitable for indicating a host care has to be taken in assessing context. This depiction could be an orb since it is in an apocalyptic scene and it is in Revelations 19:16 that the Word of God is called 'King of King and Lord of Lords.' But bearing in mind that this is a missal and that the disc is small, a host seems more likely. It could be a conflation, and a telling one, since the Passion and Resurrection are also the sources of Christ's kingship. Where angels hold a cross-marked disc (as Gabriel does on a portable altar probably from Winchester c. 1031) this may be a reference to the deacons holding the paten in preparation for consecration who symbolically take the part of the angels thus

Dei, the sacrificed and victorious Lord.³⁷ Toubert sees this as reflecting the elevation of the host.³⁸ This may be so, since the elevation, as has been stated in chapter 4, was practised in the Tours region at this date.

2. The Last Supper.

Another method of combining images, which include the hand-held host in order to reinforce the centrality of the Eucharist and its institution at the Last Supper, can be seen in a late eleventh or early twelfth-century unfinished manuscript illustration from a missal of St-Maur-des-Fossés [fig. 60].³⁹ Here Christ holds not the host but the sop offered to Judas.⁴⁰ An apostle, probably Peter, is very deliberately placing the disc of the host in his own mouth and another apostle is raising the chalice towards Christ. The figure of Christ is much larger than the apostles and given a monumentality that reinforces the sense of royal high-priesthood prefigured by Melchisedek. The knife is given no particular emphasis in the design but even so, in this context, it may have evoked the image of the priest calling down the divine word and thereby using his voice as a knife to cleave Christ's body in the sacrifice of the Mass.⁴¹ Christ's footstool is so deliberately formalised that it may perhaps have been intended to suggest, not the homely room of the Last Supper, but rather the heavenly Jerusalem where the bread of angels will be eaten.

In a late eleventh-century manuscript from St-Ouen at Rouen, of Augustine's *Commentary on John*, Christ at the Last Supper holds both the host

reinforcing the idea of the connection between the Mass and the heavenly liturgy. These angels can be distinguished from Christ, the Angel of Great Counsel, who is the priest in the heavenly liturgy. See Okasha and O'Reilly 1984, 76.

Where the Virgin Mary holds a disc it is usually an apple, symbol of her being the second Eve. It may be a pomegranate, symbol of the unity of the Church although this is more usually held by the Christ-child. Mary could theoretically be shown holding the host in view of her role in the incarnation and as the instigator of the Cana prefiguration of the Eucharist.

³⁷ Schapiro 1954 gives a number of other examples of the hand-held host, or conflations of this image.

³⁸ Toubert 1990, 382.

³⁹ Paris, BN ms lat. 12054, fol. 79. Schapiro dates this towards 1100, Swarzenski about 1070 and Cahn the beginning of the twelfth century. Schapiro 1954, 326 n.83. Swarzenski 1967. Cahn 1996.

⁴⁰ The question of whether the sop was salvific is discussed in chapters 1 and 4.

⁴¹ Gregory Nazianzen *Ep.* 171 PG 37, 279 and 282. Kelly 1985, 443.

and the chalice [fig. 61].⁴² The host is held in the same deliberate and delicate way between thumb and forefinger that has been seen in all the depictions of the orb/globe/host. The apostles are grouped alongside and slightly behind Christ, less like meal guests than like assisting priests and deacons. Such a depiction was significant in terms of the Real Presence since Paschasius had asserted that it was at the Last Supper that Christ's body was first offered. Ratramnus had said that at this point Christ had not died and so could not offer his historical body, but Paschasius countered this by saying that had Christ waited until after the resurrection ' the heretics would have said that Christ is now incorruptible and located in heaven and that therefore his flesh cannot be eaten on earth'.⁴³

In the Winchester Psalter of the mid-twelfth century [fig. 62] there is another telling variant of the hand-held-host image. The priest is not shown here as an unworthy individual fearfully holding the body of his Lord but rather, since the host is held jointly by Christ and St Peter, his membership of the Church is stressed and, in particular, the role of the Church through the apostolic priesthood celebrating the Eucharist is reinforced.⁴⁴ A similar point is made in a capital at Thiviers discussed later. Honorius Augustodunensis, recalling passages in Gregory the Great, had also emphasised this ecclesiological point when he said that in the body of Christ, the Church, the hands were the defenders of the Church.⁴⁵ This was an image which in times of reform, and of heresy and debate on valid sacraments, may have taken on a particular resonance.

3. Emmaus.

There are images other than of the Last Supper where Jesus holds the host and which address specific twelfth-century theological concerns. One of the most significant images is Christ holding the host at the meal at Emmaus. In the Emmaus fresco in La-Trinité, Vendôme [fig. 63], mentioned in chapter 4,

⁴² Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS A 85 (467) illustrated in ed. Zarnecki *et al.* 1984, 88.

⁴³ *De corpore* 18. CCCM 16:100.PL 120, 1326B. Pelikan 1978,.75. See the issue of the appearances of the risen Christ later in this chapter.

⁴⁴ London B.L., MS Cotton Nero C.IV, fol 20.

Christ, sitting on a globe, holds the host at the first renewal and memorial of the Last Supper.⁴⁶ The globes, and the absence of the table usually shown in Emmaus scenes, augments the solemnity and timelessness of the moment and underlines the dogmatic character.⁴⁷ Often Emmaus scenes, such as those at Vézelay [fig. 64] and at St-Vincent, Chalon-sur-Saône [fig. 65] show Christ just touching the bread as it rests on the table, but here the bread is held aloft in the form of two half circles one in each hand. It is an insistent deliberate portrayal of the gesture which, before the very late eleventh century, had appeared only when Christ in Majesty held the host or in Last Supper scenes. At Vendôme the reference is specifically to the Real Presence in the Eucharist. Christ's holding aloft the fractured host may also have been intended as a reminder of the significance of the elevation of the host, the true body of Christ, at the words of consecration in the Mass. Although this practice was not universal at this date, it did occur in the Loire region.⁴⁸ The Vendôme fresco asserted a clearly Paschasian, anti-Berengarian, definition.⁴⁹ Geoffrey of Vendôme firmly stated that, 'he who was able ineffably and truly to assume flesh in his virgin mother [...] turned the substance of bread and wine into the nature of his own body in the consecration'.⁵⁰

All Emmaus scenes represent the Fraction in the Mass when the host is broken to symbolise the broken body on the Cross. It is an image of the suffering of the human body of Christ, reinforced as such by most of the allegorical interpretations of the Mass (see chapter 5) and given added force in a period of emphasis on the Real Presence. Amalarius had seen the Fraction in the Mass as the breaking of bread by Christ at Emmaus.⁵¹ This alone would have been sufficient to render the image useful to those stressing the centrality

⁴⁵ *Elucidarium* 27 PL 172, 129A.

⁴⁶ Only half of this design is now visible but the reconstruction by Taralon seems convincing. Taralon 1981, 9-22.

⁴⁷ Toubert 1990, 369.

⁴⁸ Hildebert of Lavardin, bishop of Le Mans at this date, talks of it in *De mysterio missae* PL 171, 1186. The practice was not yet the confirmation of adoration it would become later but it seems to have been a fervent assertion of faith in the salvific reception of the Real Presence. See Hildebert in chapters 5 and 7.

⁴⁹ Geoffrey of Vendôme was a vigorous opponent of Berengar. It is probably telling that the iconography of Emmaus was developed at the time of the Carolingian debates on the Eucharist. Toubert 1990, 385.

⁵⁰ *Opuscula 1 De corporis* PL 157, 213-4 trans. Caryl Green. Toubert 1990, 384.

of the Mass and the sacerdotal role in it. Perhaps even more telling in the fight against heresy, however, was the idea, given by Theodore of Mopsuestia,⁵² that the Fraction represented the post-resurrection appearance 'now to this man, now to that' without division or loss of unity. It was necessary to combat Berengar's mocking of the idea that Christ could be broken up into little bits on earth rather than being shown as in heaven. Odo of Cambrai, ~~as quoted in chapter 4~~, had said that in the Fraction 'He was broken between his fingers while he was sitting safe and sound among his disciples. He was whole and at the same time he was divided into parts [...] likewise we daily consume Christ on the altar and yet he remains; we eat yet he lives; we break him into pieces with our teeth, yet he is whole [...] undivided he is distributed'.⁵³ The Fraction of the Mass in the Vendôme Emmaus therefore, taken in conjunction with the multiple resurrection appearances, has been seen as 'une réponse visuelle à l'argumentation de Bérengar'.⁵⁴

The design of the Vendôme fresco is very similar to the crucifixion leaf in the Auxerre missal [fig. 66], the companion piece to the Christ in Majesty discussed earlier. In one of the border scenes, the broken host is insistently held aloft and, as at Vendôme, the apostles appear to have jumped up from the table in wonder and amazement [fig. 67]. In this missal the crucifixion has bordering scenes of the Passion and of the reappearance of Christ in the flesh, thus illustrating 'the historical content of the sacrifice of the Mass [...] and [its] dramatic historical precedents'.⁵⁵ These precedents included the Old Testament sacrifices and the prophecies that Jesus expounded concerning himself to the Emmaus pilgrims.⁵⁶ These prophecies foretold the resurrection, setting it in the divine plan. Here the continuity of sacrifice is confirmed. In the two tympana in the narthex at Vézelay, dated c.1150, [fig. 68] and [fig. 69] the Emmaus supper is given the same form as contemporary Cana and bread miracle depictions. Emmaus is therefore clearly shown as a vital part of the progression from the Annunciation to the Ascension (which are major subjects

⁵¹ *De officio missae* PL 105, 1328.

⁵² Quoted in Daniélou 1960, 139.

⁵³ *In canonem missae* PL 160, 1062A.

⁵⁴ Toubert 1990, 385.

⁵⁵ Schapiro 1954, 316-17.

in these tympana) and thus to all future time.⁵⁷ These events are shown above and alongside the meal at Emmaus, which, itself, is flanked by the meeting with Christ on the journey to Emmaus, and the disciples' return to Jerusalem to spread the amazing news.⁵⁸

4. The Bread Miracle.

The feeding of the five thousand had, from very early times, been seen as a type of the Mass (as well as an example of a work of mercy). All five gospel accounts have eucharistic resonance, speaking of giving thanks and breaking bread.⁵⁹ At least from the time of the catacombs, the Church had interpreted the bread miracle as a symbol of the Eucharist.⁶⁰ It was, however, not a very common motif in the early middle ages.⁶¹ It reappears in the twelfth century, only to be largely abandoned in the thirteenth century. This suggests that it had a particular relevance in the twelfth century, one which Mâle saw as

⁵⁶ Lk. 24: 27. See chapter 7.

⁵⁷ Twelfth-century versions of the Easter *Quem quaeritis* liturgical drama include the meeting on the road to Emmaus (and the race to the tomb between John and Peter). This Mass trope celebrates Christ's resurrection in his divine-human form as well as his Real Presence. Kobialka 1999, 165. See Hardison 1965, 310.

The Emmaus story was also the subject of a liturgical dramas, *Peregrinus*, where, in a thirteenth-century text from St. Benoît-sur-Loire, the pilgrim Christ elevates the broken pieces of bread at the Emmaus meal. This play has earlier versions and so may have existed in the early twelfth century in a similar form. Toubert 1990, 385 and Young 1933, 1, 472. Mâle 1949, 28 considered this drama highly influential for art.

⁵⁸ Of particular importance to papal apologists was the tradition that one of the Emmaus travellers was St Peter. Although Peter had not been the first to see the resurrected Christ he had, according to this tradition, been the first to be offered the post-resurrection sacramental meal.

⁵⁹ Mt 15: 29-39 gives a second account of miraculous feeding when four thousand were fed with seven loaves and a few fishes. Mk 8:6 and Mt 15: 36 use *eucharisteas* for 'he gave thanks'. In Jn 6:12 the gathering up of the fragments (*synagein*) is given as a command of Christ; in the *Didache* 9:4 the same word is used for the gathering of the eucharistic bread, in turn a symbol of the gathering of the Church, whence comes the ancient word *synaxis* for the first part of the Mass.' *Jerome Biblical Commentary*. Jn 6 can be seen as containing the main eucharistic teaching in that gospel and if so that reinforces the significance of the bread miracle in Jn 6: 5-14. This is a controversial chapter, however, and some of the language which seems clearly eucharistic may have been added later. Moloney 1995, 67-77 outlines the controversy.

⁶⁰ *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 'during the first and second centuries [with one exception] the only symbol of the Eucharist adopted in Christian art was that inspired by the miraculous multiplication'. There are usually seven guests but sometimes only the bread and fishes are shown. There are more than thirty frescoes of the miraculous multiplication in the Roman catacombs.

⁶¹ There are depictions of the bread miracle as in the Andrews Diptych (V&A A.47/a-1926, probably ninth century Carolingian) where it appears with other miracles of Christ. Despite the fact that one of these is Cana the diptych does not, however, seem directly focused on the Eucharist.

connected to the countering of heresy.⁶² It may have had that positive function in respect of popular heresy; one of the capitals at St-Pons, in an area notoriously troubled by heresy, shows the bread miracle.

This miracle, like Emmaus, may also have been used to counter Berengar's insistence that Christ's body was in heaven and indivisible; it could not be augmented or diminished by being broken up into little bits at communion. Guitmund of Aversa accused Berengar's followers of mockingly saying that even if the body of Christ were the size of a mountain it must have been devoured by now.⁶³ Peter the Venerable attributed the idea to Berengar himself, and implied that Peter de Bruys was using it to attack the Real Presence.⁶⁴ Later in the century, the Cathars also appear to have adopted this line of attack.⁶⁵ The principle of concomitance, by which it was stated that Christ was fully present in body, blood, soul and divinity in either species was being widely taught from the early twelfth century, but it may not have been an easily grasped idea.⁶⁶ The bread miracle was an appealing story with which to confirm the possibilities of a limitless distribution of the undivided Christ.

An example of Christ holding the host, one in each hand, in a prefiguration of both the Last Supper and the Mass, comes in a mid-twelfth-century capital of the bread miracle in the choir at St-Nectaire (Puy-de-Dôme) [fig. 70]. The layout of this capital deliberately evokes the many capitals of the Last Supper where the table is laid with a cloth for a formal meal. The apostles (as was necessary to clarify the narrative) also hold cross-marked loaves, resembling huge hosts, and two fish that are centrally placed, framing one of the hosts, and thus carrying the full implications of the fish symbol. The

⁶² Mâle 1978, 424.

⁶³ *De corporis* PL 149, 1450B-C.

It is possible that Berengar did, in fact, say this because he was given to making sarcastic comments ridiculing what he saw as the simplistic realism of his opponents. In the same vein he said that God could not be rushing backwards and forwards to all the earthly altars. Macy 1999, 67.

⁶⁴ *Contra Petrobrusianos CCCM* 10, 101-102.

⁶⁵ The Cathars may have also used it to attack corrupt and greedy priests, saying that had such a mountain existed it would by now have been eaten by the priests. Macy 1999, 68 quoting Durand of Huesca *Liber antiheresis* c.1190 -94.

apostles point towards Jesus who will perform the miracles of multiplication and of self-consecration.

Another Auvergnat example is at St Austremoine, Issoire [fig. 71], on the exterior north wall above the portal. Here Christ, between apostles holding the loaves and fish, raises both hands in blessing in a gesture that might recall the priest's gestures at the *Hanc igitur*, which itself was taken as an evocation of the Old Testament blessing of the sacrifice. All three figures stare outwards as if towards time yet to come.⁶⁷ Patristic tradition had seen the bread miracle as prefigured by the manna given by God to feed the starving Israelites in the desert.⁶⁸ John 6 elaborates on this in the story of the bread miracle. Christ here is the New Moses and he offers a 'banquet' of loaves and fishes which look forward to the Messianic Banquet.⁶⁹ There are also echoes in the story of the bread miracle, where the people were resting in a place of 'much grass' (Jn. 6: 10), of the 'green pastures' in psalm 22(23). This psalm carried the greatest number of eucharistic images and cries of hope for future salvation and presence at the eschatological banquet.⁷⁰

5. Christ between St Peter and Mary Magdalen.

In the parish church at Thiviers (Dordogne) there is a hand-held-host image unique, to my knowledge, in France [fig. 72]. Christ stands between St Peter (to whom he is giving the keys) and Mary Magdalen, who is carrying her ointment jar. In his left hand⁷¹ Christ holds the host aloft, reflecting his raised arms at the crucifixion and the priestly gestures in the Mass which recall his suffering on the cross. The Thiviers capital dates from the late eleventh or

⁶⁶ Rubin 1991, 321 gives a number of non-Cathar thirteenth century examples of laymen arguing that even if Christ's body was as big as a mountain it would already have been consumed.

⁶⁷ This sculpture is damaged. It is possible that Christ holds a loaf or large host in his right hand, but the gesture remains one of blessing.

⁶⁸ Daniélou 1960, 150. Eusebius *Demonstratio Evangelica* 3, 2 PG32, 171A-B. Glasson 1963, 23. See also my chapter 7.

⁶⁹ Prudentius in his poem *Lines to be inscribed under scenes from history* had said 'twelve baskets are filled with the excess of broken morsels; such are the riches of the everlasting table'. Davis-Weyer 1986, 31.

⁷⁰ See Ambrose *De sacramentis* 5,13. Moloney 1995, 69. Daniélou 1960, 177-90 especially 181-86.

early-twelfth century.⁷² Between 1086-1102 Renaud of Thiviers was bishop of Périgueux. In 1102 he went on crusade. He may have anticipated his death on this perilous venture. If, as is possible, the crossing capitals were his gift, he may have wanted to leave to his home town powerful didactic sculpture conveying reforming ideas.⁷³ The laity would not have had to understand the nuances of the debate in order to recognise in this capital the centrality of the sacrament, and its closeness to Christ the High Priest, his Church and the essential apostolic priesthood, and his penitent followers. This capital was unlikely to have been designed primarily to combat heresy but this may have been one of its purposes. There was heresy in this area at this date although its exact nature is now unclear.

The sculpture is sited at the crossing on the south side, just at the division between the clergy and the lay parishioners.⁷⁴ If the rood and an associated altar of the cross were located at the west side of the crossing, this would increase the eucharistic significance of this capital. Even if this were not the case, the crossing marks the entry to the holiest area.⁷⁵ The figures are all the same size; this is obviously not to indicate equal importance but to show the interconnection of the themes. The closeness of the relationships is not presented here in personal terms for the figures neither touch nor look at the others. They are symbols of eternally vital theological ideas, almost abstract in their undecorated space. Only the bare feet step, just a little, onto the necking of the capital and into the world of the living faithful. In this host capital the wafer is being held in an ostensive way that would distinguish it from a globe or an orb, although, since neither image would have been irrelevant in this

⁷¹ Usually Christ is depicted holding the host in his right hand but here the hand of power is directed to St Peter. The sacrament that the Church will offer gains a penitential focus by proximity to Mary Magdalen.

⁷² Secret n.d., 8.

⁷³ Renaud might have been an opponent of Joscelin of Parthenay, archbishop of Bordeaux, who was a supporter of Berengar, in view of the fact that Renaud probably only became bishop of Périgueux in 1086, the year that Joscelin died.

⁷⁴ Notre-Dame at Thiviers seems to have been from very early times (possibly from the fifth century) a parish church. Secret n.d., 1. It may have been in the hands of Augustinian canons as this was common in the area. Renaud had granted the priory of nearby St-Jean-de-Cole to the Augustinians.

⁷⁵ Sculptured capitals at the crossing were, like choir capitals, frequently of major images and often eucharistic. If there had been a crucifix either as a rood or as a wall sculpture in wood or stone it was likely to have been in this area.

sculpture, which clearly has cosmocratic implications, both images may have been intended. The inclusion of Peter and Mary Magdalen, however, further highlights the Eucharist as the major focus here. The inclusion of St Peter hammers home the point that the salvific functions of the sacraments were only available from within the Church and through partaking in valid sacraments validly administered.⁷⁶

Great emphasis was being placed in this period on penitence and penance as a precondition of salvific reception, and Mary Magdalen was the saint most associated with penance and with Christ's loving acceptance of this. Mary's raised hand here is designed to mirror the raised hands of Christ and St. Peter, thus reinforcing the interconnection of the host and the Church by a significant gesture of prayer and petition in the *orant* tradition. The other reason for the inclusion of Mary Magdalen may also relate directly to current eucharistic debate. She was the first person to see the risen Christ and to recognise the continuity of the body. The significance of the Resurrection can only fully be seen where Christ's true humanity is recognised. Only as God-*man* could he save the world and he could not be truly man, truly mortal, without the incarnation. Had Christ appeared in simulated or feigned flesh then he could have feigned death and, thereby, the Resurrection.⁷⁷ In the garden Mary Magdalen was, after her initial confusion, in no doubt that she recognised the body born of Mary: in this sculpture Christ as High Priest holds aloft that same body present on the altar of earth and heaven.

Yet even Mary Magdalen did not recognise Jesus at once, mistaking him for the gardener. Guitmund of Aversa drew on this when responding to Berengar's idea that a substantial presence would involve sacrilege, and lay

⁷⁶ On another face of the same pillar is Samson killing the lion (Judges 14:5-6). This image reinforces the eucharistic and reformist aspects of the neighbouring hand-held host complex. Samson was a type of Christ, symbol of Christ's victory over evil and a parallel to the Passion where the lion is a type of the ferocity of Christ's tormentors. Marrow 1979.⁵ Samson in respect of his self-sacrifice and the pulling down of the gates of Gaza is a type of the resurrection. There are eucharistic aspects to the Samson images too in the sacrifice of Manoah, Samson's father (Judges 13: 19-20) and in the water which flowed from the jawbone of the ass (Judges 15: 14-19). In terms of Gregorian reform Patristic sources were used to show Samson's betrayal by Delilah as a parallel to Christ's betrayal by Judas (see chapter 4 for Judas as simoniac and heretic).

⁷⁷ Augustine *De haeresibus* 1,46 PL 42, 37-38.

open to question the salvific nature of the Eucharist if Christ could be seen as fragmented and in many places at once. Guitmund argued that the true body and blood remained intact, although apparently divided on many altars, or even when the bread or wine appeared to rot. Jesus might choose for didactic reasons to appear in different forms. Just as he took on the form of the gardener (and of a pilgrim en route to Emmaus) as a way of teaching Mary Magdalen and the disciples, so too he might take on the form of putrefied bread to teach us to care for the reserved species.⁷⁸ He could be in many places (and therefore on many altars) at once, and in many apparent pieces without losing his essential nature and unity.⁷⁹ The difficulty of not being able to ascertain the Real Presence by sense data is therefore emphasised, but the relevance of this difficulty is minimal in contrast to the certainty of Christ's undivided presence. The story of Mary Magdalen confirmed that the certainty must be accepted by love and faith.

6. The Incredulity of Thomas.

All the appearances of the risen Christ were used in this period to emphasise the same vital points about the interconnection of the incarnation, resurrection and the salvific integrity of Christ. The most common of these images in Romanesque sculpture, however, is the incredulity of Thomas.⁸⁰ This shares with the images of the hand-held host a particular physical immediacy. Thomas is not depicted holding the host, but he must rather touch the body of Christ himself, must reach out his hand to touch the wound in Christ's side, before he can believe in the risen Christ. Once he had touched and understood, however, Thomas could, unreservedly, exclaim 'My Lord and my God'.⁸¹ This is the most significant confession of faith found in the gospels.

The story obviously has several meanings, the most important of which is the need for faith,⁸² but the range of associated eucharistic ideas is

⁷⁸ Guitmund *De corporis* 2 (PL 149, 1445-1448) and Macy 1984, 49. Lanfranc had also spoken of Christ taking on different forms when talking to the disciples. *De corpore* PL150, 424B-C.

⁷⁹ Guitmund *De corporis* PL 149, 1435. Toubert 1990, 384-85.

⁸⁰ Jn. 20: 24-29.

⁸¹ Jn. 20: 28.

⁸² For this reason Thomas is prefigured by Balaam and the ass.

considerable.⁸³ In the late tenth century Aelfric set Doubting Thomas in the context of the Trinity. Christ's resurrection was not 'a matter of the escape of his divine nature from some imprisonment in the human. Moreover, Christ did not only rise from the dead in the body in which he suffered. He took the same body back to heaven, and so opened heaven to those whose nature he had assumed at his incarnation'.⁸⁴ This had been 'preordained in the divine plan before the creation of the world'.⁸⁵ Basing his ideas on Gregory the Great,⁸⁶ Aelfric said 'His body could be handled and yet it was unable to decay; he showed himself tangible and undecaying because his body was of the same nature as before, yet of a different glory'.⁸⁷

The significance of Trinitarian ideas in the debate about the Eucharist can also be illustrated from Rupert of Deutz who stressed the full divinity of Christ, at once both Son of God and Son of Man. Like Berengar, but from a fully Paschasian position, Rupert argued that the two aspects could not be divided since mankind could not hope to ascend to heaven unless it absorbed divinity into its humanity.⁸⁸ The twelfth century does not show Christ in a mandorla appearing to Thomas (as the late tenth-century Benedictional of St Aethelwold from Winchester does⁸⁹[fig. 73]) because the mandorla laid particular emphasis on the glorified body and on the eschatological aspects of Christ's sacrifice and it was necessary to stress that Christ had appeared in his human form. In the twelfth century Thomas is always shown touching the real, although resurrected, body of the human Christ, and accepting the resurrection through this more intimate human contact. The salvific necessity for physical union with the human Christ in the sacrament was also stressed by Guitmund of Aversa who said that if Christ could be touched by Thomas he could be touched

⁸³ Augustine had stressed that Thomas' faithlessness required Christ to say "I shall offer myself even to your hand", and that Christ's wounds had to remain visible in order to heal 'the true wounds in the hearts of men'. He also links the point to an attack on the Manichaeans. The burden of being touched 'was imposed, not on its own account but because of those who would one day deny the flesh of the Lord as true'. He gives a long section on the flesh of Christ as true flesh and said 'It was true flesh that the Truth showed to the disciples after the resurrection'. *Sermon on the Fifth Feria of Easter*, trans. Howe 1969.

⁸⁴ *Catholic Homilies* 11a. Raw 1997, 50-52.

⁸⁵ *Catholic Homilies* 21. Raw 1997, 51.

⁸⁶ *Homiliae in evangelia* 2, 26,1 PL 76, 1197-8.

⁸⁷ *Catholic Homilies* 1, 16. Raw 1997, 50.

⁸⁸ Van Engen 1983, 107-17 expands on this debate.

by the teeth of the faithful. 'It is natural', he said, 'for flesh to be touched; it is its infirmity to be wounded'. Therefore Christ was and is 'touched' and 'wounded'. Mankind's redemption lies in his *humilitas*.⁹⁰

The wounding is very important in eucharistic theology and imagery. Since Christ's body, both before and after the resurrection, was fully human and not just a spirit body it could be wounded. The wine and water which poured from Christ's side are signs of this humanity and of the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist.⁹¹ By showing Thomas touching this wound, rather than the wounds in Christ's hands, the depictions drew attention to this point. All the Mass commentators elaborated this with reference to the commingling of water and wine in the chalice, showing that this commingling is a symbol of man's sharing in Christ's Passion and in both sides of his nature, a sharing necessary for human redemption and resurrection.⁹² At St-Nectaire [fig. 74] the fact that the Virgin Mary is the spectator of Thomas's touching of Christ emphasises her bearing of Christ's impassible and indivisible body (as well as contrasting her faith with Thomas' doubt).

There are a great many late eleventh and twelfth-century capitals of Doubting Thomas, reflecting the force (and the necessity) of arguments like Guitmund's, and the even more direct and unambiguous explanation found in Odo of Cambrai, referred to earlier. It was vital to attack the Berengarian jibes that Christ could not be divided or in two places at once. Odo hammers this home by specifically referring to the post-resurrection appearances, 'he is broken in pieces and he is unbroken, undivided he is distributed, just as after his resurrection he proffered his spiritual body to be felt [by Thomas' hand]'.⁹³

The fish, which is often shown on the table in depictions of the Last Supper, also refers to the indivisibility and incorruptibility of the body of Christ

⁸⁹ BL Addl. MS 4959 fol. 56b.

⁹⁰ *De corporis* 1 PL149, 1432A-33C quoted in Stock 1983, 312.

⁹¹ See Paschasius in chapter 5. For further discussion of the wounds of Christ see chapter 8.

⁹² This also comes in eleventh and twelfth century commentaries on psalm 21(AV 22). Macy 1983, 60 - 61.

⁹³ *In canonem missae* PL 160,1062A trans. Caryl Green.

born of Mary. Christ, appearing on the seashore after his resurrection, had asked the incredulous apostles to give him something to eat and they gave him a broiled fish, which he ate to prove to them that his body, although glorified, still retained his full humanity. The broiled fish is one of the earliest eucharistic images, but it is not often illustrated in the twelfth century.⁹⁴ It does appear in the illustrations to a psalter of about 1140, probably from Christ Church, Canterbury [fig. 75].⁹⁵ In this depiction the disciples touch Jesus' arm. This is a visually significant departure from Luke 24, 39-43, where they were merely given the *opportunity* to touch the risen body.⁹⁶

7. The role of the Church as provider of the sacraments.

At St-Sernin, Toulouse [fig. 76], and Bayeux Cathedral [fig. 77] St Peter carries huge keys and has a predominant place on the other side of Christ to Doubting Thomas. Here the Church is the guardian and repository of faith and of the salvific sacraments which Christ's resurrection in his dual nature ensured. The idea of the Church as itself the body of Christ and the provider of the Eucharist appears in a capital (probably from the second half of the twelfth century and if so fitting with the increased ecclesial focus) on the exterior of St-Nicholas at Civray (Vienne) [fig. 78] where a beautiful woman, presumably representing the Church, holds two large, cross-inscribed wafers.⁹⁷ A similar capital exists at Dampierre-sur-Boutonne (Charente-Maritime) [fig. 79]. The woman may be both the beloved of the Song of Songs and the Church, Bride of Christ. If so, the Eucharist is being seen as a wedding, a union with Christ of

⁹⁴ For the earlier part of the Tiberius story and its significance for Gregorian reform see Vendôme section in chapter 4.

⁹⁵ London, V and A, MS 661. Lk. 24. 41-43.

The image of the fish is, of course, also the traditional symbol of Christ (and also sometimes of the newly baptized and of the Eucharist) of which the origin is unclear but may come from the acrostic Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour where the initial letters spell the Greek word fish. *ODCC*.

Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390-c. 463) had indicated the eucharistic aspect of this scene when he spoke of Christ 'giving himself as food to the disciples by the sea-shore, and offering himself to the whole world as Ichthys[fish]' in Lowrie 1947, 74.

Honorius Augustodunensis *Gemma animae* PL 172 1253 said that the bishop communicated before the ministers and people because Christ ate the fish with the apostles who symbolise the bishops.

⁹⁶ There was a long tradition of accepting that they did touch Christ and immediately believed.

⁹⁷ For dating Morillon 1978, 2. Seidel 1981, 47 gives other examples at Aulnay, Fontenet and St-Etienne-le-Cigogne.

the closest sort.⁹⁸ Its placing on the outside of the church enables this image to remind the believer of the need to be within the body of the Church, both literally and figuratively.

A different reference to the Church appears in a cloister capital at Moissac showing the annunciation to the shepherds [fig. 80]. An angel, blessing with his right hand, has in his left hand a large cross-inscribed host which he holds towards the shepherd and his flock [fig. 81]. In some ways this is an unexpected image. Other sculptures of the annunciation to the shepherds exist, but none includes the host. The more common eucharistic motif, by the thirteenth century, is of the shepherds at the nativity worshipping at the manger-altar, where the infant Christ himself is the sacrifice and host. Nevertheless, in the Moissac capital the host is unmistakably delineated against the angel's wing. The message seems totally unambiguous; Christ has come as a sacrifice for mankind so that man can share the bread of angels now and at the end of time. The Eucharist, which brings the Church into being, is here prefigured.

There was some variation in opinion as to how the shepherds should be interpreted, but in each case they were seen as representing a formative part of the Church. Ambrose saw the shepherds as the priests, the flock the people, and the night the world.⁹⁹ This clearly tallied with Jesus' demand that the Church, in the form of the apostles, should feed his flock (with eucharistic food as well as giving worldly care). It is a crucial image, intimately linked to all the imagery of Christ as both the good shepherd and the Agnus Dei. Not by chance does the bishop carry a crozier of which the shepherd's staff is the ancestor. The Moissac shepherd's staff is large and given a central place in this capital which, taken with the visual clarity of the host, might suggest that the equating of the shepherd to the priest was the preferred interpretation here. If so, it perhaps it points up issues of Gregorian reform with which Moissac was vigorously involved.

⁹⁸ For eucharistic wedding imagery see Magi later in this chapter, and chapter 8.

⁹⁹ *Expositio in S. Lucam* 11, 6, 7. PL 15, 1652. The shepherds were commonly seen as the people, and as the Jews who accepted Christ (in

It is significant that an angel is depicted holding the host. The role of the angels in the Mass (even leaving aside the major concept of Christ as the angel of the Mass) is a crucial one; they link the earthly and heavenly sacrifice. The incense in the eleventh century was blessed by the intercession of the Archangel Gabriel, not Michael as was the later interpretation.¹⁰⁰ Gabriel was the angel of the Annunciation and thus central in the eucharistic aspects of the incarnation. Appropriately, it was the devil-dragon-defeater, the Archangel Michael, whose intercession was requested in the *Confiteor*, the priest's confession of sins. The hymn of the angels before the shepherds, 'Glory to God in the highest' (Luke 2:14) forms the basis of the *Gloria*, the great hymn of joy in the Mass. By the end of the eleventh century it was sung or said at all Masses other than those in Advent and Lent, in votive masses (other than those of the angels, and of the Virgin said on a Saturday) and Masses for the dead.¹⁰¹ The *Gloria* was the hymn of the lesser angels and the *Sanctus*, coming at an even more vital place immediately before the canon, was the hymn of the seraphim. Most significantly of all was the prayer '*Supplices te rogamus [...] command these gifts [munera] be carried by the hands of thy holy angel to thine altar*', where the angel could be interpreted as Christ but which, in any case, shows the vital unity of the earthly and heavenly rites. In the lowest archivolt over the west door at Pont-l'Abbé-d'Arnoult (Charente-Maritime) [fig. 82] the role of the angels in the Mass is very clearly shown as they carry a candle, a censer and a chalice whilst elevating an image of the Agnus Dei, the very host.

8. The Magi.

Another major group of host-holding images depicts the adoration of the Magi. The Magi are part of the vital Epiphany (festival of illumination and manifestation) group of images with the nativity, baptism and the Marriage at Cana. Originally the emphasis was on baptism, but in the West by the fifth

contrast to Herod and other Jews who did not) and who, with the Gentiles (represented by the Magi), would form the Church.

¹⁰⁰ Jungmann 1953, 72. The angel with the censer in Rev. 8: 3-4 has no name and this may have been the cause of some confusion. Local rites with regard to incense varied greatly in the middle ages but incense is always connected with the idea of the worshipping angels.

¹⁰¹ Jungmann 1950, 357.

century the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles was given prominence on the 6 January festival.¹⁰² In all nativity scenes the dual nature of Christ as saviour and sacrifice, God and man is confirmed. The vulnerability of the child reinforces his humanity. The Magi, from far-flung lands, represent the Gentiles, the abandonment of magic and, in their recognition of the true nature of the child, the height of human wisdom. They, therefore, together with the humbler shepherds, reflect the universality of the Church.¹⁰³ This idea was reinforced by ancient traditions which interpreted them as the three ages of man and the three parts of the world which came to render homage.

The gifts brought by the Magi all have eucharistic implication: gold for kingship and victory; incense in homage to Christ's divinity; myrrh (used in embalming) as a sign of his death and thus of his humanity, suffering and burial.¹⁰⁴ Ivo of Chartres said that they were gold - spiritual understanding; frankincense - purity of faithful prayer; myrrh - death of carnal corruption. This ties the gifts to a specifically penitential-eucharistic focus.¹⁰⁵ The three gifts of the Magi signified an undivided Godhead which, nevertheless, could be adored in Christ. This unity is important in Trinitarian and Christological contexts as well as in the eucharistic debate. In seeking for a new-born baby the Magi story reinforces the parallels between incarnation and Christ in the Eucharist. The Magi are also shown as both paying homage and offering back that which Christ has given them. In this way they prefigure and mirror the idea of eucharistic sacrifice. From the late eleventh century the eucharistic connotations of the Magi would have been apparent to all because they were incorporated into the Epiphany liturgy itself by a ritual play in which three clerics entered after the *offertorium*, singing a hymn and proceeded to the altar to lay

¹⁰² By this time Christmas was celebrated in the West on 25 December.

¹⁰³ Augustine *Sermon On the Epiphany* and *Sermon On the Epiphany of the Lord* transl. Howe 1969, 53-56 and 156-59. Medieval legend said that they were baptised by St Thomas on his journey east. Mâle 1913, 212.

¹⁰⁴ In a prayer for the epiphany in one of the Ambrosian rites in the eleventh-century Bergamo Sacramentary the gifts are said not to be gold, frankincense and myrrh but the eucharistic gifts. Stevenson 1986, 89.

¹⁰⁵ *Sermo V* PL 162, 551A. Ivo said the offerings of the Magi were similar to the Presentation in the Temple in signifying that the Church must be made clean through communal and private prayers. Both offerings are symbolised in the Introit and are compared to the offerings of the Old Law made outside the temple in the hearing of all.

their gifts.¹⁰⁶ In the twelfth century the play was elaborated and performed before the Mass.¹⁰⁷

Medieval legend said that the wise men from the east were descended from Balaam and had inherited esoteric wisdom from him. This ancestry was significant since Balaam had foretold the deliverance by Christ and the coming of the star, 'there shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel' (Numbers 24:17).¹⁰⁸ In the thirteenth-century *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine (which draws on much earlier legends), the star was said to have the face of a child and to be the angel seen by the shepherds.¹⁰⁹ The reference to the star not only implies the fulfillment of God's guiding purpose but also the idea of illumination of the world by Christ the Word. The contrast is thus made between the human wisdom of the Magi and the ultimate wisdom. The Magi are represented in art from the second century but only from the eleventh century are they shown (in the West) as crowned kings.¹¹⁰ This might suggest in an era of Gregorian reform that they symbolised the subordination of the secular power to the Church. In the catacombs they are shown bringing gifts on dishes, a schema 'derived from the ancient ceremony of the triumph where the defeated peoples paid homage to the victorious generals'.¹¹¹ The defeat here relevant is that of Christ over Satan.

It is possible that in the very damaged capital of the Magi in Moissac cloister [fig. 83] the gold was shown in a sufficiently host-like form for it to be a reinforcing companion piece to the annunciation to the shepherds capital discussed earlier in this chapter. In the Moissac porch depiction of the Magi (1125-30) [fig. 84] the gifts seem even more host-like and are carried in veiled

¹⁰⁶ The earliest version of the *Officium Stellae* play is from St-Martial, Limoges. At Rouen they processed to an image of the Virgin Mary set on the altar of the Cross. Parker and Little 1994, 211.

¹⁰⁷ Nilgen 1967.

¹⁰⁸ Balaam appears on several Romanesque capitals eg. Autun, Saulieu. He was also seen as a prefiguration of Doubting Thomas.

¹⁰⁹ Mâle 1913, 213. The star appeared in the liturgical drama of the Three Kings.

¹¹⁰ Tertullian said that the kings of Arabia and Sheba spoken of in the psalms are a figure of the Magi, but it is not until the fifth and sixth centuries that they really become known as kings. The earliest example of their being crowned is in the menology of Basil II in the Vatican of about 976. Mâle 1913, 213.

¹¹¹ Duchet-Suchaux and Pastoreau 1994, 224.

hands. The whole composition is steeped in references to the Incarnation; the Annunciation is shown below, the Presentation in the Temple on the frieze above.¹¹² The eucharistic focus on the body born of Mary and on sacrifice and offering is evident. The veiling of hands had a sacral meaning for the chalice and paten were always handled with great reverence. There were various rites for carrying the gifts to the altar but often the cleric had a veil around his shoulders and touched the vessels only through this; in other rites the deacon veiled his hands before handing the vessels to the priest.¹¹³ In a capital from St-Etienne, Toulouse, about 1120-40, all the Magi carry their gifts in veiled hands.¹¹⁴

The tympanum at Rosiers-Côtes-d'Aurec (Haute-Loire) shows the Magi offering a small host-like disc [fig. 85]. It is held delicately by the kneeling king who is just at the moment of passing it to Christ so that, tellingly, they both appear to hold it. This would seem to be another reference to the marriage of Christ and the Church; to the physical intimacy of the communicant and Christ. The Roman liturgy of the Feast of the Epiphany says, in the antiphon for the Benedictus, 'today the Church is united to her heavenly Bridegroom, since, in the Jordan, Christ washed away her sins, the Wise Men run with gifts to the royal marriage, and the guests are delighted with water changed into wine, alleluia'.¹¹⁵ Since only God can give the gift suitable to God, the pure sacrifice, here Christ both gives and takes the gift of his own body.

One of the most all-embracing depictions of the Magi is on the tympanum at Neuilly-en-Donjon (Allier) dated c.1130 [fig. 20 in chapter 3]. The Virgin, seated on the throne of Wisdom as if in the heavenly Jerusalem of the eschatological banquet,¹¹⁶ turns slightly towards the Magi so that the Christ child can reach out to take the offering which may be in disc form. The king kneels, holding his hands out as if in prayer, and leans forward so that Christ

¹¹² For the Presentation in the Temple see chapter 3.

¹¹³ Jungmann 1953, 60-61.

¹¹⁴ Now in the Musée des Augustins, Toulouse.

¹¹⁵ Daniélou 1960, 221.

¹¹⁶ There is also the suggestion here of a baldachino and thus of the altar.

seems to be offering back the host to the mouth of the worshipper.¹¹⁷

Alongside, angels blow the trumpets of the final victory as Christ, by implication, and Mary and the Magi (both symbols of the Church) and one of the angels (probably Michael) physically trample the beasts.¹¹⁸ That the angels are also the angels of the Mass links together the offerings of and to the Church in the Magi scene with the Last Supper, which is on the lower range. The whole scene is given point by the inclusion of Adam and Eve and the Tree of Evil (which is also the Tree of Life). Original Sin necessitated Christ's incarnation and his atoning sacrifice, but the daily sins of the world are forgiven through penitence and the sacramental re-enactment of the sacrifice of the Mass.¹¹⁹ This penitential-eucharistic emphasis is further shown by Mary Magdalen anointing Christ's feet under the table of the Last Supper, as has been discussed in chapter 3.¹²⁰

9. Daniel in the lions' den.

The image of the hand-held host can reflect Old Testament prefigurations of the Eucharist and the progress from the Old Covenant to the eschatological feast. In this context one of the most complex and powerful conflations of eucharistic ideas with more wide-ranging typology concerns Daniel. The image of Daniel and Habbakuk, discussed in chapter 3, provides

¹¹⁷ Placing the host directly into the communicant's mouth was common by 1130. It made it less likely that the body of Christ could fall on the ground and be desecrated.

¹¹⁸ See Book of Revelation for angels, trumpets and beasts. Psalm 90(91) 13 'Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the and the adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under thy feet' was a prefiguration of the Last Judgment and final victory over evil.

Cahn 1965 suggests that the theme is not the trampling of the beasts. The beasts, he feels, at Neuilly are the symbols of the evangelists Mark and Luke. They are paying homage and supporting Christ and his Church. Cahn gives a number of examples of the symbols of Mark and Luke being shown as carriers of the throne eg. Notre-Dame-du-Port, Clermont-Ferrand. There is certainly no visual sense of the tension of violent destruction here. The angel merely stands on the back of the lion and the Magi walk over the ox on something rather like a plank bridge. Cahn also notes that Rupert of Deutz made a connection between the adoration of the Magi and the symbols of the evangelists. Rupert saw the offerings of gold, incense and myrrh as applying to the Resurrection (lion), the Ascension (eagle) and the Passion (ox). *De gloria et honore Filii hominis* PL 168, 1337.

The Apocalyptic and eucharistic themes are continued on the capital to the right of the lintel which shows Daniel in the lion's den and the angel bringing Habbakuk to him.

¹¹⁹ For Adam and Eve in penitential imagery see Chapter 3.

¹²⁰ Some commentators, including Cahn, have seen this as the supper in the house of Simon because of Mary Magdalen's presence, but this scene is often conflated with the Last Supper, of which it is a prefiguration. In the context of the other themes in the Neuilly façade the Last Supper seems more appropriate.

one of the commonest penitential-eucharistic depictions of the hand-held host in France.

A particularly overt eucharistic reference is given in the late eleventh-century choir capital situated almost directly beyond the high altar in Ste-Radegonde, Poitiers [fig. 86]. Here, Daniel in the lions' den is brought food by Habakkuk whom an angel carries by his hair. In the Vulgate account (Dan. 14:32) Habakkuk had already crumbled [*intriverat*] the bread into the stew intended for the reapers before the angel arrived. Yet in this capital the bread remains whole and in host-like form and is clearly displayed as both a prefiguration of the Eucharist and a reminder of the power of the Eucharist in the escape from evil and into eternal life. The point is reinforced by the angel, whose protective arm forms an arch above Daniel's head. Not only does this angel remind the viewer of the eucharistic associations with the bread of angels but, by tradition, the angel carrying Habakkuk was not Gabriel, who had previously appeared to Daniel, but Michael, the saint of the Church militant and the final victory, who is so important an intercessor in the Mass.¹²¹ In an illustration [fig. 87] from a Cîteaux manuscript of Jerome's Commentary on Daniel, which Vergnolle dates 1120-35, Habakkuk, with his robes veiling his right hand, carries disc-type bread, and a flask which is more clearly a wine flask than a stew pot. The haloed Daniel's poised frontal position, throned and with his feet on a lion, makes clear his role as a type of Christ.¹²² Jerome did not comment on the episode other than to raise questions about its canonicity. That this subject should, nevertheless, have been chosen for such an important frontispiece seems to assert a firm twelfth-century acceptance of the eucharistic significance of this image.

At St-Genou (Berry), the Magi presenting gifts and Daniel and Habbakuk are combined on all four faces of an early twelfth-century capital in a way that enhances the eucharistic implications of both images. On the first face [fig. 88]

¹²¹ Daniel capitals are sometimes twinned with Doubting Thomas as at La Daurade. Daniel is a type of the resurrected Christ in whom Thomas could not believe without proof. Daniel's faith saved him from the lions and his reception of the prefigured Eucharist ensured his resurrection from the den. There is likely to have been exegesis supporting this twinning although I have yet to find it.

the reapers are shown in the field. On the second the angel carries Habbakuk [fig. 89]. The third shows Habbakuk and Daniel [fig. 90], the latter contemplative and blessed by God's hand. The lions do not menace Daniel, but one devours another victim.¹²³ There is also a damaged figure, standing on the kind of scrolls often used to show eternity. This is possibly Daniel giving thanks for his release or contemplating the Last Days. The final side [fig. 91] shows the Magi, who are dressed as sages and travellers not as kings, arriving under the star and an angel blowing a trumpet. Damage to the capital does not allow the gift to be seen but the offerer seems to touch the Christ child who is held out towards him rather in the manner often used in Presentation scenes (unfortunately there is a damaged section beneath the child). The Virgin, enthroned and still, looks over the head of the Magi towards the angel, which perhaps implies her recognition of the future sacrifice and the final triumph. Behind the Virgin, in the direction of the reapers, and on the same level as the star and the angel, is a beautiful woman who may represent the Church. Confirming the eucharistic element throughout is a stylised vine on the band encircling the whole ensemble. The combination of the Magi with the story of Daniel and Habbakuk at St-Genou, provides a highly telling confirmation of the potential of the image of the hand-held host.

Conclusion.

The inclusion of the hand-held host in complex images like the Magi and Daniel which range across salvation history, allows the Body of Christ, in all its senses, to be seen yet more clearly as the central focus of salvation and of a process which will culminate in the banquet at the end of time. The Berengarian debate had given great urgency to visible and verbal means of explaining impassibility and indivisibility and these are addressed by the hand-held host image, especially in depictions of the risen Christ. The hand-held host would appear to reflect the intense Paschasian aspects of the Real Presence reflected in many writers early in the century, and perhaps also the traditional Benedictine concern to emphasise the High Priesthood of Christ. Christ,

¹²² Vergnolle 1994, pl. 381. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 132, f. 2v.

holding the host, can be seen as close to the believer, holding out his body to the communicating Church. The Paschasian emphasis on the need for a natural union with Christ by absorbing him physically as well as spiritually does make the depiction of a physical holding particularly apposite. Yet it does not preclude the more symbolic and mystical approach of the Laon-Victorine school who saw the Eucharist 'as a sign of the mystical union in faith and love between a worthy believer and God'.¹²⁴ For this type of theologian, sacramental reception was still very important, if not always a necessity, and for them too such an image, which is essentially conceptual, would have been an aid to spiritual reception.¹²⁵ The conflation with the globe and the eschatological aspects of the image would also have been relevant to this school as would all the images stressing concomitance and indivisibility. Nor would the image have been meaningless to those, increasingly evident from about 1140, who argued that the Eucharist was a sign less of the union of individual and Christ than of the Church (as a corporate body of all the saved) and Christ. The Church was the Mystical Body of Christ.

It is the immediacy and directness of involvement that gives the image of the hand-held host its extraordinary power. The sacrificed Christ offers himself personally to the communicant. Regardless of how many overtones of power and triumph the image carries, this personal involvement speaks to the individual and reflects concern with the humanity of Christ. Where the host-holder is not Christ the immediacy comes from the awe-inspiring closeness that allows man to offer back in praise, memorial and propitiation what has been offered for his salvation for all time.

That Christ holding his own offered sacrificial body is a deeply powerful and affective image may also link it to the increasing desire to see, rather than to receive, the host, and to the developing practice of the elevation of the host (although the image pre-dates the widespread adoption of the elevation *after*

¹²³ Probably they are Daniel's accusers who were flung to the lions in Dan. 6: 24-25. Daniel in the lions' den scenes conflate Dan 6 and 14. The scene is also represented at La Daurade with an inscription *DEVORATE SUNT IN MOMENTO*.

¹²⁴ Macy 1984, 137.

¹²⁵ See chapters 1 and 8.

the consecration).¹²⁶ The force of the image does not depend, however, on a familiarity with the elevation, although it could evoke this type of adoration.

¹²⁶ Elevation as part of the *preparation* of offering is well attested by the early twelfth century see, eg. Hildebert of Lavardin quoted in chapters 4 and 5.]

CHAPTER 7

THE CONTINUITY OF OFFERING IN THE HISTORY OF SALVATION

From a very early date the Church had taught that there was no salvation outside Christ. This raised immediately the question of whether the pre-Christian righteous were saved. Since God is conceived of as being outside time and place, some concept had to be developed that united continuity and timelessness. This eventually came to be found in the idea of the Logos (wisdom, reason and word) of God existing from all time in Christ.¹ The concept of a seminal Logos allowed a correlation between Christian revelation and the message of the Old Testament. Jesus could be called Son of God, but it was important in countering Trinitarian heresies that he also be shown as the pre-existent eternal Logos.² Although God was seen as timeless, history showed the progressive unfolding of 'God's consistent redemptive purpose'.³ The memory of the Old Testament covenants was relevant to Christians because Jesus had said that he came to fulfill, not to abolish the Law and the prophets.⁴ His instructing of the disciples on the road to Emmaus brought the point home clearly.⁵

Some Gentile converts claimed that Israel had never had an authentic covenant with God and rejected the Old Testament accordingly.⁶ Generally, however, the early Church agreed with Justin's argument: 'How could we believe that a crucified man is the first-born of the ingenerate God, and that He will judge the whole human race, were it not that we have found testimony borne prior to His coming, and that we have seen that testimony exactly fulfilled?'.⁷ A doctrine of 'correction and fulfillment'⁸ was developed which

¹ This is an over-simplification. On the concept of Logos see Pelikan 1977, 187-88.

² Proverbs 8:22-31 was used to show Wisdom and Logos as eternal aspects of God despite the phrase 'Yahweh created me' which the Arians said proved Christ as a creation of God.

³ Kelly 1958, 71.

⁴ Matt. 5:17.

⁵ Perhaps significantly Emmaus becomes commonly depicted in sculpture just at a time when heretics were attacking the unity of the two Testaments. See chapters 6 and 9.

⁶ Pelikan 1971, 13-21.

⁷ Apologia 1 *Pro Christianis* 53 PG 6, 406. Kelly 1958, 66.

⁸ Pelikan 1971, 15.

allowed Christianity to call its own all the prophets, saints and believers back to Adam, and to accept those elements in the Mosaic Law which were 'naturally good, pious and righteous'.⁹ Christians claimed that they were more faithful to the Law of Moses than were the Jews who had substituted observance of the Law for knowledge of God. Christianity was thus seen, not as coming into existence with the death of the historical Jesus, but as being as old as creation. The historical continuity from Israel to the true Israel of the Church¹⁰ formed and informed Christian society since the sacrifice of Christ was seen in the total context of the history of salvation.

It also became increasingly important to justify Christian ideas against the intellectually dominant late classical paganism. The Greeks saw history as cyclical, Christians as unrepeatable and universal. A device was needed whereby glimpses of truth could be said to have been given to classical pagan philosophers. This was found in the widespread assertion that the great classical philosophers like Plato had somehow gained their wisdom from the Old Testament and in particular from Moses. Christ was the correction and fulfillment of the philosophers just as he was of the Old Testament Law and prophets.¹¹

Since the gospels showed Jesus regarding the Old Testament as the word of God, it was easy for the early Church to argue that 'all scripture is inspired by God' (1 Timothy 3: 16). The whole Bible was thus inspired, and most of the Fathers saw it as exempt from error and containing nothing superfluous even when obscure or apparently trivial.¹² Heretics, however, often rejected the idea that it was valuable to assert the continuity of the two Testaments and Covenants. Many attacked the Old Testament as not only irrelevant but immoral. The Pentateuch, with its detailed Law, including sacrificial rites, was seen as particularly irrelevant. Dualist heresies saw all or parts of the Old Testament as the production of the lower Demiurge who

⁹ Justin *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo* 45 PG 6, 571. Pelikan 1971, 15-17.

¹⁰ Justin *Dial.* 119 PG 6, 751 and 754. Pelikan 1971, 26.

¹¹ Hugh of St-Victor said the pre-Christian saved had had faith in Christ as 'the one who was to come'. *De sacramentis* 1. 10. 6. PL 176, 336 B-C.

¹² Kelly 1956, 60-61.

sometimes was equated with the principle of evil. The Christian affirmation of the oneness of God could not allow such a separation of the scriptures. In the process of arguing against the Manichaeans, Augustine justified the continuity of sacrifice by seeing Jewish sacrifice as legitimate, unlike pagan sacrifices directed to demons. Although there was no longer any duty to offer sacrifices, they were part of the mysteries of Revelation. They were images [*figurae*] which pointed to the One Sacrifice.¹³

Rejection of all or part of the Old Testament existed in France even before the twelfth-century acceleration of heresy.¹⁴ Some believed that the Old Testament God was a devil. Others stressed their right to reject or interpret for themselves, with the direct aid of the Holy Spirit, any part of the scriptures. Even the authority of the Fathers was suspect for men like Henry of Lausanne.¹⁵ Not only was the continuity of Covenants attacked, but also the continuity of sacrifice *per se*. Peter the Venerable, in his attack on the Petrobrusians, was insistent that sacrifice had always formed part of a zealous devotion and was commanded by God. A society that 'ceased to sacrifice to God...will itself cease to be of God'.¹⁶ Christians must recognise that 'by the name of oblation, of sacrifice, of victim, of holocaust, and of similar things the Passion and death of the Lord is pointed out'.¹⁷ In 1139 the Second Lateran Council condemned those advocating the destruction of altars on the grounds that no real sacrifice could be performed on them. Peter the Venerable wrote at some length on the necessity of Christian altars in linking the Christian sacrifice to the continuity of valid offering on altars.¹⁸

Ivo of Chartres.

Ivo of Chartres' Sermon 5, *De Convenientia Veteris et Novi Sacrificii* (which was assessed in chapter 5 in respect of eucharistic change) was influential in the way it approached the continuity of sacrifice. By focusing on

¹³ *Contra Faustum* 6.5 PL 42, 231-32.

¹⁴ For example, Liutard, a peasant preaching in Châlons-sur-Marne at the end of the tenth century, rejected the Pentateuch. The heretics condemned at Arras in 1025 rejected all the Old Testament. See Wakefield and Evans 1969, 20-21.

¹⁵ See chapter 9.

¹⁶ *Contra Petrobrusianos* PL 189,793 B-C.

¹⁷ 796D-97A.

sacrifice in the Old Law, Ivo also reinforced the significance of the Mass as a sacrificial offering.¹⁹ In sermon 5, and also in his Letter 63, he emphasised the correlation between the prefigurative mysteries and prophecies and the sacraments of the Church.²⁰ In letter 63, Ivo explained in some detail that God had established not only a priesthood in the Old Law, but given instructions regarding the type of ordination by anointing, and of altars, vestments, liturgical vessels and other instruments of the ritual. If such detail had been given to sacrifices that could only cleanse the flesh, how much more important, he asked, must these things be for the consecration of the Lord's body, in which cleansing of the flesh and spirit takes place.²¹

Judaic typology had shown God performing acts for the benefit of Israel surpassing those performed earlier; there would be a new Flood, a new Exodus and a new Paradise for the redeemed. The focus was largely eschatological. Ivo too saw an eternal divine scheme in the economy of salvation. The state of nature was surpassed in perfection by the Mosaic Law; this Law yielded to the Christian dispensation. With Christ, the New Adam, the time of paradise had begun.²² Ivo's originality lay in the degree to which he revealed a harmony between the old and new sacrifices rather than stressing the differences.²³ The 'dispensation of the Incarnate Word' ensured this harmony.²⁴ In the New Covenant spiritual things are promised much more clearly; nevertheless, there is a common denominator 'what the ancient sacraments foretold, and the new sacraments imitate and represent, are the mysteries of Christ's life: the nativity, passion, resurrection, ascension, and mission of the Spirit'.²⁵

¹⁸ 763-71.

¹⁹ Stevenson 1986, 92-93 thinks that the tradition of defining and celebrating the Eucharist with an increasing reliance on biblical precedents may be older north of the Alps than in Rome. There are traces of this approach in some northern missals.

²⁰ Schaefer 1983, 215.

²¹ On the conscious reintroduction into the liturgy of numerous rites from the Old Testament see Chenu 1968, 151.

²² Daniélou 1960, 5.

²³ For the differences see Hebrews 10.

²⁴ *Sermo* 5 PL 162, 551B. Schaefer 1983, 217.

²⁵ Ivo *Sermo* V PL 162 536A-B. (All column references in this section refer to *Sermo* 5 unless otherwise stated). Schaefer 1983, 216.

Ivo drew typological parallels to Christ's death and resurrection. He then elaborated on the levitical sacrifices, dividing them into those burned on the altar outside the tabernacle and those offered on the altar of incense inside.²⁶ The principal sacrifices were holocausts (calf, lamb, turtle-doves and pigeons/doves) and sacrifices of oblation (fine wheat flour made into unleavened bread).²⁷ Rams and goats were lesser offerings. The Passion of Christ was represented by the sacrifice of the red heifer 'without fault or blemish' (Numbers 19) that had to be offered by a ritually pure person.²⁸ The red heifer or calf was a fitting type also because it was sacrificed outside the tabernacle, just as Christ was sacrificed outside the camp (Hebrews 13: 11-13). After the sacrifice, the blood of the calf had been carried into the Holy of Holies as a sin-offering.²⁹

In the second part of Sermon 5 Ivo shows that the Christian sacrifices of bread and wine with water are real sacrifices pleasing to God.³⁰ The real sacrifices of the old Law *prefigured* Christ's priesthood and victimhood: the rites of the Church *imitate* and *represent* Christ's priestly acts.³¹ The priest commemorates Christ's sacrifice, one which, Ivo stresses, was in the past and is not repeated in the Mass.³² The words of institution are both the form of consecration and a commemoration.

Ivo divides the Mass into two parts. The rite from the Introit up to the offertory was audible to the laity. Because the new sacrifices are made in words, according to the dispensation of the Incarnate Word, the offering on the altar is presented as 'the calf of our lips'.³³ The offerings of priest and people

²⁶ Schaefer 1983, 217-18. *Sermo* 5 *passim* and 551.

²⁷ 543-44. Ivo shows Christ as anti-type to all of these sacrifices eg. 'as a lamb on account of his innocence, as a ram on account of his sovereignty'. The turtle dove and the dove prefigure Christ's flesh linked to the Holy Spirit.

²⁸ 544D-49A. The red heifer signifies Christ's bloody flesh, its infirmity (here symbolised by feminine offering) and its cruel treatment. Ivo relates the cleansing of the unclean to baptism.

²⁹ 554C.

³⁰ *Sermo* II PL 162, 519 B-C.

³¹ *Sermo* 5 549B.

³² 556D.

³³ 551B.

were related to offerings made at the outer tabernacle.³⁴ The Secret prayers through to the dismissal, harmonise with the priestly actions within the Holy of Holies. In the Secret prayers, Christ offers himself to 'the father's will like a ram to the sacrifice'.³⁵ He is also said to be a calf-offering 'for the sins of the priests' and 'a he-goat for every transgression of the people'.³⁶ The levitical priest entering the Holy of Holies with the blood of the calf is compared to Christ entering heaven with his own blood that had redeemed mankind. The human priest enters the holy mysteries with the blood of Christ as a memory of the Passion.³⁷ The signs of the cross over the bread and wine are also given sacrificial meanings. By these signs the priest imitates the sprinkling of Christ's blood which corresponds to the levitical priest sprinkling the victim's blood on the altar. Ivo does not, however, unlike Lanfranc,³⁸ talk of the Christian priest immolating the sacrifice of the Mass.

Ivo was an influential commentator. His letter 231³⁹ indicates that Sermon 5 had been copied to Pons de Melgueil, abbot of Cluny, who had asked for interpretation on several points of ritual. It is therefore possible that Ivo's concepts of salvation history and continuity of sacrifice would have become widespread across the Cluniac network. Sermon 5 was widely copied and Ivo's ideas were incorporated into liturgical commentaries up to the end of the century.⁴⁰ His emphasis on priests offering the sacrifice would have helped intensify the clericalization of the ministry.

Hildebert of Lavardin.

Another writer who emphasised the harmonies between the old and new sacrifices, was Hildebert of Lavardin (1056-1133) who has been discussed in chapter 5. Hildebert looks at the Mass up to the Secret in an Amalarian allegorical way, and from the Secret onwards he largely takes Ivo as a model. Like Ivo he stresses that what the priest does in the Mass represents

³⁴ 553B. These sections of the rite correspond to events in the life of Christ. For example, the *Gloria* represents Christ's birth. Schaefer 1983, 219.

³⁵ 553C (trans. 553-55 Caryl Green).

³⁶ 553D.

³⁷ 554C.

³⁸ *De corpore* PL 150, 425B.

³⁹ PL 162, 233D-235B.

(*repraesentat*) both the former rites and the sacrifice on the cross. The 'true sheep replaced the signified sheep' and so 'figures cease'; what the priest offers is the reality of the figures.⁴¹ He stressed the offertory rites more than Ivo did. But like Ivo, he saw both the sprinkling of blood of Leviticus 5:9 and the shedding of Christ's blood as imitated by the Christian priest when he signed the bread and wine with the cross at *Quam oblationem*.⁴² The priest at the altar recalls Christ's sacrifice and, like Aaron and Christ, brings the 'draught of blood'.⁴³ Hildebert sometimes reinforced the link between the present and the old sacrifices by calling the priest '*sacrifex*'.⁴⁴

Summary: salvation history and continuity of sacrifice in the early twelfth century.

Generally early twelfth-century writers agreed with Ivo and Hildebert that a vital continuity of sacrifice existed. Most also saw the Old Testament sacrifices as salvific, and thus allowing the pre-Christian righteous to be rescued from Hell at Christ's descent after the crucifixion. Others, like Rupert of Deutz, accepted that the sacrifices in Leviticus were founded upon a celestial exemplar and offered for spiritual benefits. However the Paschasian concept of the necessity for a sacramental natural union with Christ's body, caused some to reject the sacrifices of the Old Testament as salvific. Rupert felt that there had been no true priesthood before Christ.⁴⁵

The relationship of the sacrifice of the Mass to the cross was thought of in two ways during the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries. The sacrifice, as *sacrifice*, is either actualised in the rite, or it is commemorated. An ultra-realistic view, may be given⁴⁶, or, as in Ivo, the immolation may be *imitated*, and present in sign. In either case Christ is conceived as being really present as the

⁴⁰ Schaefer 1983, 211 and 13.

⁴¹ 1177A.

⁴² 1188 A-B.

⁴³ 1184B. By the sprinkling the priest both appeases God and unites the faithful.

Schaefer 1983, 267.

⁴⁴ Schaefer 1983, 262.

⁴⁵ Macy 1984, 104. Van Engen 1983, 128.

⁴⁶ For example, as in Lanfranc, who talked of Christ's body broken in the sacrifice Stevenson 1986, 117, however, thinks Lanfranc was making 'not so much an overt stress on eucharistic sacrifice for its own sake, but rather an emphasis on sacrifice in the interests of promoting a doctrine of the real presence of Christ'.

victim. In some mysterious sense, Christ is also the priest of the consecration, but specific comment on the high-priesthood of Christ active in the Mass decreases. Hildebert refers to the memorial of the resurrection and ascension, but the memory of the sacrifice on the cross predominates. The priest, acting in the place of Christ and using Christ's words, is the *sacrifex*, who 'remembers Christ's sacrifice by word and gesture in order to renew it and make it efficacious for the Church'.⁴⁷ The role of the priest as mediator, performing sacramental acts, acceptable to God and necessary for salvation, is thereby given prominence. The celebrant acts on behalf of the people, who participate by devotion: their active participation is minimised.

Artistic depiction of the continuity of Covenants and continuity of Sacrifice.

As was stated in chapter 2, the middle ages did not produce a satisfactory theological elaboration or definition of sacramental sacrifice. A greater emphasis was brought to bear on sacrifice, however, through ritual enactment, Mass commentaries, and through remodeling traditional Old Testament typology used in art. The period up to 1150 did not create new typology but the use made of typology indicated the direction later medieval elaboration would follow. Kitzinger has argued that early Christian and Carolingian artists used Old Testament typology to bring a particular Bible story to life. In Romanesque works, however, he feels that the story was often considered of importance only for its bearing on the divine plan for redemption and for its place in the doctrinal scheme.⁴⁸ Perhaps this is somewhat overstated because typology had always been important in rooting eucharistic theology in scripture and providing a biblical foundation for the liturgical rites. There was a long artistic tradition of expressing complex theological ideas through typology.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, Mâle too noted a change in iconography in the early 1140s, saying 'Symbolism was suddenly revived at St-Denis in the

⁴⁷ Scheafer 1983, 276.

⁴⁸ Kitzinger 1940, 103.

⁴⁹ See Chenu 1997, 146-61 who saw the developments in typology as distorting theology, liturgy and social and Church institutions as well as affecting art.

time of Suger⁵⁰ and that 'the harmony of the two Testaments was the principal theme of the interior decoration of the church'.⁵¹ He felt Suger had been influenced by Honorius Augustodunensis' *Speculum Ecclesiae*, this could be so but Ivo might be a more likely source.

It is impossible in a thesis of this length to do more than indicate the labyrinthine complexity of eucharistic typology. Because images of the continuity of the Covenants underpin those of the continuity of sacrifice I look briefly at some of this extensive material before addressing some of the major motifs of eucharistic typology which appear in the period.

The continuity of the Old and New Covenants.

Continuity is revealed in the Liturgy by a number of means, but prophecies of the Passion in the Office for Holy Week are crucial. They emphasise the suffering of the willing victim. For example: 'the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all' continues 'He shall be led as a sheep to the slaughter and shall be dumb as a lamb before his shearer'.⁵² This was the Mass epistle for Wednesday of Holy Week and was sung again on Holy Saturday. The point was reinforced in the Wednesday Office and Mass by Jeremiah's words: 'I was like a lamb or an ox that is brought to the slaughter'.⁵³ Isaiah was particularly important in an eucharistic context because not only was he the prophet of the incarnation (Isaiah 7:14; 9:2-7; 11:1) and the Passion (Isaiah 63:1-3), but also because from his time onwards the Feast of Wisdom was equated with the eschatological banquet (Isaiah 65:11-13).

At the Transfiguration, not only did Jesus imply the continuity of the Covenants in talking of his death and resurrection, but the presence of Moses and Elijah reinforced these messianic teachings.⁵⁴ Elijah also provides an example of offering valid sacrifice pleasing to God (1 Kings 18:20-40). His

⁵⁰ I feel instinctively hesitant about accepting so bold a statement, but accept that the harmony of the Testaments is not a theme which appears to any significant degree in monumental sculpture before this date.

⁵¹ Mâle 1978, 162. He dates the St-Denis remodelling before 1144.

⁵² Is. 53:7.

⁵³ Jer. 11:19.

⁵⁴ Elijah taken up bodily into heaven (2 Kings 2:11) is a type of Christ's ascension.

feeding by ravens (1 Kings 17) and by the angel (1 Kings 18:5-7) have eucharistic implications. A caption on the Transfiguration scene in the Floreffe Bible, [fig. 92] (dated a little outside my period at about 1155) also confirmed continuity saying, 'whom Moses veils, behold the Father's voice reveals and whom the prophecy conceals Mary brought forth'. Significantly the picture is twinned with the Last Supper. The damaged inscription joining the two scenes says 'The Old Law is fulfilled [...] That the true passover be prepared [...] the wine becomes blood'.

The prophets appear on west portals as heralds to the sacred space, and as pillars sustaining the weaker 'living stones' in the Temple that is the body of Christ.⁵⁵ Jeremiah appears on the trumeau at Moissac.⁵⁶ Isaiah at Souillac was probably originally a portal figure. Isaiah and Jeremiah appear on either side of the inner portal at Vézelay with Saints Peter and Paul.

The apostles collectively can be juxtaposed with the prophets to show that the latter were heralds of the former. This theme may appear towards the middle of the twelfth century at Chartres if prophets are amongst the column-statues.⁵⁷ The apostles appear on the central lintel at Chartres. In Hugh of St-Victor's *De arca Noe mystica* the apostles are juxtaposed with the twelve patriarchs. They surround the Lamb in the centre of the ark. Hugh associated the twenty-four figures with the elders of the apocalypse.⁵⁸ The continuity of praise, thus demonstrated, evoked ideas of the Messianic banquet as Jesus had said that the apostles were to 'eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and to sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Luke 22: 30).⁵⁹

All representations of the twelve apostles together, particularly at the Last Supper, carry ideas of continuity of sacrifice. The college of the apostles is paralleled with Moses surrounding the altar of sacrifice with twelve stones

⁵⁵ For the complex of Temple imagery see O'Reilly 1994.

⁵⁶ Schapiro 1931, 129 does not name the figure and says it is probably later than the lintel and the figures on the side walls of the porch.

⁵⁷ Identification of these figures is hotly debated. One is probably Solomon.

⁵⁸ PL 176, 685A-8A. Zinn 1995, 111-12 argues that Hugh's iconographic scheme may have influenced the tympana at Moissac and St Denis.

representing the tribes of Israel. After the sacrifice Moses sprinkled the people with the blood of the sacrifice (Exodus 24). In a similar way Christ gave his blood of the New Covenant to the disciples. The apostles also represent the formation of the Church, the New Israel, hence the importance of their depiction for Gregorian reform.⁶⁰ This image is reinforced when they appear as pillars of the Church. They have this role as jamb figures on the Chartres west portal, and as cloister pier reliefs at Moissac and St-Etienne, Toulouse.⁶¹ This image appears much more frequently after 1150, for example, in the cloister columns from Notre-Dame-en-Vaux, at Châlons-sur-Marne. Before 1150 the most common presentation of the college of the apostles is on tympana of the ascension, or at the Last Judgment or Second Coming where they often appear on the lintel, as at Cahors (Lot) 1130-35 [fig. 93] and Collonges-la-Rouge (Corrèze) dated shortly after 1150, where, in both cases, they appear with the Virgin.

The Descent into hell is the clearest reference to the saving of the just of the Old Covenant, and therefore to the validity of their sacrifices.⁶² This story had become doubly significant when the harrowing entered the creeds in the fourth century and was taken as referring to the salvation of mankind as a whole. Rupert of Deutz said the descent was necessary because only after Christ's blood had dripped from his side to baptise them could the ancients be cleansed by grace.⁶³ Christ's defeat of hell has eucharistic associations. It was proof of his saving victory which animates the Eucharist. By raising issues of

⁵⁹ An associated theme is given in Rev. 21:14 where the twelve foundation stones of the New Jerusalem bear the names of the twelve apostles.

⁶⁰ In frescoes at Berzé-la-Ville (c.1100-1120) Christ gives the *traditio legis* to Peter. Paul is alongside with the entire college of apostles, two bishops (or abbots) and two deacons thus confirming the role of the Church in transmitting the new Law and revealing the onwards movement towards eschatological fulfillment.

⁶¹ See Hearn 1981, 197-215. Stoddard 1987, 179-183 discusses the St-Etienne dating, variously seen as between 1120-50. Stoddard considers 1135-40 as the likely dating. Seidel 1986 dates the figures at 1125 and suggests they were from bays of the chapter house barrel-vault and not from the portal.

⁶² Jesus preaching to the spirits in prison (1 Peter 3:19) is sometimes seen as a reference to the harrowing, as is Matthew 27:52-3 'many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection'. The first patristic references are in the early second-century epistles of Ignatius, but there were probably earlier apocryphal sources. See MacCulloch 1930 for patristic sources. The fifth-century Apocryphal book of Nicodemus, adapted later in the *Golden Legend*, was the main source for the middle ages.

⁶³ In evangelium S Joannis 3 CCCM 9, 143-44 and *In Genesim* 4:1 PL 167, 325. Van Engen 1983, 128.

his descent in both human and divine aspects it confirmed his impassibility and indivisibility.⁶⁴

The concept of Limbo was even less clear than that of purgatory. It was often seen as a place of waiting but not of punishment, and therefore suitable for the just of the Old Covenant. Some, like Augustine, felt that all deserved punishment in hell for Original Sin. Hugh of St-Victor, however, said that Christ did not descend to the hell of the eternally damned but just to those excluded from the beatific vision.⁶⁵ Adam is usually shown, as in the Winchester Psalter being led out first, with the prophets and patriarchs following. The harrowing is shown on a fresco, dated in the first half of the twelfth century, at Tavant (Indre-et-Loire) and on capitals at L'Ile-Bouchard and St-Nectaire. At Hereford Cathedral in a capital dated c.1100-1110, originally part of the main apse arch, [fig. 94] Christ is shown in priestly robes, a reference to the idea that his daily descent on the altar was akin to the harrowing in providing saving grace.⁶⁶ Honorius Augustodunensis confirmed the eucharistic link by seeing the bishop's blessing of the people during Mass as signifying Christ's descent into hell.⁶⁷ The penitential aspects of the harrowing increased once the raising of Lazarus, the first example of the despoiling of hell, takes on specifically penitential over-tones.⁶⁸

The Mystic Mill capital in the nave at Vézelay [fig. 95] makes both a general statement about the continuity of the Covenants, and a more specific one about sacrificial continuity. Here a prophet, probably Moses, pours corn into a mill. An apostle, probably St Paul, holds a sack into which he grinds the flour. Most commentators agree with Mâle in seeing this iconography as identical to that in one of Suger's windows at St-Denis, where a clarificatory medallion reads *Quod Moyses velat Christi doctrina revelat*. Suger identified St

⁶⁴ Gounelle 2000, 166-71 gives a number of patristic sources for the eucharistic connection.

⁶⁵ Duchet-Suchaux and Pastoureau 1994, 85.

⁶⁶ In a Mass for the dead the *descensus* took on an even greater poignancy. See Williams 1957, 256 nn. 19 and 53 for references to the development of the *descensus*/harrowing parallel.

⁶⁷ *Gemma animae* 1. 60 PL 172, 562B-D.

⁶⁸ See chapter 3. Luke 23:43 'Today shalt thou be with me in paradise' was used to justify depiction of the penitent thief being led from hell.

Paul in the window but merely called the other figure a prophet. The accompanying verse made absolutely clear, by its reference to angel's food, that continuity was being expressed in eucharistic terms:

'By working the mill, thou, Paul takest the flour out of the bran.
Thou makest known the inmost meaning of the Law of Moses.
From so many grains is made the true bread without bran,
Our and the angels' perpetual food'.⁶⁹

At the later twelfth-century St-Trophime in Arles, Paul carries a banderole expressing the same idea 'What the Law of Moses concealed, the word of Paul revealed. The wheat given by him at Sinai became flour'.⁷⁰ This confirms that the Mystic Mill depicts Jesus, the 'living bread', being contrasted to the manna. The Pauline image 'We being many are one bread and one body'⁷¹ is evoked, and also patristic comments, like Augustines's likening of catechumen to grain 'ground in the mill, wetted[sprinkled] with water at baptism and baked by the fire of the Holy Spirit'.⁷² Honourius Augustodunensis, in *Elucidarium*, repeats this idea, but applies it specifically to the Eucharist by referring to the Passion. Just as bread was made with many grains so too 'the body of Christ is assembled from the many who are the elect, so too, Christ is roasted in the oven of the Passion'.⁷³ In a passage where he justifies the use of the words *sacrificium*, *immolatio* and *hostia*, Honourius said that the sacrifice of Christ can be called *immolatio* because he 'was ground on the mill of the altar'.⁷⁴

Old Testament Typology of the Eucharist.

The Agnus Dei is the most common and the most important image of sacrifice, combining eucharistic aspects with issues of atonement and salvation in a symbol of triumph and glory. It is an image of the *effects* of the unique sacrifice as well as of the sacrifice itself. When the prayer was adopted into the Western liturgy, probably in the seventh century, it was not an accompaniment to communion but to the fraction of the host.⁷⁵ In Revelation 5 John saw 'a

⁶⁹ *De administratione* trans. Panofsky 1979, 75.

⁷⁰ Mâle 1978, 166-68.

⁷¹ 1Cor 10.17

⁷² *Sermo* 272 PL 38, 1247

⁷³ *Elucidarium* PL 172 1129B.

⁷⁴ *Gemma animae* 1. 98 PL 172, 576A-B.

⁷⁵ ODCC.

lamb standing as it were slain' who opened the sealed book and sat on the throne, and was worshipped because he had redeemed by his blood', and was worthy to receive power, riches, wisdom, strength, honour, glory and blessing. This eschatological focus, combined with pascal imagery and the Old Testament images of the flock relying on the protection of the divine shepherd, ramifies too much to be assessed here, but its significance cannot be overstated.

An understanding of the pre-levitical sacrifices had long been seen as crucial in defining the vital nature of sacrificial continuity. The prayer of consecration is essentially typological. The Canon (*supra quae*) shows the Eucharist as the memorial of the sacrifice of Abel, Melchisedek and Abraham, as well as of the Passion, resurrection and ascension. The sixth-century mosaic at S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, shows Abel, Abraham and Melchisedek making their offerings at the altar [fig. 96]. The bread is clearly marked with a cross to confirm the prefiguration. In the ninth-century Drogo Sacramentary [fig. 97] the T of *Te igitur*, at the beginning of the canon of the Mass, is a Tau cross showing Abel, Melchisedek (holding bread and chalice) and Abraham.

The offerings of Abel, Abraham and Isaac, and Melchisedek are amongst the most important eucharistic prefigurations. This typology is discussed by almost every medieval commentator. Oddly, however, only the sacrifice of Isaac is commonly depicted in Romanesque monumental sculpture before 1150. I can only assume this is because all three offerings are frequently shown on liturgical vessels, furnishings, processional crosses and vestments and their significance is thereby fully absorbed into the rite itself. This does not seem fully satisfactory because they are all more frequently represented in sculpture later in the twelfth century.

The significance of Abel as the first sacrifice has been raised in chapter four. Christ was prefigured both by the lamb offered by Abel and by Abel himself whose murder was a type of the crucifixion. Abel was the first citizen of

the city of God, predestined by grace.⁷⁶ Jesus himself referred to 'righteous Abel' in Matthew 23:35.

In Genesis 14:18-24 Abram⁷⁷ returning triumphant after recapturing Lot, was offered bread and wine by Melchisedek, the king of Salem and high-priest, who blessed him. Jesus' choice of bread and wine at the Last Supper alludes to Melchisedek's offering.⁷⁸ The uncircumcised Melchisedek pre-dated the Levitical priesthood and therefore stood for the eternal sacrifice for all nations and the prior election of the Gentiles. 'Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchisedek,' Ps 109:4 (110 AV) was repeatedly stressed in Hebrews as confirming both Christ's pre-existence and his eternal priesthood.⁷⁹ In Hebrews 5:6 and 5:10 the passage confirming Christ's priesthood is directly coupled with 'Thou art my son: this day have I begotten thee' (Psalm 2:7) a vital confirmation of Jesus' divinity. Melchisedek was recognised as a type of Christ's eternal priesthood early in the Fathers. Cyprian called the offering of Melchisedek not only a figure of the sacrifice of Christ but also of the sacrament of the sacrifice.⁸⁰ Ambrose called Melchisedek the *auctor sacramentorum* because he offered Abraham bread and wine.⁸¹ Melchisedek appears rarely in sculpture, but in the frescoes at St-Savin [fig. 98] he is clearly shown offering Abraham the chalice and a cross-marked host.

The proffered sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, the first patriarch (Genesis 22), is very frequently depicted in Romanesque sculpture. This sacrifice was preceded by the visit of the angels to Abraham to announce the coming birth of the child (Genesis 18:1-16). In the mid-twelfth century Lambeth Bible [fig. 99] Abraham is shown with the three visitors to Mamre.⁸² The angel visitors

⁷⁶ Augustine *City of God* 15.1.

⁷⁷ Abram had not at this point been renamed Abraham by God when making the Covenant.

⁷⁸ Daniélou 1960, 145. Jungmann 1955, 230 on the addition, attributed to Leo the Great, of the phrase *sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam* in reference to Melchisedek's offering which may have been added in part to combat Manichean rejection of wine. This issue would arise again in medieval heresy.

⁷⁹ Hebrews 5:6; 5:10; 6:20; 7:2 and 7:17.

⁸⁰ *Epistle* 63.17 CSEL 3: 713. Pelikan 1977, 169.

⁸¹ *De sacramentis* IV PL 16, 457.

⁸² Lambeth Bible, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3, f. 6

symbolise the Trinity⁸³ (the earliest usage for this image and the only one used in the East) but they are also messengers foretelling the Eucharist. The prefiguration of the institution of the Eucharist appears to be implied in the Lambeth Bible in the way they hold wafer-like objects alongside a vessel held by Abraham which resembles a ciborium.⁸⁴ At Issoire [fig. 100] the eucharistic connection is confirmed by a companion piece of the sacrifice of Isaac, the son foretold by the Mamre angels.⁸⁵ The eucharistic reference in the Lambeth Bible is also made explicit by the conjunction with the scene of Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac on an altar. Abraham was the herald of Christianity. In his willingness to sacrifice his son he was a type of God. Isaac, returned to the living from near death, was a type of Christ crucified and reborn.⁸⁶ The sacrifice of Isaac is one of the most common subjects depicted in Romanesque art. A capital at Conques confirms the prefiguration clearly by showing Isaac seated on an altar [fig. 101]. In a capital suggesting dramatic movement at Bommiers (Berry), the angel seizes Abraham's knife hand and brings forward the ram that will be substituted for Isaac [fig. 102]. Further confirming the validity of the sacrifice of the Mass, is the companion capital in the transept-crossing of the *traditio legis*. On the repositioned trumeau at Souillac [fig. 103], an intense and enigmatic depiction, Abraham, Isaac, the angel and the ram are interlaced with ferocious animals which may be ancient, perhaps pagan, sacrifices and probably also represent the forces of disorder and evil which Christ's sacrifice defeated.

The third episode on the Lambeth Bible Abraham page shows the angels in Jacob's dream and the unction of the stone at Bethel (Genesis 28:18). This reinforces the points made in the two other scenes because Bethel, literally 'the House of the Lord', was commonly interpreted as the Church, whilst the stone

This story, where in verse 10 the birth of Isaac is foretold, is also seen as a prefiguration of the Annunciation and thus to the incarnation.

The Mamre story is fairly rare in French Romanesque sculpture.

⁸³ Denny 1977, 58.

⁸⁴ Pope Leo1 in *Epistola XXXI*, ii, saw one of the three angels as Christ with the appearance of humanity. Leo stressed, however, that, in the OT Christ's humanity was only an outward appearance intended to proclaim that his reality would be taken from his forefathers. Raw 1997, 78-79.

⁸⁵ See chapter 3 for the penitential-eucharistic aspects. The sculpture is probably dates from the second quarter of the twelfth century.

⁸⁶ Heb 11: 17-19.

prefigured Christ's tomb.⁸⁷ The tomb as an altar is an identification often emphasised in twelfth century depictions, for example in the entombment at Dreux (Eure-et-Loir) [fig. 104]. Anointing the stone can refer to priestly anointing, as is suggested in the Dreux capital of the anointing of Christ's body. On capitals at Brioude (Haute-Loire) and Châtillon-sur-Indre (Indre) angels above the tomb evoke the Mass and the eschatological feast by carrying censers.

Almost every aspect of Moses' life had a parallel in Christ's.⁸⁸ Moses the deliverer foreshadowed the Messiah. The covenant at Sinai (Exodus 19-24) was fulfilled not in the expected Jewish covenant (Jeremiah 31:31) but in the new all-embracing covenant of Christ. The eucharistic aspects of Moses are foremost the manna (Exodus 16), the rock of Horeb, (Exodus 17:1-6), and the incident of the brazen serpent (Numbers 21:6-9). It has been shown in chapter 6 that the manna prefigured the Last Supper.⁸⁹ The striking of the rock of Horeb which then flowed with water, had been connected in the Old Testament with the manna⁹⁰ and this is reflected in 1 Corinthians 10:1-4 'all [our fathers] passed through the sea;/ And were all baptized unto Moses [...] and did all eat the same spiritual meat;/ And did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ'. Christ was both manna and living water. Ambrose said that the people must drink the water of the rock which was Christ, 'The priest touches the chalice; the water flows into the chalice and springs up to eternal life'.⁹¹ Jewish tradition said that blood and water gushed out of the rock.⁹² In Christian tradition the smitten rock is compared with the wound in Christ's side from which came water and blood.⁹³

⁸⁷ In Jacob, blessing Ephraim and Manasseh (Genesis 48) the blessing of the younger for the older son became a prefiguration of the New Covenant supplanting the Old. Jacob was a type of Christ, his crossed hands prefiguring the cross.

⁸⁸ Glasson 1963 throughout, especially 23.

⁸⁹ Jn 6:48-50 referring to Ex 16:11-36 and Num. 11:7-9. Jewish tradition had given the manna an eschatological significance which is reflected in Jn 6. Rev.2:17 talks of the 'hidden manna' which will be given to those who repent.

⁹⁰ E.g. Neh.9:15 and Ps. 105 and 78. Ps. 78:25 includes the phrase so telling in eucharistic imagery 'man did eat angel's food'.

⁹¹ *De sacramentis* 5, 1,3. PL 16, 447.

⁹² Glasson 1963, 54.

⁹³ Cyprian *Epistola* 63; 8 PL 4, 379B. Glasson 1963, 52-54. See my chapter 8 for wounds.

The mingling of blood and water was highly significant in eucharistic theology, both are necessary for salvation and both create the Church.

Moses' plea, that the wrathful God remove the poisonous snakes, led to instructions to create a protective serpent of brass on a shaft.⁹⁴ In John 3:14 Jesus forecast his crucifixion saying 'And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up'.⁹⁵ This led to identification of Christ as the brazen serpent. The candle-holder at the Easter blessing of the new fire was often in the form of a brazen serpent.⁹⁶ Chrysostom said that the 'hanging serpent healed the bites of serpents, here the crucified Jesus cured the wounds inflicted by the spiritual dragon'.⁹⁷

The Cloister's Cross, probably made for Bury-St-Edmund's Abbey between 1130-70,⁹⁸ clarifies the Moses imagery by showing the triumphant sacrificial Agnus Dei on the back, matched on the front by the brazen serpent representing the surpassed Law [fig. 105] and [fig. 106]. The healing by the serpent is now replaced by that of Christ, who made satisfaction for man's sins. The brazen serpent had been linked to penitence and spiritual healing by Aelfric (c.955-c.1020) the reforming abbot of Eynsham, who is quoted on the Cloister's Cross⁹⁹. On the Moses medallion, St Peter's banner quotes Acts 10:43 'To him give all the prophets witness'. In the bible this continues with the telling phrase 'that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins'. Christ continues to heal through the sacraments of his Church. The point was confirmed in a window at St-Denis (dated to the 1140s) where Moses and the brazen serpent appear in a window with a verse that says 'Just as the brazen serpent slays all serpents/So Christ on the Cross, slays his enemies'. [fig. 107].¹⁰⁰ Moses and the brazen serpent (with other eucharistic prefigurations) also appear on the pedestal of the Mosan enamel cross from the

⁹⁴ Num. 21:6-9.

⁹⁵ Glasson 1963, 36-39 discusses the Hebrew and Greek words for *standard* used in this passage, and the triumphal imagery associated with *lifted up*. The Greek can also mean miracle or sign so the image indicates Christ's saving triumph.

⁹⁶ Parker and Little 1994, 172.

⁹⁷ *Homilia* 27 quoted in Ferber 1966, 324 n 15.

⁹⁸ For a detailed discussion of the iconography see Parker and Little 1994 throughout.

⁹⁹ Alcuin *Carmina* 116, 11. 5-8. Parker and Little 1994, 172.

¹⁰⁰ Suger *De administratione* trans. Panofsky 1979, 75-77.

abbey of St-Bertin which was probably a smaller copy of the Golden Cross at St-Denis.¹⁰¹

In the catacombs there are several instances of Moses at Horeb paired with Jesus raising Lazarus.¹⁰² Also in the catacombs, Jesus touches the water pots at Cana with a rod that evokes Moses's rod. Moses appears in an adjoining picture. In this prefiguration of the Eucharist the contrast is made between the first miracle of Moses, charged by a wrathful God to change water into blood (Exodus 7:20), and Christ's first miracle at Cana.¹⁰³ Moses continued to be depicted in many bible illustrations from the ninth to the twelfth century but is surprisingly rare in sculpture.¹⁰⁴ Of St-Savin's three Moses frescoes none is an eucharistic prefiguration. Parker and Little say that by the mid-twelfth century depiction of the brazen serpent is not uncommon, but it seems to have been rare in French monumental sculpture.¹⁰⁵ The Rock of Horeb prefiguring the Last Supper is shown in the frescoes (c. 1100) at Le Puy cathedral.¹⁰⁶

Old Testament priesthood has a double aspect, that of mediation by Moses, and the continual cultic witness of that mediation by the liturgical priesthood. Aaron's supreme function was to bear the iniquity of his people and to intercede for them by sacrifice on the Day of Atonement. Christ as Suffering Servant combined both functions and was the Word of God and the word of praying man to God.¹⁰⁷ Aaron's miraculously flowering rod, which showed that he was a priest chosen by God, was seen by Bede as the 'invincible power of Christ's priesthood, [he who after death was] resurrected and lifted up to the eternal dignity of king and priest'.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ Mâle 1978, 158 dated the St-Bertin Cross to just before Suger's Golden Cross and so c. 1140. This seems to call into question his point that Suger personally revived typological symbolism. Henderson 1972, 230 fig. 146 for illustration. He dates the St-Bertin Cross c. 1180.

¹⁰² Glasson 1963, 22.

¹⁰³ At Moissac the Cana capital emphasises continuity by showing Christ holding the book, the Word transformed, whilst performing the miracle.

¹⁰⁴ See Henderson 1972, 185-192 for mid-twelfth-century Moses cycles in manuscripts and for the damaged late eleventh-century frescoes at St-Julien, Tours. Non-eucharistic Moses imagery was less rare. Autun and Vézelay both have capitals of Moses and the golden calf. Vézelay also has the Mystic Mill and Moses killing an Egyptian, a type of Christ destroying sin.

¹⁰⁵ Parker and Little, 1994, 147 and n.89.

¹⁰⁶ Vergnolle 1994, 278.

¹⁰⁷ Torrance 1955, 3-7.

¹⁰⁸ *De tabernaculo* 1 quoted in Raw 1997, 123. See also O'Reilly, 1994, 384-85.

Ivo had shown that the tribe of Levi prefigured the clergy,¹⁰⁹ and that the priesthood originated in Aaron's sons.¹¹⁰ Aaron and the high-priests were the model for bishops. The levitical priesthood was ordained by God and set up with detailed instructions on sacrifice, ritual and dress. In this deliberate act of God lay the basis of the priesthood. To recall the Old Testament sacrifices was, therefore, not a matter of mere historical interest but a recognition of a command.

The genealogy of Christ provided a way of showing his continuity as high-priest through his connection to the Aaronic line. Matthew's genealogy shows the descent through David's son Solomon, but in Luke's version (Luke 3:23-38) the sacerdotal line is traced through David's priestly son, Nathan who anointed Solomon. The royal house of Judah was not in the direct descent of Aaron, but Luke stressed that Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist and cousin of the Virgin Mary, was 'of the daughters of Aaron'. Mary came from the line of David¹¹¹ that Luke saw as stretching back through Jacob, Isaac and Abraham to Adam.¹¹² Jesus was also by his genealogy shown to be fully human, not 'newly created in the Virgin' as St. Bernard claimed some heretics said.¹¹³ The genealogy of Christ is the sign of 'a continuing expectation; it is also the genealogy of the Church whose members, whether Gentile or Jew, are reborn in baptism [signified by the doves] and foretaste future blessedness in the sacrament of the Eucharist'.¹¹⁴

The Tree of Jesse, linked to the concept of the Tree of Life,¹¹⁵ makes important points about Jesus' royal high-priesthood. References to Christ as a successor to the Levitical priesthood, and eternally present after the order of

¹⁰⁹ *Sermo* 2 PL 162, 513.

¹¹⁰ 518 and Letter 63 PL 162, 79.

¹¹¹ The Fathers interpreted Isaiah 11:1-3 'a rod (*virga*) out of the stem of Jesse' as a way of emphasising Mary despite Matthew and Luke ending their genealogies with Joseph.

¹¹² O'Reilly 1994, 372-73.

¹¹³ *On contemplation* quoted in Henderson 1968, 63.

¹¹⁴ O'Reilly 1994, 363. She gives a very clear account of the importance of the Tree/genealogies images.

¹¹⁵ See chapter 8.

Melchisedek,¹¹⁶ make it a crucial image of sacramental continuity. It is an image with too many ramifications to be addressed in detail in this thesis. That the twelfth century saw fit to rework the Tree image probably reflects contemporary eucharistic ideas. Both those stressing the necessity of a sacramental union, and those seeing the union as primarily spiritual, were anxious for union with the humanity of Christ in the hope of future sharing in his divinity.

In the 1140s, Suger at St-Denis commissioned a window of the Jesse Tree, which is now lost but ^{was} probably copied in the existing mid-twelfth-century window at Chartres. At Chartres Christ in Majesty occupies the topmost branches of the tree of his kingly, human ancestors and his spiritual ancestors, the prophets. Doves surrounding Christ symbolise both his humanity and divinity. The theme may have been repeated on the façade, if Blum is correct in claiming that the intertwined vine on the St-Denis façade outer archivolt, is a form of the Jesse tree, symbolically linking the patriarchs and elders on the archivolts with Christ's ancestors. She sees this as the first Tree of Jesse in monumental sculpture.¹¹⁷

The Levitical sacrifices clarified by Ivo, especially the red heifer (so important for later winepress imagery) the calf of sacrifice and 'the calf of our lips',¹¹⁸ are reflected in the Lambeth Bible's opening initial to Leviticus, [fig. 108] referred to earlier, where God holds a scroll out to Moses, and beneath this an animal sacrifice is shown. The scroll is God's word to Moses: Christ as the Word, present from all time, is prefigured in all valid sacrifices.¹¹⁹ The Lambeth Bible [fig.109] also depicts the sacrifices on a page illustrating the Book of Numbers. The Levitical sacrifices are quite frequently depicted in manuscript illustrations in this period but are uncommon in sculpture until the second half of the twelfth century.

¹¹⁶ Melchisedek does not appear in Jesse trees because he was 'without father, without mother, without genealogy' (Heb. 7:3).

¹¹⁷ Blum 1992, 98.

¹¹⁸ *Sermo* V, 551B.

¹¹⁹ Denny 1977. A similar illustration is in the late eleventh-century Stavelot Bible.

The most renowned composite depiction of the continuity of sacrifice is in the north narthex tympanum at the Cluniac priory of Charlieu of about 1140 [fig. 28 to chapter 3.]. Here the connections between the ancient sacrifices, Christ's offering on the cross and in the Mass, and expectations of union in the last days are clearly revealed. The marriage at Cana prefigures the Last Supper. The Agnus Dei is not present as such in this ensemble but is represented in the centre of the upper archivolt in the central doorway alongside.¹²⁰ Above Cana, in the archivolt, are the glorified Christ and the prophets of the Transfiguration. Below in the lintel is a scene representing the Old Testament sacrifices. The altar dominates the centre and the priests offer the sacrificial animals.¹²¹ This is the clearest reference in the period to the idea that 'the multiple nature of the ancient victims foretold this single victim of the gospel'.¹²² Peter the Venerable explained that the plurality of the Jewish sacrifices had to yield to the single voluntary victim, Christ, because multiplicity of offering had not made the offers perfect; such a cleansing offering could only be provided by God.¹²³ Christ, dying once, ordained the offering at the altar for ever¹²⁴ so that we may be 'nurtured and fed by his humanity until we are filled by his divinity (*deitate*) and glory'.¹²⁵ Peter stresses the point, repeating the differences that are shown so dramatically at Charlieu. 'The ox, the calf, the ram and the goat soaked the altars of the Jews with their blood; only the Lamb of God, who wipes out the sins of the world, rests on the altar of the Christians'.¹²⁶ Mâle said that 'when we look at the façade of Charlieu we seem to be re-reading this page from Peter the Venerable'.¹²⁷ One might equally recall the writings of Ivo although he, more than Peter, stressed the convergences.

¹²⁰ The main portal tympana is of Christ in Majesty surrounded by the evangelist symbols and two angels holding the mandorla. On the lintel below, the Twelve are accompanied by the Virgin Mary. The upper archivolt, holding the Lamb, shows two of the elders of the Apocalypse. The whole composition is vigorous and vital, redolent of victory and the final triumphant banquet in the heavenly Jerusalem that forms Christ's throne.

¹²¹ In the extant sculpture at La Charité-sur-Loire, the chief of the 'five daughters of Cluny', one might expect similar depiction, but greater attention is given to the gospel prefigurations of the cross. It is possible that the antique sacrifices existed on one of the lost tympana at La Charité. Of the original five West façade portals only two survive.

¹²² *Contra Petrobrusianos* PL 189, 796D.

¹²³ 796B.

¹²⁴ 798A.

¹²⁵ 814C.

¹²⁶ 796 B.

Conclusion.

The emphasis on the continuity of valid sacraments had been accelerated by Carolingian eucharistic writings, and further accelerated by the eleventh-century debates, and the growth of heresy in the early twelfth century. The fervent desire of Gregorian reformers to confirm the special function of the priesthood, as well as the unique role of the Church as provider of salvific sacraments, placed even greater emphasis on tradition and on sacramental continuity. Ivo and Hildebert emphasized the offering of sacrifice, as such, in a total context of salvation history. They give evidence of a contemporary awareness of the need for a reformed priesthood, offering valid sacrifice in a developed penitential-eucharistic role, one wholly consonant with the unique role of the eternal Church.

One might have expected an explosion of imagery reflecting this stance. In monumental sculpture this does not take place until the later twelfth century. A reformulation of traditional typology, to reflect the increased sacramentalism of the period, was beginning to take place, however. It can be seen in images reflecting contemporary concerns, as in the more overtly sacrificial imagery, focusing on the altar, which is developed, for example, in the Presentation and Cana sculptures, and in the way the sacrifice of Isaac is depicted. Developments in iconography in sculpture usually lag a little behind those in manuscript illustration. This appears to be the case in respect of sacrificial continuity, as can be seen from the examples given from the Floreffe and Lambeth bibles.

¹²⁷

Mâle 1978, 423.

CHAPTER 8

FOR THE LOVE OF CHRIST.

The development of a mood of pious and intense love for the humanity of Christ affects the whole period but is noticeably accelerating in the twelfth century. There were many aspects to this devotion, with many roots, some non-theological, and not all were expressed in devotion specifically to Christ in the sacrament. A sacramental awareness pervades them all, however. This chapter looks particularly at some eucharistic aspects of this devotion, many of which would become dominant in later centuries.

In the more vivid and intense twelfth-century versions of Paschasian union, such as those of Rupert of Deutz, emphasis on the closeness to Christ of sacramental union may well have been one major stimulus to the development of devotion to the humanity of Christ, a devotion which could also be seen in other modes and forms of piety. Peter the Venerable, writing nearly thirty years later, in mystical vein, still considered the essentially Paschasian Alger of Liège as the most learned writer on the Eucharist.¹ Alger's emphasis on incarnation was 'a mainstay of his eucharistic theology.'² The incarnation was, to Alger, God's greatest work, uniting man to God and exalting Christ.³ Joined to Christ's 'true body' through the Eucharist, the Church shared the 'dignity granted to Christ through the Incarnation'⁴ and the union of the Father and Son.⁵

Spiritual communion, which was inspired by commemoration and imitation of the Passion in the Mass, was seen by Alger as essential for salvation, and more worthy [*dignior*] than sacramental communion. Even so, it was not sufficient on its own and one must receive the true body of Christ to effect the salvific union.⁶ Theologians of all schools increasingly stressed the individual's response to the Real Presence of Christ in the sacrament in terms

¹ *Contra Petrobrusianos* PL 189, 788. Macy 1984, 50.

² Macy 1984, 50.

³ *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Dominici* PL 180, 743B-744D. Macy 1984, 50.

⁴ 747C, paraphrased in Macy 1984, 50.

⁵ 748A-B. Macy 1984, 50.

⁶ 797B-798B and 807B. Macy 1984, 50.

of love of Christ.⁷ This manifested itself in many forms but there were two major divisions (although they often overlapped), a more mystical approach, which often focused on eschatology and thus on the Eucharist as permitting a union with the Church through past and future time, and another which gave a greater emphasis to experiencing the historical Jesus especially as seen in his poverty and suffering.

The origins of the new mystical approach are unclear. Appearing in the early twelfth century, this approach owed more to Augustine than to Hilary. Some of its earliest exponents seem to have been associated with the cathedral school at Laon.⁸ One of these, Anselm, appears to have said that the true work of God, the beginning and end of all good, is faith working through love. Even when the facility to do good works fails, the desire to do them is sufficient. In terms of the Eucharist this means that 'true reception consists in receiving with faith working through love'.⁹ The unity is thus one of charity and spirit. Anselm appeared to suggest that the body of Christ received in the Eucharist was the same as the angels in heaven feed on by contemplation but, since we are incapable of such reception, the Word provides us with more palatable food.¹⁰ Proper reception is the union of wills between Christ and the faithful, a spiritual union.¹¹

William of Champeaux, who later founded the abbey of St-Victor in Paris, said that Christians could share in the Passion itself through its re-enactment in the Mass. The emphasis was on faith, however, rather than on sacramental action.¹² A similar emphasis was placed by Hugh of St-Victor who said that

⁷ Peter the Venerable said that eucharistic reception aroused love by remembrance of Christ's sacrifice. *Contra Petrobrusianos* PL 189, 813B.

⁸ Grouped around Anselm (chancellor, deacon and later archdeacon 1115-17) were important teachers of early scholasticism including Abelard, William of Champeaux, William of St-Thierry and Gilbert of La Porée. Anselm's teachings are mostly lost but some are known through the work of his followers and some form part of the *Glossa Ordinaria*. It is probably not correct to see this as strictly a school. Extant works of Anselm of Laon do not show a clear eucharistic theology. Ideas stemming from Laon seem to have been combined with other works in sentence collections which Flint considers may have been compiled to meet pastoral needs raised by the reform movement. Macy 1984, 73-5.

⁹ Quoting Macy 1984, 73.

¹⁰ Macy 1984, 74.

¹¹ *Sententia* 139.

¹² *Sententia* 260.

God could have saved without external sacraments but that the intrinsic link between external sign and inner power was useful in instructing the believer. The external sign does not cause sanctification; that comes from the body and blood of Christ and the spiritual healing which such loving nourishment brings.¹³

The *Sententiae Anselmi*, referred to in chapter 1, sums up the views of those who argued that all received the body and blood in sacramental reception but real reception is spiritual and only made by the good who receive in faith and love. William of St-Thierry, like Hugh of St-Victor, stressed a moving onwards from the physical. This turned on an adoption of Dionysian Neo-Platonism accessed through the ninth-century commentary on *The Celestial Hierarchies* by John Scot Eriugena.¹⁴ Images of hidden beauty reveal the unknowable. Knowledge of God can only come through signs, indicators of divine truth. Expressive beauty could use discordant images to uplift the mind: figures can be unstable, linear ornament can be combined with suggestive images as of wild animal strength, the frightful has its place. Such challenging juxtapositions can be more appropriate to a theophany than the vain attempt to produce ideal beauty in a naturalistic way.¹⁵

The Isaiah at Souillac [fig. 110] reflects this approach. There is a dynamic tension reflecting the intimate inextricable interconnection between this world and the timeless. This dynamism seems to come from the shifting planes of the design rather than from the iconography, but it would be mere delightful pattern-making were the spiritual significance of the subject, with all its prefigurative associations, not totally subjectively absorbed.

Bernard of Clairvaux was also influenced by the Greek mystical tradition of Gregory of Nyssa and by the pseudo-Dionysius, and this helped confirm his

¹³ *De sacramentis* 1.

¹⁴ For a good account of Pseudo-Dionysius on visual imagery see Cameron 1992, 24-29.

¹⁵ Hearn discussed this in terms of tympana at Moissac, Vézelay and Angoulême, Beaulieu and Autun. In all of these elements of expressive deformity are used alongside more naturalistic, formal beauty where the subject was essentially narrative and not part of a theophany. Hearn 1981, 189-91. On Pseudo-Dionysius' influence on Hugh of St-Victor see Illich 1993, 31-33. Peter the Venerable was also interested in the ideas of Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite. Cluny had a copy of the *Celestial hierarchies*.

definition of the mystical union as one of love and unity of will.¹⁶ In his commentary on the Song of Songs he uses many images of light, heat and vision. In the mystical noon-tide, in which the contemplative lover can take repose, the flock lies down to feed in the full noon of eternity on the spiritual food of the Eucharist.¹⁷

Interest in Neo-Platonism did not result in a theology that was purely intellectualised and remote. William of St-Thierry saw moving onwards as having roots in the love of Christ, stimulated particularly by the Eucharist. He said 'from his flesh he brings to our souls such great resources for loving him and supplies them with great and wonderful and living nourishment. We take this nourishment with eager feeding when we sweetly remember and hide in our memory what Christ did and suffered for us'.¹⁸

If the Laon school encouraged a mystical devotion, many others, and indeed those within the Laon group, also searched for identification with Christ in other ways. Even by the late eleventh century, eucharistic fervour, reforming intentions and a new approach to individualism had combined to set the west firmly onto an emotional path of love and imitation of Christ.¹⁹ Constable has said that twelfth-century devotion to the humanity of Christ 'penetrated every aspect of the life of the church...It can be seen in the liturgy, in the cult of the eucharist and the elevation of the host, in the new hymns to the Sacred Heart'²⁰

¹⁶ Knowles 1962, 140. Bernard's sources have not yet been identified.

¹⁷ *Sermo 33 Super Cantica Cantorum*. In Leclercq, *et al.*, 1957, 236. Matter 1990, 129.

¹⁸ *De sacramento altaris* quoted in Stone 1909, 299.

¹⁹ There is a considerable debate about the nature of interiority and individualism in the late eleventh and twelfth century. Ideas of self and individuality in this period were in no way the concepts developed later in renaissance humanism. Individualism was not felt in opposition to institutions but in trying to reconcile personal piety and ecclesiastical discipline. It was more to do with understanding human nature than the unique self. In the secular world this psychological exploration manifested itself in many forms from love poetry to confidence in commercial activity. There was also a new sense of personal discovery in religion which was marked by a personal devotion to the crucified Christ. Bestul gives a useful summary of the various academic views of this individualism. Bestul 1999, 147-150.

The introspection of this period is not the self-indulgence of later years. Southern has pointed out that Anselm's prayers are a form of self-abasement and self-contempt designed to stimulate 'anxiety as a prelude to a rigorous discipline of the will' and 'only accidentally a journey of self-discovery'. Southern 1990, 449.

²⁰ This develops in the monastic communities. It was not yet the full cult it would later become but entering into the heart of Jesus as the seat of mercy was advocated by William of St-Thierry in his *Meditativae orationes* PL 180, 225D-26A and *De contemplando Deo* PL 184, 368C. Rupert of Deutz was also in the vanguard of this movement. Van Engen 1983, 130.

[...] and in the Palm Sunday processions carrying the sacrament which began in the eleventh century and later developed into the official celebration of Corpus Christi Day'.²¹

Monastic piety encouraged close identification with Christ. Bernard of Clairvaux insisted that the monk's job was to seek out the heavenly Jerusalem not by physical pilgrimage but by 'progressing with their feelings'.²² The greater emphasis on personal private prayer probably increased the intensity of this. The images used to express spiritual pilgrimage have a highly eucharistic-penitential content. Many are eschatological, particularly those of the monastery as an enclosed garden which is the Church, and where one could return to paradise. How far this trend stemmed from eucharistic theology, from Gregorian reform or from new types of individualism, and whether it accelerated, or was accelerated by, the intensity of verbal and visual affective imagery is unclear.

That all pilgrimage is penitential is evidenced in the calls to crusade. The spiritual pilgrimage of meditation was not confined to monks, but they in particular were encouraged to emulate the apostles and so experience metaphorically the sights and events of the apostolic age. Gregorian reform had stressed the *vita apostolica* as part of an attempt to recreate the early Church. Identification with Christ's closest followers helped achieve identification with Christ himself.²³ It was not appropriate to try to emulate Christ's divinity or majesty but the imitation of Christ on earth could link the material and spiritual and lead to salvation. Peter Damian had said that embracing Christ with a constant love and meditating continually on his Passion 'for the sake of imitation' would result in Christ abiding in the heart.²⁴

The images which show the apostles closely interacting with Christ such as the incredulity of Thomas, the *visitatio sepulchri*, the Last Supper and the

²¹ Constable 1996, 280.

²² Letter 399 PL 182, 612B. On whether God could suffer and the problems this raised in respect of immutability see Pelikan 1971, 231.

²³ Forsyth 1986. See also Horste 1992.

²⁴ *Institutio monialis* 3. PL 145, 735 C-D. Constable 1996, 279.

washing of the feet, and the Emmaus journey were all popular.²⁵ They are all also, as has been shown earlier, eucharistic images. The depiction of the Emmaus travellers as pilgrims with scribes and staves does not appear before the early twelfth century.²⁶ Thereafter, the journey is at least as frequently represented as the supper. Emmaus scenes, where (as in a capital at La Daurade in Toulouse) Christ and the two travellers were dressed as pilgrims, would also have had particular appeal to the enclosed monk. In the cloister Christ might be encountered and the supper of the Mass shared with him afterwards in the church. The Emmaus images, as discussed in chapters 4, 6 and 7, reveal interest in sacrificial continuity, and in ideas of the Real Presence and the indivisibility of the resurrected and eucharistic body.

The new affective piety is sometimes seen as springing primarily from St Bernard in the twelfth century, this is misleading, but nevertheless ^{identification} identification with the suffering Christ was vital to Bernard. Only by experiencing Christ, being aware of him in one's soul, he felt, could one move from love of self to love of others and finally to love of God for God's sake. Bernard's intensity of identification was often phrased in highly physical terms, as when he said:

'suck not the wounds but the breasts of the Crucified One. He will be as a mother to you, and you as a son to him, and the nails that will pass through his hands and feet to yours will to some extent be unable to harm the crucified one to the same degree'.²⁷

Mystical devotion was often expressed in highly sensual and immediate images. Rupert of Deutz embraced a wooden image of Christ on the Cross and, kissing him, felt his mouth open 'in order that I might kiss him more deeply'.²⁸ This apparent sensuality, however, was part of a spiritual ascent.²⁹ Loving union with the human in Christ was a bridge that allowed man to recapture the divinity

²⁵ Forsyth 1986, 77.

²⁶ Mâle 1978, 26-28.

²⁷ *Letter* 322 quoted in Constable 1996, 280. For development of the idea of Jesus as mother see Bynum 1982.

²⁸ *Super Mattheum* 12, CCCM 22, 382-3 quoted in Constable 1996, 282 who gives a number of similarly physical expressions of spiritual love from this period. Such images were not worldly, rather they were a way of escaping from concentration on one's own physicality.

²⁹ In some writers it was another reflection of Neo-Platonism.

within himself. Hugh of St-Victor made this clear when he said 'The body ascends by sense, the spirit descends by sensuality'.³⁰

Moloney agrees that Bernard was a leading figure in the new devotion to the humanity of Christ but notes that he was relatively untouched by the new eucharistic piety.³¹ Nevertheless the scriptural words about eating and drinking Christ's body and blood were taken by Bernard to refer to 'communicating with his sufferings' through the Eucharist.³² In fact, Bernard accelerated a trend which was evident in what Southern calls 'the thin stream of compassion and tenderness which comes from the eleventh century [which developed] into [a] flood'.³³ One can see the roots of this earlier in the century and such emotion might not have been felt as a 'thin stream' at the time. St. Odilo of Cluny died on 1 January 1049, the Feast of the Circumcision, and his biographer says that his dying on that particular day was a divine recognition of Odilo's 'pious compassion for the tender wounds of the Lord's body'.³⁴ Pious compassion of this sort was 'widely shared in the middle of the eleventh century'.³⁵ It was St Anselm, however, whose expressions of passionate love for the wounded Christ 'opened up a new world of ardent emotion'.³⁶ 'Why, O my soul,' he said, 'wert thou not present to be transfixed with the sword of sharpest grief at the unendurable sight of your Saviour pierced with the lance, and the hands and feet of your Maker broken with the nails'.³⁷ This prayer, and others equally intense, were composed between 1063 and 1078, before *Cur Deus Homo*. There was a connection, however, since Southern has argued that 'although Anselm based his argument on rational grounds, the awakening sense of the human sufferings of the Saviour gave a new urgency to the question which he set himself to answer in his *Cur Deus Homo*'.³⁸

³⁰ *De unione corporis et spiritus* PL 177, 285B. See Beckwith 1993, 45-52 for expansion of this approach.

³¹ Moloney 1995, 123.

³² On *Psalm* 90 3.3 quoted in Pelikan 1978, 184.

³³ Southern 1998, 238.

³⁴ Southern 1998, 237.

³⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.* Anselm *Oratio* 20, PL 158, 903C..

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 241.

Otto Pächt saw Anselm's prayers and meditations as 'the great document of the new piety'. He stressed Anselm's emphasis on introspection, affective feeling and pious compassion which 'fermented visual imagination and led to new artistic experiences which ultimately had a humanizing effect on the imagery of Christian art'.³⁹ One can see in St Anselm's prayers an emotional involvement with Christ on the cross which is new in its intensity. It has been shown in chapter 5, however, that the Mass commentaries of the ninth century encouraged an imaginative and spiritual identification with Christ as the sacrificial victim of history and as present in every Mass. When eucharistic debate revived in the eleventh century these allegorical writings, fully current still, may have also focused attention on emotional responses even though eleventh-century responses went beyond, or were of a different type to, those envisaged by Amalarius and his circle.⁴⁰

Hugh of St-Victor gave this intensity a definite eucharistic focus:

'From our nature, he took a victim for our nature, so that the whole burnt offering, which was offered up might have a connection with us, through its being taken from what is ours. We are united through faith to the redeemer who has entered into fellowship with us through his flesh.'

God could have acted in other ways but 'it was more appropriate to our weakness that God should become a human being'.⁴¹ Significantly, he gives here an explicitly sacrificial expression to his emphasis on God's compassion.

Peter the Venerable, using the passionate language of twelfth-century eucharistic piety, said that man is moved to love by the presence of the human Christ in the Eucharist. '

'The sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ [] is not superfluous, because not only through that which is God, but even through that which is human he is with us until the consummation of the world [...]. He who redeemed us through his body remakes us through that same body [...]

³⁹ Pächt 1956. Pächt says Anselm was the first to have his works illustrated in his life time. The earliest are now lost but Admont Stiftsbibliothek MS 289 illustrates Luke's sinner anointing Christ's feet.

⁴⁰ Raw sees Amalarius' understanding of the meaning of the Mass as concentrated on Christ's redemptive sacrifice rather than on his suffering. Raw 1990, 187.

we are nourished and fed by his humanity until the time when we will be filled with his deity and glory'.⁴²

By the mid-twelfth century Christ was usually depicted at the Last Supper with St John, 'the disciple whom Jesus loved,' leaning his head on Christ's breast.⁴³ In a heavily restored choir capital at Issoire, Christ has his right arm around John and makes a gesture of blessing with his left hand. John clutches the bread in both hands and holds it to his cheek like a mark of close endearment [fig. 111].⁴⁴ This is a moving way of expressing close involvement with the humanity of Christ. It would have spoken to those who kissed the crucifix to express their love for Christ.

The incarnation is at the centre of the relationship between God and man. Through the incarnation man is saved. Ansem's *Cur Deus Homo* had emphasised this centrality. Alger of Liège's fervent emphasis on the essence and dignity of the incarnation must have struck a chord in hearts of many persuasions. Not by chance did the new forms of love of the incarnate Christ develop almost contemporaneously with the acceleration of devotion to the Virgin Mary. All images of the sacrifice-bearing Virgin are eucharistic. The concept of the Mass as a sacramental incarnation was significant to many Mass commentators, especially those who, like Odo of Cambrai, Rupert of Deutz and Honorius Augustodunensis, stressed that salvific union required absorption of the body of Christ born of Mary, but it was vital to all. Such ideas would have been less obvious to the popular mind, but they, like most clerics, were easily caught up in the increasingly intense Marian devotion which veered towards being a cult in its own right.

Bernard of Clairvaux saw the Virgin at the Presentation having a priestly function, offering 'the blessed fruit' of her womb to God but also offering 'the blessed host, pleasing to God, for the reconciliation of us all'.⁴⁵ If the Virgin as

⁴¹ *De sacramentis* 1,8,6-7. PL 176, 310-311.trans. McGrath 1995,184-85.

⁴² *Contra Petrobrusianos* PL 189, 814C.

⁴³ St John was seen as surpassing the other evangelists in sublimity and insight.

⁴⁴ This capital also shows Judas and the sop - see chapter 4.

⁴⁵ *De purificatione Beatae Mariae* sermon PL 183, 370C trans. Lane 1984, 71.

priest was an idea sometimes overtly depicted in later centuries by showing her at the altar, nevertheless there is a suggestion of this function in the priestly chasuble and pallium which she was sometimes shown in depictions of her as the throne of Wisdom as at Saugues, Haute-Loire [fig. 112]. That her role was greater than any earthly minister is brought out at Estables, Aveyron [fig. 113], where she is robed as a priest and also crowned as queen of heaven. Not only had she borne the body of Christ that is daily on the altar and in heaven, where she too now reigned as mother and bride, but at Cana she had instigated the changing of the water into wine that prefigured the Eucharist. Even without priestly accoutrements she is the chief offerer of the Mass after Christ. She ~~was~~^{is} also the chief intercessor. It is telling that St Anselm was traditionally said to have been the first to use the technical term *mediatrix* and appealed both to Christ and Mary to grant him what he owed them in order that they might receive their *debitum*.⁴⁶

The pyx which held the reserved host was seen as an image of the Virgin containing the body of Christ. The comparison of Mary with a tabernacle was especially popular in the twelfth century. Amadeus of Lausanne (d. 1159), for instance, declared, 'Mary is a beautiful golden urn [...] this urn held the hidden manna, she who in her sacred womb bore the bread of the angels which comes down from heaven and gives life to the world'.⁴⁷ Something similar can be seen in the free-standing reliquary statues of the Virgin and Child which were common in France especially in the Auvergne.⁴⁸ Here the Virgin is the Throne of Wisdom⁴⁹ and queen of heaven. The child on her lap is majestic and priestly, the Logos incarnate.

St Anselm was in the forefront of devotion to the Virgin, but in the twelfth century it was Cistercian spirituality which gave a particular emphasis to the Virgin. Bernard's comment on sucking the breasts of Christ was paralleled with an emphasis on Mary, personifying the Church giving milk sustaining the

⁴⁶ Williams 1957, 258. See Anselm's three prayers to Mary with their guilt-ridden penitential focus, Ward 1973, 107-27.

⁴⁷ *Homily* 1, lines 183-87 and PL 188, 1308A. trans. Lane 1984, 27.

⁴⁸ Forsyth 1972, 22-30 for the iconography.

Christian soul. St Bernard said the kiss of Christ and his bride the Church had such power that 'she at once conceives and her bosom swells with milk. [...]. So too we approach the altar of God and pray, and, if we but persevere.[...] the milk of sweetness will overflow everywhere in a torrent'.⁵⁰ In the middle ages milk was seen as blood processed into milk and thus of essentially the same substance, and both had been given a eucharistic connection even in early Christianity.⁵¹ *Madonna lactans* images, which are common later, appear in early twelfth-century Cistercian manuscripts⁵² and in other art soon after 1150, for example in the fresco of the flight into Egypt at Poncé dated about 1160-80.⁵³ Such homely images accelerated the fervent devotion to Christ's mother and, thereby, to his accessible humanity. Linked to these ideas was the concept of the Virgin as the fountain of life bringing the new Christian at baptism into the body of Christ.

More formal than in even the most hieratic Magi scene is the depiction of the Virgin, of c.1140-50, at Donzy-le-Pré [fig. 114]. Here the Virgin is enthroned in eternity under the magnificent baldachin. Christ is as formal, still and timeless as his mother. Time past is represented by Isaiah holding in his right hand a scroll giving his prophecy of the incarnation, in his left hand is a branch of the Tree of Jesse. Time present and future is marked by the angel with the censer whose presence reminds the viewer that the incarnate Word is present in every Mass at the same time as he receives the gifts on high. The angels who carry the gifts will share their benefits with man and Christ in the final banquet. The Donzy representation is clearly designed to reflect this, but the absence of the Magi ensures that major focus is also placed on the honouring of the Virgin Mary. There is little earlier in the century to compete with this overt adoration. Even so, such adoration was only possible because she shared her humanity with Christ so that the world could share in his death.

⁴⁹ The throne is also that of Solomon, a type of Christ's wisdom and justice. The Queen of Sheba offering at Solomon's throne is a type of the offering of the Magi.

⁵⁰ *Epistle* 322 quoted in Warner 1976, 197. See also Williamson 1992 which includes miracles of Mary's milk.

⁵¹ Bynum 1987, 65.

⁵² Leyser 1984, 65. Southern 1998, 244.

⁵³ Davy *et al.*, 1997, 176-77.

The Flight into Egypt provides a number of ways of defining the relationship between Christ, the Virgin, and Church as the body of Christ. A capital at St-Benoît-sur-Loire [fig. 115] showing the Flight into Egypt suggests the eschatological aspects of the Mass. Christ, the Divine Wisdom, is both source and object of human wisdom. The Virgin is seated side-saddle on the donkey in the manner usually associated with the enthroned Virgin of the Seat of Wisdom. The elongated ass appears as a throne, Mary's feet are on a foot-stool, even though the animal's raised hoof suggests movement. If Vergnolle is correct in seeing this as an example of Christ holding the host its eucharistic association is increased.⁵⁴ On a capital of the Flight at St-Hilaire at Poitiers the Virgin rests her feet on the head of an angel [fig.116]. This reinforces the ideas of the Mass as the food of angels and of the feast at the end of time when men and angels will join together in honouring the God-man-Spirit, a joy which could only come about through the incarnation announced to Mary by the angel Gabriel.⁵⁵

Christ was 'the bright and morning star' (Rev. 22: 16) and the 'Star out of Jacob' of Balaam's prophecy. The Virgin Mary was called 'Star of the Morning' (*stella matutina*) and 'Star of the Sea' (*Stella Maris*), two stars whose brightness never fades.⁵⁶ This shared star imagery may have been given greater emphasis as the cult of the Virgin increased. By the mid-twelfth century the Magi can be seen as paying homage to Mary herself as well as to Christ. She is the God-bearer but also queen of heaven and bride of Christ.

The Moissac porch, 1115-30 [fig. 84 to chapter 6], presents one of the first fully developed examples of the cult of Mary. She appears with her son in the adoration of the Magi, in the Presentation and the flight into Egypt, but the largest figures are in the scenes of the annunciation and the visitation, and this brings the focus directly onto Mary herself. At La Charité-sur-Loire, discussed in chapter 3, the lintel emphasises the incarnation by showing the annunciation,

⁵⁴ Vergnolle 1994, 137. The Autun Flight where the Virgin and child jointly hold an orb may carry the same associations.

⁵⁵ The flight into Egypt was the subject of many popular apocryphal legends and, like nativity scenes, gave plenty of scope for emotion and identification.

⁵⁶ Metford 1983, 232.

visitation, nativity and annunciation to the shepherds. Mary's vital role in the Incarnation is confirmed forcefully in the tympanum above, which depicts the assumption of the Virgin. The west front incarnation portal at Chartres, probably 1145-55 but perhaps as early as 1135, is even more insistent in its presentation of the significance of the incarnation and Mary's role. Here the Magi do not appear at all and the enthroned Virgin and child on high dominate the scenes shown below of the nativity and Presentation.⁵⁷

The wedding imagery discussed in chapter 3 is, like all eschatological imagery, particularly relevant to the mystical approach. The Song of Solomon has been said to be the book most frequently read in the medieval cloister. It was interpreted as evidence of God's love for the entire Church but also for God's loving relationship to each soul.⁵⁸ It was also a comment on the state of the Church and had long been used in this way.⁵⁹ From Carolingian times the Song of Songs had been linked to the Apocalypse, a work easily read as an allegory of the Church and God's plan for the elect.⁶⁰ This linkage became even more pertinent during the turmoil of Gregorian reform. Robert of Tomberlaine, Bruno of Segni and John of Mantua, all associated with the curia of Gregory VII, wrote on the Song of Songs. For Robert the Church was an enclosed garden fortified against enemies but false Christians wandered there, causing the Bride to fear, so that there is little hope of the wedding of Christ and the Church on earth. The Church must be cleansed through the purity of individual souls.⁶¹ This idea had great appeal in monastic circles where monks also yearned for personal spiritual renewal.⁶²

⁵⁷ See chapter 3 for the Presentation. For a detailed discussion of the iconography see Katzenellenbogen 1959.

⁵⁸ Pelikan 1985, 125 quoting Leclercq 1961, 90-91.

⁵⁹ Matter, 1990 and Zlatohlavak, 1995 give the history of the exegesis.

⁶⁰ The new Jerusalem, in Rev. 21:2 was 'prepared as a bride adorned for her husband'. The Church is the bride of the Lamb. Rev 21:9.

⁶¹ *In cantica canticorum* PL 150, 1361-1370. Matter 1990, 106-07 and fn. 76 and 79 on MS sources. Robert's commentary became a medieval classic and the base for the *Glossa Ordinaria* version PL 113.

⁶² Honorius Augustodunensis, who wrote two commentaries on the Song of Songs, was also concerned to use this work to discuss the health of the Church. He associated all parts of the bride's body with the orders in the Church, eg the head is the contemplatives and explained stages in the development of the Church including that after the ravages of Antichrist. Matter

There had been mariological interpretations of the Song at least since the time of Ambrose but Rupert of Deutz's passionate exegesis was a new departure, emphasised in his title *In cantica canticorum de incarnatione Domini commentarii*.⁶³ For Rupert the Virgin becomes not only the bride of Christ but also of God and the Holy Spirit. She represents humankind in union with God as promised in the prophets, and reveals the fulfillment of the Old Law in the New.⁶⁴

All the meals of Christ in the gospels prefigure the joy of the messianic banquet of the Church and all nations.⁶⁵ When John's disciples were scandalized that Jesus was not fasting (Mk 2:18) Christ answered 'Can the friends of the bridegroom be sorrowful while the bridegroom is with them? For the commentators the Song of Songs is redolent of eucharistic references. The Church is the bride of the crucified Christ who suffered. From the thirteenth century the bride will sometimes be shown piercing the heart of Jesus with a dart. The idea that the soul's refuge is in Christ's wounds and their blood of the Eucharist is made vividly clear by St Bernard:

'They pierced his hands and feet, they gored his side with a lance, and through these fissures I can suck honey from the rock and oil from the hardest stone - that is, to 'taste and see that the Lord is good' [Ps. 33:9] [...]. The secret of his heart is laid open through the clefts of his body; that mighty mystery of devotion (*sacramentum pietas*) is laid open, laid open too the 'tender mercies of our God' (1 Timothy 3:16) [...]. Surely his heart is laid open through his wounds!'.⁶⁶

The kiss of Christ and his bride was frequently represented in manuscripts as in the twelfth-century manuscript of Bede's *In Cantica Canticorum* from St Albans [fig. 117]. In sculpture the idea of bridal union can

1990, 58-76 gives a very interesting account of the multi-faceted allegorical exegesis of Honorius.

⁶³ PL 170, 748-97.

⁶⁴ Zlatohlavek, 44-5. For Rupert's insistence that the Son of Man was also the Son of God born of the Virgin Mary and the significance of this for his Paschasian theology see chapter 5. Rupert was also an ardent reformer.

⁶⁵ Daniélou 1960, 155-56.

⁶⁶ *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum* 61, PL 183, 1072C-D. and *Sermo* 61 ii.3-4, *Cantica Canticorum* OB 2, 150-51. Matter 1990, 137.

stem from the images of the wise and foolish virgins. Only the wise will be joined to Christ as is suggested in a capital at St-Etienne, Toulouse, where Christ, holding crown and sceptre accompanies the Church whilst the foolish virgins, holding their lamps upside-down are to be rejected. The wise virgins are unveiled and hold sceptres. Other images discussed in earlier chapters which particularly emphasise the love of the humanity of Christ are the adoration of the Magi and those of Mary Magdalen, especially the *Noli me tangere* scenes. Mary Magdalen loved Christ humbly and truly, first in his humanity and then spiritually. He returned her love in salvation and forgiveness thereby giving heart to penitent sinners. All could hope like her to become brides of Christ in the world to come. At the same time as the consecration and elevation increasingly become the focus of the Mass, Christ's suffering on the cross is emphasised in art and in intense verbal imagery. It cannot be proved that this is a relationship of direct cause and effect but some close connection seems almost certain. It may have been in part a product of in the change in theology which emphasised Christ less as the offerer in the Mass than the victim.

This suffering was particularly evidenced by the shedding of Christ's blood. The liturgy itself emphasised this, especially in Holy Week when the readings included Isaiah 53 and 63. Isaiah's 'Man of Sorrows and acquainted with grief' was 'brought as a lamb to the slaughter' and 'wounded for our transgressions' so that 'with his stripes we are healed'.⁶⁷ The sections read from Isaiah 63 ('who is this that cometh from Edom with dyed garments from Bozrah [...] wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the winevat? I have trodden the winepress alone [...]') introduced the winepress images that would become major sources of affective imagery later in the middle ages but which had long been recognised as images of the crucifixion. St Bernard talked of Christ as 'obedient to the Father, even unto the press of the cross, which he trod alone'.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Isaiah 53:3-7.

⁶⁸ *Apologia ad Guillelmum* PL 182, 902.

The winepress does not, to my knowledge, appear in French sculpture before 1150 but the depiction of the carrying of the grapes on a pole (Num. 13:17-29) as a prefiguration of Christ on the cross does so occasionally.

Rubin has said that devotions to Christ's wounds developed in the monastic milieu in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁶⁹ These private devotions based on pious contemplation of depictions of the wounds would become of much greater importance in the late middle ages. There was nothing new in depicting the wounds; this had been done for centuries in order to stress the guilt of man's sins which had caused Christ's sufferings and which demanded faith and repentance in return. The wounds are a sign of reproach as well as an evidence of God's love for man. Augustine had said that the scars on the flesh were allowed to remain in order that faithlessness might be removed and the signs of the wounds, the nails and spear, were shown 'to heal the true wounds in the hearts of men'.⁷⁰ The tenth-century Athelstan Psalter, probably from Winchester, [fig. 1]§ reflects ideas like these. Such depiction of the wounds would elicit compassion but not devotions inspired by the wounds themselves; the overall context is of glory and judgment.

The same idea as in the Athelstan Psalter is presented at Beaulieu in the mid-1130s, the first tympanum to emphasise the wounds by showing Christ bare-breasted.⁷¹ The Beaulieu tympanum too conveys glory and judgment, Christ is sorrowful but majestic. The physical realism of this figure of Christ would have spoken differently to viewers in the twelfth century who were used to the intense verbal insistence on the love of the human Christ, than to the original owners of the Athelstan psalter. If devotion to the wounds themselves is not common before 1150, the awareness of Christ's bodily agony is significant and aroused deep compassion. The wound in the side was widely seen as the source of the Church; as Eve came from Adam's side so the new Eve, the Church, would come from the second Adam.⁷² The blood and the

For elaboration of the imagery of the wounds and for consideration of later medieval developments of this imagery see Marrow 1979.

⁶⁹ Rubin 1991, 302.

⁷⁰ *Sermon* on 5th feria of Easter. Howe 1967.

⁷¹ At Conques the wounds too were displayed in the upraised hand but they are less the focus of the composition than at Beaulieu where the angels carry the instruments of the Passion. At Martel (Lot) Christ is bare-breasted. Male thinks this sculpture was influenced by Beaulieu. Mâle 1978, 408.

⁷² There were other ways of conceiving of the Church which stressed her existence from all time, or from the time of Adam. These seem contradictory but apparently could be comfortably combined in a reconciliation of conceptual and historical realities.

water were the two chief sacraments and also revealed the two natures of Christ. Their commingling in the Mass was vital for salvation, as the Mass commentaries explained.

The wounds were, especially for mystics, 'literally an entry into Christ with whom they [Christians] wished to be united in the spirit'.⁷³ In later centuries the wounds would be emphasised as revealing the essence of Christ's humanity which was addressed in the Mass.⁷⁴ That this sense was emerging in the eleventh century and that it was given a particularly eucharistic emphasis can be seen, for example, in Peter Damian's fervent desire to have present to the 'eyes of my soul Jesus Christ hanging upon the cross, pierced by nails; and coming near, my thirsty lips received the Blood which fell drop by drop'. Peter was content to leave to others 'the majesty of his divinity, let us be content with his Cross alone'.⁷⁵ That the wounds also remained linked firmly to penitence and related to personal destructive sins is evident from Peter's statement that the five wounds of Christ (two in his hands, two in his feet, and one in his side) correspond to the five senses, each of which had its own special pleasures and needed to be cured of these.⁷⁶ The penitent by fasting or flagellation could share in Christ's Passion by crucifying the allurements of the flesh in imitation of Christ on the cross.⁷⁷

The greatest development of love for the wounded suffering Christ comes in the developing depiction of the Passion cycle. The entry into Jerusalem, the start of the Passion narrative and the most overtly Messianic reference in the gospels, is fairly common in the early twelfth century. The arrest, betrayal and flagellation scenes also become more widely depicted. At first individual or selected elements were shown. The first full Passion cycle on a façade is at St-Gilles-du-Gard, probably between 1150-70, but the second series of capitals at La Daurade, after 1120, gives twenty-four episodes on

⁷³ Rubin 1991, 303 talking of later centuries but the point is, I feel, applicable also to some in the first half of the twelfth century.

⁷⁴ Rubin 1991, 303.

⁷⁵ *Opuscula* 19, cap 5. PL 145, 432 and *Opuscula* 32 cap 8. PL 145, 557 quoted in Leclercq *et al.*, 1968, 114.

⁷⁶ *Opuscula* 43.5, PL 145, 683; 50. 2 PL 145, 734 and *Sermo* 51 PL 144, 792. Pelikan 1978, 127.

twelve capitals.⁷⁸ The images from this period have not yet acquired the intensity or additional imaginative non-biblical narrative of later centuries; for example in the flagellation scenes on capitals at Issoire [fig. 119] and St-Nectaire [fig. 120] Jesus is not portrayed as suffering but rather as calm and dignified. The first really savagely expressive flagellation is later at St- Gilles. Christ is manhandled in the St-Nectaire arrest, the tortures to come are implied in the knives and whips carried by the soldiers, but he is not, as later, shown dragged along the ground, nor is he in the carrying of the cross at Issoire [fig. 121] reduced to agonised ignominy and exhaustion. That is more nearly suggested in the St- Nectaire capital [fig. 122] where, although Jesus holds the cross only with one hand and his face remains calmly accepting, his knees are bent under real weight and the soldier is pushing him along. At Sorde l'Abbaye (Landes) [fig. 123] the soldiers in the scene of the arrest are depicted as brutal and semi-human. These twelfth-century depictions lack the bloody realism and vicious violence of later images but they are affecting and far more than merely formulaic depictions of theological concepts.

The most important of all wounds was the one in Christ's side. It has been shown in chapter 5 how this was closely tied to eucharistic theology and, in chapter 6, how these ideas informed the frequent representations of Doubting Thomas touching this wound. In crucifixion scenes the traditional inclusion of Longinus and the lance confirmed both these eucharistic ideas and the need for penitence. Legend said that Longinus was cured of blindness by the blood from the wound falling on his eyes.⁷⁹ This was also seen as spiritual blindness cured by penitence and forgiven by Christ.⁸⁰

Both the glory and the suffering of Christ were reflected in the way men thought of and depicted the cross. The cross symbolised redemption and everlasting life, the results of Christ's victory over sin and death. The cross was

⁷⁷ *Opuscula* 43 PL 144, 679.

⁷⁸ Horste 1992, 123.

⁷⁹ These ancient ideas appear in twelfth-century Passion plays. Wright 1935.

⁸⁰ Job in his suffering is a type of Christ and this would have accounted for the popularity of depictions of Job afflicted by boils.

also linked to a complex of images involving the Tree of Life,⁸¹ the fountain of life and the true vine.⁸² Affective piety was particularly characteristic of late medieval Christianity, but close identification with Christ, particularly with Christ on the cross, had existed from apostolic days, as shown in Galatians 2: 19 -20: 'I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me'. It is important also to recognise that the middle ages never forgot the glory and victory of the cross, even when the most harrowing depiction of the dead or wounded Christ was presented.

The image of the crucified Christ was to change greatly. The cross became increasingly the focus for mankind's love and compassion for the suffering saviour. The figure on the cross came to be clearly shown as a man rather than as a symbol of God's sacrifice. The earliest crucifixion images had shown Christ standing erect, open-eyed and often crowned in triumph. A ninth-century ivory from Metz [fig. 124] (formerly attached to an Evangeliary in Verdun Cathedral) shows Christ erect and dignified apparently communicating with Ecclesia who catches his blood in a chalice. There is no hysterical grief: sorrow is not of despair but is pervaded by consoling forgiveness. The body is not emaciated but incorruptible. The first image of Christ dead on the Cross was the gift of Archbishop Gero (d. 976) to Cologne cathedral for the altar of the Cross [fig. 125].⁸³ This is a remarkable carving concentrating on Christ the man; the body is not idealised, the stomach muscles have relaxed, the legs are pathetically thin. There is exhausted agony on Christ's face which by directing attention to Christ's human pain ensured remorse-bringing identification. From this period onwards Christ begins to be shown with his head sagging in death, eyes closed, body and legs slumped and hands hanging loose. There is little in the eleventh century or even the earlier twelfth century, however, to match the horror and realism of the Gero cross. The mood in eleventh-century crucifixions is usually resignation and acceptance rather than intense agonised sorrow. Mary standing at the foot of the cross emphasised Christ's humanity, but it was

⁸¹ There is a vast literature on this topic. Champeaux and Sterckx 1980, 297-373 is a useful overview. In sacramentaries the T of *Te igitur* opening the canon of the Mass often showed the crucifixion on a foliated Tree of Life. See also my chapter 9.

⁸² In the early twelfth-century apse mosaic at S Clemente, Rome, Christ, the 'true vine', is shown on a cross of vines.

essential also to show his divinity and this was still often done by incorporating the hand of God and the symbols of the sun and moon. Angels recalled the coming glory as did the sceptre or crown. The erect Christ with open eyes remained common in all art forms up to at least 1150.⁸⁴

There are representations of the crucifixion on the exterior of French churches in the late eleventh century as at St-Mexme in Chinon [fig. 126], but they suggest Christ's suffering by the inclusion of Longinus with the lance rather than by depicting it in graphic detail. The same formula is displayed on capitals in the early twelfth century as at Lubersac [fig. 127] and St-Pons, although in the latter the angels' faces reflect agony. In both cases the cross is a decorated cross of glory.

Later in the century, at L'Île Bouchard the figure of Christ does appear slumped and with sagging arms but the depiction is still in no way as harrowing as some on the wooden crucifixes from the period. It is here that the affective imagery of the texts begins to be fully reflected. For example, the figure of Christ from a deposition group dated to the second quarter of the twelfth century, now in the Louvre, has great fragility and pathos [fig. 128]. The Moissac Christ has greater serenity in death but the wound in his side is clearly shown and he is emaciated from his suffering [fig. 129]. By the mid-twelfth century most parish churches at the east end had a large rood or monumental crucifixion, usually wooden. This would have been the image with the most impact on lay people. The crucifixion does appear on capitals, but often in the cloister. Only from the 1140s does it become the major subject for tympana, and then rarely.

The first major crucifixion tympanum seems to have been at Champagne, Ardèche [fig. 130], but it, like those at Die and St-Pons, is too damaged to allow any clear sense of mood now to emerge. Not until St-Gilles, dated just outside my period, is there a clear depiction. In some ways the

⁸³ Parker and Little 1994, 146.

⁸⁴ The humanity is often suggested by greater musculature and a sagging head but the full agony is usually avoided.

sculpture most redolent of suffering is in the related scene of the deposition. Here, as at Lubersac [fig. 131], and more so at La Daurade [fig. 132], great tenderness can be seen in the way the Christ, heavy in death, is clasped in loving arms. The grief of the watchers begins to be more vividly emphasised as a way of showing the full horror of the killing of God and the agony he had suffered as God-man. The St Albans Psalter illustrates this movingly [fig. 133].

It should be noted that however formulaic pre-1150 crucifixion scenes may seem to us, ~~and~~ by comparison with later depictions, to men of the day they spoke vividly in personal, human terms. There are many examples of people kissing the crucifix, or holding it close at the hour of their death, less as an *object* charged with comforting power, as one might hold a charm, than as a depiction of a loved saviour whom one will shortly meet.⁸⁵

The incorporation of the crucifixion on tympana above the Last Supper is, as at Champagne, the ultimate expression of the interconnection of the Mass and the sacrifice of the cross. Previously, Christ had been shown in majesty over the Last Supper. The theological significance of the new combination of scenes relates directly to the Real Presence and the sacramental offering of the Church. A secondary function of this image is to give greater emphasis to the humanity of Christ, who had instituted the Eucharist at the Last Supper and offered himself on the cross not metaphorically but in historical reality.

The devotion to the humanity of Christ was a major factor in shaping lay piety. Macy has said that the Mass commentaries of 'the second half of the twelfth century offer a special kind of eucharistic piety: a devotion to Christ in the species, but not an adoration of the species; a great compassion and sympathy for Christ in the Passion that went beyond ritual actions to make demands in the believer's moral life; and a fresh and alarming personal veneration that challenges the standard histories of liturgy and devotion in the Middle Ages'.⁸⁶ Although Mass commentaries would rarely have been available to laymen, the same compassion and piety is expressed by laymen in

⁸⁵ Constable 1996, 280-83 gives a number of examples.

⁸⁶ Macy 1999, 158.

communal activity like processions with the host, in reverence for the reserved species, belief in host miracles, and in the new personal prayers and meditations which spiritual advisors were giving, at least to the rich.⁸⁷ Some apparently abstruse theology may have stimulated popular practice. Colish had suggested a possible connection between the widespread adoption of the theory of concomitance, the administering of the host alone to the laity and the increasing popularity of bleeding host miracles.⁸⁸ There does not appear to exist in the writings of the period a sense that seeing the elevated host was in any way a substitute for sacramental reception. The elevation does, however, seem to have been more than a dramatic advance notice of something miraculous about to take place at the moment of consecration. Hugh of St-Victor felt that seeing the host provided spiritual comfort and was an aid to using the senses as a means to effective and unifying contemplation of the presence of Christ.⁸⁹ It is possible that in their desire to view the host laymen made a less clear distinction between an aid to contemplative union and spiritual reception.

The growing tendency for laymen to communicate very infrequently is, paradoxically, also an evidence of growing lay eucharistic piety rather than the reverse.⁹⁰ Gregorian instruction to avoid invalid sacraments may have encouraged this apparently fearful avoidance. For those who stressed spiritual reception as salvific, daily communion was valuable but not essential.⁹¹ This attitude may also have affected laymen. Both aspects may have helped spread heresy as men struggled to assess for themselves sacramental ideas previously largely a clerical prerogative. For further discussion of this aspect see chapter 9. The increasing, if not yet common, practice of lay confession to a priest

⁸⁷ As in Anselm's prayer to Mary Magdalen, *Oratio* 74 PL 158, 1010-11, written for Adelaide younger daughter of William the Conqueror.

⁸⁸ Colish 1994, 570.

Drops of Christ's blood were the most important of all relics. A specific devotion to the holy blood developed as at Weingarten abbey to which Judith of Flanders had given a relic of Christ's blood in 1094.

⁸⁹ Dumoutet 1926, 26-27.

⁹⁰ Bread, blessed but not consecrated, was often given as a communion substitute at the end of Mass. Theologians disputed the results of such reception but laymen seemed to have accepted this as a satisfactory sharing in sacramental communion. Macy 1984, 92-93 and 102.

⁹¹ This did not mean that this idea was the norm everywhere. Peter the Venerable, writing to counter lay heresy, felt that daily communion, by reminding us of Christ according to his command 'do this in remembrance of me', stirs the soul to love of Christ, and 'increases faith,

would also have heightened self-awareness and guilt and thus increased fears of invalid reception.

strengthens hope, confirms charity' The 'sacrament daily renewing redemption would produce a daily remission from the punishments of sins'. *Contra Petrobrusianos* PL 189, 813D.

CHAPTER 9

RESPONSE TO THE HERESIES OF THE EUCHARIST

As the one true Church, the Catholic Church had always claimed authority to teach. The vital unity of the Church always underlay any consideration of divergent opinions. The doctrines of the Church had themselves often been defined in response to major heresies and an awareness, if blurred, of early heresies continued to influence medieval clerical education.

The period was one of 'rapid and significant change'.¹ Politics, economics, law and intellectual ideas were all changing, and society was becoming more mobile as towns developed. At the same time there was a 'growing exclusiveness of the nobility'.² An alienated urban poor added dangerously to the polarization of society. These people might also have felt alienated from a 'God who reinforces social order and conformity, integrating political with religious structures'.³ Such an atmosphere could advance reform but also aided revolutionary and heretical movements. That twelfth-century heresy was 'in an important sense anti-structural', not necessarily involving doctrine,⁴ in no way lessened the demand for obedience to the Church because heresy was seen as the work of the devil and not the product of social and economic forces.⁵

The growth of literacy influenced the development of twelfth-century heresy.⁶ Even vernacular bibles existed.⁷ Heretical leaders were usually literate and were sometimes well-educated former clerics. The Church

¹ Constable 1996, 300.

² Constable 1996, 301. Conversely the tendency towards undivided noble patrimonies could adversely affect younger sons. Disaffected nobility existed in many reform and heretical movements.

³ Nelson 1972, 72.

⁴ Nelson 1972, 74.

⁵ Lambert 1992, 3.

⁶ Stock 1983, 88-151 and Clanchy 1979.

⁷ Even illiterates were often sufficiently conditioned by literate society to recognise biblical texts as weapons. There were French translations of parts of the bible in the early twelfth century and a summarised French version of the whole bible by the end of the century.

recognised the dangers of literate charismatics and almost always attacked the 'heresiarch' personally rather than the 'alternative programme of belief'.⁸

In the twelfth century Gratian, following Jerome and Augustine, defined heresy as doctrinal error held stubbornly after correction had been offered.⁹ The stress on *stubbornly* was important. Amongst clerical intellectuals a considerable divergence of opinion, other than on the most central Christian tenets, was quite usual. Few doctrines were so tightly defined as to make it possible to distinguish orthodox ideas by any simple formulas.¹⁰ The divisions between debate, reform and heresy were therefore much more blurred than in later centuries.¹¹

In an age when all levels of the Church were open to religious revival, wandering preachers and hermits, who possessed a desire to purge the Church and return to what was conceived as the poverty and simplicity of the apostolic age, were certain to attract a ready following. Some reformers remained near to mainstream thought or practice (sometimes forming new Orders which eventually gained papal approval), and others, starting no more excessively, gathered a momentum (sometimes under popular pressure) which carried them beyond the acceptable.

Before 1140 action taken against heretics was limited; until then there were few decrees or treatises on the treatment of heretics. Burnings were very rare¹² and often the result of local popular pressures, as in Soissons in 1114. Generally the Church followed Jerome, who had opposed the persecution of heretics. This was particularly so in the case of popular heresy. Even the case of Berengar is interesting in the way it reveals the lack of institutional willingness

⁸ Morris 1989, 341.

⁹ Wakefield and Evans 1969, 2.

¹⁰ The challenge of dissident groups in the later twelfth century led to Catholic doctrine becoming increasingly well defined. From the Fourth Lateran Council 1215 dogma was to be the criterion for distinguishing between orthodoxy and heresy. Bolton 1972, 90.

¹¹ Even one later to be termed a heresiarch, Berengar of Tours, was not without interested listeners in highly orthodox circles. Peter Damian was said to have been undecided about Berengar's views. Gibson 1984, 61

¹² There had been burnings for sorcery but those at Orléans in 1022 were the first for heresy in the west since 383. Lambert 1992, 10-12. These may have been the result of local power struggles and because the core of the heretical group consisted of distinguished clergy.

and, perhaps more significantly, the lack of institutional structures available in the eleventh century to prosecute heresy. Berengar 'provoked papal interest' and attracted attacks from diverse quarters for nearly thirty years.¹³ However he was not effectively silenced until 1079, perhaps only at that point because Gregory VII had been (for political reasons) declared tainted with Berengar's ideas by the German bishops, who saw an opportunity to depose Gregory.¹⁴ The Pope thus had to be seen to take a firm hand against this particular heresy. In different political circumstances it is unlikely that Gregory would have acted since this was the only issue of doctrinal orthodoxy with which he concerned himself during the whole of his papacy.¹⁵

Relative leniency continued to be shown to small men who had been led into error in the earlier part of the twelfth century. In contrast, there was growing pressure as the century progressed to clamp down on dangerously influential intellectuals. The Church's options remained, however, limited by a lack of institutional machinery, and not until 1148 was a general anathema against heresy pronounced by Eugenius III.¹⁶ Only in 1163, in the face of mounting heresy, did Alexander III lay down with some precision the procedure for excommunicating heretics.¹⁷ Thereafter persecution increased, but even by the very late twelfth century official response to heresy was often ineffective and erratic.

¹³ Gibson 1984, 61-2.

¹⁴ It was a measure of the bitterness of the time that the bishops also accused Gregory of practising magic. Morris 1989, 351.

¹⁵ Berengar turned in his last year to an attack on the papacy 'the seat of Satan' and the Roman Church 'a council of vanity'. He called Leo IX 'not *pontifex* but *pompifex* and *pulpifex*' where a *maker of pomp* was perhaps a minor taunt in comparison with the implications of *pompa* as deceits of the devil and *pulpa* flesh with the suggestion thus of 'fleshmaker' referring to the words of consecration. Gibson 1984, 61. Had Berengar not been at the end of his life (and renowned for spirited invective) such attacks on Church authority would probably have caused more concern than his eucharistic views.

¹⁶ Even so Eon de l'Etoile was considered insane by the Council of Reims and not pronounced a devil follower as probably would have been the case in later more paranoid years.

¹⁷ Previously papal responses had been somewhat ambiguous as the papacy was the source of appeals against local grievances. As leaders of reform popes did not always side with local ecclesiastical powers. Morris 1989, 349.

Heretical groups existed in early eleventh-century France in Orléans and Aquitaine, particularly in Perigord and the Poitiers region.¹⁸ Their precise beliefs are now unclear. Ademar of Chabannes (c. 988-1034) said the heretics 'rejected baptism, the cross, the Church, the Redeemer of the world and all sound doctrine'.¹⁹ In his sermon *De Eucharistia* (before 1032) he claimed that they said that communion offered no benefits and was not necessary for salvation.²⁰ In a manuscript of c.1050 from St-Germain at Auxerre a monk Heribert described heretics in Perigord in similar terms to those used by Ademar.²¹ Heribert also gave details of their rejection of the Real Presence and how, if they actually attended Mass as a subterfuge to protect themselves from Church prosecution, they would hide the host and later throw it away. Such groups may have been dualist forerunners of the Cathars. Ademar called the Toulouse and Orléans heretics *Manichaeans*, but that was a term used very loosely in this period.

Some of these heresies were not primarily concerned with attacking the Eucharist. This may have been so with the Orléans heresy of 1022-3 which Ralph Glabar (d. c.1046) said was one previously unknown denying the unity of the Trinity and God's creation of the world.²² Even so, sacramental validity was denied at Orléans and ordination rejected because initiates claimed to be directly inspired by the Holy Spirit. They were said to believe that 'there is no sacrament in the consecration by a priest of the body and blood of Christ'. Significantly, one of the means which Aréfast, a royal spy, used to protect himself from corruption by the heretics was to take communion every day.²³ The reason that Ralph did not emphasise the attack on the sacraments may have been because he set heresy in an eschatological account of history.

¹⁸ Frassetto 1997 and 1999. Ademar was a monk of Angoulême and Limoges and his history written in the 1020s and his sermons are of major importance for the study of heresy in this period. There were also heretics attacking the validity of the sacraments in Arras.

¹⁹ Ademar *Historiarum libri tres* 3, 49, PL 141, 63B quoted in Frassetto 1999, 326.

²⁰ Berlin DS MS Lat. Phillipps1664 quoted in Frassetto 1999, 330-33. Ademar accepted the Real Presence in a Paschasian way. The Mass was a sacrifice and the sacrifices of the Old Testament were important foreshadows of Christ's sacrifice. As proof of the Real Presence he quoted eucharistic miracles including visions of a boy on the altar and of a bleeding lamb in the hands of the consecrating priest.

²¹ Frassetto 1999, 327-29 and Lambert 1992, 31. Until recently this letter was only known in a mid-twelfth-century copy.

²² *Historiae* III.viii.27 quoted in Raw 1997, 24.

Since Anti-Christ was expected imminently (both the years 1000 and 1033 aroused widespread millenarian fears) such heresies were felt to be doubly dangerous and the Church recognised an urgent need for people be strengthened in their belief in the Trinity. Ademar too called the Orléans and Perigord heretics 'messengers of Anti-Christ'.²⁴

These heretics in France and on her borders seemed dangerous at the time but they were scattered groups and, with hindsight, they do not seem to have been co-ordinated.²⁵ It has been suggested that by the late eleventh century heresy had gone underground or been blunted by reforming programmes.²⁶ Frassetto's recent work suggests, however, that this may have been over-stated. The absence of major heresies appears to be confirmed by the effective confinement of the term *heretic* in the late eleventh century to simoniacs, but over-emphasis of this evidence may lead us to underestimate the extent of the diffusion of heterodox ideas. Concern about heresy certainly existed, and the four commentaries on Psalm 21 referred to in chapter 1, which may date from the late eleventh century, all attack eucharistic heretics.²⁷

It has been shown in chapter 4 that Gregory VII's insistence that individuals should reject the sacraments of simoniacal priests paradoxically helped fuel some of the heresies of the Eucharist by leading laymen to question and assess the moral standing of their priests.²⁸ The danger arising from such questioning may have depended partly on what other heretical ideas were current in a particular area. Morris felt that 'the Gregorian movement itself was the cradle which nursed the emergent heretical ideas of the twelfth century, for

²³ Lambert 1992, 10-11.

²⁴ Raw 1997, 24.

²⁵ The extent and influence of Bogomil missionary activity is hotly debated but is rather less emphasised than it used to be. There is some evidence of literature being passed from group to group but not to a great extent in France.

²⁶ Wakefield and Evans 1969, 23.

²⁷ Macy 1984, 60-61.

²⁸ It was not just simoniacs who were rejected, the matter of celibacy was significant too. St Anselm as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1102, and again on his return from exile in 1108, directed that priests living with women were not to celebrate Mass and their Masses were not to be heard by the faithful. Clanchy 1983, 67. The number of priests living with women was so great that such a dictate was impractical and risked the collapse of the parochial system nevertheless it theoretically involved laymen in making an assessment of eucharistic validity.

several of its features anticipated later dissenting programmes'.²⁹ By proposing unrealistic ideals of clerical purity and freedom from socio-economic constraints Gregorian reform set in train unrealisable lay expectations.

Part of the orthodox eucharistic debate may inadvertently have encouraged heresy. The mystical approaches of the Laon-Victorine school could appear to minimize liturgy, ritual and Church hierarchy. Henry of Lausanne, Peter de Bruys, the Waldensians and the Cathars all dismissed elements of Church organisation. Even the least heretical believer who saw spiritual communion as a substitute for sacramental reception could be seen as holding views which suggested a limiting of the salvific centrality of the Eucharist. In an attempt to counter this risk Hugh of St Victor and Peter the Venerable stressed the necessity of the senses, and of an awareness of human history (and therefore of Church history, including tradition and ritual) in directing man to God, but there was a risk that others might fail to follow this approach.³⁰ Heresies of the Eucharist were not the most common or the most worrying attacks on the Church in the period up to 1150. Nevertheless, eucharistic questions, increasing from the 1130s, were often a significant element in a wide-ranging attack on the Church, its sacraments and its ministers. Even if (as was probably the case with Henry of Lausanne) the Eucharist was not seen by the heretic as the central aspect of his programme it might still be central in the rebuttal.

The two most vociferous opponents of orthodox eucharistic ideas in France in the first half of the twelfth century were Henry of Lausanne and Peter de Bruys. Both had broader platforms of reform than an attack on eucharistic doctrine, although this was a significant element. Both spread their ideas by much more aggressive preaching than had been the case with the eleventh-century groups.³¹

²⁹ Morris 1989, 340.

³⁰ Macy 1984, 104.

³¹ Lambert sees this aggressive, sometimes violent, approach as marking a 'new rhythm' in the increasingly frequent early twelfth century heresies in western Europe generally. Lambert 1992, 35.

Henry of Lausanne, an apostate monk or priest, was active in southwestern France from about 1116 to 1145. He was radically anti-clerical, claiming the clergy should be poor wandering preachers with no institutional role and no sacramental functions. The right to preach freely was seen as justified by Christ's command to preach to all creatures. There was no need for church buildings or institutional structures. The individual, Henry argued, was responsible for his own life, there was no Original Sin inherited from Adam and no prayers could avail after death. The laity were responsible for their own confessions of sin and the priests had no power to bind and loose. Marriage concerned the two individuals involved and not the Church. Even more damaging to the sacramental system of the Church was his claim that baptism too was a personal undertaking requiring understanding and hence valueless if conferred on infants. Like many other Church critics in the period, he argued for worship wholly in accord with scriptural warrant and not with later traditions and rituals.³²

Initially Henry was probably no more extreme than many others who argued that unworthy priests invalidated the sacraments they administered, but over time he became much more of a danger to the institutional Church,³³ rejecting the sacrifice of the Mass and eventually repudiating the Mass altogether as part of his extreme anti-clericalism and rejection of institutional rites.³⁴ Henry was caught in 1132, and in 1135 the Council of Pisa ordered him to return to a monastery and give up his heretical ideas and preaching. His fairly lenient treatment suggests that he had not yet espoused all his most radical views.

Henry may have been influenced, directly or indirectly, by the still more radical Peter de Bruys. It is probable that they met on Henry's return to France

³² Lambert 1992, 44-47.

³³ He was yet more dangerous once Alphonse, Count of Toulouse began to see him as a saint. This may have been a major trigger to Pope Eugenius's sending of St Bernard on his anti-heretical preaching mission in 1147.

³⁴ He may have demanded the return of money paid for requiem Masses.

after his escape from prison in 1135.³⁵ Peter the Venerable initially saw Henry as a member of Peter de Bruys's sect.³⁶ Later he felt Henry followed Peter only after 1135. By this point Henry was clearly seen as a dangerous heretic even though not holding fully Petrobrusian views.³⁷

Peter de Bruys was the priest of a country parish in the Embrun region of the Hautes-Alpes who was expelled about 1119. Thereafter he preached in southern France until his burning in 1139 or 1140.³⁸ Peter, like Henry, rejected all the external forms of religion which had grown up since the time of the New Testament. They both condemned the material trappings of religion and stressed the spiritual centrality and unity of the congregation. Not only did Peter reject the tradition of the Church, including the Fathers, but he also rejected the Old Testament. He rejected the Mass but less for the common reason of the unworthiness of the ministers than from a literal reading of scripture. He accepted that Christ had offered his body and blood at the Last Supper but said that it was a miracle not to be repeated and that Christ had no intention of instituting a rite, not even one which could only be understood symbolically. There was no case for the offering to continue in the Mass, which was to be rejected totally.³⁹ Prayers for the departed were seen as ineffective. Unlike Henry, he made a major point about the Cross, declaring it should not be revered as it was the shameful instrument of Christ's suffering.⁴⁰

Worrying though Henry and Peter were, the Cathars would become by far the most dangerous twelfth-century heretics. Dualist theories which rejected the world as evil, and thereby any material aspects of the sacraments, existed

³⁵ Lambert 1992, 47. Colish 1972, 453, states that they pooled resources and travelled together through Provence, Gascony and Narbonne. This is possible but seen as questionably specific by many historians.

³⁶ *Contra Petrobrusianos*.ed. Fearn's CCCM 10. Both Fearn's and Constable's date of 1139-40 is now generally accepted.

³⁷ Moore 1975, 46-60 gives Henry's debate with the monk William (who may have been William of St-Thierry). The views are shown from William's view-point; nevertheless, this is the fullest extant account of a popular heretic at this date.

³⁸ There is some uncertainty about the date but the later date is now preferred to Manselli's dating of 1132-33 or Katzenellenbogen's 1126.

³⁹ Lambert 1992, 49 thus sees Peter as holding a radical view-point which is not easy to parallel. It is not a dualist position since matter is not rejected and nor did he say, as the Bogomils did, that Christ only offered his body and blood figuratively at the Last Supper.

⁴⁰ Morris 1989, 342-43.

in France in some form in the eleventh century as is evident from the writings of Heribert. They probably still existed in the early twelfth century, for Guibert of Nogent thought such a group was active in Soissons about 1114.⁴¹ It cannot be said for certain that these ideas were direct forerunners of Catharism, but dualist ideas were definitely increasing from the 1140s. The first securely attested Cathar movements are seen in Cologne in 1143.⁴² In 1145, while preaching against the followers of Henry of Lausanne in Toulouse, St Bernard either met or heard of other heretics who may have been dualists.⁴³ The full impact of Cathar heresy falls outside the period of this thesis but tensions arising from the growth of a range of heresies, some of which may have been dualist,⁴⁴ were considerable.

Perhaps unsurprisingly in view of the heated debate in the eleventh century, Berengar was seen as influencing heretics. Berengar came to be seen as a heresiarch but, in fact, though he had supporters in his life-time, he seems not to have founded a school of thought and certainly not a popular movement.⁴⁵ There seems to be no clear evidence to suggest that Peter de Bruys, Henry of Lausanne, or the Waldensians were *directly* influenced by Berengar. It is possible, however, that in rejecting the Real Presence they were reacting to the strident physicality of some of Berengar's opponents. In this sense Berengar may have indirectly fostered heresies which would have been alien in emotion and context to his intellectualism.⁴⁶ There were also inaccurate

⁴¹ Wakefield and Evans 1969, 101-104 quoting Guibert's *Autobiography* (ed. Picard, Paris, 1907).

⁴² Lambert 1992, 55.

⁴³ Lambert 1992, 57.

⁴⁴ Not all dualists held the same ideas. For some the material universe had been created by an evil god, co-eternal with the good God. Others saw it as the work of an evil demi-urge who had fashioned it from the four elements God had created. All saw human souls as trapped by the power of evil in material bodies and that Christ had come to deliver man from his body. There were different ideas about the form of this intervention. The *consolamentum* or strengthening was a sacramental act freeing man from sin and the round of re-birth. It demanded lengthy training and a strict rule of life followed only by a minority. Others received it only on their death-beds. Hamilton 1986, 174-75.

⁴⁵ Macy argues that earlier scholars assumed the influence of Berengar without sufficiently demonstratng the extent of his influence. He gives examples of the loose usage of the term 'Berengarian' eg. Rupert of Deutz could both call the canons of Liège 'Berengarians' and in turn be warned by William of St-Thierry not to fall into Berengarian error himself. Macy 1999, 50-80.

⁴⁶ Lanfranc did, however, claim that Berengar had said that the true Church on earth was only to be found in himself and his followers. Gibson 1984, 61 quoting *De corpore* cap. 23 PL150, 441D-442A.

claims raised on specific issues that were sometimes taken up by heretical groups claiming them as Berengar's views, and these could over time ^{have} come to be seen as Berengar's own. For example, Durand of Troarn and Guitmund of Aversa claimed that Berengar was a stercoranist whereas Berengar had raised the issue in *defence* of his position by arguing that if, as his opponents said, the Body of Christ was actually present then it would necessarily be digested. The highly emotive stercoranist issue continued to be raised throughout the twelfth century. It is possible that anti-materialist Cathars might have declared the Real Presence as absurd through this argument. Macy quotes a number of early thirteenth-century anti-heretical writers who argued that this was so, although there is no certain proof in the writings of the heretics themselves.⁴⁷ There is evidence from the twelfth, and more convincingly from the thirteenth century, to suggest that the Cathars knew Berengar's argument that the apostles spoke of Jesus metaphorically as the rock from which water flowed and that the same metaphorical mode was being used when the bread was called the Body of Christ.⁴⁸

As early as 1119 the Council of Toulouse, under the presidency of Pope Calixtus II, had spoken against those who rejected the Eucharist, infant baptism, the priesthood and other holy orders, and matrimony as a sacrament. These ideas closely resemble those of Henry of Lausanne and Peter de Bruys, probably the major targets although not named specifically.⁴⁹ The fact that the Second Lateran Council, held by Pope Innocent II in 1139, issued a condemnation of heresy that was almost that of 1119 verbatim suggests a continuation, or even an increase, of heretical ideas in the intervening twenty years.⁵⁰ The Eucharist must have been perceived as under increasing attack as this Council specifically condemned those denying the validity of the Eucharist. Further attacks on the idea of the Mass as a sacrifice is also suggested by the condemnation of those who advocated the destruction of altars on the grounds that no real sacrifice could be performed on them. The

⁴⁷ Macy 1999, 66 -67.

⁴⁸ Macy 1999, 63 quoting Berengar *Rescriptum* 1:1360-71 (ed. R.B.C. Huygens CCCM 84, 1988) and Gregory of Bergamo in 1146 and Georgius about a hundred years later.

⁴⁹ Colish 1972, 453-54.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

most important anti-heretical propaganda in the period was Peter the Venerable's *Contra Petrobrusianos*.⁵¹ Peter considered there were five major distinctive features to the Petrobrusian heresy.

- 1) children under the age of understanding cannot be saved by Christian baptism, because the individual adult is saved by his own faith.
- 2) church buildings are unnecessary and should be pulled down, God will listen to those who deserve to be heard in any place, street, tavern, temple or stable.
- 3) the cross is not worthy of veneration and should be broken or burnt.
- 4) the true body of Christ is not present daily in the Mass and therefore the Mass should not be offered.
- 5) no sacrifices, alms, prayers or anything else can help the dead.

Peter, like William the monk writing to Henry, tried to counter these arguments in a very simple non-technical manner, suitable for misguided lay followers, calling largely on biblical texts as support.⁵²

Visual imagery designed to counter heresy.

There had been visual images designed to combat heresy used in art well before this period. The source of the basic programme of the great ninth-century Tours bibles may have been a lost bible made for Pope Leo the Great (440-61) in order to present a 'visual counterblast' to the Manichees. The latter denied the creation of man in God's image, the true human nature of Christ, the divine origin of the Law of Moses and the unity of the two Testaments; the very ideas which re-emerged in the eleventh century.⁵³

It has been shown in chapters 4 and 6 that art was employed as a tool of Gregorian reform. The Church as an institution was under attack in different ways from simoniacs and popular heresy. The images of Simon Magus and Judas were particularly important in the identification of heretics as treacherous schismatics. By attacking the institution, even when not specifically

⁵¹ ed. Fearn 1968 and PL 189, 719-850.

⁵² Moore 1975, 46-60 gives the text. William the monk may be William of St-Thierry but Moore considers that the evidence for this is 'circumstantial and inconclusive'.

⁵³ Dodwell 1993, 71 quoting Koehler's views.

commenting upon the Eucharist, the heretics were undermining the special sacerdotal role so crucial to sacramental validity.

Some scholars have suggested that the dangers arising from heresy after about 1130 were seen as so great that vigorous attempts were made to counter heretical ideas by propaganda expressed in Church art. Vergnolle⁵⁴, following Mâle, sees the heresy of Peter de Bruys as leading directly to the multiplication of images of Christ on the cross. The St-Gilles west front, which she dates as 1140-60, but which is generally seen as post-1150, exalted the Passion of Christ by placing the Last Supper on the lintel of the central portal. Vergnolle considers all the post-1140 Last Supper depictions on tympana, whether or not in combination with the crucifixion, as possibly responses to Peter de Bruys and his disciples. This seems to me over-stated. Although anti-heretical tensions may well have contributed, these depictions seem to be essentially a development from eucharistic theology and fervour. These Last Supper images can pre-date Peter's greatest excesses, and are likely, in conjunction with the penitential focus and the increasing devotion to the humanity of Christ, to have arisen in the period regardless of any need for countering heresy.

An image with definite anti-heretical relevance is Ham's deriding of his drunken father (Gen. 9: 20 -27). Ham stared at Noah's nakedness, whereas his brothers, so as not to shame their father, walked backwards towards him when bringing a covering cloak. Origen first interpreted Noah as a type of Christ,⁵⁵ and Cyprian was the first to call the drunkenness of Noah a type of the crucifixion. Christ was head of the race that was regenerated by the water and the wood of the Cross, as Noah was saved by the wood of the ark.⁵⁶ The ark

⁵⁴ Vergnolle 1994, 331-32.

⁵⁵ Justin expands on Noah as the just man who had been preserved by God to start a new race after the Flood, itself a type of Baptism (see 1 Peter 3: 18 - 21). Justin compared the eight people saved in the ark to the eight days between the death of Christ and his resurrection and saw the Ark as a type of Christ's sepulchre. The descent into hell was also considered prefigured by the Deluge. (*Dialogue* 138) quoted in Daniélou 1960, 77-81 who expands on the patristic typology of baptism and the flood.

⁵⁶ From patristic times the sober inebriation of the Eucharist had been stressed. To be inebriated in the spirit is to be rooted in Christ. This inebriation is linked to the celebration of the marriage union of Christ and the Church. Daniélou 1960, 203-06.

had been seen as the Church since Patristic times.⁵⁷ No-one outside it and not receiving baptism could be saved.

Noah's drunkenness was interpreted not as intemperance but as suffering, and his nakedness as weakness exploited by Ham. Augustine and Jerome interpreted Ham as the Jewish people who, in consenting to Christ's death, saw nakedness and mocked it. Augustine also saw Ham as symbolising the Jews who did not convert to Christianity.⁵⁸ In the *City of God* Augustine is even more specific in saying that Ham's name means 'hot' signifying 'the hot breed of heretics' and the 'wicked men' of the Church who 'do not understand what they preach'.⁵⁹

At St-Savin-sur-Gartempe (Vienne), whose paintings were executed c.1080-1100, well before the major outbreaks of twelfth-century heresy, but within thirty to forty years of that recorded by Heribert in nearby Perigord, the story of Noah, including his drunkenness, is given considerable emphasis. Of the thirty-four central panels, eight depict Noah. The episode of his drunkenness is shown on three panels which follow immediately after the depiction of God's acceptance of Noah's sacrifice. The eighth panel shows Noah cursing the Canaanites.

An image focusing attention on the need for penance was the Theophilus story at Souillac, now on the interior west wall. At Souillac [fig. 134]⁶⁰ Theophilus saved by the Virgin was seen by Katzenellenbogen as 'most likely meant for the heretics of the region as an encouraging example that even great sinners may find grace if they repent and ask Mary directly for mercy'.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Danielou 1956, 83-85. This idea was developed by Hugh of St Victor in his complex works *De arca Noe mystica* and *De arca Noe morali*.

⁵⁸ Ham's descendants, (the Canaanites), cursed by Noah, became traditionally seen as enemies of Israel and of God.

⁵⁹ *City of God* bk. 16 cap 2.

⁶⁰ The date is debated. Schapiro places it about 1115-1120. It may be as late as 1130 but earlier than Beaulieu. In any case it falls within the period when Henry of Lausanne and other heretics were active in the region. Souillac is not very far from Perigord the area of late eleventh century heretics as recounted by Heribert.

⁶¹ Katzenellenbogen 1959, 22. One might argue, however, that this is a reflection of increased Marian devotion and an awareness of her role as the principal intercessor for all penitent sinners and not just heretics.

Schapiro also recognized that this psychologically complex sculpture had relevance to heresy - an individual is rescued from apostasy and the devil - but he also saw it as a commentary upon social themes, notably church wealth and corruption, seigniorial rights, and the power of a feudal contract.⁶²

The eleventh and twelfth-century versions of the well-known Theophilus legend⁶³ may have been written to support the anti-simony platform of Gregorian reform. Certainly it is a suitable counter to the Simon Magus legends. It is important to note, however, in view of the anti-institutionalism of the early twelfth-century heretics, that Mary freed Theophilus from his contract with the devil outside normal liturgical channels but nevertheless still clearly within the institutional Church. The Church and her sacraments are symbolised by the large flanking figures of St Peter with the keys, and another saint, probably St Benedict with the book of his Rule. They are shown to be linked to the Church eternal by the mediating angels one of whom carries the Virgin. The trumeau at Souillac shows Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac, and taken in conjunction with Theophilus, this gives a reforming penitential-eucharistic focus.⁶⁴

A story more directly eucharistic was, as stated in chapter 6, the bread miracle, which re-emerged into popularity after centuries, perhaps as an image useful in countering heresy, as at St-Pons which was in an area particularly troubled by heresy. The bread miracle can be seen as an attractive prefiguration of eucharistic eternal plenty. Most laymen would have found the proof of a miracle easier to absorb than a complex theological argument. Perhaps for this reason Peter the Venerable, who claimed that Peter de Bruys took from Berengar the idea of the consumed mountain ('like a tower raised up in our sight'),⁶⁵ argued that God through his wisdom and omnipotence could transmute species as he wished. God, who made the world out of nothing, did not operate within the normal rules of nature. Peter gave many examples of

⁶² Schapiro 1939, 118-119.

⁶³ *ibid*, 128 n.15 for examples from the period.

⁶⁴ The sculpture at Souillac is ambiguous in iconography and original physical placement but it seems reasonable to assume some connection between the Theophilus and Abraham themes.

things changing substance even in the natural world, for example, clouds changed into hail. In the Old Testament God had changed the staff of Moses into a serpent and, more telling still, Christ had changed water into wine at Cana. If these things could be done, so too could bread and wine become the very body of Christ.⁶⁶

The story of Job also provided a vehicle for an attack on heretics. The sufferings of Job prefigured the sufferings of Christ and his Church.⁶⁷ Gregory the Great, in a text well-known in extracts in the twelfth century, had said of Job 'he prophesied his Passion not just with words but also by his suffering'.⁶⁸ He compared Job with Christ who 'from the sole of his foot unto his crown [...] received wounds, since the raging tempter afflicts the Holy Church, his body, with persecution not only at the extremities but up to the highest members'.⁶⁹ Job's three friends were seen as heretics⁷⁰ and his wife as the life of the flesh.⁷¹ It may have been significant that Job's false friends could not turn aside the wrath of God until they had offered a holocaust.⁷² The Mass for the Dead for this reason contained seven references to Job and this may have taken on an added significance in the face of the rejection of the idea of effective prayers for the dead by Henry of Lausanne and Peter de Bruys.

Peter de Bruys, like earlier heretics, attacked the veneration of the Cross, feeling it brought shame on God to dwell on such a death. According to Peter the Venerable, Peter de Bruys said that 'holy crosses should be broken and burnt, because the instrument on which Christ was so horribly tortured and so

⁶⁵ Peter is here claiming these words as Berengar's. *Contra Petrobrusianos* PL 189,799D

⁶⁶ *Contra Petrobrusianos* PL 189 801-02. Aiming at a simple lay audience Peter did not offer a complex philosophical justification for the Real Presence but emphasised the mystery of the change. He said that as the heretics' asses do not seek to know their masters' secrets so they too should not seek 'to violate the arcane ways of your God'. 800C-D.

⁶⁷ The Leviathan of Job 41: 1 was seen as the devil who swallowed the hook baited with Christ's divinity - see chapter 2 for this aspect of atonement theory.

⁶⁸ *Moralia in Job* XXIII, 1; PL 76, 251.

⁶⁹ *Praefatio* VII, 16. PL 75, 525- quoted in Katzenellenbogen 1959, 67.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ The seven sons of Job signified the apostles and also the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost from which, according to Hugh of St. Victor in *Summa Sententiarum* III PL 176, 114 spring the virtues. Job's three daughters represent the theological virtues Faith, Hope and Charity. Katzenellenbogen 1939, 37-38. In the cloister capital at La Daurade, Toulouse which gives a number of incidents in the sufferings of Job he is confronted by his false friends.

⁷² Job 42: 8.

cruelly killed is not worthy of adoration, veneration, or any kind of supplication. In revenge for his torment and death it ought to be dishonoured and insulted, hacked by swords and burnt by fire'.⁷³ He also rejected crosses because, like church buildings and altars, they were positive encumbrances to true religion; worship should be 'de-materialized'.⁷⁴ He was violent in his objections to such external symbols.⁷⁵ It was perhaps poetic justice that whilst inciting the people of St-Gilles to burn their crucifixes he was himself pushed into the bonfire and burnt to death.

To burn or damage a crucifix was grossly sacrilegious. The cross was not an image of shame. Christ had died a criminal's death but had done so out of love for mankind. From this death came salvation gloriously evidenced by the resurrection.⁷⁶ Jesus the man could die but the divine Christ could not. The cross was therefore an image of victory, of Christ reigning in glory and of everlasting life for the elect.⁷⁷

The Tree of Life was also an eucharistic symbol. Birds in its branches drink Christ's blood from the chalice which signified the fountain of life and referred both to baptism and the Eucharist. According to legend, Adam took a branch of the tree when he left Eden and this grew to become the wood of Christ's cross. The cosmological tree, sometimes fruit-bearing, was a great cross with arms extending to the ends of the earth, the heavens and the abyss. As a ladder to heaven it also represented Christ's embracing of the world. As the earth's navel designed from all time to bear the body of Christ, it grew at Golgotha over Adam's tomb so that Christ's blood could flow down reviving Adam and thereby mankind. Every part of it had healing properties.

Birds in the Tree drinking from a chalice signified the fountain of life which watered the tree, and Christ's blood, thus linking baptism and the

⁷³ prefatory letter to *Contra Petrobrusianos* translated in Moore 1975, 62.

⁷⁴ Lambert 1992, 49.

⁷⁵ He set fire to crosses on Good Friday, roasted meat over the flames and ate it publicly according to Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos* PL 189, 771C.

⁷⁶ Ademar of Chabannes in *De Eucharistia* called the cross a sign of victory over the devil who fled whenever he saw a crucifix. Frassetto 1999, 335.

⁷⁷ Amongst the most valued of all relics were portions of the True Cross.

Eucharist to the resurrection.⁷⁸ This can be clearly seen on the west portal at the Abbaye aux Dames at Saintes [fig. 135], where birds are almost directly above the triumphant Agnus Dei. At Angoulême Cathedral two angels guard the Tree of Life while on the keystone birds drink from the chalice.⁷⁹ Above the Tree, Christ, surrounded by the evangelist symbols, ascends to oversee the activities of his Church. The Tree is shown at Varen (Tarn-et-Garonne) where the presence of the angels confirms its heavenly significance [fig. 136].

Both Moissac and La Daurade [fig. 137] have assertive capitals of the Triumph of the Cross. At La Daurade the jewelled and veiled cross is carried by two angels and its top is shrouded in heavenly clouds. The eschatological glory is clarified by the opposite face of the capital where Christ is throned in Majesty, his hands spread out in judgment, while on the two long faces angels sound horns calling the dead.⁸⁰ At Moissac the cosmic significance of the image is further stressed by there being two cross images, one veiled and both adored by angels.⁸¹ In the porch frescoes at St-Savin, probably late eleventh-century, Christ in Majesty, spreads his arms out to bless and embrace creation, and is accompanied by two angels carrying a large cross. There is nothing apologetic about this cross nor in that behind Christ in the Beaulieu tympanum of about 1130, which will be discussed later.⁸²

Since the cross linked heaven and earth it was suitably beautified with costly and precious gems, gold and artwork. From Carolingian times all well-endowed churches had had collections of magnificent crosses,⁸³ and in the 1140s Suger commissioned a gem-encrusted cross for St-Denis some twenty feet high and with sixty eight enamel and gilt copper plaques showing the life of

⁷⁸ Griffins (half eagle, half lion) drinking play a similar role. They symbolise the dual nature of Christ-divine (bird) and human (animal).

⁷⁹ Angoulême is heavily restored but the image of birds and chalice is so traditional that the positioning is probably correct.

⁸⁰ Horste 1992, 98.

⁸¹ For the significance of the Moissac crosses and patristic comments see Sirgant 1996, 238-46.

⁸² In the thirteenth century and perhaps earlier Beaulieu possessed a fragment of the True Cross which would probably have ensured much local affection for the image of the cross of glory.

⁸³ They were free-standing, or portable, including large processional crosses, but were not stood on the altar by 1150.

Christ and Old Testament allegories. It bore a life-size effigy of Christ on the front 'in the sight of the sacrificing priest'.⁸⁴ Suger himself was represented kneeling at the foot of the cross. He called the cross 'the adorable life-giving cross, the health-bringing banner of the eternal victory of Our Saviour'.⁸⁵

Adoration of the true cross was much more than a response to heresy. It was particularly venerated at Cluniac houses. St Odilo (994-1049), in a sermon for the feast of the finding of the True Cross, had preached on the cross as the symbol of triumph; the Passion and resurrection were glorious mysteries, the cross was therefore in no way the symbol of the mortification of Christ.⁸⁶ The exaltation and the invention were celebrated with special offices. These allowed emphasis on both the sacrificial and the triumphal aspects. Kupfer says that 'liturgical formulas used on both occasions alternate between imagery of immolation and glorification'.⁸⁷ Even more important was the adoration of the cross on Good Friday. The cross is adored because it was made precious by Christ's redeeming blood, and as a sign of his return at the Last Judgment.

This chapter concludes by commenting briefly on St-Gilles-du-Gard, and then assessing the sculpture at Moissac and at Beaulieu as examples of how difficult it is to state categorically that any particular Romanesque sculpture has an anti-heretical aim.

Colish has argued that the west façade of St-Gilles was specifically designed to counter the heresy of Peter of Bruys who was lynched by the people of St-Gilles and burnt in front of the abbey on a bonfire of crucifixes which he had made there.⁸⁸ Such an argument requires an acceptance of the dating of St-Gilles of shortly after Peter's death and not later than about 1145, and this dating has been rejected by Borg on the grounds of architectural

⁸⁴ Suger *Of the Golden Crucifix* trans. Panofsky 1979, 57

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁸⁶ *De sancta cruce* Sermon 15 PL 142, 1031-36.

⁸⁷ Kupfer 1993, 81-2.

⁸⁸ Colish 1972. A number of other scholars including Borg have accepted that there is an anti-Petrobrusian aspect to the iconography of St-Gilles.

analysis.⁸⁹ His dating of the abbey church as after 1150 is now largely accepted by scholars.

There are three tympana at St-Gilles [fig. 138]. There is an extensive Passion cycle on the frieze, some of which may have been repositioned. The north tympanum depicts the Virgin and child with the Magi and the lintel beneath shows the entry into Jerusalem and the betrayal of Judas. The central tympanum is of Christ in Majesty (this is a seventeenth-century replacement for what originally may have been an Ascension or Second Coming) with a lintel of the Last Supper and the Washing of Feet. The south tympanum [fig. 139] depicts the crucifixion with a lintel of the three Marys buying spices with which to embalm Christ's body, and the angel at the empty tomb.

Colish says that the Virgin and child juxtaposed with the entry into Jerusalem and Judas' betrayal of Christ underlines that Christ came into the world to suffer, be betrayed and offer himself as a sacrifice. The juxtaposition of the apocalypse with the Last Supper and the Washing of Feet 'reconfirms the vital relationship between the believer's reception of the Eucharist, recognising in it the body and blood of Christ, and his final salvation'.⁹⁰ The third tympanum associates the crucifixion with Christ's sacrifice and resurrection. Colish sees this as confirming that Christ's suffering was necessary, the crucifixion no disgrace but 'a triumph of sin over death and the token of the believer's rebirth [...] and his eventual glorification in eternity, a belief confirmed by heaven in the person of the angel as well as by the Church in the persons of the three Marys'.⁹¹ She sees the soldiers venerating Christ on the cross and Ecclesia vanquishing Synagoga as an assertive statement of the necessity of the visible institutional Church and the sacraments which Peter de Bruys rejected.

Even if the dating had been appropriate, St-Gilles does not address the question of the continuity of testaments and sacrifice which were ideas firmly rejected by Peter and Henry of Lausanne. It does not counter their attack on

⁸⁹ Borg 1972. St-Gilles has been dated by other scholars as early as 1116 and as late as the mid-thirteenth century.

⁹⁰ Colish 1972, 458.

the value of prayers for the dead, nor is the idea of the triumph of the cross given the focus it would need were the façade to be a direct counter to the Petrobrusians. All of these ideas are more fully addressed at Beaulieu, although, as I will argue later, countering heresy is not the major purpose there either. The inclusion of scenes of Judas, and of Cain's offering could have had anti-heretical implications but Colish does not raise this issue.

The themes of the St-Gilles façade certainly address the issues rejected by Peter but they also, as Colish accepts, fully accord with contemporary eucharistic theology. Had St-Gilles not now been so convincingly dated as after 1150, I would have made it a major case study. The association of incarnation, suffering and eschatology in the context of the Eucharist seem to me to be the central themes here and to assert very firmly the idea of the Real Presence. The emphasis on the identity of the body of Christ born of Mary, Christ of the Eucharist, and the resurrected Christ, which lies at the heart of the Real Presence concept, is given additional focus by the women preparing to anoint the dead body of Christ, and in this they form a parallel with the Magi bringing myrrh shown on the north tympanum. The women also confirm the centrality in twelfth-century eucharistic ideas of the importance of love for the human Christ.

The depiction of Ecclesia ousting Synagoga is unusual and O'Meara may be correct in seeing these figures as representing the Church of the crusaders ousting the false churches of the Jews and Muslims.⁹² Her argument depends, however, upon a dating of St-Gilles as after 1150 and so cannot be addressed further in this thesis. St-Gilles certainly possesses the richest Passion cycle in Romanesque sculpture and the earliest crucifixion scene on the façade on a major church. It is not easy, however, because of later alterations to work out the overall meaning of this façade at the time of its construction. It does effectively counter many Petrobrusian arguments, but primarily it provides a vigorous statement of the centrality of the Eucharist, and this statement would have been valid had there been no heresy in the area.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² The crusaders used St-Gilles as a port of embarkation. O'Meara 1977.

Moissac was instrumental in Cluniac and papal reform in the Toulouse area. Many of the cloister sculptures mentioned earlier reflect this, as well as revealing a Paschasian concern with the Real Presence. This latter focus may, in part, have been anti-heretical, both in terms of anti-Berengarian and popular heresies, but this was probably not the primary purpose since the cloister was largely a private domain. The tympanum (c.1100) [fig. 140], however, faces a public square and could, therefore, have been planned as more widely didactic. Here, Christ in Majesty is surrounded by the evangelist symbols and flanked by two seraphim and the twenty-four elders of Apocalypse 5:8. There is nothing apologetic or defensive about this statement of faith; it is the most powerful of all Romanesque theophanies. Such a presentation did, of course, also confirm Gregorian reforming insistence on the unity of the Church eternal; the elders represent both the elect of all ages and humanity. The relief of St Peter with the keys on one side of the door (Paul may be the bald figure on the trumeau) confirms the role of the Church as the only entry to the eschatological scene above, and the timelessness of the Church and her essential continuity of sacramental tradition is further confirmed by the presence of Isaiah on the other side of the door to Peter, and a prophet, probably Jeremiah, on the central trumeau. The porch sculptures are some twenty to thirty years later than the tympanum and are different in style and mood. The human Christ and his mother are stressed here. On one side is the incarnation, with all its vital eucharistic implications: Annunciation; Visitation; adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, and the Flight into Egypt. On the opposite side a penitential focus is evident: (Vices of avarice and lust are shown in the context of the damnation of Dives and the acceptance of Lazarus into Abraham's bosom). Both sides of the porch express very well the penitential-eucharistic focus of the period, and would equally speak to heresies of Henry of Lausanne or Peter de Bruys. That the porch sculptures may have had such an aim, even a secondary one, might be suggested by the depiction of the fall of idols [fig. 141] in the flight into Egypt scene. This is in no way conclusive proof of specifically anti-heretical intentions, however, since the scene, though rare, appears in earlier less heretical times.

Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne (c.1130-40) [~~fig. 36 in chapter 3~~]⁹³ also presents what could be seen as anti-heretical content. More significant, I feel, and less questionable, is the way it reflects all the aspects of the penitential-eucharistic focus which have emerged as central to the theology of this period. Beaulieu is both innovatory and influential on late-twelfth-century ~~art~~^{art}, and also provides a useful end-point for this thesis. It has been stated forcefully by French that an anti-heretical (and particularly anti-Petrobrusian) emphasis underlies the whole design of the Beaulieu portal.⁹⁴ French also considers that Beaulieu reveals anti-Semitic ideas. He sees the small figures lifting up their skirts on the tympanum as Jews proving they were circumcised. The Jews were the race from which Anti-Christ would come but Jews were also able to ask for salvation because they were sons of Abraham, who had sealed his covenant with God by circumcision. This is a possible interpretation but anti-Jewish feeling was not particularly pronounced in this area. Rather than being the type of the obdurate lost heretic, the Jews of the Beaulieu area may have been thought of as revealing the continuity of salvific sacrifice (as discussed in chapter 7). They might also be the repentant converts who will be saved, an idea that would have tallied with Crusade ideology.

It is possible that despite the hats, which were similar to the type often shown on Jews in Romanesque art,⁹⁵ the lewd gestures were intended to indicate that these men are French heretics. In popular stories these were frequently shown participating in orgiastic rites, which parodied the Mass and sometimes involved the eating of a child or the ash from its burnt bones. There is no proof that either Henry of Lausanne or Peter de Bruys followed such practices but such tales were told of the eleventh-century heretics in Orléans and in Périgord. Perhaps the upward-pointing fingers here suggest final enlightenment. The figures form such a major part of the tympanum that they must have been comprehensible at the time but now they are rather puzzling.

⁹³ For dating see Hearn 1981, 169ff. French thinks it after 1140.

⁹⁴ French 1973, 35.

⁹⁵ Kraus 1967, 139-44 says these were Phrygian-type hats used to denote Jews. Hearn 1981, 179 says the hats have several points and may indicate 'heretical proselytizers who went about dressed incognito as jesters.' This seems a little far-fetched as does the argument by Petre, quoted by Hearn, who sees the gestures as corresponding to 'the ritual of recantation prescribed by the Church'.

Immediately on approaching the porch, one was reminded of the need for penance and amendment of life.⁹⁶ There are depictions of all three Temptations in the eastern flank of the porch. On the exterior south wall there are also badly mutilated personifications of Avarice, Gluttony and Lust. On the angle of the side and outer walls on the right Christ crushes the lion and dragon under his feet. The crushing of the dragons is a frequent symbol for the overcoming of evil and can be linked to the trampling of devils which exemplify the Fallen Angels, the first of all heretics.⁹⁷ On the left side of the portal is a damaged figure which, if it were the Virgin, would fulfill the same function as at Souillac by giving hope of the bringing the repentant back into the fold.

At Beaulieu Daniel in the lions' den is on the left flank of the porch and thus on the morally desirable right hand of the Christ on the tympanum. Daniel, a type of the resurrection and of Christ's victory over the tempter, is shown seated under an arch which carries buildings suggestive of the heavenly Jerusalem of his visions and of the eschatological banquet. Above the arch a mutilated figure, possibly St Michael, tramples an apocalyptic beast. Alongside, in another very damaged panel, the angel brings Habbakuk. Above them a mysterious face looks out of an arch in a towered city. Perhaps this represents the kings of Babylon trapped in their idolatry, or even the stealthily approaching Anti-Christ who Daniel prophesied, in the form of beasts, and which French sees as a crucial emphasis in the whole sculptural ensemble at Beaulieu.

On the Eastern flank of the porch are scenes from the Temptation of Christ (Matthew 4:1-11). As has been noted in chapter 3, the Temptations and Daniel in the Lions' den are subjects of the readings for the first Sunday in Lent where the themes of deliverance, penitence and trust in God recall Daniel to mind. A similar resonance will have been struck by the epistle (Heb. 9: 11-15) where 'the blood of goats or of calves' is shown as redundant after the pure sacrifice of Christ which Daniel prophesied and which, in its eucharistic form,

⁹⁶ The porch was the traditional place of instruction for catechumen and perhaps for penitent re-converted heretics.

⁹⁷ Katzenellenbogen 1959, 76.

Habbakuk has prefigured. The continuity of sacrifice from the Old Law to the fulfilling New Law was shown in chapter 7 to have been a major eucharistic theme in the twelfth century. Its significance was, of course, in no way confined to the countering of heresy but it is relevant to heretical rejection of both the Old Testament and the concept of the Mass as a sacrifice.⁹⁸ On the left arcade are the first two Temptations and on the right-hand relief is the third Temptation in which Satan offered the world in return for worship. This had particular relevance to the issue of heresy since the devil's request looks back to the idolatry of Babylon and onwards to the coming of Anti-Christ and the last encounter which Daniel had described so vividly.

Both Peter the Venerable and St. Bernard drew on the popular legends of the stealthy and deceitful coming of Anti-Christ whose wonders would seduce men before the Last Judgment.⁹⁹ In Daniel's vision of the 'abomination of desolation' the adversaries would take the form of strange beasts and these were linked in the medieval mind with the beasts of the Apocalypse.¹⁰⁰ At Beaulieu the beasts appear, huge and terrifying (although not quite in any of the usual forms of Apocalyptic beasts). Whereas in other tympana of the period, such as those at Autun or Conques, hell earth and heaven are set in three separate registers, here the beasts of the Apocalypse are on the bottom of two beast-filled registers. They are separated from the beasts above by the kind of wavy line that often indicates stylised clouds as the boundary of the heavens but which here is only lightly drawn under Christ's feet. If this line separating the two registers of beasts is there to suggest two different concepts both involving beasts then these upper beasts may be monsters in hell meting out punishment, or, since one figure is clothed and one naked, in both hell and purgatory.¹⁰¹ This interpretation would help place emphasis on penitence, penance and the effectiveness of prayers for the dead, all ideas under attack. Both Henry of Lausanne and Peter de Bruys rejected sacramental penance,

⁹⁸ The thirteenth figure on the tympanum, somewhat apart from the apostles but in their ambit may be Moses thus confirming sacramental continuity.

⁹⁹ French 1973, 64.

¹⁰⁰ The Anti-Christ legends were known in France from the widely-copied tenth-century *Libellus de Antichristo* of Adso of Moutier-en-Der PL 101, 1289-98 (under Alcuin) and through liturgical drama. French 1973, 70.

¹⁰¹ This is not to suggest the presentation of purgatory as a place but rather as a concept (see chapter 3).

confession to a priest and prayers for the dead, stressing instead the role of the Holy Spirit, unmediated by the Church, in the life of individuals, who were responsible for their own acts in their lifetimes.

The penitential-sacramental route to salvation shown in the porch is reinforced in the tympanum where, after the great fight of the Last Days, Christ the judge is shown in triumph with the huge jewelled cross behind him like a banner [fig. 143].¹⁰² The cross is off-centre, perhaps to emphasise God's control of the events of salvation: his triumph is all, the cross merely his instrument. This seems to me not a clumsy piece of design but rather one which brings the head of Christ suitably closer to the cross. This results in the part-framing of Christ's head by two of the arms of the cross, and focuses attention on the circular jewelled centre of the cross by causing Christ's head, the circle and the angel's head to form a diagonal line. The interconnection between the sacrifice and glory is thus reinforced. It is both more dramatic and more intimate than the placing of the cross directly above Christ as at Conques.

In contrast to other tympana of the Last Judgment, such as those at Conques or Autun, the Judgment has not yet happened, but it is about to take place for those emerging from the tomb.¹⁰³ The angels seem not to be blowing their trumpets; they hold their hands as if awaiting the sign to begin again after the initial call which opened the tombs. For the first time on a major tympanum Christ does not hide his wounds but displays them for all to see. He is robed like a king or priest but his breast is bared. His outstretched arms recall the cross but are held with great poise suggesting power, like an emperor describing his conquests, but also with potential compassion: one senses that his arms will sweep down to embrace the elect. Resurrection itself, for both Christ and the believer, is the result of *God-chosen* suffering and sacrifice. This is further shown by the angels who carry the instruments of the Passion, joyously brandishing them as trophies of victory and not, as Peter de Bruys said, as ignominious signs unworthy of God. The part-naked Christ is here

¹⁰² The cross is like a processional cross thus indicating the liturgical presentations of Christ's triumph especially at Easter.

shown as God but in the form of the God-man, fully human, approachable by those who have erred, but fully divine too. The Cathars would stress the evil nature of all bodies, denying thereby the full humanity of God in Christ. The double nature of Christ is certainly more clearly emphasised here than in any other tympanum of the period, and this could indicate a concern to counter rejection of the full humanity of Christ. As has been discussed in chapter 8, however, a deep involvement with the humanity and suffering of Christ was a characteristic of the times in non-heretical circles. This does not fully accord with the Beaulieu tympanum, which is primarily an image of power and victory and the coming of divine judgment. Although Christ is no longer suffering here, the instruments of the Passion and the wounds are very prominent and, when taken in conjunction with the porch temptation scenes, they highlight an important strand in the religious sentiment of the period.

Christ's wounded side, source of blood and water and sign of the saving Eucharist, is here very clearly shown in relation to the Church. The double meaning of the phrase 'the body of Christ' is unambiguously emphasised. The apostles, signifying the Church, surround Christ. This is unusual for a Last Judgment where the elders of the Apocalypse are his usual companions. For the Second Coming the companions are usually angels or angels plus the evangelist symbols. These latter, of course, imply the Church but are less obvious as a reinforcement of the apostolic priesthood than the college of apostles (sometimes with Paul as a replacement for Judas). Paul was seen as the apostle of doctrine. At Beaulieu Peter and Paul are placed to Christ's right, with St Paul, unusually, closer to Christ. This might suggest a deep involvement with catechumen and, perhaps, with reconverting heretics since St Paul was the patron saint of catechumen as well as the apostle to the Gentiles. Placing such emphasis on St Paul might also have been an attempt to combat those who rejected all biblical texts except the gospels and thereby undermined the traditional role of the Pauline epistles.¹⁰⁴ At Beaulieu only Peter's keys are

¹⁰³ For differences between the Second Coming and the Last Judgment in Romanesque sculpture see Christie 1969 and 1973.

¹⁰⁴ If the intention was, in part, to stress the dangers of the coming of Anti-Christ, then recognising that there might be heretical rejection of Paul's second epistle to the Thessalonians on these dangers would seem particularly telling.

visible because of the placing of the angel's wings but St Paul's scroll of the New Testament would have been implied. Peter and Paul also flank the portal, thus giving a double emphasis to the Church as sole guardian of the salvific sacraments.

By being sited above the main door of the abbey church, the Beaulieu tympanum stressed the salvific necessity of entry to the Church. This was conventional iconography but it needed confirming to those who rejected adult baptism, the Mass and the hierarchical structure of the institutional Church. Since Henry of Lausanne and Peter de Bruys also rejected church buildings as unnecessary, the lesson that entry to the Church was through the church building where valid sacraments were made, though obvious, was worth making. Beaulieu was probably consciously intended by its creators to address the heresies of the day, but to see this as its primary purpose seems to me to diminish its triumphal and innovatory assertion of orthodox faith.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has attempted to make meaningful the eucharistic fervour of the age by providing a sufficient, albeit inevitably simplified, theological background. Ninth-century definitions of the Eucharist, its nature and salvific function, were sharpened in the eleventh century and then redeveloped and broadened in the twelfth century. By the early twelfth century, it was only in heretical circles that there was any serious questioning of the Real Presence and this ^{acceptance} questioning informs all eucharistic imagery. Debate continued, however, on the nature of the accidents, and on the nature of salvific reception. The former became the province of specialists in Aristotelian logic: the latter, however, affected all Christians. It would, together with the emphasis on the Real Presence and a strongly penitential-eucharistic focus, create in the next century even more highly-charged eucharistic worship. This was manifest particularly in Corpus Christi devotions, the reluctance of the fearful laity to receive communion, and in the adoration of Christ present in the elevated host and in the reserved species. Buds of this flowering, however, can clearly be seen in the first half of the twelfth century reflected in theology, liturgy and the arts.

The Mass both represented Christ's sacrifice, and re-presented it as the loving offering of the Church. Emphasis came increasingly to be placed on offering the Mass not only as a thanksgiving but also in the hope that God might meet the requests made at each Mass, be they for the good of individuals, living or dead, or for the whole community of the Church. The redefinition of the role

of the priesthood as essentially to offer Mass, (and to offer it as a request for something from God, rather than primarily leading the congregation in an act of corporate memorial and thanks-offering), shaped the relations between priesthood and laity. Sacerdotal primacy was also central to the image of the Church as unique dispenser of salvific sacraments, of which the Eucharist was increasingly seen as paramount. This image was given new force by Gregorian reform, and by the need to counter popular heresies attacking the role of the Church and her sacraments. The institution of the Eucharist at the Last Supper was vividly depicted, and with increasing frequency. The Mass itself was rarely shown, and was primarily used as a background to donors offering to the Church the means necessary to carry out the sacramental functions. Questions of validity of sacraments and of the nature of salvific reception relate to both Gregorian reform and to the theological debates. Images of Judas and the sop, and of the sacrifices of Cain and Abel were fairly commonly used to open up these issues.

The concept of sacramental offering was increasingly rephrased, although not in a detailed theological reformulation, in terms of sacrifice. This sacrificial imagery depended heavily on an awareness of the vital nature of the incarnation. Christ's willing sacrifice had atoned for man's sins and ensured salvation. As a result of incarnation, the Church could, in the Mass, offer back the body of Christ to God as the most fitting offering. Images of the Presentation in the Temple where the Christ-child is held above the altar were especially apposite, particularly where, at the end of the period, they were shown in conjunction with the re-offering of the Magi, the Last Supper and

Emmaus. Depictions of the crucifixion as the main subject of tympana, sometimes shown above, or near to, the Last Supper, are, of course, the clearest expression of all of the significance of the Real Presence. They first appear on major church façades, however, just outside my period, shortly after 1150. Other crucifixion images, for example on crosses and liturgical vessels, as well as on capitals, do appear in the period and begin to reflect not only the new type of focus on the sacrificed Christ, but also the love of the humanity of Christ which was such a dominant theme in the verbal imagery of the period.

Sacrificial concepts also placed emphasis on the continuity of sacraments, from the Old Testament to the present, and onwards to the banquet at the end of time. By focusing on the whole of salvation history, the centrality of the Church was further reinforced. Old Testament typology, particularly images of Abel, Melchisedek, Abraham and Isaac, and Moses' miracles, was used to confirm this, although they appear less in sculpture than in other art works until after 1150. The ancient sacrifices themselves are shown in sculpture at Charlieu, but generally they too do not appear until the second half of the century. It was not necessary to depict the actual sacrifices, however, in order to confirm continuity: the prophets and apostles presented together, or in juxtaposition, achieved this object when viewed in the context of the liturgy, as did all triumphal eschatological imagery.

There are a few new images in the period; notably the placing of a lamb on the table at the Last Supper. The depiction of Christ and the Emmaus travellers as pilgrims is also new, as are Transfiguration scenes on tympana.

Both of these topics had eucharistic associations. Some older images were reformulated. This was particularly the case with Habbakuk's coming to Daniel, an image which had been largely out of favour, but which became a fairly common way of reinforcing penitential-eucharistic necessity. The adoration of the Magi, shown as a re-presenting of Christ's sacrificial offering, is also a significant reformulation, one which makes overt the eucharistic implications of incarnation. The other images of the hand-held host discussed in chapter 6 (which may be wholly new, or may be conflating traditional images of majesty and transcendent power with more directly eucharistic ideas in a new way) are framed in such a way as to give a distinctly Paschasian emphasis to the Real Presence and to the idea of Christ as victim and offerer in the Mass. The Thiviers capital, showing Christ holding the host alongside St Peter and Mary Magdalen, may or may not be unique. It is certainly a new and telling combination of directly penitential-eucharistic images with those of the sacramental centrality of the Church.

I question how far it is possible to identify discrete anti-heretical ideas in Romanesque sculpture. Images asserting orthodox ideas need not, however, have been designed exclusively to combat heresy in order satisfactorily to fulfill this function. It is certainly true that some of the most forcefully orthodox imagery, as at Charlieu, La Charité, Beaulieu and Chartres appear after about 1135 when heresy was becoming deeply worrying; but it would be a distortion of twelfth-century eucharistic piety to see this simply as a response to heresy. On the other hand, earlier, anti-Berengarian issues do seem to me to have been directly addressed, in respect of concomitance and impassibility, through the

depictions of the appearances of the risen Christ, even though this was almost certainly not their sole purpose.

Eucharistic fervour is evident in this period not only in new devotional and liturgical practices but also in the large number of eucharistic tracts and Mass commentaries produced. The proliferation of penitential-eucharistic visual imagery of remarkable vigour and force parallels this creativity. Traditional eucharistic imagery was consciously employed but, especially from about 1130, it was given a new and wider context of reference, particularly in respect of sacramental validity and mystical union, which stamped it with a distinctively mid-twelfth-century identity.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

General abbreviations:

AB	<i>Art Bulletin</i>
AV	<i>Authorised Version.</i>
BM	<i>Bulletin Monumental</i>
CA	<i>Congrès Archéologique de France</i>
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis</i>
CCivM	<i>Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale</i>
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina</i>
CDH	<i>Cur Deus Homo</i>
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i>
JWCI	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
ODCC	<i>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i>
PG	Migne, J.-P., ed., <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PL	Migne, J.-P., ed., <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
RB	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
R.S.	<i>Rolls Series.</i>
RthAM	<i>Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale,</i> (Louvain 1929-).

Primary sources

All Greek and most Latin Patristic sources have been accessed through secondary sources. Most are listed here, the rest given in the footnotes.

- Ademar of Chabannes *Historiarum libri tres* PL 141, 19-80.
 Adso *Libellus de Antichristo* PL 101, 1289-98. (under "Alcuin").
 Aelfric *The Homilies of Aelfric*, 2 vols., trans. B. Thorpe (London 1844-6).
 —, *De paenitentia* in ed. B. Thorpe vol 2, 602-9.
 Alcuin *Carmina* PL 101, 723-848.
 Alger of Liège *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Dominici*
 PL 180, 739-854.
 —. *De sacrificio missae* PL 180, 853-56.
 Amalarius of Metz *Eclogae de officio missae* PL 105, 1315-32.
 —, *De Ecclesiasticis officiis* PL 105, 985-1242.
 Ambrose *Enarrationes in Psalmos* PL 14, 921-1180.
 —, *Exposition in psalmum 118* PL 15, 1197-1526.
 —, *De mysteriis* PL 16, 389-410.
 —, *Enarratio in psalmo 48* PL 14, 1155-66.
 —, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* PL 15, 1527-1851.
 —, *De sacramentis* PL 16, 417-62.
 —, *De Fide libri quinque* PL 16, 523-698.

- Anselm *The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm*, ed. and trans. B. Ward, (Harmondsworth 1973).
- , *Meditatio XI de redemptione humana* PL 158, 762-69.
- , *Oratio ad Sanctam Mariam Magdalena* PL 158, 1010-11.
- , *Oratio 20, ad Christum*, PL 158, 902-5.
- , *Oratio 62, ad Sanctum Joannem Baptistam* PL 158, 969-72.
- , *Cur Deus Homo* PL 158, 359-432, and Ch.5 in *St. Anselm Basic Writings*, trans. S. N. Deane ([La Salle, Illinois, 1962).
- Anselm of Laon *Sententiae*
- Anselm of Lucca *Collectanea in libro secundo super Matthaeum* PL 149, 475-84.
- Anon. *Homilia 13* (attributed by Migne to Anselm) PL 158, 660-64.
- Aquinas *Summa Theologiae. The Blackfriars Summa*, 60 vols. (London 1964-81).
- Augustine *City of God*, ed. D. Knowles, trans. H. Bettenson (Harmondsworth 1972).
- , *Selected Sermons of St. Augustine*, trans. and ed., Howe, Q., (London, 1967), and PL 41, 13-804.
- , *Sermo 131* PL 38, 729-34.
- , *Sermo 172* PL 38, 935-37.
- , *Enarrationes in Psalmos* PL 36 and 37.
- , *Tractatus in Joannis evangelium* PL 35, 1379-1976.
- , *St. Augustine on the Psalms*, vol 2, trans. Hebggin, S. and F. Corrigan (London 1961).
- , *De haeresibus* PL 42, 21-50.
- , *De trinitate* PL 42, 819-1098.
- , *Enchiridion* PL 40, 231-90.
- , *De Baptismo contra Donatistas* PL 43, 107-244.
- , *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* PL 42, 207-518.
- Beatus *Adversus Elipandum* ed. B. Löfstedt, CCCM, 59 (Turnhout 1984).
- Bede *Homilies 1: 5 CCSL*, 122, 105-6.
- , *De templo*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL, 119A (1969), 141-234.
- Berengar *De sacra coena*, ed. W. H. Beekenkamp, (The Hague 1941).
- Bernard of Clairvaux *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. Leclercq, J., C. H. Talbot, H. M. Rochais, Editiones Cistercienses (Rome 1957).
- , *Sermones in assumptione Beatae Virginis Mariae* PL 183, 415-38.
- , *Sermones in purificatione* PL 183, 364-72.
- , *Sermones in cantica canticorum*, 61 PL 183, 1070-74.
- , *Epistolae* PL 182, 67-716.
- , *Apologia ad Guillelmum* PL 182, 895-918.
- , *First Easter Sermon*, ed. a priest of Mount Melleray 1950).
- Bernold of Constance *Apologeticus 23 MGH*, LDL.
- , *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus* PL 151, 973-1022.
- Clement of Rome *Epistola I ad Corinthios* PG 1, 199-328.
- Cyril of Jerusalem *Catacheses mystagogicae* PG 33, 1059-1128, and ed. A. Piédagnel, *Sources Chrétiennes*, 126 (Paris 1966).
- , *Procatechesis* PG 33, 331-66.
- , *Fifth address on the Mysteries*, 9-10, in ed. A. Piédagnel, 195-161.
- Cyprian *Epistulae* PL 4, 192-438.

- Eusebius *Demonstratio Evangelica* PG 32, 9-794.
- Florus of Lyon *De expositione missae* PL 119, 15-72.
- Fulbert of Chartres *Sermones ad Populum* PL 141, 317-40.
- Fulgentius of Ruspe *Sermo in purificatione Beatae Virginis Mariae* PL 65, 840.
- Geoffrey of Vendôme *Opuscula*, 1, *Tractatus de corpore et sanguine Domini Jesu Christi* PL 157, 211-214.
- Gerhoh of Reichersberg *Praefatio in librum de investigatione Antichristi* PL 193, 1479-80.
- Gregory the Great *Moralia in Job* PL 75, 509-1162 and PL 76, 9-782.
- , *Homilia in Evangelia*, 40 PL 76, 1301-12.
- , *Dialogia*, 4: 41,3 in *Sources Chrétiennes*, 265, ed. A. de Vogüé.
- , *Dialogorum libri quatuor* PL 77, 149-430.
- , *Praefatio* PL 75.
- Gregory Nazianzen *Epistolae* PG 37, 21-388.
- Gregory of Nyssa *Oratio catechetica magna* PG 45, 9-106.
- Gregory VII, Pope, *Concilia Romana* PL 148, 749-824.
- Guibert of Nogent *De Pignoribus Sanctorum* PL 156, 607-80.
- , *De bucella Judae data et de veritate Dominici corporis* PL 156, 527-38.
- , *Self and Society in Medieval France. The memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent*, ed. J. F. Benton (New York 1970).
- Guitmund of Aversa *De corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate in Eucharistia* PL 149, 1427-94.
- Heriger of Lobbes *De corpore et sanguine Domini* PL 139, 179-88. (under Gerbertus Silvester Papa).
- Herveus of Bourg-Dieu *Commentary on the Mass* (Troyes Bibl. Mun. MS.447 fols. 121-34).
- , *Commentarius in epistolas divi Pauli* PL 181, 591-1450.
- , *Commentaria in Isaiam* PL 181, 18-592.
- , *Homilia* 6 PL 158, 591-1692 (under 'Anselm').
- Hilary of Poitiers *De trinitate libri duodecim* PL 10, 9-472.
- Hildebert of Lavardin *Sermo* 17 PL 171, 419-22.
- , *Liber de expositione missae* PL 171, 1153-76.
- , *Sermo* 54 PL 171, 601-6.
- , *Sermo* 57 PL 171, 615-23.
- , *Versus de mysterio missae* PL 171, 1177-96.
- , *Carmina miscellanea*, 134, *De Tribus Ordinibus qui sunt in Ecclesia* PL 171, 1440.
- Honorius Augustodunensis *Elucidarium de summa totius Christianae Theologicae* PL 172, 1109-76.
- , *Eucharistion* PL 172, 1249-58.
- , *Gemma animae* PL 172, 541-738.
- , *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* PL 172, 347-496.
- , *Speculum Ecclesiae* PL 172, 807-1108.
- , *Sacramentarium* PL 172, 737-806.
- , *Summa Gloria de Apostolico et Augusto* PL 172, 1257-70.

- Hugh of St. Victor *De sacramentis Christianae fidei* PL 176, 187-618.
- , *De arca Noe morali* PL 176, 619-80.
- , *De arca Noe Mystica* PL 176, 681-704.
- , *Allegoriae in novum testamentum* PL 175, 751-924.
- , *Summa sententiarum* PL 176, 43-174.
- , *De unione corporis et animae* PL 177, 285-94.
- , *De vanitate mundi* PL 176, 703-40.
- , *Hugh of St. Victor on the Sacraments of the Christian Faith* (*De Sacramentis*) trans. R.J. Deferrari (Cambridge, Mass., 1951).
- Ignatius of Antioch *Epistola ad Smyrnaeos* PG 5, 707-18.
- Irenaeus *Contra haereses*, PG 7, 433-1224, and Book 4 *Contre les Hérésies*, ed. A. Rousseau et al., 2 vols. *Sources Chrétiennes*, 100 (Paris 1965).
- Ivo of Chartres *Sermo 5, sive opusculum de convenientia veteris et novi sacrificii* PL 162, 535-62.
- , *Sermo 2*, PL 162, 513-519.
- , *Sermo 17, de coena Domini* PL 162, 588-89.
- , *Sermo 21, de cathedra S. Petri* PL 162, 595-55.
- , *Epistola 63* PL 162, 77-81.
- , *Decretum* PL 161, 9-1022.
- James 'Protoevangelium of James', in M. R. James, ed., *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford 1924), 38-49.
- Jerome *Saint-Jérôme: Lettres*, ed. J. Labourt, vol. 4 (Paris, 1954).
- , *Commentaria in Daniele* PL 25, 491-584.
- John Chrysostom *Homiliarum in Matthaeum* PG 57, 21-472, and PG 58, 21-793.
- , *Homiliae in Epistolam ad Hebraeos* PG 63, 9-236.
- , *Homiliae in Epistolam ad Romanos* PG 60, 583-680.
- , *Homiliae in Joannem* PG 59, 23-482.
- Justin Martyr *Dialogus cum Tryphone Iudaeo*, PG 6, 471-800.
- , *Apologia prima pro Christianis* PG 6, 327-440.
- , Lanfranc *De corpore et sanguine Domini adversus Berengarium Turonensem* PL 150, 407-42.
- Leo the Great *Sermones* PL 54, 137-468.
- Odilo *Sermo, 15, de sancta cruce* PL 142, 1031-36.
- Odo of Cambrai *Expositio in canonem missae* PL 160, 1053-70.
- Odo of Cluny *Collationes* PL 133, 517-638.
- Origen *Homily On Luke 24,3* ed. Fournier et al (Paris, 1962) *Sources Chrétiennes* 87.
- , *In Genesim Homiliae* PG 12, 145-280.
- , *Commentaria in evangelium Joannis* PG 14, 21-829.
- , *Commentaria in evangelium secundum Matthaeum* PG 13, 829-1600.

- Paschasius Radbertus *De corpore et sanguine domini* PL 120, 1267-1350.
 —, *De corpore et Sanguine Domini* ed. B. Paulus, CCCM 16 (Turnhout 1969).
 —, *Epistola de Corpore et sanguine Domini* [to Frudegard] PL 120, 1351-66.
 —, *Epistola ad Fredugardum. De Corpore et sanguine Domini* ed., B. Paulus, CCCM 16 (Turnhout 1969)
 —, *Expositio in Matthaum* PL 120, 31-994 and in CCCM 56, ed. B. Paulus 1984.
 Peter Abelard *Poenitentium severa* in eds. Dreves et al., *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, 48 (Leipzig 1886-1922), 221.
 —, *Commentaria super S. Pauli Epistolam ad Romanos* PL 178, 783-978.
 Peter Damian *Opuscula* PL 145, 20-856.
 —, *Sermo* 51 PL 144, 788-94.
 —, *Carmina sacra et preces (Orationes)* PL 145, 917-586.
 Peter Lombard *Sententiarum libri quatuor* PL 192, 519-962.
 Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos*, ed. J. V. Fearn, CCCM, 10 (Turnhout 1968), and PL 184, 719-850.
 —, *Sermones* PL 189, 953-1066.
 —, *De miraculis* PL 189, 851-954.
 —, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable, Harvard Historical Studies, 78, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).
 Petrus Pictor *Tractatus de sacrosanctis venerabilis sacramenti Eucharistiae mysteriis* PL 207, 1135-54, also entitled *Carmina*, ed. L. Van Acker, CCCM, 25 (Turnhout 1972).
 Ratramnus *De corpore et sanguine Domini* PL 121, 125-70.
 Robertus de Tumbalena *In cantica canticorum* PL 150, 1361-70.
 Rupert of Deutz *In cantica canticorum de incarnatione Domini* PL 168, 839-962.
 —, *De officiis* ed. R. Haacke, CCCM, 7 (Turnhout 1967), and PL 170, 9-332.
 —, *De Sancta Trinitate et operibus eius*, ed. H. Haacke, CCCM, 23 (Turnhout 1972). And P: 167, 198-1828.
 —, *In Hiezecihelam*, in CCCM, 23, 1643-1736, and PL 167, 1419-98.
 —, *In Danihelem*, in CCCM, 23, 1738-1781, and PL 167, 1499-1536.
 —, *De gloria et honore Filii Homini super Matthaum* PL 168, 1307-1634.
 —, *In Exodum*, in *Commentariorum de trinitate et operibus eius* PL 167, 565-744, and in CCCM, 22, 581-802.
 —, *Commentaria in Evangelium S. Joannis* PL 169, 201-826.
 Suger *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St-Denis and its Art Treasures*, ed. and trans., E. Panofsky, 2nd ed. G. Panofsky-Soergel (Princeton 1979).
 Tertullian *De Baptismo* PL 1, 1197-1224.
 —, *De Jejuniis*, 7 PL 2, 953-78.
 Walafrid Strabo *Glossa Ordinaria* PL 113, 67-1316, and PL 114, 9-752.
 William of St-Thierry *Meditativae orationes* PL 180, 205-48.
 —, *De contemplando Deo* PL 184, 365-380.

Voragine, Jacobus de, *The Golden Legend*, trans. W. G. Ryan, (Princeton 1993).

Secondary sources.

- Ambrose, K., 'A Visual Pun at Vézelay: Gesture and meaning on a Capital Representing the Fall of Man', *Traditio*, 55 (2000), 105-23.
- Aubert, M., 'Moissac: L'abbaye et le cloître', *CA, Toulouse*, 92 (1929), 494-525.
- , 'Eglise abbatiale de Cluny', *CA, Lyon-Mâcon*, 98 (1935), 503-522.
- , *La Sculpture française au Moyen Age* (Paris 1947).
- , *L'Art roman en France* (Paris 1961).
- Aulen, G., *Eucharist and Sacrifice*, trans. E. Wahlstrom, (Edinburgh 1956).
- Backhouse, J., *The Illuminated Christian Manuscript* (Oxford 1979).
- Bakhuizen van den Brink, J. N., 'Ratramn's Eucharistic Doctrine and its influence in Sixteenth-Century England', in G. J. Cuming, *Studies in Church History* 2 (1965), 54-77.
- Balsam, L., and A. Surchamp, *Rouergue roman* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1963).
- Baltrusaitis, J., *La Stylistique Ornementale dans la Sculpture Romane* (Paris 1931).
- Barker, L.K., 'Epistola 63 and the canonical reform movement: Keys to understanding the typological exegesis of Ivo of Chartres', *Proceedings of the PMR Conference*, 8 (1984), 51-58.
- Beaunier, C., 'Abbayes et prieurés de l'ancienne France, 4, Provinces D'Alby, de Narbonne et de Toulouse', in J. M. Besse, ed., *Archives de la France Monastique*, 12 (Ligugé and Paris 1911).
- Beckwith, J., *Ivory Carvings in Early Medieval England* (London 1972).
- , *Early Medieval Art* (London 1964, repr. 1985).
- Beckwith, S., *Christ's Body. Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writing* (London and New York 1993).
- Beech, G. T., *A Rural Society in Medieval France: The Gâtine of Poitou in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Baltimore 1967).
- , 'Biography and the study of eleventh century society. Bishop Peter II of Poitiers 1087-1115', *Francia*, 7 (1979).
- Beigbeder, O., *Lexique des Symboles* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1989).
- Beitz, E., *Rupertus von Deutz, seine Werke und die bildende Kunst* (Cologne 1930).
- Benedictine Monk (anon.), *Discovering the Mass* (London 1999).
- Benson, R. L., and G. Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford 1982).
- Bentley, J., *The Way of Saint James* (London 1992).
- Benton, J. F., *Culture, Power and Personality in Medieval France* (London 1991).
- Berland, J.-M., *Val de Loire roman* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1980).
- Bertelli, S., *Italian Renaissance Courts* (London 1986).

- Bestul, T. H., 'St Anselm, the Monastic Community at Canterbury, and Devotional Writing in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Anselm Studies* 1 (1983), 185-98.
- , 'Self and Subjectivity in the *Prayers and Meditations* of Anselm of Canterbury', in Majeran and Zielinski (1999), 147-55.
- Bettenson, H., ed. *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford 1967).
- , ed. and trans., *The Later Christian Fathers* (Oxford 1970).
- Blum, P. Z., *Early Gothic St. Denis* (Berkeley 1992).
- Bolton, B., 'Tradition and temerity: Papal attitudes to deviants, 1159-1216', in D. Baker, ed., *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest. Studies in Church History*, 9 (1972), 79-92.
- Bonner, G., 'The doctrine of sacrifice: Augustine and the Latin Patristic tradition' in S. W. Sykes, ed., *Sacrifice and Redemption* (Cambridge 1991), 101-17.
- Borg, A., 'Architectural Decoration of the Romanesque Period in Provence', unpublished Ph.D. diss. (Courtauld Institute University of London 1969).
- , *Architectural Sculpture in Romanesque Provence* (Oxford 1972).
- Bousquet, J., *La Sculpture à Conques aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, 3 vols. (Lille 1973).
- Bousquet, L., *La Cathédrale Pré-gothique de Rodez. Etudes d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Rouergates*, 2 (Rodez 1948).
- , *Monks on Marriage. A Twelfth-Century View* (New York 1982).
- Bradshaw, P. F., 'Continuity and Change in Early Eucharistic Practice: Shifting Scholarly Perspectives', in R. N. Swanson, ed., *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship. Studies in Church History*, 35 (1999), 1-17.
- Brewer, E. C., *A Dictionary of Miracles* (London 1897).
- Brieger, P. H., 'Bible Illustration and Gregorian Reform', in G. J. Cuming, ed., *Studies in Church History*, 2 (1965), 154-64.
- Brilioth, Y., *Eucharistic faith and practice, Evangelical and Catholic* trans. A. G. Herbert (London 1956).
- Brooke, C. N. L., 'Priest, Deacon and Layman, from St. Peter Damian to St. Francis', in W. J. Sheils and D. Wood, eds., *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay. Studies in Church History*, 26 (1989), 65-85.
- Browe, P., *Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters* (Breslau 1938).
- Brown, D., *Tradition and Imagination* (Oxford 1999).
- Brown, P., 'The Decline of the Empire of God: Amnesty, Penance and the Afterlife from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages', in Bynum and Freedman, eds., (2000), 41-59.
- Bull, M., *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade. The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970-c.1130* (Oxford 1993).
- Bullough, D., 'The Carolingian liturgical experience', in R. N. Swanson, ed., *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship. Studies in Church History*, 35 (1999), 29-64.
- Buxton, R. F., *Eucharist and Institution Narrative. A study in the Roman and Anglican traditions of the Consecration of the Eucharist from the eighth to the twentieth centuries*, Alcuin Club Collections, 58 (1976).

- Bynum, C. W., *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley and London 1982).
- , *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley and London 1987).
- , *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity 200-1336* (New York 1995).
- Bynum, C. W., and P. Freedman, eds., *Last Things. Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia 2000).
- Cabaniss, A., 'The Personality of Amalarius', in J. H. Nichols and W. Pauck, eds., *Church History*, 20: 30 (1951), 34-41.
- Cabrol, F., and H. Leclercq, eds., *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* (Paris 1921).
- Cahn, W., 'Le Tympan de Neuilly-en-Donjon', *CcivMed*, 8 (1965), 351-64.
- , 'The Artist as outlaw and Apparatchik: Freedom and Constraint in the Interpretation of Medieval Art', in S. K. Scher, ed., *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Providence, R.I., 1969), 10-15.
- , *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1982).
- , *Romanesque Manuscripts*, vol. 2 (London 1996).
- Cameron, A., 'The Language of Images: The Rise of Icons and Christian Representation', in D. Wood, ed., *The Church and the Arts. Studies in Church History*, 28 (1992), 1-42.
- Caplan, H., 'The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching', *Speculum*, 4 (1929), 282-90.
- Carrascó M. E., 'The Imagery of the Magdalen in Christine of Markyate's Psalter (St. Albans Psalter)', *Gesta*, 38: 1 (1999), 67-80.
- Cassidy, B., ed., *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University 23-24 March 1990* (Princeton 1993).
- Champeaux, G. de, and S. Sterckx, *Introduction au Monde des Symboles* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1980).
- Chenu, M.-D., *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century* (Toronto 1997).
- Chodorow, S. A., 'Ecclesiastical Politics and the Ending of the Investiture Contest. The Papal Elections of 1119 and the negotiations of Mouzon', *Speculum*, 46 (1971), 613-40.
- , *Christian Political Theory and Church Politics in the Mid-Twelfth Century. The Ecclesiology of Gratian's Decretum* (Berkeley 1972).
- Christe, Y., *Les Grands Portails romans: Etudes sur l'iconologie des théophanes romanes* (Geneva 1969).
- , *La Vision de Matthieu (Matth. XXIV-XXV). Origines et développement d'une image de la Seconde Parousie* (Paris 1973).
- Christie-Murray, D., *A History of Heresy* (Oxford 1976).
- Clanchy, M. T., *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066-1307* (London 1979).
- , *Early Medieval England* (London repr. 1999).
- Colish, M. L., 'Peter of Bruys, Henry of Lausanne, and the façade of St. Gilles', *Traditio*, 28 (1972), 451-60.
- , *Peter Lombard* (Leiden 1994).

- Conant, K. J., 'The Iconography and the Sequence of the Ambulatory Capitals of Cluny', *Speculum*, 5 (1930), 278-287.
- , 'The Apse at Cluny', *Speculum*, 7 (1932), 23-35.
- , 'The Third Church at Cluny', *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), 327-57.
- , *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800-1200*, 2nd ed., (Harmondsworth 1966).
- Constable, G., *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge 1996).
- Constable, G., and R. Somerville, 'The Papal Bulls for the Chapter of St. Antonin in Rouergue in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Speculum*, 67 (1992), 828-64.
- Cook, W. R., 'Some analogies between Cluniac sculpture and Cistercian writings', *RThAM*, 47 (1981), 212-217.
- Cooke, B., *The Distancing of God* (Fortress c.1990).
- Cottineau, L., *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 3 vols (Mâcon 1939-1970).
- Couderc, C., *Bibliographie historique de Rouergue*, 2 vols (Rodez 1934).
- Coulton, G. G., *Medieval Village, Manor and Monastery* (New York 1960).
- Couratin, A. H., 'Liturgy' in R. P. C. Hanson, ed., *The Pelican Guide to Modern Theology*, vol. 2 (Harmondsworth 1969), 131-197.
- Cowdrey, H. E. J., *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford 1970).
- , *Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085* (Oxford 1998).
- , 'Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade', *History*, 55 (1970), 177-88.
- , 'Cluny and the First Crusade', *RB*, 83 (1973), 285-311.
- Cramer, P., *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c.200-c.1150* (Cambridge 1993).
- Craplet, B., *Auveergne romane* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1978).
- Crockett, W. R., *Eucharist: Symbol of Transformation* (New York 1989).
- Crosby, S., 'The West Portals of Saint-Denis and the Saint-Denis Style', *Gesta*, 8 (1970), 1-11.
- Crozet, R., *L'art roman en Berry* (Paris 1932).
- Dales, R. C., *The Intellectual Life of Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (Leiden 1992).
- Dalon, P., 'Les chapiteaux romans de l'église de Notre Dame, Cassagnes', *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes du Lot*, 110: 3 (1989), 213-23.
- Daniélou, J., *The Bible and the Liturgy* (London 1960).
- Daniélou, J., A.H. Couratin, and J. Kent, eds. *The Pelican Guide to Modern Theology*, vol. 2 (Harmondsworth 1969).
- Daras, C., *La Cathédrale d'Angoulême: Chef-d'oeuvre monumental de Girard II* (Angoulême 1942).
- , *Angoumois roman* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1961).
- Davies, J. G., ed., *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (London 1972).
- Davis-Weyer, C., *Early Medieval Art 300-1150* (Toronto 1986).
- Davy, C., et al., *Les Peintures murales romanes de la vallée du Loir* (Vendôme 1997).
- Defarges, B., *Val-de-Loire roman et Touraine romane* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1965).

- Delaruelle, E., ' "Le Christ élevant l'Hostie " de la cathédrale de Rodez' *Rouergue et ses confins*, Fédération des Sociétés Savants Languedoc Méditerranée, Congrès de Rodez (1958).
- , 'Culture religieuse des laïcs en France aux XI^e et XII^e siècles', in *I laici nella societas Christiana dei secoli XI e XII*, Miscellanea del centro di studi medievali, 5 (Milan 1968), 548-81.
- Delmas, C., 'Le Christ roman de Salles-la-Source', *BM* 144 (1986), 146-8.
- Denny, D., 'Notes on the Lambeth Bible', *Gesta*, 16: 2 (1977), 51-64.
- , 'The date of the Conques Last Judgement and its compositional analogues', *AB*, 66 (1984), 7-14.
- Deschamps, P., 'Tables d'autel de marbre exécutées dans le Midi de la France au X^e et au XI^e siècle', in *Mélanges d'histoire de Moyen Age offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot* (Paris 1925), 137-68.
- , *French Sculpture of the Romanesque Period, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Florence and New York 1930).
- Deschamps, P., and M. Thibout, *La Peinture murale en France: Le haut Moyen-âge à l'époque romane* (Paris 1951).
- Dillange, M., *Vendée romane: Bas-Poitou roman* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1976).
- Dix, G., *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London 1945).
- Dodwell, C. R., *Painting in Europe 800-1200* (Harmondsworth 1971).
- , *The Pictorial Arts of the West 800-1200* (Yale 1993).
- Dronke, P., 'Laments of the Maries: from the beginnings to Mystery Plays', in *Intellectuals and Poets in Medieval Europe* (Rome 1992), 457-89.
- Dubourg-Noves, P., *Iconographie de la Cathédrale d'Angoulême*. Preface by Marcel Durliat. (Angoulême 1973).
- Duby, G., *France in the Middle Ages 987-1460*, trans. J. Vale (Oxford 1991).
- Duchet-Suchaux, G., and M. Pastoureau, *The Bible and the Saints* (Paris 1994).
- Duffy, E., *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England* (London 1992).
- Dufour, J., *Les évêques d'Albi, de Cahors et de Rodez* (Paris 1989).
- Dugmore, C. W., 'The Study of the Origins of the Eucharist: Retrospect and Revaluation', in G. J. Cuming, ed., *Studies in Church History*, 2 (1965), 1-18.
- Dumoutet, E., *Le Désir de voir l'hostie et les origines de la dévotion au saint-sacrement* (Paris 1926).
- Dunbabin, J., *France in the Making, 843-1180* (Oxford 1985).
- Duret, P., *La Sculpture Romane de l'Abbaye de Déols* (Issoudun 1987).

- Durliat, M., *Roussillon roman*. (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1954).
- , 'La peinture romane en Roussillon et en Cerdagne', *CCivM*, 4 (1961), 1-14.
- , 'L'apparition du grand portail roman historié dans le Midi de la France et le nord de l'Espagne', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa*, 8 (1977), 7-24.
- , 'Les débuts de la sculpture romane dans le Midi de la France et en Espagne', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa*, 9 (1978), 101-14.
- , 'Les peintures murales romanes dans le Midi de la France de Toulouse et Narbonne aux Pyrénées', *CCivM*, 26 (1983), 117-39.
- , *Haut-Languedoc Roman* (La-Pierre-qui-Vire 1978).
- Evans, G. R., *The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Earlier Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1984).
- Evans, J., *Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period* (Cambridge 1950).
- Eygun, F., *Saintonge romane* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1979).
- Fawtier, R., *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation 987-1328*, trans. L. Butler and R. J. Adam (London 1960).
- Fau, J.-C., *Rouergue roman* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1990).
- Favière, J., *Berry roman*, 2nd ed. (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1976).
- Ferber, S., 'Crucifixion iconography in a group of Carolingian Ivory Plaques', *AB*, 48 (1966), 323-34.
- Fichtenau, H., *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages 1000-1200* (Pennsylvania 1998).
- Flint, V. I. J., 'The school of Laon: A reconsideration', *RthAM*, 43 (1976), 89-110.
- , 'The *Elucidarius* of Honorius Augustodunensis and the reform in the late eleventh century', *RB*, 85 (1975), 178-89.
- Focillon, H., *The Art of the West in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., trans. D. King, (London 1963).
- Forsyth, I. H., 'The Vita Apostolica and Romanesque Sculpture: Some Preliminary Observations', *Gesta* 25:1 (1986), 75-82.
- , *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton 1972).
- Frank, G., *The Medieval French Drama* (Oxford 1954).
- Frantzen, A. J., *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1983).
- Frassetto, M., 'Reaction and Reform: Reception of Heresy in Arras and Aquitaine in the Early Eleventh Century', *Catholic Historical Review*, 83 (1997), 383-400.
- , 'The Sermons of Ademar of Chabannes and the Letter of Heribert. New Sources concerning the Origins of Medieval Heresy', *RB*, 109, (1999), 324-40.
- French, J.-M., *The Innovative Imagery of the Beaulieu Portal Programme: Sources and Significance*, Ph.D. diss. Cornell University, 1972 (Ann Arbor 1973).
- Gaillard, G., *Rouergue roman* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1963).
- Gantner, J., *Romanesque Art in France* (London 1956).
- De Gaujélaç, B., 'Espalion, église de Perse', *CA*, Figeac, Cahors, Rodez (1937), 445-58.

- Geese, U., 'Romanesque Sculpture', in R. Toman, ed., *Romanesque* (Cologne 1997), 256-323.
- Geiselman, J. R., *Die Abendmahlslehre an der Wende der Christlichen Spätantike Frühmittelalter Isidor von Sevilla und das Sakrament der Eucharistie* (Munich 1933).
- Gibson, M., 'The case of Berengar of Tours', in G. J. Cuming, and D. Baker, eds., *Councils and Assemblies. Studies in Church History*, 7 (1971), (1984 edn.) 61-8.
- , *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford 1978).
- Glasson, T.F., *Moses in the Fourth Gospel*, *Studies in Biblical Theology*, 40 (London 1963).
- Gounelle, R., *La Descente du Christ aux Enfers* (Paris 2000).
- Grabar, A., *Early Christian Art from the Rise of Christianity to the Death of Theodosius*, trans. S. Gilbert and J. Emmons (New York 1968).
- , *Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins*, trans. T. Grabar (London 1969).
- Grabar, A., and C. Nordenfalk, *Early Medieval Painting, from the Fourth to the Eleventh Century*. *Great Centuries of Painting* (New York 1957).
- , *Romanesque Painting* (Skira 1958).
- Greene, B. da C., and M. P. Harrsen, *The Pierpont Morgan Library: Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts held at the New York Public Library* (New York 1934).
- Greenhill, E. S., 'The Child in the Tree: A Study of the Cosmological Tree in Christian Tradition', *Traditio*, 10 (1954), 323-71.
- Grivot, D., *Twelfth Century Sculpture in the Cathedral of Autun* (Colmar-Ingersheim 1980).
- Guillon, J.-P., *La Charité-sur-Loire* (La Charité-sur-Loire 1993).
- Gurevich, A. J., 'Popular and Scholarly Medieval Cultural Traditions: Notes in the Margin of Jacques Le Goff's Book', *Journal of Medieval History*, 9 (1983), 71-90.
- Hall, J., *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, (London 1974, rev. edn. 1984).
- Hallam, E. M., *Capetian France 987-1328* (London 1980).
- Halliburton, R. J., 'The Patristic Theology of the Eucharist' in Jones et al., eds., (1993), 245-51.
- Hamann, R., *Die Abteikirche von St. Gilles und ihre künstlerische Nachfolge* (Berlin 1955).
- Hamilton, B., *Religion in the Medieval West* (London 1986).
- Haney, K. E., *The Winchester Psalter: An iconographic study* (Leicester 1986).
- Hardison, O. B., *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore 1965).
- Häring, N. H., 'Berengar's definitions of *sacramentum* and their influence on medieval sacramentology', *Medieval Studies*, 10 (1948), 109-46.
- Harper, J., *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy* (Oxford 1991).
- Harris, J. W., *Medieval Theatre in Context: An Introduction* (London 1992).
- Haskins, C. H., *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927).
- Haskins, S., *Mary Magdalen. Myth and Metaphor* (London 1994).

- Hearn, M. F., *Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford 1981).
- Heimann, A., 'The Capital Frieze and Pilasters of the Portail Royal, Chartres', *JWCI*, 31 (1968), 73-102.
- , 'The Master of Gargillesse: A French Sculptor of the first half of the Twelfth Century', *JWCI*, 42 (1979), 47-64.
- Henderson, G., *Chartres* (Harmondsworth 1968).
- , *Early Medieval* (Harmondsworth 1972, rev. Toronto 1993).
- Herbermann, C. G., et al., eds., *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York 1913).
- Heslop, T. A., 'The Virgin Mary's Regalia and Twelfth Century Seals', in A. Borg and A. Martindale, eds., *Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology presented to Christopher Hohler. British Archeological Reports*, international series, 111 (1981), 53-62.
- Holt, E. G., *A Documentary History of Art*, vol. 1 (Princeton 1947, rev. 1957).
- Horste, K., 'The Passion Series from La Daurade and Problems of Narrative Composition in the Cloister Capital', *Gesta*, 21: 1 (1982), 31-62.
- , *Cloister Design and Monastic Reform in Toulouse. The Romanesque Sculpture of La Daurade* (Oxford 1992).
- Hubert, J., 'L'abbatiale de Notre-Dame de Déols', *BM*, 86 (1927), 5-66.
- Hunt, N., *Cluny under Saint Hugh, 1049-1109* (London 1967).
- Illich, I., *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon* (Chicago 1993).
- James, B. S., *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux* (London 1952).
- James, E., *The Origins of France: From Clovis to the Capetians 500-1000* (London repr. 1990).
- Johnson, P. D., *Prayer, Patronage and Power. The Abbey of la Trinité, Vendôme, 1032-1187* (New York 1981).
- Jones, C., G. Wainwright, E. Yarnold, and P. Bradshaw, eds., *The Study of Liturgy* (London rev. 1993).
- Jones, D. R., 'Sacrifice and holiness', in S. W. Sykes, ed., *Sacrifice and Redemption* (Cambridge 1991), 9-21.
- Jungmann, J. A., *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, 2 vols (New York vol 1 1950, vol 2 1955).
- , *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great*, trans. Brunner, F. A., (London 1959 repr. 1976)
- , *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*, trans. A. Peeler, (London 1965).
- Kantorowicz, E. H., 'The baptism of the apostles', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9 and 10 (1956), 203-51.
- Katzenellenbogen, A., 'The Central Tympanum at Vézelay', *AB*, 26 (1944), 141-51.
- , *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral* (Baltimore 1959).
- , *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art. From early Christian times to the thirteenth century*, 2nd ed. (London 1989).
- Kauffman, C. M., *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066-1190. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 3 (London 1975).
- Kelly, J. N. D., *Early Christian Doctrines* (London 1958, 5th edition 1977).

- Kessler, H. L., *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 7 (Princeton 1977).
- , 'Medieval Art as argument', in Cassidy, ed., (1993), 59-70.
- Kitzinger, E., *Early Medieval Art in the British Museum and British Library* (London 1940) (1983 edition).
- Klein, P. K., 'Programmes eschatologiques, fonction et réception historiques des portails du XII^e s.: Moissac, Beaulieu, Saint Denis', *CCivM*, 33 (1990), 317-49.
- Knowles, D., *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (London 1962, 3rd ed. 1965).
- Kramer, S. R., '"We Speak to God with our Thoughts": Abelard and the Implications of Private Communication with God', *Church History*, 69 (2000), 18-40.
- Kraus, H., *The Living Theatre of Medieval Art* (London 1967).
- Krautheimer, R., 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture"', *JWCI*, 5 (1942), 1-33.
- Kupfer, M., 'Spiritual Passage and Pictorial Strategy in the Romanesque Frescoes at Vicq', *AB*, 68 (1986), 35-53.
- , *Romanesque Wall Painting in Central France: The Politics of Narrative* (Yale 1993).
- Labande, E-R., 'Recherches sur les pèlerins dans l'Europe des XI^e et XII^e siècles', *CCivM*, 1 (1958), 159-69.
- Lambert, M. D., *Medieval Heresy. Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Oxford 1992, 2nd.edition).
- Lane, B. G., *The Altar and the Altarpiece: Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York 1984).
- Lasko, P., *Ars Sacra, 800-1200*. Pelican History of Art. (Harmondsworth 1972).
- Leclercq, J., *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God. A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Misrahi (New York 1961).
- , 'From St. Gregory to St. Bernard: From the sixth to the twelfth century', in Leclercq, *et al.*, eds. (1968), 3-222.
- Leclercq, J., F. Vandenbroucke and L. Bouyer *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages*, vol. 2 of *A History of Christian Spirituality* (London 1968).
- Leeming, B., *Principles of Sacramental Theology* (London 1956).
- Le Goff, J., *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. Goldhammer, (London 1984).
- Lefèvre, Y., *L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires* (Paris 1954).
- Leriche-Andrieu, F., *Itinéraires romans en Auvergne* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1978).
- Lewis, A. R., 'Seigneurial administration in twelfth century Montpellier', *Speculum*, 22 (1947), 562-77.
- Leyser, H., *Hermits and the New Monasticism. A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe 1000-1150* (London 1984).
- Lillie, E. A., and N.H. Petersen, *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages* (Copenhagen 1996).
- Lowrie, W., *Art in the Early Church* (New York 1947)
- de Lubac, H., *Corpus Mysticum* (Paris rev. 1949).
- Lugand, J., J. Nougaret, and R. Saint-Jean, *Languedoc Roman* (La-Pierre-qui-Vire 1985).

- Luscombe, D. E., *The School of Peter Abelard* (London 1969).
- , 'St. Anselm and Abelard', in *Anselm Studies*, 1 (Millwood, N.Y., and London 1983), 207-29.
- Lyman, T. W., 'The Sculpture Programme of the Porte des Comtes Master at Saint-Sernin in Toulouse', *JWCI*, 34 (1971), 12-39.
- Lynch, J. H., *The Medieval Church: A brief history* (New York and London 1992).
- Macy, G., *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the early Scholastic Period. A study of the salvific function of the sacrament according to the theologians c.1080-c.1220* (Oxford 1984).
- , *Treasures from the Storeroom. Medieval Religion and the Eucharist* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1999).
- , 'The theological fate of Berengar's oath of 1059: Interpreting a blunder become tradition', in J. Kopas, ed., *Interpreting the tradition*, Annual Publication of the College Theology Society, 1983 (Chico, Calif., 1984), repr. In Macy (1999).
- , 'The Eucharist and Popular Theology' in *Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America* 52 (1997) repr. In Macy (1999).
- , 'Of mice and manna: *Quid mus sumit* as a Pastoral Question', *RthAM*, 58 (1991), 157ff.
- , 'The dogma of Transubstantiation in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (Jan.1994), repr. In Macy 1999).
- , 'Berengar's Legacy as Heresiarch.' in *Auctoritas und Ratio: Studien zu Berengar von Tours*, ed. P. Ganz, (1990) repr. in Macy (1999)
- Majeran, R., and E. I., Zielinski, eds., *St Anselm Bishop and Thinker* (Lublin 1999).
- Mâle, E., *Religious Art in France, the Twelfth Century: A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography*, 7th edn., Paris 1966, trans. Mathews, M., (Princeton 1978).
- , *Religious Art in France, the Thirteenth Century: A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography* (Princeton 1984).
- , *The Gothic Image* (London 1913 rev. 1961).
- , *Religious Art from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton 1949) (1982 ed.).
- Mariani, P. B., *Danel: "Il Patriarca Sapiante" nella Bibbia, nella Tradizione, nella Leggenda*, *Spicilegium Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani*, 3 (Rome 1945).
- Marrow, J. H., *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk 1979).
- Martimort, A. G., *L'Eglise en Prière* (Paris 1983).
- Marx, C. W., *The Devil's Rights and the Redemption in the Literature of Medieval England* (Cambridge 1995).
- Matsuda, T., *Death and Purgatory in Middle English Didactic Poetry* (Cambridge 1997).
- Matter, E. A., *The Voice of my Beloved. The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia 1990).

- Mayr-Harting, H., 'Charlemagne as a Patron of Art', in D. Wood, ed., *The Church and the Arts. Studies in Church History*, 28 (Oxford 1992), 43-77.
- McGowan, A., *Ascetic Eucharist: Food and drink in early Christian ritual meals* (Oxford, 1999).
- McGrath, A. E., ed., *The Christian Theology Reader* (Oxford 1995).
- McGuire, B. P., 'Purgatory, the Communion of Saints and Medieval Change', *Viator*, 20 (1939), 61-84.
- McPartlan, P., *Sacrament of Salvation: An Introduction to Eucharistic Ecclesiology* (Edinburgh 1995).
- Menache, S., *The Vox Dei. Communication in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1990).
- Mendell, E. L., *Romanesque Sculpture in Saintonge* (London 1940).
- Metford, J. C. J., *Dictionary of Christian Lore and Legend* (London 1983).
- Mitchell, N., *Cult and Controversy* (New York 1982).
- Moloney, R., *The Eucharist* (London 1995).
- Moore, R. I., *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (London 1975).
- Morillon, M. le Chanoine, 'Saint-Nicholas de Civray (Vienne)' *Bulletin des "Amis du Pays Civraisien"*, 4^e trimestre (1978).
- Morin, D. G., 'Un critique en liturgie au XII^e siècle', *RB*, 24 (1907), 36-61.
- Morris, C., *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1200* (Toronto 1987).
- , *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford 1989).
- Murray, A., *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* rev. edn. (Oxford 1985).
- Murray, P., and L. Murray, *The Oxford Companion to Christian Art and Architecture* (Oxford 1998).
- Nelson, J. L., 'Society, theodicy and the origins of medieval heresy', in D. Baker, ed., *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest. Studies in Church History*, 9 (Cambridge 1972), 65-77.
- Neunheuser, B., *Baptism and Confirmation*, trans. J. J. Hughes (London 1964).
- Nilgen, U., 'The Epiphany and the Eucharist: On the Interpretation of Eucharistic Motifs in Medieval Epiphany Scenes', *AB*, 49 (1967), 311-17.
- Nineham, D., *Christianity Medieval and Modern. A study in religious change* (London 1993).
- Noakes, K. W., 'From the Apostolic Fathers to Irenaeus', in Jones *et al.*, eds., (1993), 210-13.
- O'Connor, J. T., *The Hidden Manna. A Theology of the Eucharist* (San Francisco 1988).
- Ogden, D. H., *The Play of Daniel: Critical Essays* (Kalamazoo 1996).
- Okasha, E. and J. O'Reilly, 'An Anglo-Saxon Portable Altar: Inscription and Iconography', *JWCI*, 47 (1984), 32-51.
- O'Meara, C. F., *The Iconography of the Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard* (New York 1977).

- O'Reilly, J., 'The Rough-Hewn Cross in Anglo-Saxon Art', in M. Ryan, ed., *Ireland and Insular Art AD 500-1200* (Dublin 1987), 153-8.
- , 'Exegesis and the Book of Kells: the Lucan genealogy,' in O'Mahony, F., ed., *The Book of Kells*, Proceedings of a conference at Trinity College, Dublin, 6-9 September 1992 (Dublin 1994), 344-97.
- Ottosen, K., 'Liturgy as a theological place. Possibilities and limitations in interpreting liturgical texts as seen in the Office of the Dead', in Lillie and Petersen, eds. (1996), 168-80.
- Oursel, R., *Floraison de la Sculpture Romane*, 2 vols. (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1973, 1976).
- , *Haut-Poitou roman* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1984).
- , *Bourgogne romane* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1986).
- Oury, G., 'Essai sur la spiritualité d'Hervé de Bourg-Dieu', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 43 (1967), 369-92.
- Pächt, O., 'The Illustrations of St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations', *JWCI*, 19 (1956), 68-83.
- , *The Saint Albans Psalter* (London 1960).
- Palazzo, E., 'L'iconographie des fresques de Berzé-la-Ville dans le contexte de la réforme Grégorienne et de la liturgie Clunisienne', *Cahiers de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa*, (1988), 169-82.
- Parker, E. C., and C. T. Little, *The Cloisters Cross: Its art and meaning* (New York 1994).
- Paterson, L. M., *The World of the Troubadours. Medieval Occitan Society, c.1100 – c.1300* (Cambridge 1993).
- Pelikan, J., *The Mystery of Continuity. Time and History, Memory and Eternity in the Thought of Saint Augustine* (Charlottesville 1986).
- , *Jesus through the Centuries. His Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven and London rev. 1999).
- , *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)* (Chicago 1971).
- , *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)* (Chicago 1978).
- Petzold, A., *Romanesque Art* (London 1995).
- Porter, A. K., *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, 10 vols. (Boston 1923).
- Power, D., *Ministers of Christ and His Church: The theology of the Priesthood* (London 1969).
- Proust, E., 'Vigeois (Corrèze): Un ensemble de chapiteaux historiés en Bas-Limousin', *CCivM*, 35 (1992), 49-63.
- Quinn, E. C., *The Penitence of Adam* (University, Mississippi, 1980).
- Raw, B., *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival* (Cambridge 1990).
- , *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought* (Cambridge 1997).
- Réau, L., *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 6 vols. (Paris 1955-59).
- Reynolds, R. E., 'Liturgical Scholarship at the Time of the Investiture Controversy', *Harvard Theological Review*, 71 (1978), 109-24.
- Renoux, P., and A. Surchamp, 'St. Aignan-sur-Cher', in *Val de Loire Roman*. 2nd ed. (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1965), 113-74.
- Resnick, I. M., 'Anselm of Canterbury and Odo of Tournai on the Miraculous Birth of the God-Man', *Medieval Studies*, 58 (1996), 67-86.

- Riché, P., 'Recherches sur l'instruction des laïcs du IX^e au XII^e siècle', *CCivM*, 5 (1962), 175-82.
- Richter, M., 'Urbanitas and Rusticitas: Linguistic Aspects of a Medieval Dichotomy', in D. Baker, ed., *The Church in Town and Countryside. Studies in Church History*, 16 (1979), 149-57.
- Rosenwein, B. H., 'Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression', *Viator*, 2 (1971), 129-57.
- , *To be the Neighbour of Saint Peter. The social meaning of Cluny's property 909-1049* (Ithaca and London 1989).
- Rough, R. H., *The Reformist Illuminations in the Gospels of Matilda, Countess of Tuscany* (The Hague 1973).
- Rubin, M., *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge 1991).
- Rudolf, C., *"The things of greater importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude towards Art* (Philadelphia 1990).
- Salvini, R., *Medieval Sculpture* (New York 1969).
- Sanford, E. M., 'Honorius, Presbyter and Scholasticus', *Speculum*, 23 (1948), 397-425.
- Schaefer, M. M., 'Twelfth Century Latin Commentaries on the Mass', unpublished Ph.D. diss (University of Notre Dame, Ann Arbor 1983).
- , 'Twelfth Century Latin Commentaries on the Mass: The relationship of the priest to Christ and to the People', *Studia Liturgica*, 15 (1982/3), 76-86.
- Schapiro, M., 'The Image of the Disappearing Christ: The Ascension in English Art around the Year 1000', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, 23 (1943), 135-52.
- , *Words and Pictures* (The Hague and London 1973, 3rd ed. 1983).
- , *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers* (London 1977).
- , 'On the Aesthetic Attitude', (1947), in *Romanesque Art* (London 1977), 1-27.
- , 'The Sculptures of Souillac', (1939), in *Romanesque Art* (London 1977), 102-130.
- , 'The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac I & II', (1931), in *Romanesque Art* (London 1977), 131-264.
- , 'A Relief in Rodez and the Beginnings of Romanesque Sculpture in Southern France', (1963), in *Romanesque Art* (London 1977), 285-305.
- , 'Two Romanesque Drawings in Auxerre and Some Iconographic Problems', (1954), in *Romanesque Art* (London 1977), 306-27.
- , 'New Documents on Saint-Gilles I & II', (1935), in *Romanesque Art* (London 1977), 328-46.
- , *The Sculpture of Moissac* (London 1985).
- Scher, S. K., et al., *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Providence, R. I., 1969).
- Schiller, G., *The Iconography of Christian Art*, 2 vols. trans. J. Seligmann, (London 1971-2).

- Secret, J., *Eglise Notre-Dame de Thiviers en Périgord: Notes Historiques* (Thiviers, no date).
- , *Périgord Roman* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1968).
- Séguret, P., 'Message, Mystère ou Secret du Tympan de Conques', *Mémoires de la Société des Lettres, Science et Art de l'Aveyron*, 46 (1992), 361-69.
- Seidel, L., 'Romanesque sculpture in American collections, 9: The William Hayes Fogg Art Museum', *Gesta*, 11: 1 (1972), 59-80.
- , *Songs of Glory. The Romanesque Façades of Aquitaine* (Chicago and London 1981, 1987 ed.).
- , 'Installation as Inspiration: The Passion Cycle from La Daurade', *Gesta*, 25: 1 (1986), 83-92.
- Shaffern, R. W., 'Learned Discussions of Indulgences for the Dead in the Middle Ages', *Church History*, 61 (1992), 367-381.
- Shaver, E. E., *The North Portal of the Cathedral of Cahors*. Ph.D diss. Columbia Univ., 1974. (Ann Arbor 1975).
- Shaver-Crandell, E. and P. Gerson, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago De Compostela* (London 1995).
- Shorr, D. C., 'The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple', *AB*, 28 (1946), 17-32.
- Sinanoglou, L., 'The Christ Child as Sacrifice', *Speculum*, 48 (1973), 491-509.
- Sirgant, P., *Moissac: Bible Ouverte* (Montauban 1996).
- Smalley, B., *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Oxford 1983).
- , *The Gospels in the Schools, 1100-1280* (London 1985).
- Sommerfeldt, J. R., ed., *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History*, 11: *Erudition at God's Service* (Kalamazoo 1987).
- Southern, R. W., *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth 1970).
- , *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London 1998).
- , *St. Anselm. A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge 1990).
- Steinhauser, K., 'Narrative and illumination in the Beatus Apocalypse', *Catholic Historical Review*, 81 (1995), 185-210.
- Stevenson, K., *Eucharist and Offering* (New York 1986).
- , *Handing On* (London 1996).
- Stock, B., *The Implications of Literacy. Written language and models of interpretation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Princeton 1983).
- Stone, D., *A History of the Doctrine of the holy Eucharist*, vol. 1 (London 1909).
- Stoddard, W. S., *The façade of St.-Gilles-du-Gard. Its influence on French Sculpture* (Middletown, Conn. 1973).
- , *Sculptors of the West Portals of Chartres Cathedral* (London 1987).
- Stroll, M., *Symbols as Power* (Leiden 1991).
- Sunderland, E. R., 'The History and Architecture of the Church of St. Fortunatus at Charlieu', *AB*, 21 (1939), 61-88.
- Swarzenski, H., *Monuments of Romanesque Art: The Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe*, 2nd ed. (Chicago 1967).
- Sykes, S. W., ed., *Sacrifice and Redemption* (Cambridge 1991).

- Szövérfy, J., 'The Legends of St. Peter in Medieval Latin Hymns', *Traditio*, 10 (1954), 275-322.
- , 'Peccatrix Quondam Femina. A survey of the Mary Magdalen hymns', *Traditio*, 19 (1963), 79-146.
- , '“Crux fidelis”: Prolegomena to a history of the Holy Cross Hymns', *Traditio*, 22 (1966), 1-41.
- Taralon, J., 'Les fresques de Vendôme, I. Etude stylistique et technique', *La Revue de l'art*, 53 (1981), 9-22.
- Taylor, D. S., 'Capitula Extranea of the *Micrologus de Ecclesiasticis Observationibus* of Bernold of Constance', *RB*, 108 (1998), 245-81.
- Tellenbach, G., *Church, State and Christian Society at the time of the Investiture Contest* (Oxford 1959).
- , *The Church in Western Europe from the tenth to the early twelfth century* (Cambridge 1993).
- Thibodeau, T. M., 'The doctrine of Transubstantiation in Durand's *Rationale*', *Traditio*, 51 (1996), 308-17.
- , 'Enigmata figurarum: Biblical Exegesis and Liturgical Exposition in Durand's *Rationale*', *Harvard Theological Review*, (Jan. 1993), 65-79.
- Tholl, S. E. Von Daum, 'Life according to the Rule: A monastic modification of *Mandatum* imagery in the Peterborough Psalter', *Gesta*, 33: 2 (1994), 151-8.
- Thoumieu, M., *Dictionnaire d'Iconographie Romane* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1996).
- Torrance, T. F., *Royal Priesthood*, *Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers* 3 (1955).
- Toubert, H., 'Les fresques romanes de Vendôme, II. Etude iconographique', *La Revue de l'art*, 53 (1981), 23-38.
- , 'Les fresques de la Trinité de Vendôme, un témoignage sur l'art de la réforme grégorienne', *CCivM*, 26, 4 (1983), 297-326.
- , *Un art dirigé. Réforme grégorienne et iconographie* (Paris 1990).
- Vacant, A., et al., *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 17 vols. Paris 1930-67.
- Van Engen, J. H., *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley 1983).
- Vergnolle, E., *Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et la sculpture du XI^e siècle* (Paris 1985).
- , *L'art Roman en France* (Paris 1994).
- Vidal, M., J. Maury and J. Porcher, *Quercy roman* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1979).
- Vloberg, M., *L'Eucharistie dans l'art* (Paris 1946).
- Wakefield, W. L., and A. P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York and London 1969).
- Ward, B., *Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Theory, record and event 1000-1215* (London 1982).
- , 'Inward Feeling and Deep Thinking: The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm revisited', in *Anselm Studies*, 1 (Millwood, N.Y., and London 1983), 177-83.
- Warner, M., *Alone of All her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London 1976).
- Werckmeister, O. K., 'The Lintel Fragment Representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun', *JWCI*, 35 (1972), 1-30.
- Williams, G. H., 'The Sacramental Presuppositions of Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*', *Church History*, 26 (1957), 245-74.

- Williamson, B., 'The Madonna Lactans', unpublished M.A. diss. (Courtauld Institute, University of London 1992).
- Williamson, P., *Catalogue of Romanesque Sculpture*, Victoria and Albert museum (London 1983).
- Wilmart, A., 'Le prologue d'Hervé de Bourg-Dieu pour son Commentaire de la Cena Cypriani', *RB*, 35 (1923), 255-63.
- Wright, J. G., 'A Study of the Themes of the Resurrection in the Medieval French Drama', unpublished Ph.D. diss. (Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, 1935).
- Young, F. M., *The Use of Sacrificial Ideas in Greek Christian Writers from the New Testament to John Chrysostom*. (Cambridge, Mass., 1979).
- Young, K., *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1933).
- Zarnecki, G., *Art of the Medieval World* (New York 1975).
- , *Romanesque* (London 1989).
- Zarnecki, G., J. Holt, T. Holland, eds., *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200*. Catalogue of exhibition Hayward Gallery, London, 5 April-8 July 1984 (London 1984).
- Zinn, G. A., 'Hugh of St Victor, Isaiah's Vision, and *De arca Noe*, in D. Wood, ed., *The Church and the Arts. Studies in Church History*, 28 (1992), 99-116.
- Zlatohlavek, M., *The Bride in the Enclosed Garden. Iconographic Motifs from the Biblical Song of Songs*, Catalogue of exhibition at Convent of St. Agnes of Bohemia 1995 (Prague 1995).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrations to chapter 3.

- Fig. 1. Autun (Saône-et-Loire). Eve (Rolin museum).
- Fig. 2. Cassagnes (Lot). Raising of the Widow's Son at Nain.
- Fig. 3. Besse (Dordogne).
- Fig. 4. Besse. Purification of Isaiah's Lips.
- Fig. 5. Vicq (Berry). Purification of Isaiah's lips.
- Fig. 6. Déols (Indre). Fragment of the Last Supper.
- Fig. 7. Christ giving communion to St Denis
Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 11700, fol. 105r.
- Fig. 8. Vicq. Chancel arch.
- Fig. 9. Chauvigny (Vienne). Presentation in the Temple.
- Fig. 10. La-Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre). Tympanum (now in the south transept).
- Fig. 11. Chartres (Eure-et-Loire). West portal, north tympanum.
- Fig. 12. L'Ile Bouchard (Indre-et-Loire). Presentation in the Temple.
- Fig. 13. Autun. Vices and Virtues.
- Fig. 14. Issoire (Puy-de-Dôme). Abraham and the Three Angels.
- Fig. 15. Bellenaves (Allier). Tympanum with lintel of the Last Supper and the Washing of Feet.
- Fig. 16. St-Julien-de-Jonzy (Saône-et-Loire). Tympanum with lintel of the Last Supper and the Washing of Feet.
- Fig. 17. Autun. *Noli me tangere*.
- Fig. 18. Gourville (Charente-Maritime). *Noli me tangere*.
- Fig. 19. Vigeois (Corrèze). *Noli me tangere*.
- Fig. 20. Neuilly-en-Donjon (Allier). Mary Magdalen Anoints Christ's Feet at the meal at Simon's House.
- Fig. 21. Autun. The Second Temptation.
- Fig. 22. Chauvigny. The First Temptation.
- Fig. 23. Saulieu (Côte-D'Or). The First Temptation.
- Fig. 24. Plaimpied (Cher). Christ holding the Book during the Temptations.
- Fig. 25. Vigeois. Christ holding the Book during the Temptations.
- Fig. 26. Vézelay façade. Jacob wrestling with the Angel.
- Fig. 27. Vézelay nave. Jacob wrestling with the Angel.
- Fig. 28. Charlieu (Loire). North Tympanum - Transfiguration above the Marriage at Cana. The Old Testament Sacrifices on the lintel.
- Fig. 29. Floreffe Bible (Meuse Valley). BL Addl. MS 17738 folio 4.
Transfiguration above the Last Supper and the Washing of Feet.
- Fig. 30. Brinay (Cher). Fresco (detail) Christ with the Virgin Mary at the Marriage at Cana.
- Fig. 31. Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne). Cloister. The Marriage at Cana.
- Fig. 32. Moissac. Cloister. The miracle at Cana.
- Fig. 33. Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne (Corrèze). Porch.
Habbakuk coming to Daniel. Daniel overcoming the dragon (top right)
- Fig. 34. Capital now in the Louvre. Daniel in Contemplative Mood (detail)
- Fig. 35. St-Gabriel (Provence).

Daniel in the Lion's Den. Adam and Eve.

Fig. 36. Conques (Aveyron). Tympanum.

Fig. 37. Conques. Tympanum (detail). Angel carrying the Cross and the Nails.

Fig. 38. Conques. Tympanum (detail). Saint Faith (top left).

Illustrations to chapter 4.

Fig. 39. La Trinité, Vendôme (Loir-et-Cher). Frescoes (reconstruction).
Chapter House.

Fig. 40. Vendôme. Chapter house. The miraculous draught of fishes.

Fig. 41. Vendôme. Chapter house. The investiture of St Peter.
(reconstruction).

Fig. 42. St-Sernin, Toulouse. St Peter above Simon Magus.

Fig. 43. Gospels of Matilda. Countess of Tuscany MS folio 84r. The Cleansing
of the Temple.

Fig. 44. Scenes from the life of St Albinus. Paris BN MS nouv. acq. Lat. 1390
folio 2. St Albinus and the false hosts.

Fig. 45. St-Savin-sur-Gartempe (Vienne). Sacrifices of Abel and Cain.

Fig. 46. Chalon-sur-Saône (Saône-et-Loire). Sacrifices of Abel and Cain.

Fig. 47. Moissac cloister. Sacrifice of Cain.

Fig. 48. Agen region. Glencairn Museum. Abel and Cain.

Fig. 49. Aulnay-de-Saintonge (Charente-Maritime). The killing of Abel.

Fig. 50. Beaucaire (Gard). Frieze. Judas and the sop,

Fig. 51. St-Julien-de-Jonzy (Saône-et-Loire). Judas and the sop.

Fig. 52. Issoire (Puy-de-Dôme). Judas and the sop.

Fig. 53. Autun. Suicide of Judas.

Fig. 54. S Angelo in Formis, Campania. The Last Supper.

Illustration to chapter 5.

Fig. 55. The Angel of the Mass. Atlingbo (Sweden).

Illustrations to chapter 6.

Fig. 56. Bible of Charles the Bald. Paris BN MS Lat. 1

Fig. 57. Altar frontal. Rodez (Aveyron).

Fig. 58. Christ gives the host to St Denis. Paris BN MS Lat. 9436 fol. 106v.

Fig. 59. Missal Christ in Majesty. Auxerre Cathedral unnumbered MS.

Fig. 60. Missal. St-Maur-de-Fossés. Paris BN MS Lat. 12054 fol. 79.

Fig. 61. Augustine *Commentary on John*. St-Ouen, Rouen. Rouen
Bibl. Mun. MS A 85 (467).

Fig. 62. Winchester Psalter. London BL MS Cotton Nero C. IV fol. 20.

Fig. 63. Vendôme (reconstruction). Emmaus.

Fig. 64. Vézelay narthex. Emmaus.

Fig. 65. Chalon-sur-Saône. Emmaus.

Fig. 66. Missal. Auxerre. Crucifixion. Emmaus (marked).

Fig. 67. Emmaus (detail of Fig. 66.)

Fig. 68. Vézelay Narthex north tympanum.

Fig. 69. Vézelay Narthex south tympanum.

Fig. 70. St-Nectaire (Puy-de-Dôme). Bread miracle.

- Fig. 71. St-Austremoine, Issoire. Exterior north wall. Bread miracle.
 Fig. 72. Thiviers (Dordogne). Christ between St Peter and Mary Magdalen.
 Fig. 73. Benedictional of St Aethelwold. London BL Addl. MS 49598 fol. 56.
 Incredulity of Thomas.
 Fig. 74. St-Nectaire (Puy-de-Dôme). Incredulity of Thomas.
 Fig. 75. Psalter probably from Christ Church, Canterbury. London V&A
 MS 661. (detail).
 Fig. 76. St-Sernin, Toulouse. Christ with Thomas and Peter.
 Fig. 77. Bayeux Cathedral (originally at transept crossing). Christ with Thomas
 and Peter.
 Fig. 78. St-Nicholas, Civray (Vienne). Ecclesia with the host.
 Fig. 79. Dampierre-sur-Boutonne (Charente-Maritime). Ecclesia with the host.
 Fig. 80. Moissac cloister. Annunciation to the shepherds.
 Fig. 81. detail of Fig. 80.
 Fig. 82. Pont-l'Abbé-d'Arnoult (Charente-Maritime).
 Fig. 83. Moissac cloister. Magi.
 Fig. 84. Moissac porch.
 Fig. 85. Rosiers-Côte-d'Aurec (Haute-Loire).
 Fig. 86. Ste-Radegonde, Poitiers. Daniel and Habbakuk.
 Fig. 87. Jerome *Commentary on Daniel*. Dijon Bibl. Mun. MS 132 fol. 2v.
 Fig. 88. St-Genou (Berry). The reapers in the field.
 Fig. 89. St-Genou. The angel carries Habbakuk.
 Fig. 90. St-Genou. Daniel and Habbakuk.
 Fig. 91. St-Genou. Magi.

Illustrations to chapter 7.

- Fig. 92. Floreffe Bible. Meuse Valley. London BL Addl. MS 17738 fol. 4.
 Fig. 93. Cahors Cathedral.
 Fig. 94. Hereford Cathedral. Harrowing of Hell.
 Fig. 95. Vézelay. The Mystic Mill.
 Fig. 96. S Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna . Mosaic.
 Abel, Abraham and Melchisedek.
 Fig. 97. The Drogo Sacramentary. *Te igitur*. Paris BN MS Lat. 9428.
 Fig. 98. St-Savin. drawing of fresco of Abraham and Melchisedek.
 Fig. 99. Lambeth Bible. The angels at Mamre (top). London, Lambeth Palace
 Library MS 3 fol. 6.
 Fig. 100. Issoire. Abraham and Isaac.
 Fig. 101. Conques. Abraham and Isaac.
 Fig. 102. Bommiers (Berry). Abraham and Isaac.
 Fig. 103. Souillac (Lot). Abraham and Isaac.
 Fig. 104. Dreux (Eure-et-Loire). Entombment.
 Fig. 105. The Cloister's Cross. Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters
 Collection, New York. Agnus Dei.
 Fig. 106. The Cloisters Cross. Moses and the brazen serpent.
 Fig. 107. St-Denis window. Moses and the brazen serpent.
 Fig. 108. Lambeth Bible God gives the Law to Moses above a scene of animal
 sacrifices.
 Fig. 109. Lambeth Bible. Illustration to the Book of Numbers.

Animal sacrifices.

Illustrations to chapter 8.

- Fig. 110. Souillac. Isaiah.
- Fig. 111. Issoire. Last Supper.
- Fig. 112. Saugues (Haute-Loire). Virgin and Child.
- Fig. 113. Estables (Aveyron). Virgin and Child.
- Fig. 114. Donzy-le-Pré (Nièvre). Virgin and Child with Isaiah.
- Fig. 115. St-Benoît-sur-Loire. Flight into Egypt.
- Fig. 116. St-Hilaire, Poitiers. Flight into Egypt.
- Fig. 117. Bede *In Cantica Cantecorum* St Albans. Cambridge, King's College Library MS 19 fol. 12v.
- Fig. 118. Athelstan Psalter. Christ amid choirs of martyrs, confessors and virgins. London BL Cotton Galba A XVIII fol. 21.
- Fig. 119. Issoire. Flagellation.
- Fig. 120. St-Nectaire. Flagellation.
- Fig. 121. Issoire. Christ carrying the Cross.
- Fig. 122. St-Nectaire. Christ carrying the Cross.
- Fig. 123. Sorde-l'Abbaye (Landes). Arrest of Christ.
- Fig. 124. Metz. Ivory Crucifixion Plaque
- Fig. 125. The Gero Cross. Cologne Cathedral.
- Fig. 126. St-Mexme, Chinon. Crucifixion.
- Fig. 127. Lubersac (Limousin). Crucifixion.
- Fig. 128. Wooden figure. Deposition. Louvre.
- Fig. 129. Moissac. Christ on the Cross.
- Fig. 130. Champagne (Ardèche). Tympanum.
- Fig. 131. Lubersac. Descent from the Cross.
- Fig. 132. La Daurade, Toulouse. Descent from the Cross.
- Fig. 133. St Albans Psalter Descent from the Cross.

Illustrations to chapter 9.

- Fig. 134. Souillac. Theophilus.
- Fig. 135. Abbaye aux Dames, Saintes (Charente-Maritime). Birds drinking from the chalice above the Agnus Dei.
- Fig. 136. Varen (Tarn-et-Garonne). Angels and the Tree of Life.
- Fig. 137. La Daurade, Toulouse. Triumph of the Cross.
- Fig. 138. St-Gilles-du-Gard.
- Fig. 139. St-Gilles. Crucifixion.
- Fig. 140. Moissac tympanum.
- Fig. 141. Moissac porch. The fall of idols.
- Fig. 142. Beaulieu. Temptation of Christ.
- Fig. 143. Beaulieu. Christ and the Cross of Glory.
- Fig. 144. Beaulieu. Angels brandishing the nails of the Passion.

Illustrations to chapter 3.



Fig. 1. Autun (Saône-et-Loire). Eve (Rolin museum).



Fig. 2. Cassagnes (Lot). Raising of the Widow's Son at Nain.

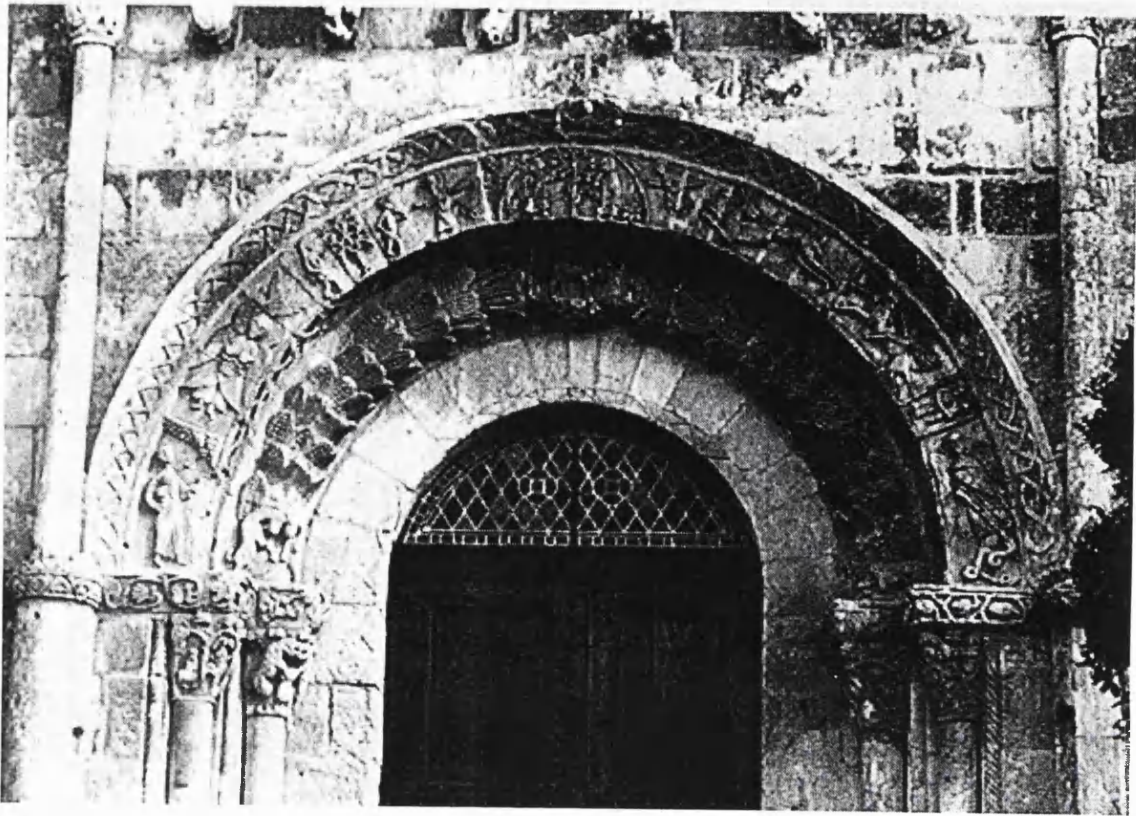


Fig. 3. Besse (Dordogne).



Fig. 4. Besse. Purification of Isaiah's Lips.



Fig. 5. Vicq (Berry). Purification of Isaiah's lips.



Fig. 6. Déols (Indre). Fragment of the Last Supper.



Fig. 7. Christ giving communion to St Denis
Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 11700, fol. 105r.

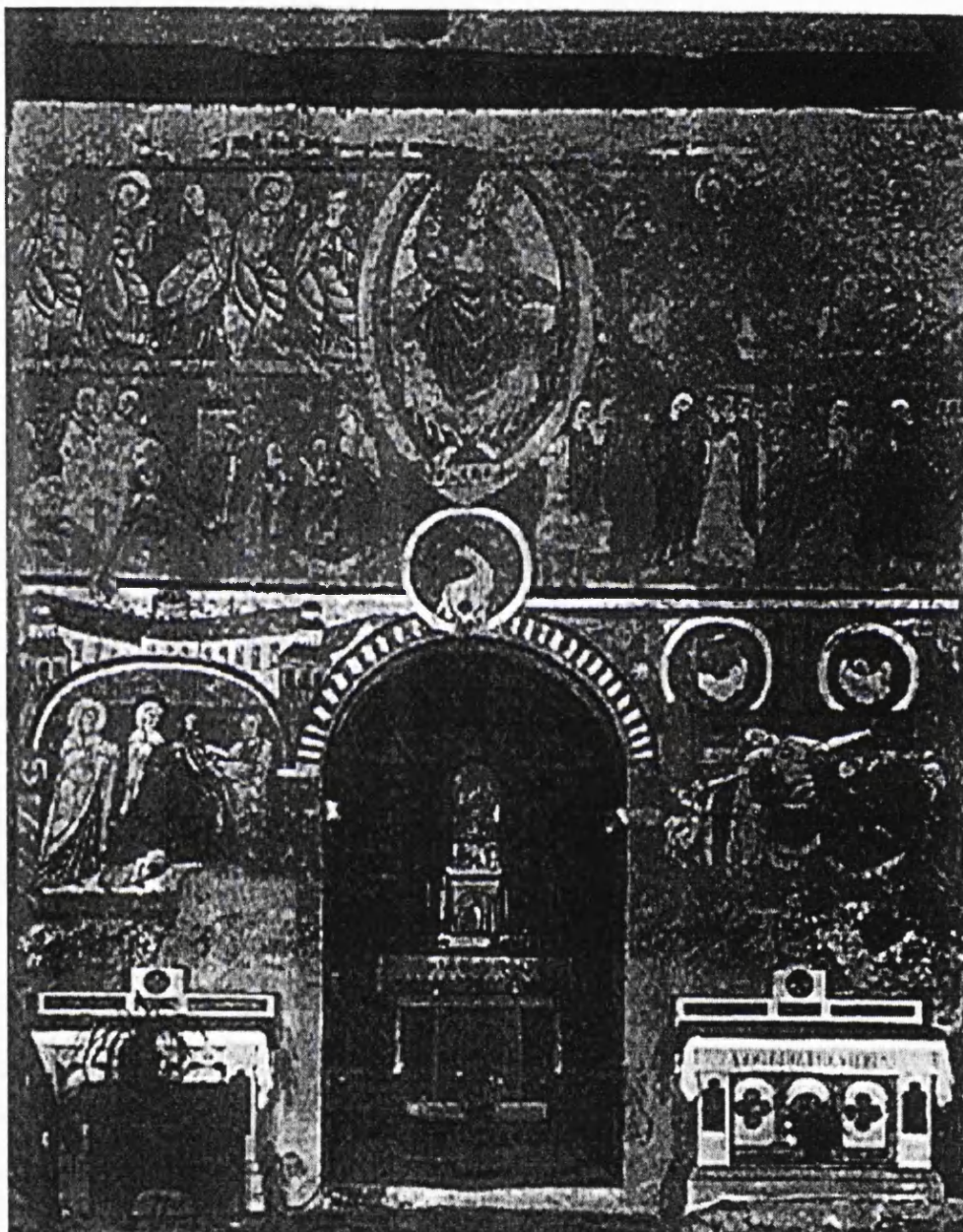


Fig. 8. Vicq. Chancel arch.



Fig. 9. Chauvigny (Vienne). Presentation in the Temple.

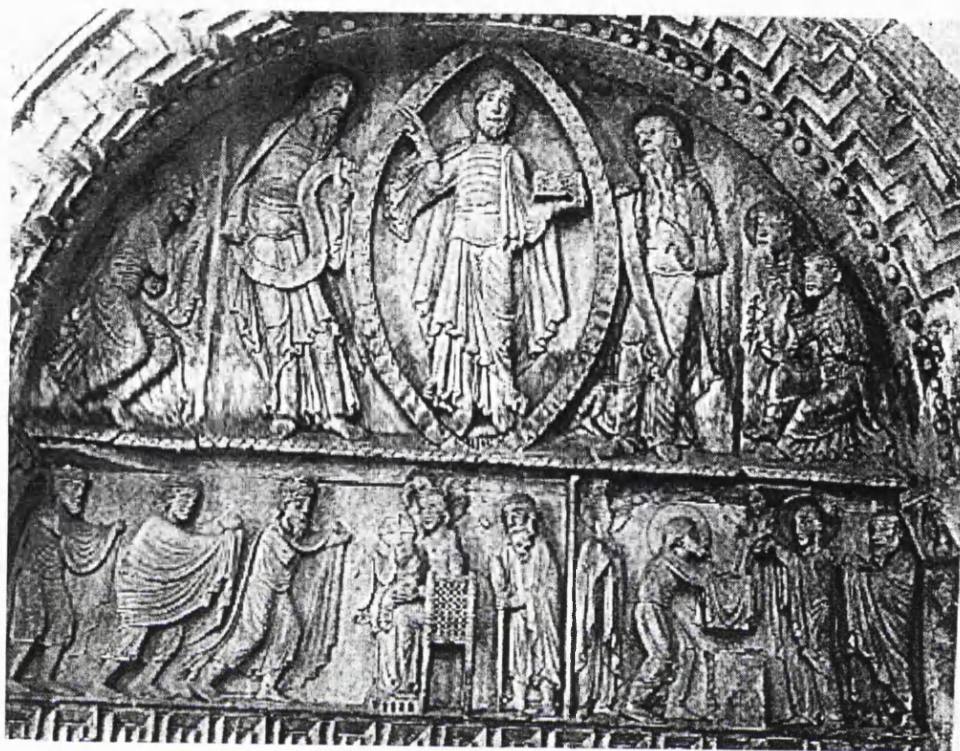


Fig. 10. La-Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre). Tympanum (now in the south transept).

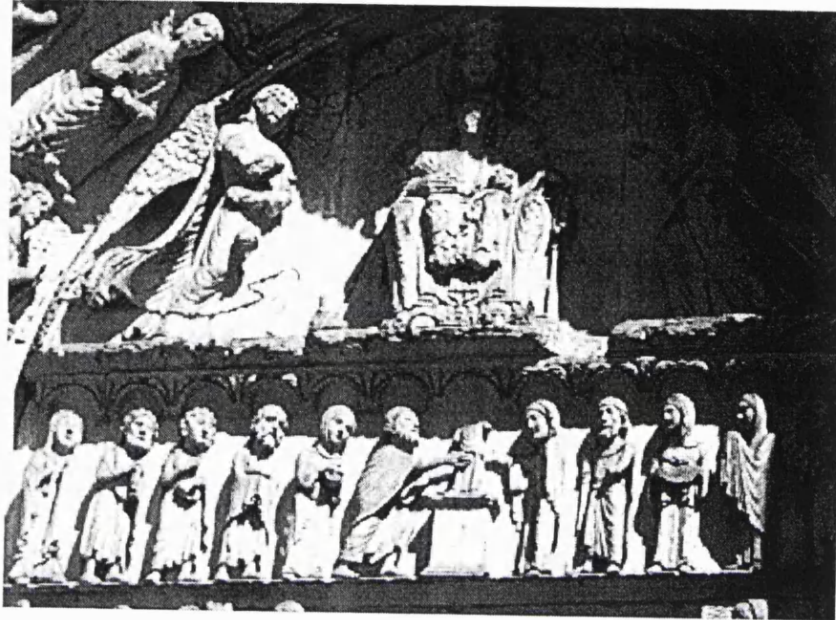


Fig. 11. Chartres (Eure-et-Loire). West portal, north tympanum.



Fig. 12. L'Île Bouchard (Indre-et-Loire). Presentation in the Temple.



Fig. 13. Autun. Vices and Virtues.



Fig. 14. Issoire (Puy-de-Dôme). Abraham and the Three Angels.



Fig. 15. Bellenaves (Allier). Tympanum with lintel of the Last Supper and the Washing of Feet.



Fig. 16. St-Julien-de-Jonzy (Saône-et-Loire). Tympanum with lintel of the Last Supper and the Washing of Feet.



Fig. 17. Autun. *Noli me tangere*.



Fig. 18. Gourvillette (Charente-Maritime). *Noli me tangere*.



Fig. 19. Vigé (Corrèze). *Noli me tangere*.



Fig. 20. Neuilly-en-Donjon (Allier). Mary Magdalen Anoints Christ's Feet at the meal at Simon's House.

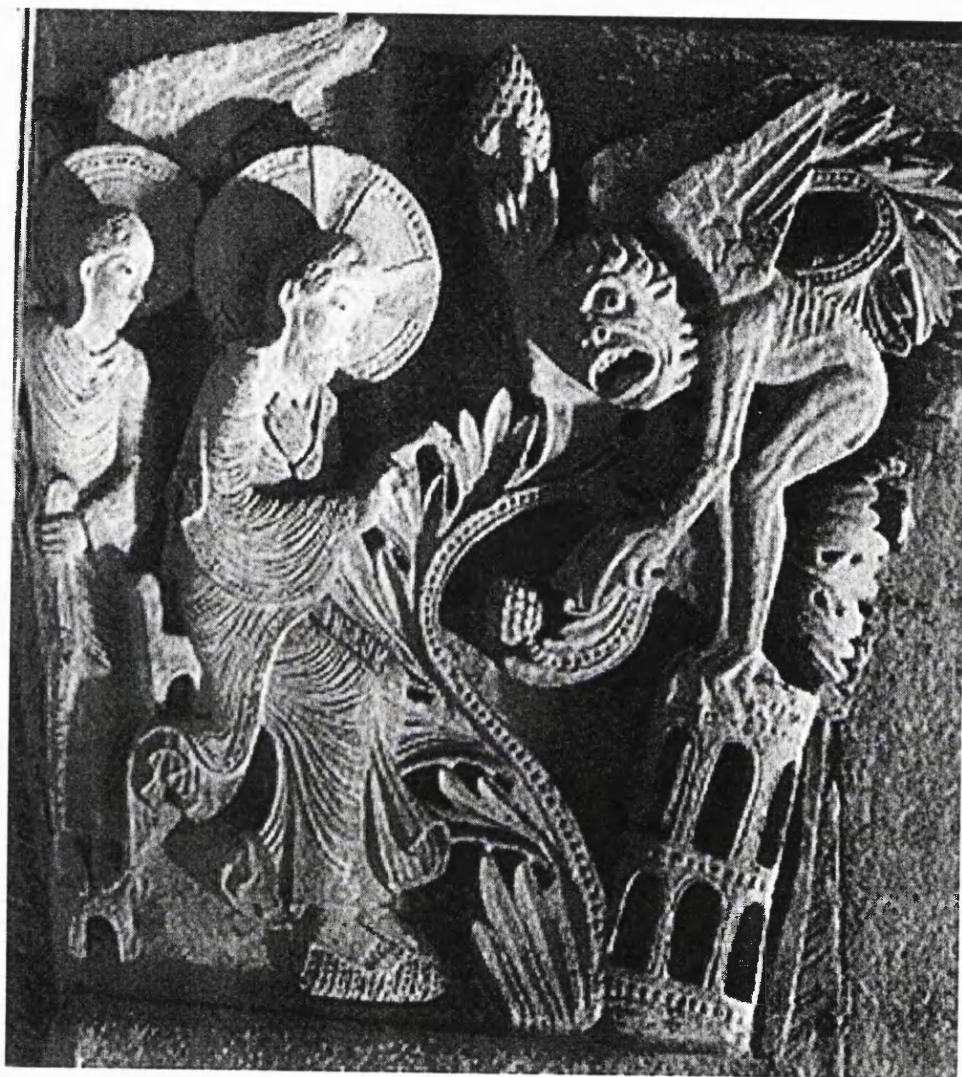


Fig. 21. Autun. The Second Temptation.



Fig. 22. Chauvigny. The First Temptation.



Fig. 23. Saulieu (Côte-D'Or). The First Temptation.



Fig. 24. Plaimpied (Cher). Christ holding the Book during the Temptations.



Fig. 25. Vigéois. Christ holding the Book during the Temptations.



Fig. 26. Vézelay façade. Jacob wrestling with the Angel.



Fig. 27. Vézelay nave. Jacob wrestling with the Angel.

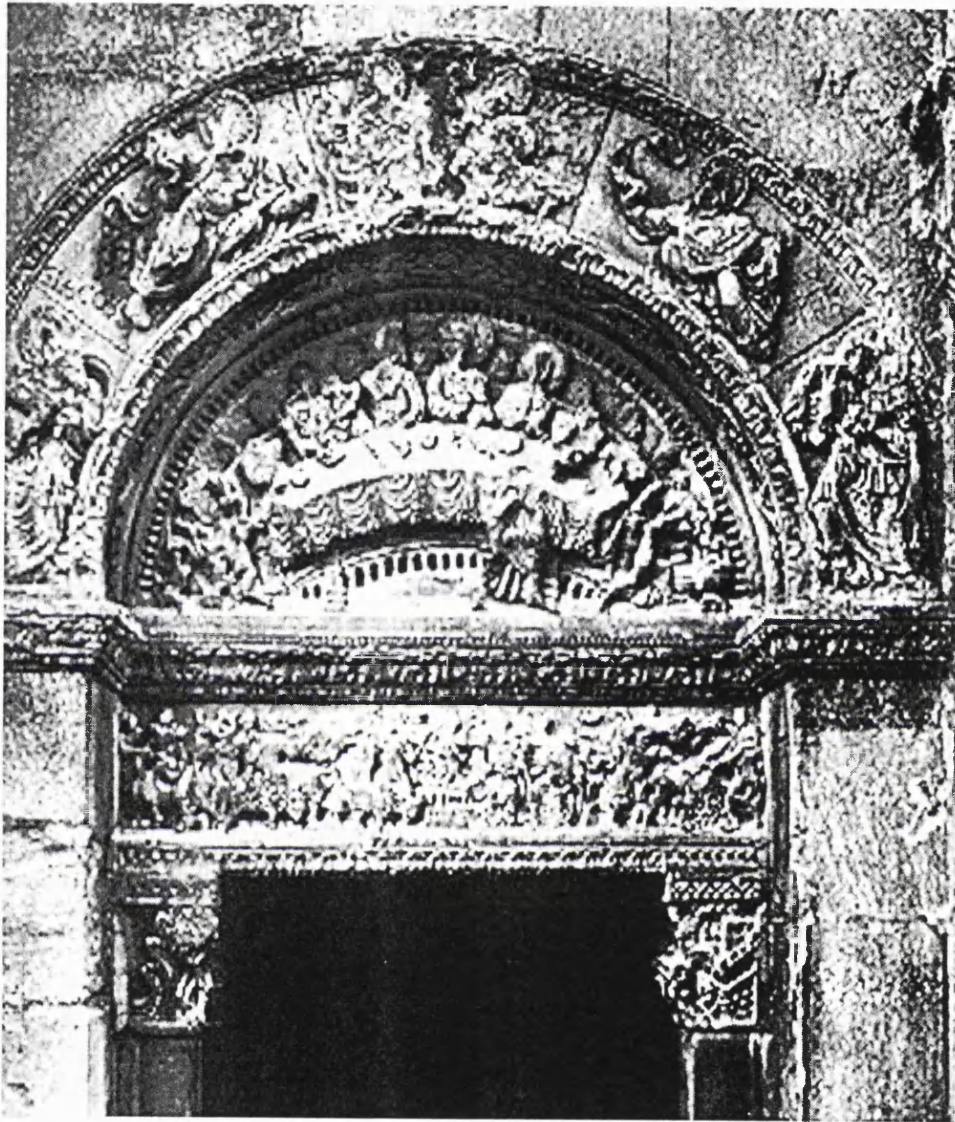


Fig. 28. Charlieu (Loire). North Tympanum - Transfiguration above the Marriage at Cana. The Old Testament Sacrifices on the lintel.



Fig. 30. Brinay (Cher). Fresco (detail) Christ with the Virgin Mary at the Marriage at Cana.



Fig. 31. Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne). Cloister.
The Marriage at Cana.



Fig. 32. Moissac. Cloister.
The miracle at Cana.



Fig. 33. Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne (Corrèze). Porch.
Habbakuk coming to Daniel. Daniel overcoming the dragon (top right)



Fig. 34. Capital now in the Louvre. Daniel in Contemplative Mood (detail)



Fig. 35. St-Gabriel (Provence).
Daniel in the Lion's Den. Adam and Eve.



Fig. 36. Conques (Aveyron). Tympanum.



Fig. 37. Conques. Tympanum (detail)
Angel carrying the Cross and the Nails.



Fig. 38. Conques. Tympanum (detail).
Saint Faith (top left).

Illustrations for chapter 4.

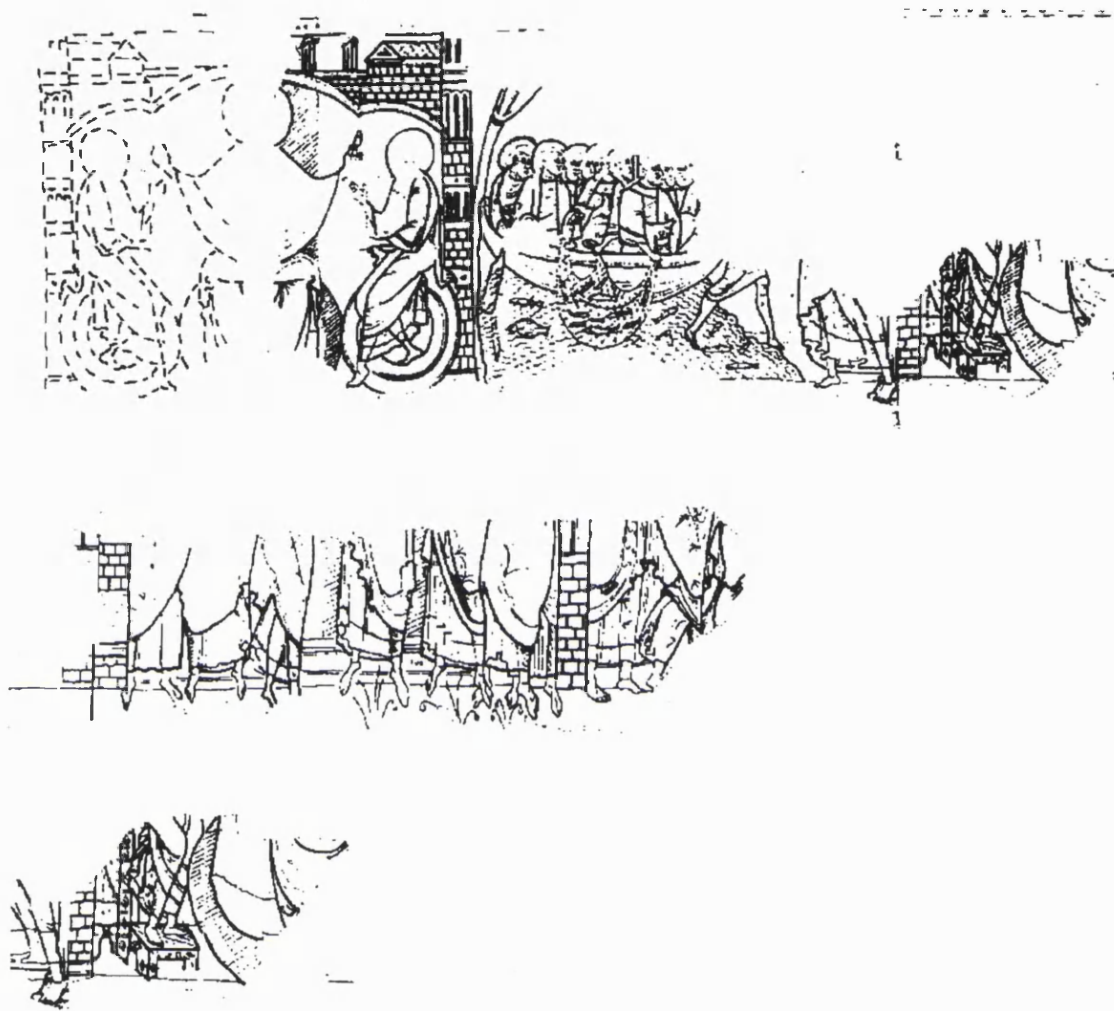


Fig. 39. La Trinité, Vendôme (Loir-et-Cher). Frescoes (reconstruction).
Chapter House.



Fig. 40. Vendôme. Chapter house.
The miraculous draught of fishes.

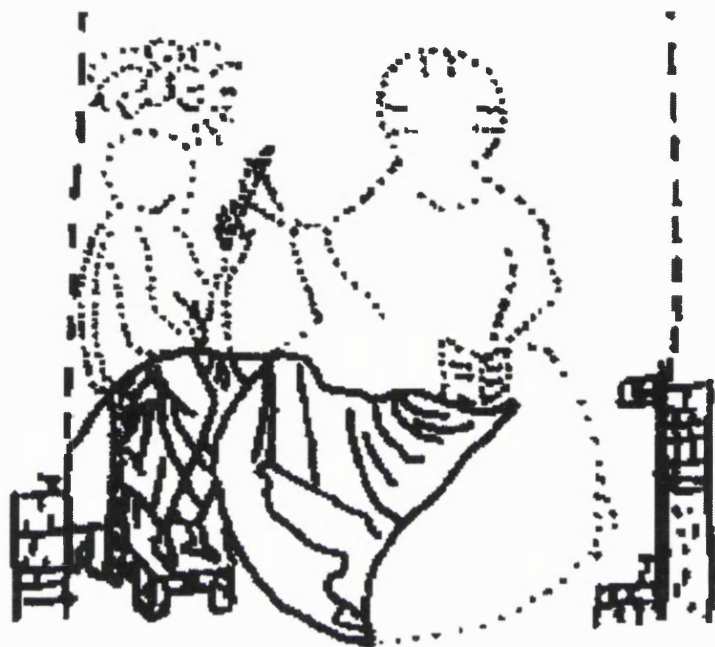


Fig. 41. Vendôme. Chapter house.
The investiture of St Peter. (reconstruction).



Fig. 42. St-Sernin, Toulouse.
St Peter above Simon Magus



Fig. 43. Gospels of Matilda. Countess of Tuscany MS folio 84r.
The Cleansing of the Temple.



Fig. 44. Scenes from the life of St Albinus. Paris BN MS nouv. acq. Lat. 1390 folio 2. St Albinus and the false hosts.



Fig. 45. St-Savin-sur-Gartempe (Vienne).
Sacrifices of Abel and Cain.



Fig. 46. Chalons-sur-Saône (Saône-et-Loire). Sacrifices of Abel and Cain.



Fig. 47. Moissac cloister. Sacrifice of Cain.



Fig. 48. Agen region. Glencairn Museum. Abel and Cain.



Fig. 49. Aulnay-de-Saintonge (Charente-Maritime). The killing of Abel.



Fig. 50. Beaucaire (Gard). Frieze. Judas and the sop,



Fig. 51. St-Julien-de-Jonzy (Saône-et-Loire). Judas and the sop.



Fig. 52. Issoire (Puy-de-Dôme). Judas and the sop.



Fig. 53. Autun. Suicide of Judas.



Fig. 54. S Angelo in Formis, Campania. The Last Supper.

Illustration to chapter 5



Fig. 55. The Angel of the Mass. Atlingbo (Sweden).

Illustrations to chapter 6.



Fig. 56. Bible of Charles the Bald. Paris BN MS Lat. 1



Fig. 57. Altar frontal. Rodez (Aveyron).



Fig. 58. Christ gives the host to St Denis.
Paris BN MS Lat. 9436 fol. 106v.



Fig. 59. Christ in Majesty. Auxerre Cathedral unnumbered MS.



Fig. 60. Missal. St-Maur-de-Fossés.
Paris BN MS Lat. 12054 fol. 79.



Fig. 61. Augustine *Commentary on John*. St-Ouen, Rouen.
Rouen Bibl. Mun. MS A 85 (467).

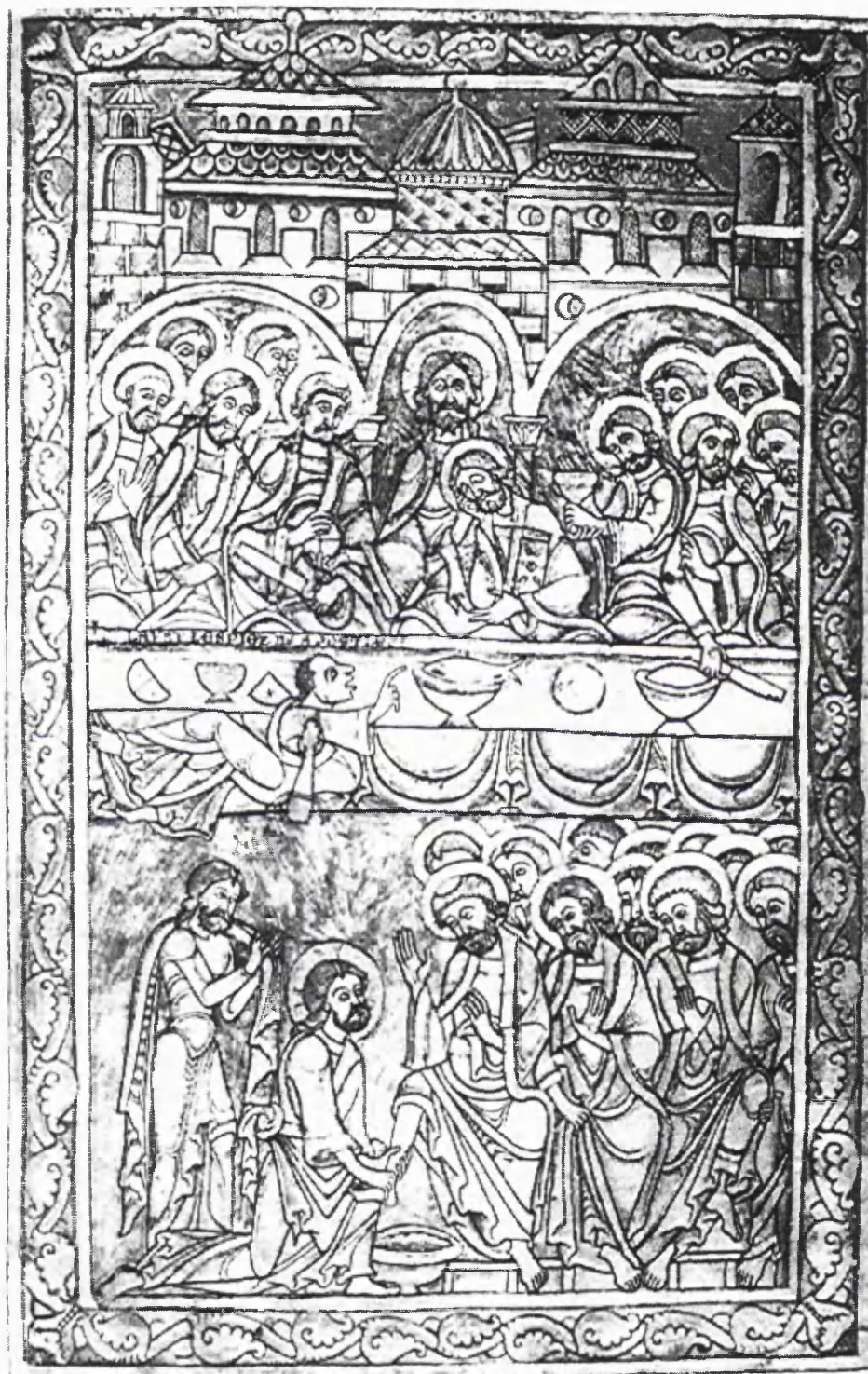


Fig. 62. Winchester Psalter. London BL MS Cotton Nero C. IV fol. 20.

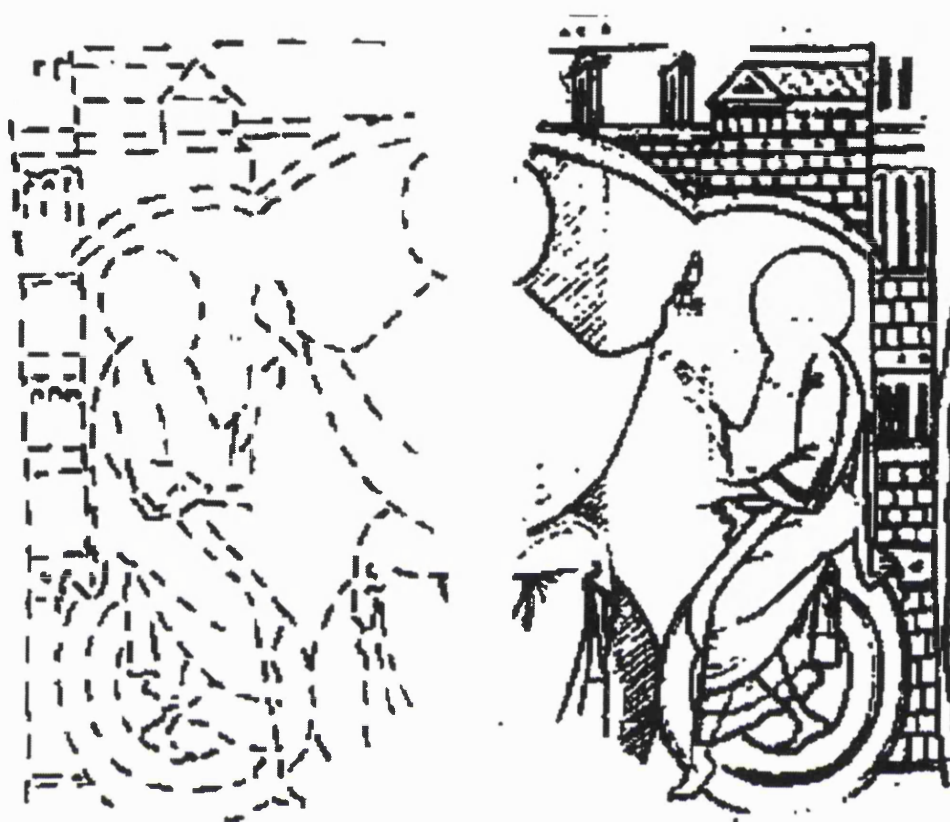


Fig. 63. Vendôme (reconstruction). Emmaus.



Fig. 64. Vézelay narthex. Emmaus.



Fig. 65. Chalon-sur-Saône. Emmaus.



Fig. 66. Missal. Auxerre. Emmaus (marked).



Fig. 67. Emmaus (detail of Fig. 66.)

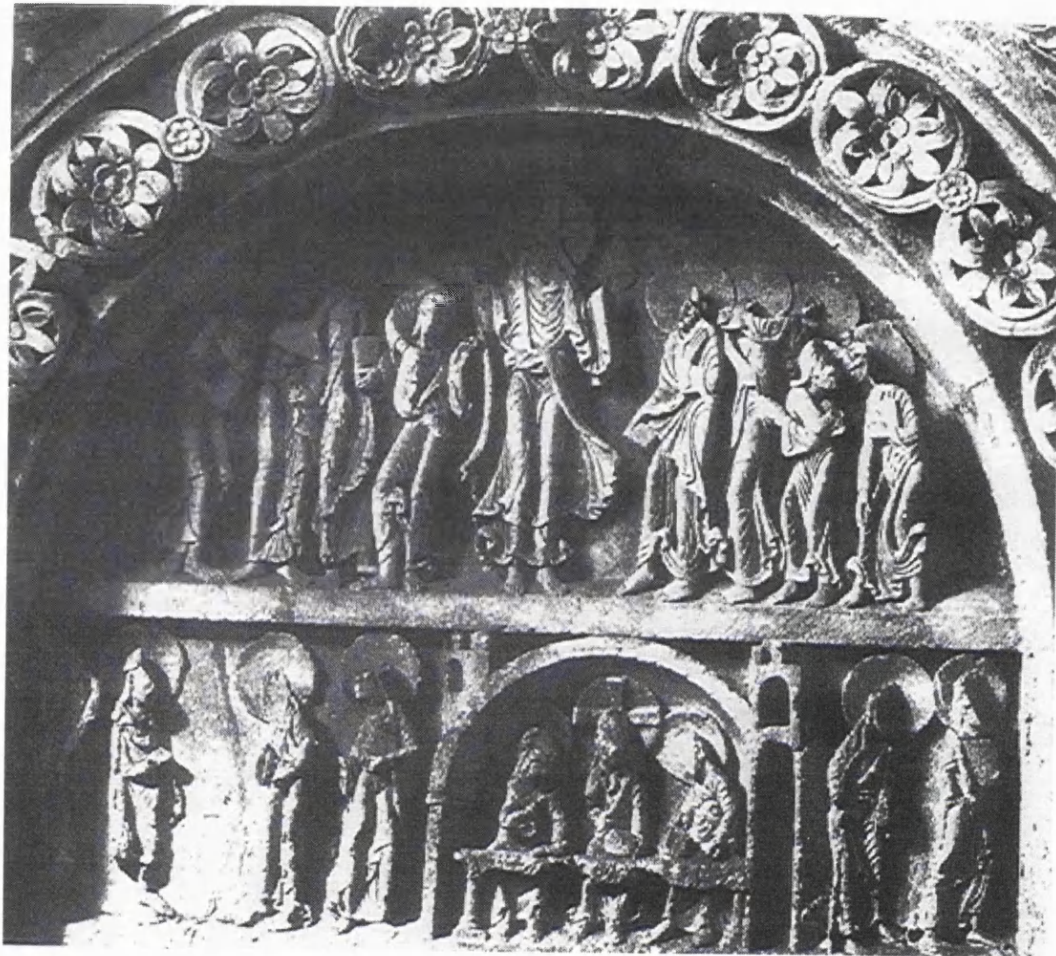


Fig. 68. Vézelay Narthex north tympanum.



Fig. 69. Vézelay Narthex south tympanum.



Fig. 70. St-Nectaire (Puy-de-Dôme). Bread miracle.



Fig. 71. St-Austremoine, Issoire. Exterior north wall. Bread miracle.



Fig. 72. Thiviers (Dordogne). Christ between St Peter and Mary Magdalen.



Fig. 73. Benedictional of St Aethelwold. London BL Addl. MS 49598 fol. 56.
Incredulity of Thomas.



Fig. 74. St-Nectaire (Puy-de-Dôme). Incredulity of Thomas.



Fig. 75. Psalter probably from Christ Church, Canterbury.
London V&A MS 661. (detail).



Fig. 76. St-Sernin, Toulouse. Christ with Thomas and Peter.



Fig. 77. Bayeux Cathedral (originally at transept crossing). Christ with Thomas and Peter.



Fig. 78. St-Nicholas, Civray (Vienne). Ecclesia with the host.

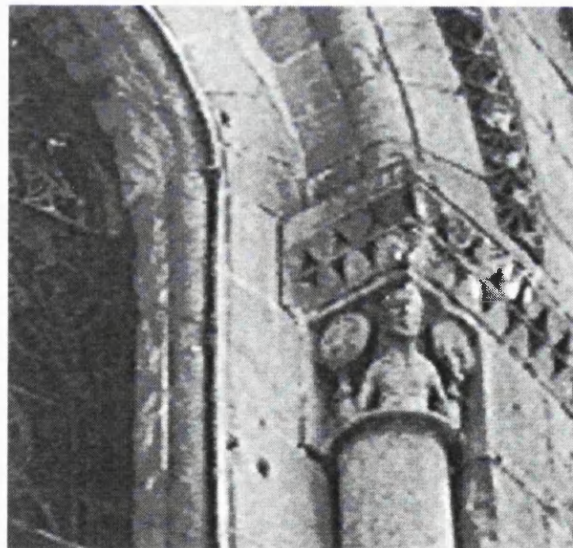


Fig. 79. Dampierre-sur-Boutonne (Charente-Maritime). Ecclesia with the host.



Fig. 80. Moissac cloister. Annunciation to the shepherds.

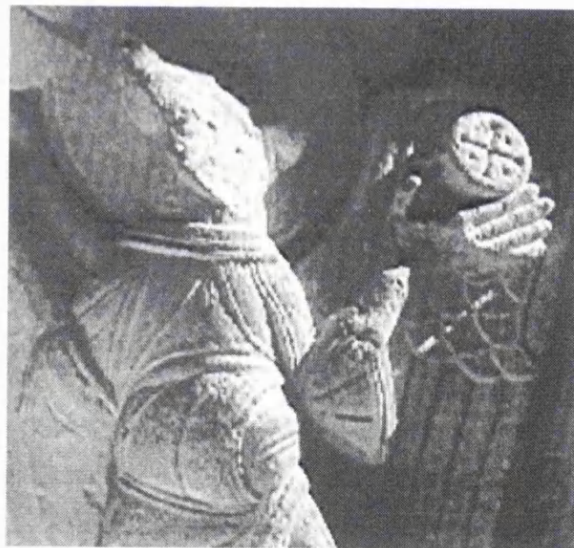


Fig. 81. detail of Fig. 80.



Fig. 82. Pont-l'Abbé-d'Arnoult (Charente-Maritime).



Fig. 83. Moissac cloister. Magi.

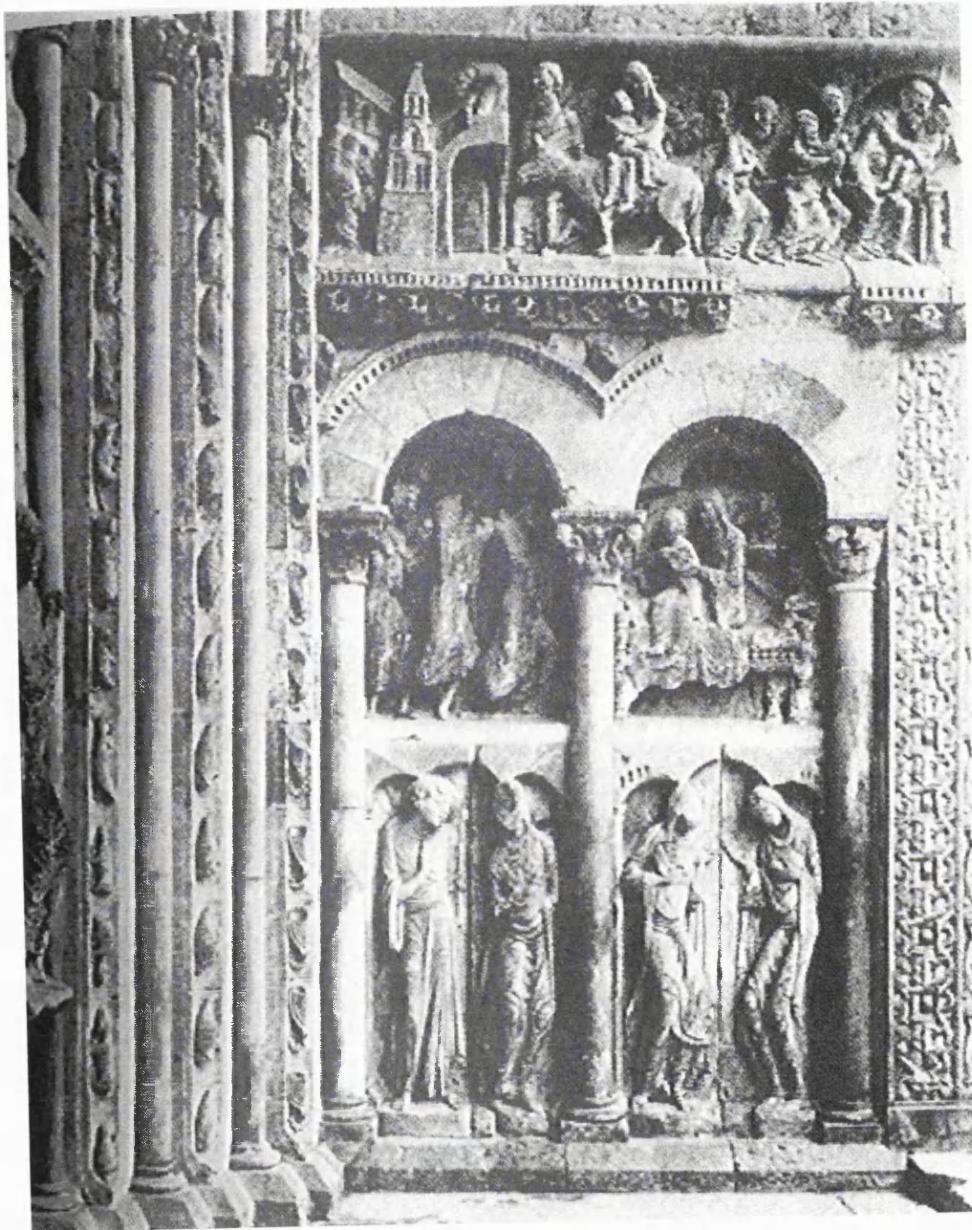


Fig. 84. Moissac porch.



Fig. 85. Rosiers-Côte-d'Aurec (Haute-Loire).



Fig. 86. Ste-Radegonde, Poitiers. Daniel and Habbakuk.



Fig. 87. Jerome *Commentary on Daniel*. Dijon Bibl. Mun. MS 132 fol. 2v.



Fig. 88. St-Genou (Berry). The reapers in the field.

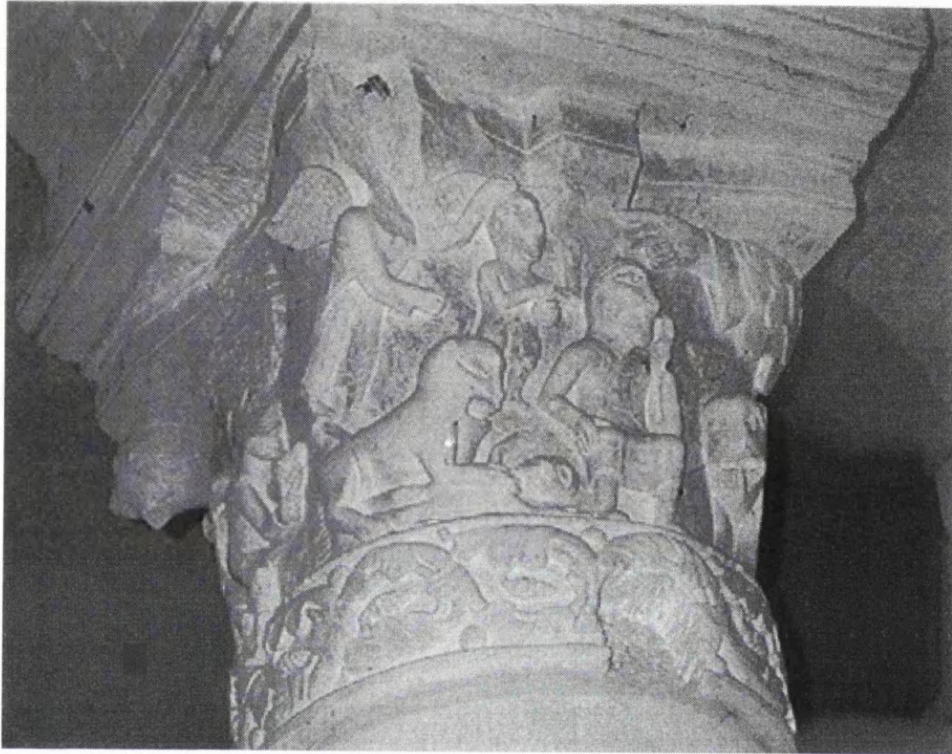


Fig. 89. St-Genou. The angel carries Habbakuk.



Fig. 90. St-Genou. Daniel and Habbakuk.



Fig. 91. St-Genou. Magi.

Illustrations to chapter 7



Fig. 92. Floreffe Bible. Meuse Valley. London BL Addl. MS 17738 fol. 4.

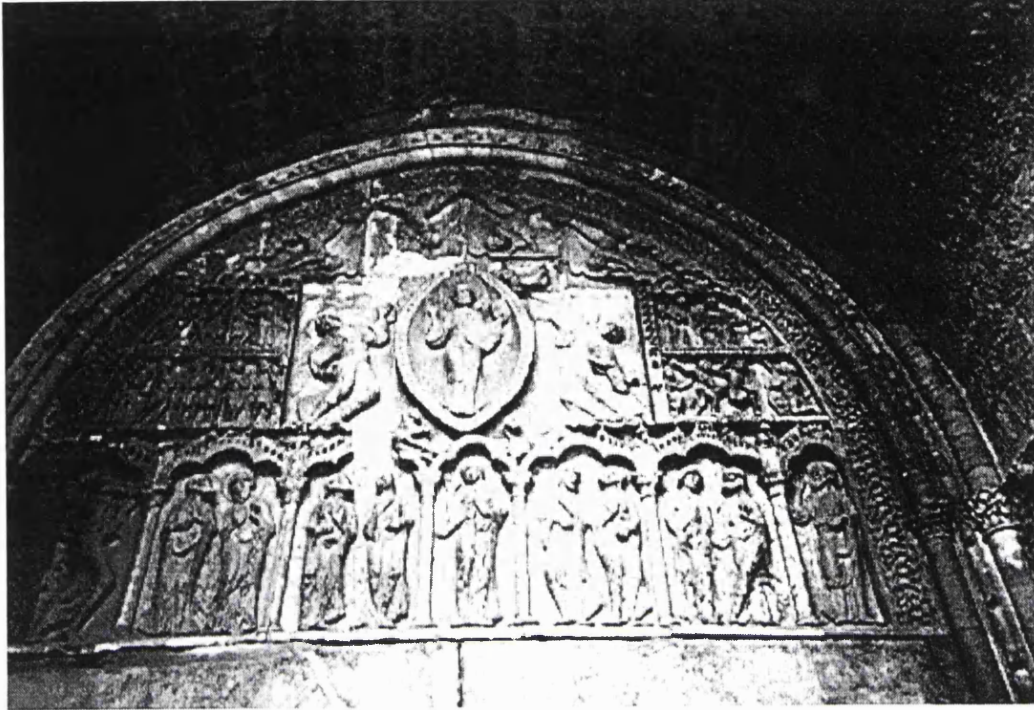


Fig. 93. Cahors Cathedral.



Fig. 94. Hereford Cathedral. Harrowing of Hell.



Fig. 95. Vézelay. The Mystic Mill.

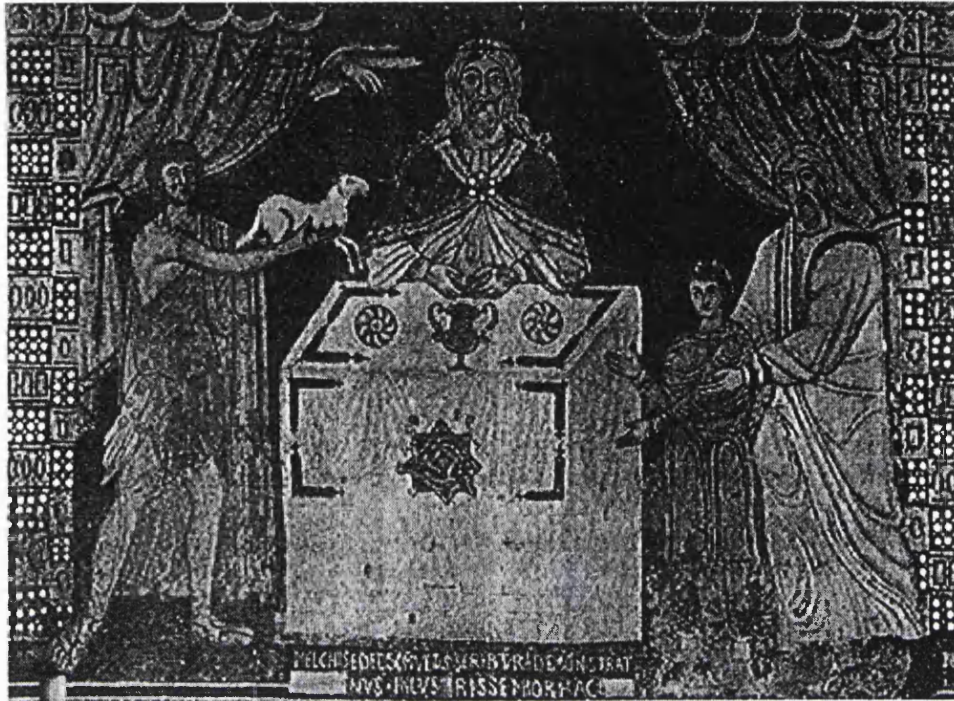


Fig. 96. S Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna . Mosaic.
Abel, Abraham and Melchisedek.

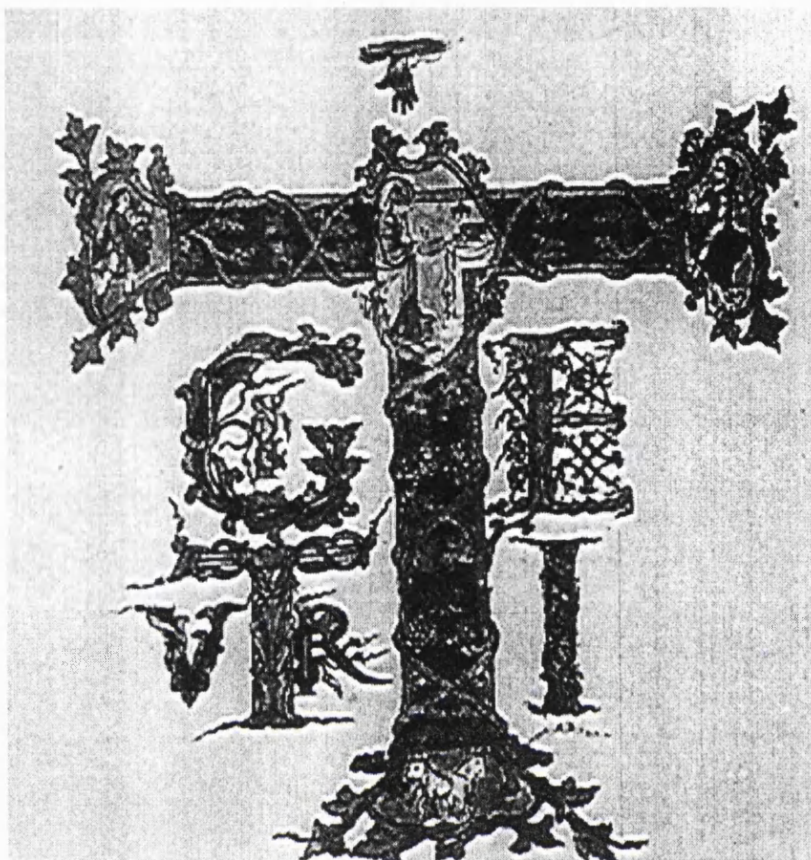


Fig. 97. The Drogo Sacramentary. *Te igitur*.
Paris BN MS Lat. 9428.



Fig. 98. St-Savin. drawing of fresco of Abraham and Melchisedek.



Fig. 99. Lambeth Bible. The angels at Mamre (top).
London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 3 fol. 6.



Fig. 100. Issoire. Abraham and Isaac.



Fig. 101. Conques. Abraham and Isaac.



Fig. 102. Bommiers (Berry). Abraham and Isaac.



Fig. 103. Souillac (Lot). Abraham and Isaac.



Fig. 104. Dreux (Eure-et-Loire). Entombment.



Fig. 105. The Cloister's Cross. Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, New York. Agnus Dei.

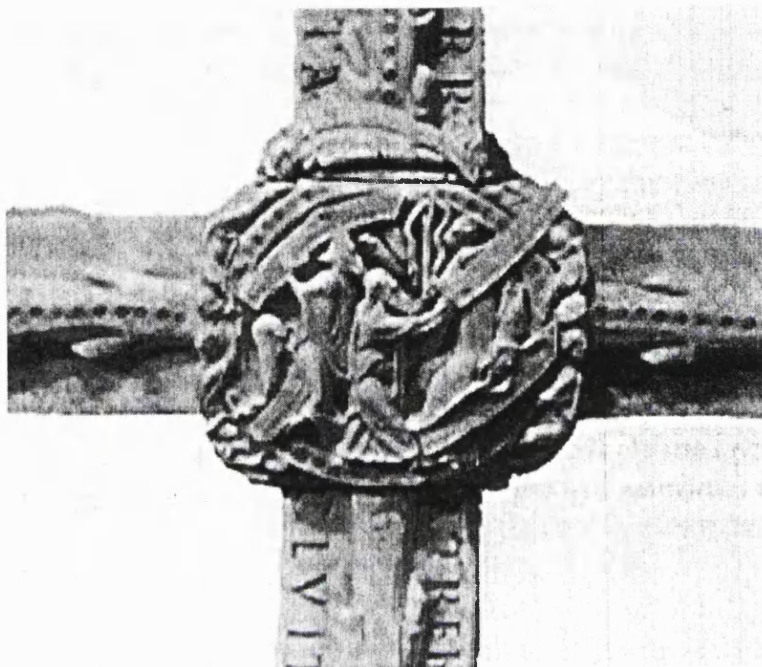


Fig. 106. The Cloisters Cross. Moses and the brazen serpent.



Fig. 107. St-Denis window. Moses and the brazen serpent.



Fig. 108. Lambeth Bible God gives the Law to Moses above a scene of animal sacrifices.



Fig.109. Lambeth Bible. Illustration to the Book of Numbers.
Animal sacrifices.

Illustrations to chapter 8.

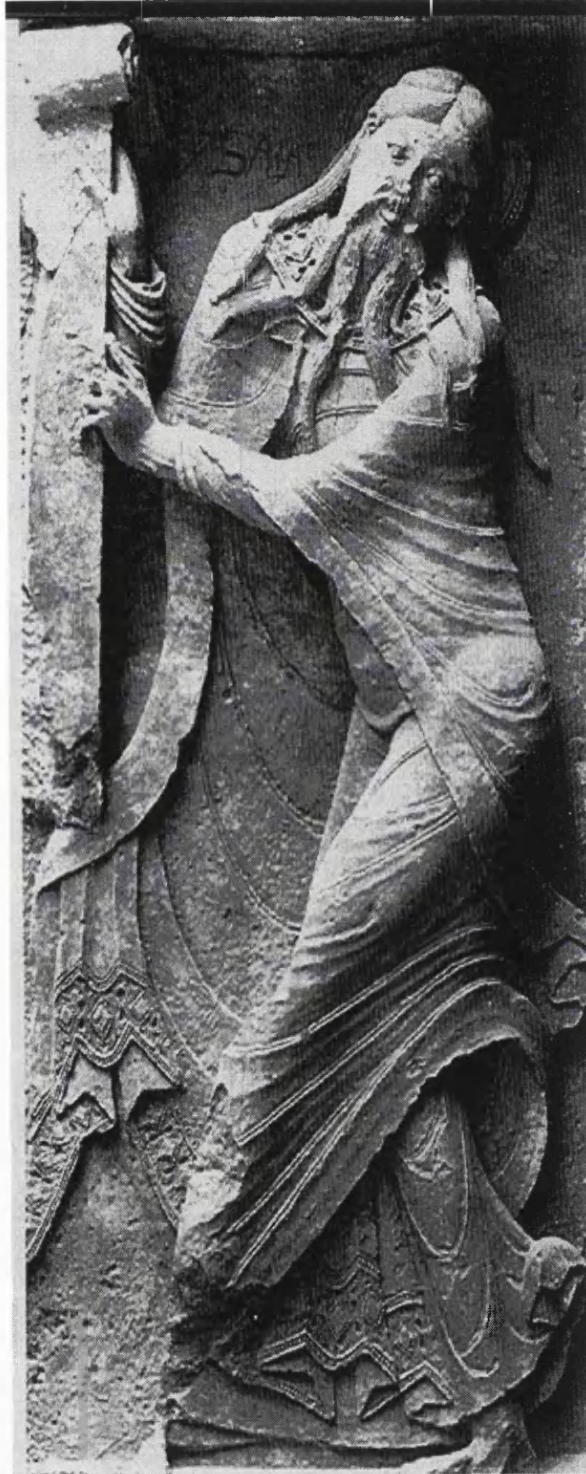


Fig. 110. Souillac. Isaiah.



Fig. 111. Issoire. Last Supper.



Fig. 112. Saugues (Haute-Loire). Virgin and Child.



Fig. 113. Estables (Aveyron). Virgin and Child.



Fig. 114. Donzy-le-Pré (Nièvre). Virgin and Child with Isaiah.



Fig. 115. St-Benoît-sur-Loire. Flight into Egypt.



Fig. 116. St-Hilaire, Poitiers. Flight into Egypt.



Fig. 117. Bede *In Cantica Canticorum* St Albans.
Cambridge, King's College Library MS 19 fol. 12v.



Fig. 118. Athelstan Psalter. Christ amid choirs of martyrs, confessors and virgins. London BL Cotton Galba A XVIII fol. 21.



Fig. 119. Issoire. Flagellation.



Fig. 120. St-Nectaire. Flagellation.



Fig. 121. Issoire. Christ carrying the Cross.



Fig. 122. St-Nectaire. Christ carrying the Cross.



Fig. 123. Sorde-l'Abbaye (Landes). Arrest of Christ.



Fig. 124. Metz. Ivory Crucifixion Plaque



Fig. 125. The Gero Cross. Cologne Cathedral.



Fig. 126. St-Mexme, Chinon. Crucifixion.

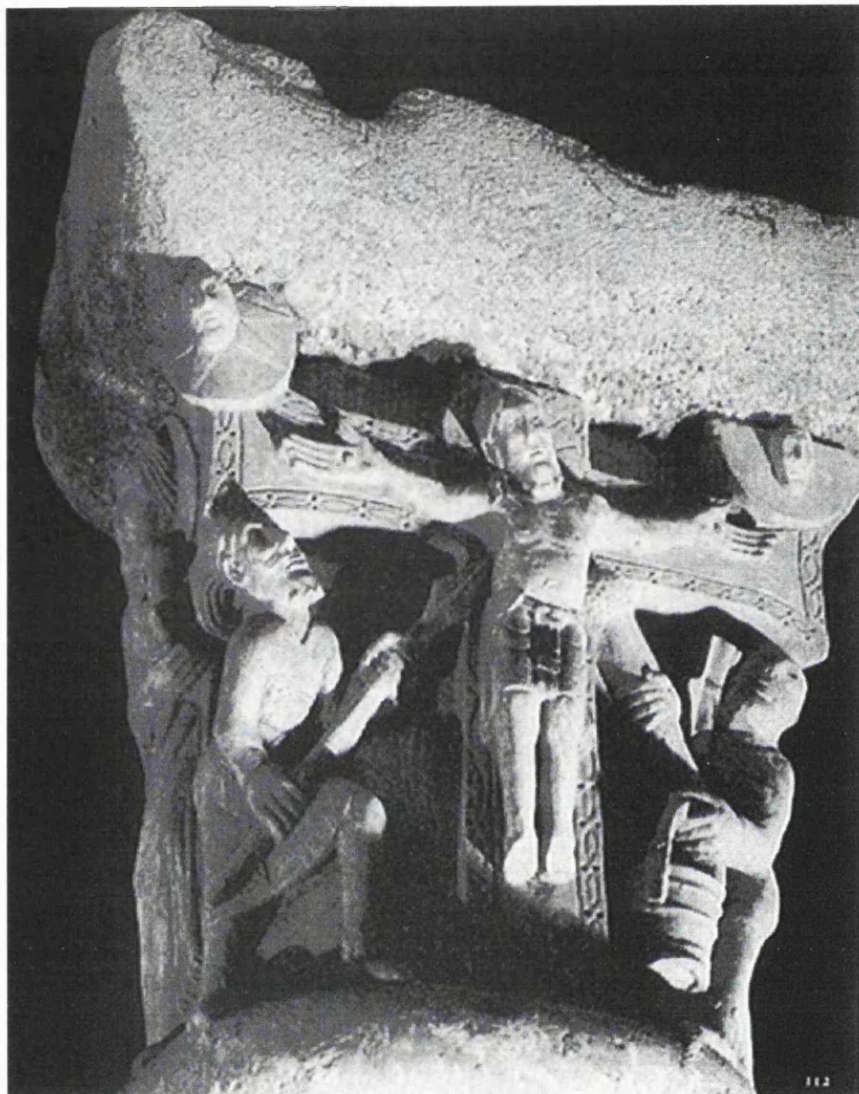


Fig. 127. Lubersac (Limousin). Crucifixion.

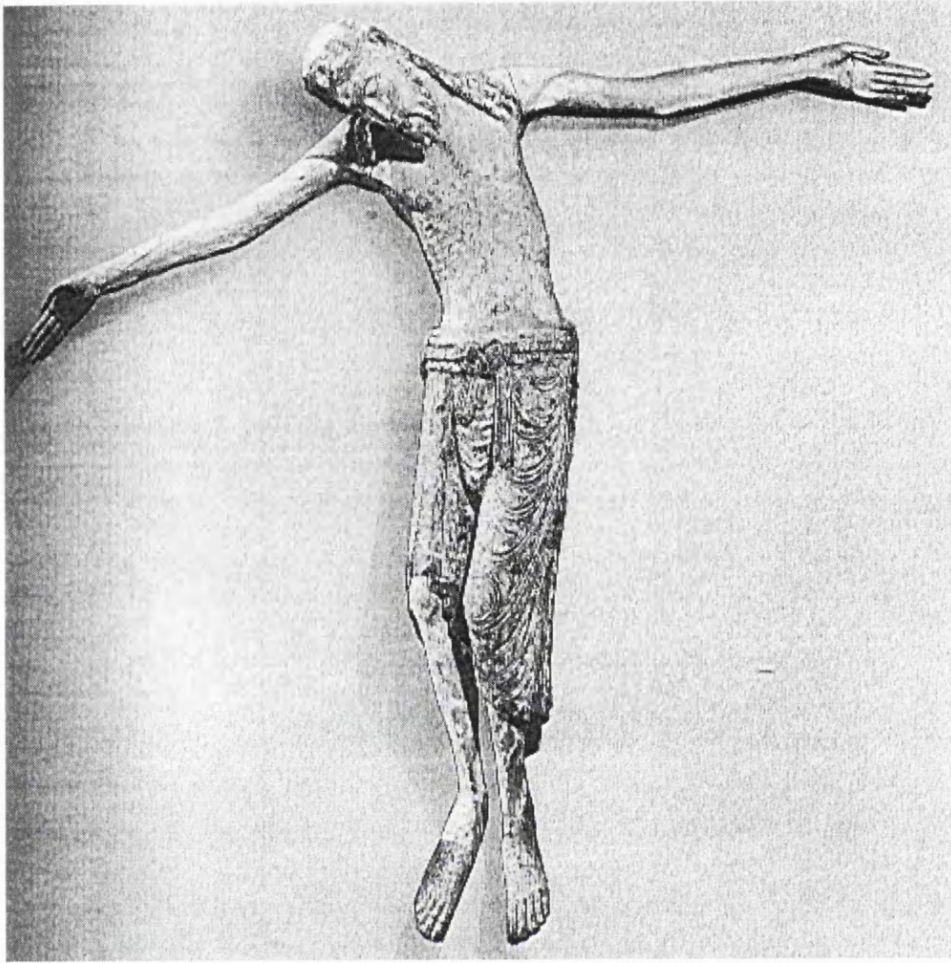


Fig. 128. Wooden figure. Deposition. Louvre.

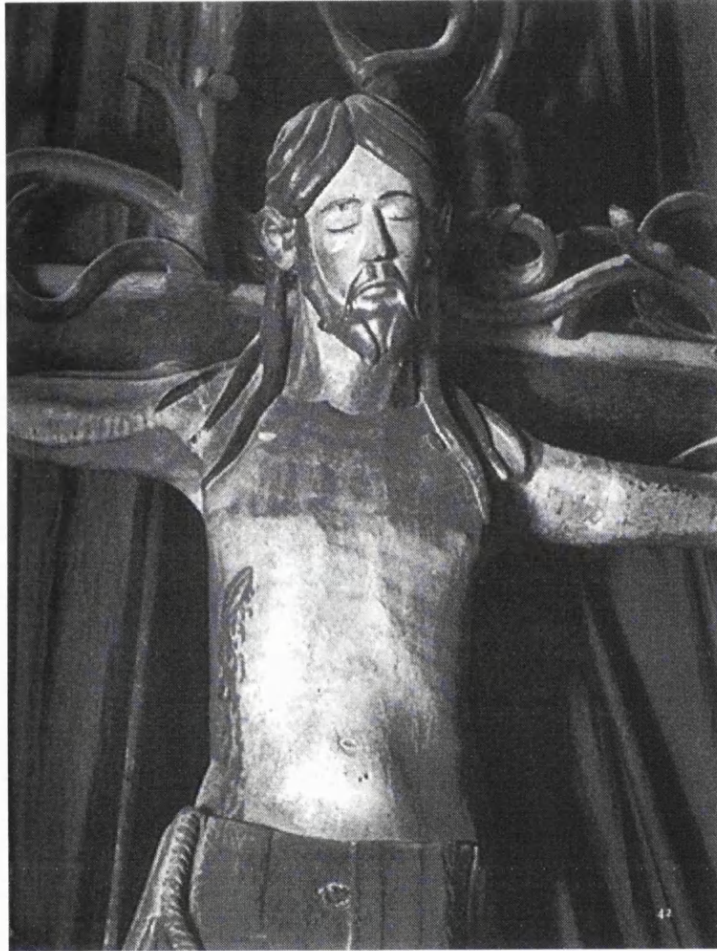


Fig. 129. Moissac. Christ on the Cross.



Fig. 130. Champagne (Ardèche). Tympanum.



Fig. 131. Lubersac. Descent from the Cross.

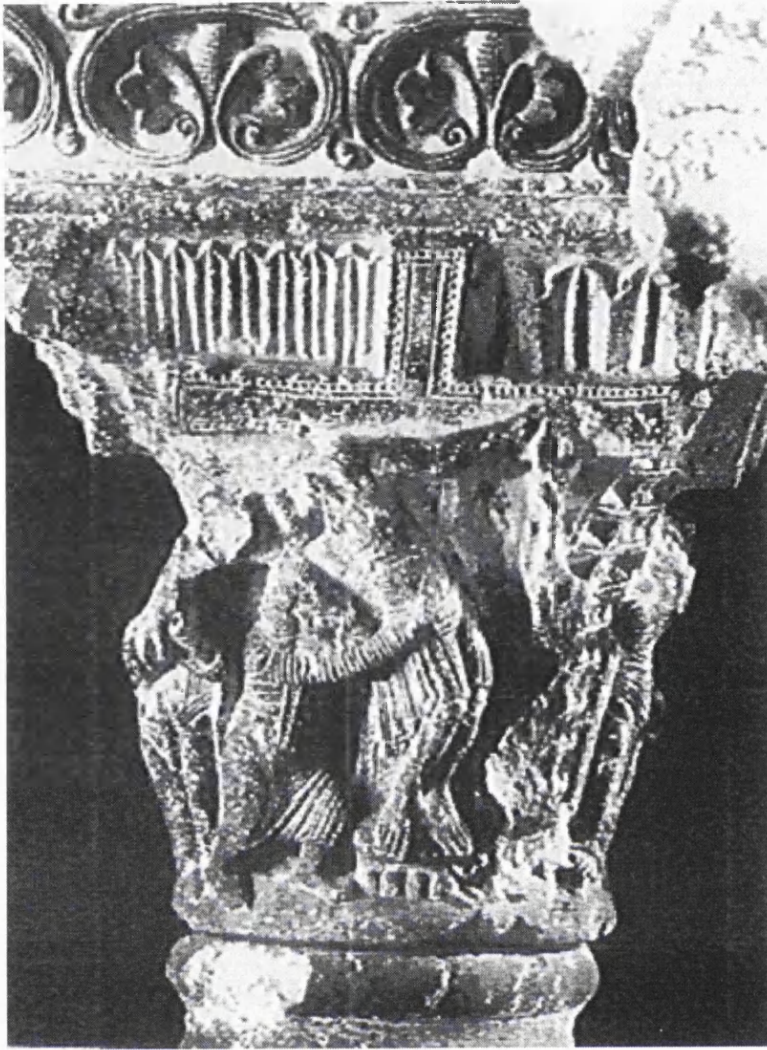


Fig. 132. La Daurade, Toulouse. Descent from the Cross.



Fig. 133. St Albans Psalter Descent from the Cross.

Illustrations to chapter 9.



Fig. 134. Souillac. Theophilus.



Fig. 135. Abbaye aux Dames, Saintes (Charente-Maritime). Birds drinking from the chalice above the Agnus Dei.



Fig. 136. Varen (Tarn-et-Garonne). Angels and the Tree of Life.



Fig. 137. La Daurade, Toulouse. Triumph of the Cross.



Fig. 138. St-Gilles-du-Gard.

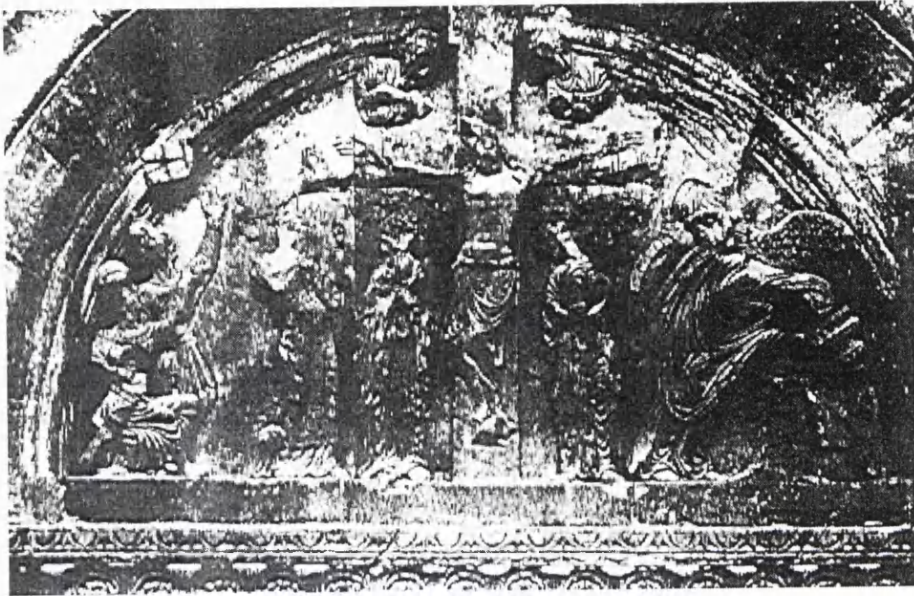


Fig. 139. St-Gilles. Crucifixion.

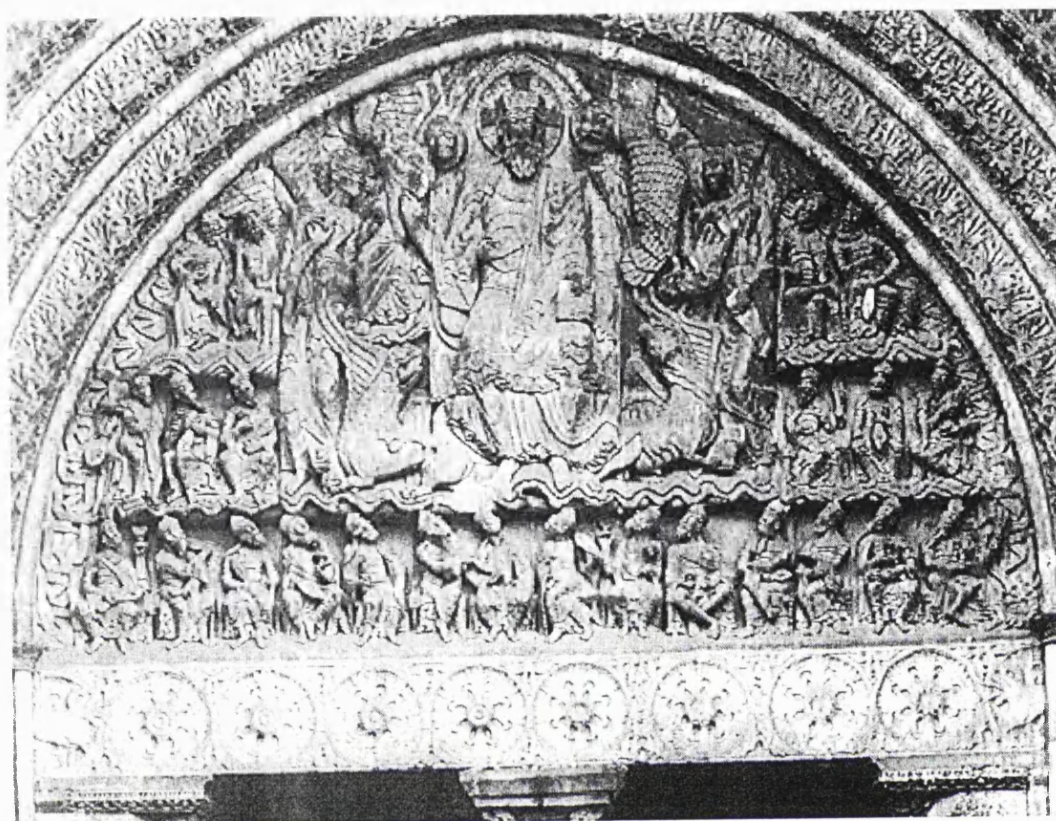


Fig. 140. Moissac tympanum.



Fig. 141. Moissac porch. The fall of idols.



Fig. 142. Beaulieu. Temptation of Christ.



Fig. 143. Beaulieu. Christ and the Cross of Glory.



Fig. 144. Beaulieu. Angels brandishing the nails of the Passion.