

GLABER'S CLUNIAN PREOCCUPATIONS

by

Brent Hardy

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Author:

(signature)

Brent Hardy

(name)

Aug. 6, 1996

(date)

APPROVAL

Name: Brent Hardy
Degree: Master of Arts
Title of Thesis: Glaber's Cluniac Preoccupations

Supervisory Committee:

Chair: Ian Dyck

Dr. Paul E. Dutton
Senior Supervisor
Professor of History
Simon Fraser University

Dr. Lawrin Armstrong
Assistant Professor of History
Simon Fraser University

Dr. Richard Unger
External Examiner
Professor of History
University of British Columbia

Date Approved: 6 Aug. 1996

ABSTRACT

In this thesis I examine a set of specific themes and ideas in the works of Rodulfus Glaber that type him as a Cluniac monk of the early eleventh century. Glaber's life was peripatetic, and over the course of nearly fifty years he lived in three major monasteries, one of which was the Burgundian monastery of Cluny. Despite the fact that Glaber spent only four or five years at Cluny, the other two major houses in which he lived, St-Germain d'Auxerre and St-Bénigne at Dijon, were tied closely to the great monastery through their abbots, Helderic and St. William. Both men had spent time at Cluny themselves and were sent out by Maiol, the fourth abbot of Cluny, to reform their respective monasteries according to the customs they had learnt at Cluny. I propose to demonstrate that while the institutional links between these houses were not so strong as we might imagine, the abbots of Cluny and the abbots of these other houses were linked by personal relationships and shared ideals that cemented a powerful bond between them.

Glaber's two works, *The Five Books of the Histories* and the *Life of St. William*, are not ideological treatises, yet they consistently reflect the beliefs of one intimately familiar with Cluniac thought and practice. There are three central Cluniac themes that I will draw out of Glaber's works. First, he expressed a commitment to monastic reform that had as its goal the 'monasticization' of all of society. Second, his view of all things was tinged with an apocalyptic hue. For Glaber this was intensified and given greater meaning by the proximity of the millennium. Finally, he made use of a scheme of quadripartition, in which the fourth and final age was the age of justice. He embraced a notion of the significance of Cluny's place in Christian history. The final age was an age being brought to fruition by the reform-minded monks associated with Cluny. Among those monks we must surely include Rodulfus Glaber.

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this thesis to my wife, Cathy, who endured with remarkable patience my own 'Cluniac preoccupations' for the past two years. Without her encouragement the task would have been much more difficult.

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Throughout the course of preparing this thesis there have been many along the way who, in one way or another, have provided me with assistance. There are three people in particular, however, whom I would like to mention. First of all, I would like to thank Scott Perchall, who constantly reassured me that medieval history *is* exciting and relevant. He was also a very gracious sounding board for ideas as the work gradually took form. I would also like to thank my father, Laurence Hardy, for proof reading certain portions of the work in progress, and for following its development with great interest. Finally, I wish to thank my senior supervisor, Paul Dutton, for the many hours he spent guiding me through the entire process of thinking, researching, writing and revising. It is in large part due to his influence that I possess an insatiable curiosity about the Middle Ages.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval	ii
Abstract	iii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgments	v
Table of Contents	vi-vii
 <u>Introduction</u>	 1
 <u>Chapter I:</u> Cluny's Monastic Ideal: Reform of Monastery, Church and World	 19
<i>The Monastery</i>	22
<i>The Church</i>	30
<i>The World</i>	36
<u><i>Contrito corde et humiliato corpore: Cluny's Penitential Ethic</i></u>	41
 <u>Chapter II:</u> The Millennium	 46
<i>Natural Calamities and Portents</i>	54
<i>Heresy</i>	57
<i>The Peace of God</i>	65
<i>Pilgrimage and Anti-Semitism</i>	69
 <u>Chapter III:</u> Cluny's View of Itself in History	 75
<u><i>Quadripartition and Glaber's De divina quaternitate</i></u>	76
<i>The Age of Justice - The Age of Monks</i>	84

Conclusion

94

Selected Bibliography

98

Introduction

Rodulfus Glaber, a Benedictine monk associated with the reformist monastery of Cluny, has long been an individual of interest to historians. It appears that he was born about the year 980 and died sometime in the late 1040's, though very little is known about his origins and early childhood. In fact, the only information we have about Glaber's life is autobiographical. We must piece it together from his two written works - *The Five Books of the Histories* (*Historiarum libri quinque*), and the less well-known *Life of St. William* (*Vita domni Willelmi abbatis*).¹ He spent most of his life in the duchy of Burgundy, an area of eastern France held by a line of Capetian dukes on behalf of the French monarch. It was here that he was committed to the monastic life at the age of twelve by his uncle. He was, however, an unwilling oblate - one whose offensive behavior and abrasive personality alienated his fellow monks. In his own words,

Whatever moderate and holy advice my fathers or my spiritual brothers charitably offered me, I swelled up with a savage spirit which formed a carapace about my heart...

I did not obey my elders, I vexed my contemporaries, and I bore down upon those junior to me, so that truly my presence was a burden to all and my absence a relief.²

He admits to us that his monastic brethren were driven to seek that relief, for they expelled him from their community, knowing that he would find another willing to accept him on account of his literary talents. "This," he states, "was proved many times."³

¹ John France, Neithard Bulst and Paul Reynolds, eds., *Rodulfus Glaber Opera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989; reprint ed., 1993). Unless otherwise noted, this edition will be used throughout this thesis, and references to either of Glaber's works will be by their English titles.

² *Histories*, 5.i.3, pp. 220-21 (trans. France).

³ *Ibid.*

It is evident from the *Histories* that Glaber's monastic life was unusually peripatetic. John France has made the most thorough attempt at reconstructing Glaber's life and monastic residences. The dating of events in his life can only be tentative, as France points out, because we are unsure of the exact date of Glaber's birth, and thus of his first religious profession at the age of twelve. It seems, however, that Glaber entered the monastery of St-Germain d'Auxerre sometime in the early 990's. There he resided until sometime between 1010 and 1023, at which time he went to St-Bénigne at Dijon, whose abbot was the great reformer St. William. In 1030 he finally moved to the monastery of Cluny, spending four to five years there before returning once again to the house of his original profession, St-Germain. The final ten or twelve years prior to his death c. 1046-47 were spent at this monastery.⁴

Of the two works Glaber composed during his lifetime - the *Histories* and the *Life of Saint William*⁵ - the latter has been less studied, probably due in large part to a general tendency among historians (until quite recently at least) to treat hagiographic sources as inherently biased.⁶ The *Histories*, however, is a well-known source, though it has most

⁴Here I have focused on the three major houses at which Glaber resided. He spent some time at a number of other smaller houses associated with St-Germain and St-Bénigne. For a more complete reconstruction of Glaber's life, and the evidence used to make it, see France, *Rodulfus Glaber Opera*, Introduction, pp. xxiv-xxxiv.

⁵For the most recent analysis of when and where Glaber composed his two works, see *ibid.*, pp. xxxiv-xlv. For other analyses of the dating and composition of Glaber's works see Ernst Sackur, "Studien über Rodulfus Glaber," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 14 (1889), pp. 377-418; M. Vogelsang, "Der cluniacensische Chronist Rodulfus Glaber," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 61 (1960, published 1961), pp. 151-185; and M.-C. Garand, "Un manuscrit d'auteur de Raoul Glaber? Observations codicologiques et paléographiques sur le ms. Paris, B.N. latin 10912," *Scriptorium* 37 (1983), pp. 5-28.

⁶Felice Lifshitz contends that while historians have become increasingly enthusiastic about rehabilitating 'hagiographical' narratives as historical sources, they still remain unable to see those sources in terms of "their function as historical *writing*." She also claims that "the west Frankish lands between the ninth and the eleventh centuries... lacked any conception of 'historiography' that even *could* be distinguished from 'hagiography'" ("Beyond Positivism and Genre: 'Hagiographical' Texts as Historical Narrative," *Viator* 25 [1994], pp. 95, 98). Similarly, Thomas Head, in a discussion of Andrew of Fleury's *Miracula sancti Benedicti*, points out that, "for an eleventh century monk, there was virtually no difference between historiography and hagiography" ("The Judgment of God: Andrew of Fleury's Account of the Peace League of Bourges," in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the*

often been selectively used to illustrate particular themes indicative of a society undergoing rapid change around the turn of the tenth century. For a number of reasons scholarly opinion has differed widely regarding the value of this work as an historical source. Vilified by some and respected by others, Glaber and the *Histories* carry with them an ambivalent, historiographical heritage. Ernst Sackur sardonically noted that the *Histories* is a useful source, if only because by its poor style and disorder it successfully characterized the times in which it was written.⁷ Anton Michel was even more scathing when he dismissed Glaber as a "notoriously unreliable crank, confused in his narrative, worthless as a critical source."⁸ Glaber's detractors, however, are not without their opponents. Georges Duby points out that while Glaber's Latin may be "overripe" and his historical presentation slanted, he was the best observer of the early eleventh century that we have.⁹ More recently Patrick Geary has attempted to restore Glaber's tarnished image further: "Far from being a naive monastic chronicler," he states, "[Glaber's] writings are carefully constructed and ideologically sophisticated texts."¹⁰ How then are we to approach this enigmatic yet fascinating monk and his vision of the world in which he lived?

One should resist the tendency of historical positivists to rate primary sources on the basis of their 'factual' or 'empirical' accuracy. If Glaber's writings have not always

Year 1000, [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992], p. 226). This is certainly true for Glaber as well. In Andrew of Fleury's case, Head proposes a methodological approach in which "it is necessary to unpack the interpretive framework that forms and structures Andrew's attitudes toward the events he narrated" (*ibid.*, p. 228).

⁷Ernst Sackur, "Studien über Rodulfus Glaber," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 14 (1889), p. 379: "Ueber dieses letztere stimmt man wohl überein, dass es ohne Plan und ohne Ordnung, voller Fabeln und Wundergeschichten, schlecht geschrieben und dabei doch für die Geschichte seiner Zeit höchst schätzenswerth sei."

⁸Cited in John France, "Glaber as a Reformer," *Studia Monastica* 34 (1992), p. 41.

⁹Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 192.

¹⁰Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the end of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 4.

answered the particular questions that historians have asked of them, then the problem may lie in the *questions* rather than in the *source*. It is helpful to remember that Glaber lived "midway between a world that [was] oral, gestural, and symbolic, and one that [was] textual, interpretive, and factually oriented."¹¹ Hence to judge Glaber's sense of history by today's rigorous and 'proof-laden' standard is anachronistic. Glaber was certainly aware that the veracity of the information he was relating in the *Histories* was important, for he promised "to tell only of those events at which we were present or of which we have had certain report."¹² Yet we must keep in mind the dubious criteria that might be applied to any given 'certain report' - particularly in the Middle Ages. The *Histories* provides a good example of this, for as Duby points out, it is "quite an irritating work for anyone who approaches it in search of petty factual detail."¹³ It is also helpful to remember that Glaber's *Histories* was primarily meant to be explanatory and didactic, and only secondarily an *histoire événementielle* - if at all. Glaber established his context for writing the *Histories* when he stressed early on the importance he placed on "setting out... the many things... which are seen to be taking place in the churches of God and amongst the peoples," for these events would illustrate the fact the God "will continue to work wonders in the world until the last hour of the last day."¹⁴ This is no benign account of historical events during the reign of so-and-so from date x to date y. The work was

¹¹Brian Stock. *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 472.

¹²*Histories*, I.i.4, pp. 8-9. This is a promise that Glaber reiterated in the preface to the *Life of Saint William*: "Indeed, the many things which we have seen and the many more garnered from truthful narrators will shape the course of this narrative" (Preface, pp. 254-5). We should be aware, however, that the quest for credibility is a topos that can be found in classical works as well. See, for example, Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Rex Warner with an introduction and notes by M.I. Finley (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 47.

¹³*The Three Orders*, p. 193.

¹⁴*Histories*, I.Preface.1. pp. 2-3.

written "as a mighty lesson for everyone in prudence and caution" in the light of the eschatological significance of the millennium of Christ's incarnation and passion.¹⁵

If we resign ourselves to the idiosyncratic nature of the *Histories*, how then can it be used as an important historical source? For most historians, as we have seen, the answer has been, "it cannot." For others, the *Histories* has been approached like an antique store. There is some limited merit in rummaging through the mounds of worthless junk if only because of the remote possibility that an item of great value might be uncovered. It is in this way that most historians have approached Glaber's "white mantle of churches", his heretics, and his account of the Peace of God.¹⁶ There are other historians, however, who have recognized the value of the *Histories* as a crucial source for the early eleventh century while candidly admitting its weaknesses. Early in the 1950s Paul Rousset popularized the notion that Glaber could best be understood in ideological terms. Yes there were gross, factual inaccuracies in Glaber's work. And yes, there were theological intrusions into the *Histories* that further impugned its reputation as a credible historical narrative. But for Rousset these were merely illustrative of Glaber's attempt to write a "providential history" of his times. Consequently, as Rousset put it, "the *Histories* of Raoul Glaber expresses well the ideas and mentality of his times."¹⁷ More recently Georges Duby has adopted a similar approach to Glaber and his works. In the same breath he concedes the irritating nature of the *Histories* and notes that "by contrast, it is

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Two examples will suffice to reveal the disparate ways in which Glaber's work has been used. R.I. Moore states that Glaber's *Histories* was "largely designed to illustrate the apocalyptic prophecy that 'Satan will be released when a thousand years have passed'" (*The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250* [London: Basil Blackwell, 1987], p. 13). Francis Hartigan, however, believes that "Rodulfus's primary aims were to advance the cause of church reform and to promote the peace movement" ("Rodulfus Glaber and the Early Capetians," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 15 [1988], p. 32).

¹⁷P. Rousset, "Raoul Glaber, interprète de la pensée commune au XI^e siècle," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 36 (1950), pp. 10-11, 24: "Les *Histoires* de Raoul Glaber expriment bien la mentalité et les idées de son temps."

fascinating to the historian of ideologies or dreams." Glaber is interesting to him precisely because his distortions are deliberate and calculated to present a vision of the world that was then current at the great monastery of Cluny.¹⁸ This approach to the study of Glaber has proved beneficial in many ways. First and foremost it has freed historians from the painstaking and often fruitless task of sifting fact from fiction in order to render the *Histories* a useful historical source. The importance of any particular scene, story or piece of information Glaber relates lies not so much in its factual worth, but in understanding the factors which influenced his selection and treatment of them. Why and to what purpose did he choose to present the information he did in the way he did? The possibilities are interesting when these are the questions we ask of Glaber's writings. This thesis, indebted to some who have gone before, will approach Glaber with a view to unearthing his *mentalité*. This is not to imply, however, that Glaber consciously set out to develop and sustain a coherent "ideological construct" throughout his work.¹⁹ An ideological treatise the *Histories* is not. And if it were, we would likely treat Glaber's narrative as little more than a crude and recondite attempt at monastic propaganda. On the contrary, it is an *indirect* expression of Cluniac ideals, integrated quite naturally into what was explicitly intended to be a *historia* that makes those ideals more authentic. One need not be an ideologue to communicate ideas. I am convinced, as Duby is, that Glaber was saturated with a view of the world that was developed during the first hundred years of Cluny's history and increasingly articulated during Odilo's abbacy. His vision for all of

¹⁸*The Three Orders*, p. 192-4. This is not to say that every inaccuracy in Glaber's writings was consciously crafted as part of a larger, ideological agenda. Many of the anomalies that we find in his dating of specific events could very well be the result of other factors such as ignorance, reliance on poor information, geographical and spacial distance from events, and even sloppiness or indifference.

¹⁹An idea that John France rightly objects to: "Glaber as Reformer," p. 47. Here we might observe that Patrick Geary slightly overstates his case when he refers to Glaber's writings as "carefully constructed and ideologically sophisticated texts" (cf. n. 10 above), an exaggeration that Duby succumbs to as well. Yet France also does injustice to Glaber's abilities when he infers that Cluniac ideals were poorly, if at all, transmitted by Glaber, because he "was not intelligent enough, or at least not trained enough, to sustain an ideological construct beyond the very general" (ibid.).

society was one not only embraced at Cluny itself, but one propagated and disseminated by reforming monks sent out from its cloister as the vanguard of a revived and purified monastic life. To accept Glaber as a 'Cluniac' monk, however, certain observations and qualifications need to be made.

The *Histories*, while written at the behest of one of the great monastic reformers of the early eleventh century, St. William, was dedicated to the most famous of those monastic reformers, Odilo, the fifth abbot of Cluny. It was during his abbacy that Glaber spent a four to five year period at Cluny which proved significant and formative to the remainder of his life. There is little doubt that Glaber was impressed by Cluny and its reformist spirit. Early on in Book I of the *Histories* he proudly reminisces that when Benedict VIII invested Henry II with the imperial insignia in 1014, the emperor ordered that the precious gift should be sent to Cluny; for, as the emperor proclaimed, "There is none so fitting to keep this gift and look upon it as those who trample underfoot the pomps of this world and blithely follow the cross of our Saviour."²⁰ Glaber adds that by this time Cluny was already widely known for its religious life, "which excelled all others."²¹ In Book III Glaber gives a concise history of Cluny from its beginnings in which he claims that God found in this little monastery a refuge where the Benedictine Rule, having been nearly extinguished by almost a century of neglect, could take root and flourish.²² Both the *Histories* and the *Life of St. William* are replete with references to Cluny that illustrate Glaber's respect and admiration for its reformist zeal and way of life.

²⁰The object to which Glaber is referring was the imperial apple: "Precepit fabricari quasi aureum pomum, atque circumdari per quadrum pretiosissimis quibusque gemmis, ac desuper auream crucem inseri." France translates this passage: "He ordered that it should be made in the form of a golden apple set around in a square with all the most precious jewels and surmounted by a golden cross" (*Histories*, I.v.23. pp. 40-1). It seems more likely, however, that the object was an orb or globe encircled by golden bands and surmounted by a cross. The globe was not set in a square, but quartered, which ties in neatly with Glaber's quadripartite schema set out in the beginning of his work (cf. *ibid.*, I.i.2-3. pp. 4-9). On Glaber's quadripartition, see below, Chapter III, pp. 76-84.

²¹*Histories*, I.v.23. pp. 40-1.

²²*Ibid.*, III.v.18. pp. 120-27.

On a superficial level we can measure Glaber's devotion to Cluny and her customs by the direct and enthusiastic endorsements found in his works. Yet what do we make of the fact that the better part of his monastic life was spent at other monasteries? Clearly if by 'Cluniac' we mean to denote one who spent most or all of his life there, then Glaber was no Cluniac.²³ He seems to have spent no more than five years at Cluny proper, residing for most of his life at St-Germain d'Auxerre, the house of his original profession, with another important period of residence at St-Bénigne at Dijon. Until France's most recent attempt at reconstructing Glaber's life and residences, there had been a good deal of confusion surrounding Glaber's precise relationship to the monastery of Cluny. It was assumed by some that Cluny was the last of Glaber's monastic houses - the culmination of a restless and sometimes hesitant monastic career. If this were the case it would certainly provide incontrovertible evidence of Glaber's status as a 'Cluniac'. Yet textual evidence suggests strongly that Glaber had already left Cluny by 1035, and that he died sometime in the late 1040's, having returned to his original house at St-Germain d'Auxerre. It may be argued that Glaber's five years at Cluny were sufficient to indoctrinate him thoroughly and irrevocably with a view of the world that was then current at the great monastery. Yet five years of a monastic life that spanned over fifty hardly constitute the kind of extended association that would define one as 'Cluniac' - particularly when those five years came relatively late in Glaber's career. In order to refer meaningfully to Glaber as a 'Cluniac' monk, then, we must do so based upon criteria other than mere physical proximity to the Burgundian monastery itself.

The issue that needs to be addressed concerns the relationship between Cluniac monasteries in general, but it is an issue much too large to examine in full here. In Glaber's case, however, we must ask an important question. If the majority of Glaber's monastic life was spent at houses other than Cluny, then what was the precise relationship

²³John France, "Rodulfus Glaber and the Cluniacs," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39 (1988), p. 500.

of those houses with the renowned monastery? Many historians have found an easy answer by pointing to the development of a Cluniac 'order' during the abbacy of Maiol and particularly that of Odilo. Joan Evans maintained that "like his predecessors Odilo reformed many monasteries; but unlike them he tended to make these monasteries subject to Cluny. It is with him that the idea of a Cluniac *Order* may be said to begin: a substitution for the Benedictine idea of monastic autonomy of the conception of a congregation of monasteries all owing allegiance to a single abbey, their government all ultimately controlled by its Abbot."²⁴ This idea of Cluny as a centrally administered and juridically well-defined monastic *ordo* is one that has predominated in much of the historical work done on Cluny in the past seventy years.²⁵

If this view is to be accepted, then there is really no need to make a case for Glaber as a 'Cluniac' monk. This would simply follow from the fact that the other houses Glaber resided at had clear ties to Cluny. Helderich, who was appointed by St Maiol to be the abbot of St-Germain d'Auxerre from 989-1010, was an Italian whom Maiol had brought with him to Cluny on returning from one of his trips to Rome. Helderich quickly displayed his virtue by his faithful adherence to Cluny's way of life, and hence was deemed worthy to propagate its customs elsewhere.²⁶ St. William, the great reformer of St-Bénigne at Dijon and numerous other houses, was also an Italian whom Maiol brought with him to Cluny. Like Helderich, he rapidly came to the fore at Cluny. When, in 990, Maiol was asked by Bruno, the bishop of Langres to "take charge of the monastery of the distinguished martyr Benignus... in order to restore the order of divine worship, which had failed totally in that place," William was sent with all haste to carry out the task.²⁷

²⁴Joan Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny 910-1157* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931 reprint ed., n.p.: Archon Books, 1968), p. 18.

²⁵For an excellent historiographical discussion of Cluny see Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), pp. 3-29.

²⁶Cf. Syrus, *Vita Sancti Maioli*, PL. 137, cols. 752, 764.

Furthermore, all of the minor houses with which Glaber was affiliated were associated directly with either Helderic or William, and thus indirectly with Cluny.²⁸

Recently, however, the prevailing notion that Cluniac monasticism became institutionalized as an order during the abbacy of Odilo has been challenged.²⁹ There can be little doubt that during the fifty-five years of Odilo's prosperous rule over Cluny there were many houses that associated closely with Cluny and adopted her customs. Yet there is a vital distinction to be made here. While a particular monastic house may have adopted the practices of Cluny, and even for a time submitted itself to the rule of its abbot, we must not conclude too quickly that a cohesive, administrative institution with its heart at Cluny was developing. Historians have been too willing to ascribe to eleventh-century Cluny certain characteristics that can be found fully developed only in the Cistercian order of the twelfth century.³⁰

Many are familiar with Adalbero of Laon's vicious attack on Cluny and its ambitions. In his *Carmen ad Rotbertum regem Francorum*, Adalbero satirically describes the monk of Cluny who fights as a soldier in the army of "*rex Odilo*."³¹ This hostile characterization of Cluny, given as it was by a bishop of the Church, has also led historians to tie Cluny's development as an order to its articulated agenda for exemption

²⁷*Life of Saint William*, vi. pp. 269-9. *Analecta Divionensia* states that William "Ordinatus est igitur Abbas a Domno Brunone Episcopo, anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCCC.XC, indictione III" (p. 131). It is right to point out that both Glaber and St-Bénigne's chronicler note the close blood relationship that existed between St. William, Bruno, bishop of Langres, and Otto-William, count of Burgundy (*Life of Saint William*, *ibid.*. See also *Analecta Divionensia*, p. 162). Constance Bouchard observes that the precise degree of consanguinity is not clear ("Laymen and church reform around the year 1000: the case of Otto-William, count of Burgundy," *Journal of Medieval History* 5 [1979], p. 5). Yet this surely must have played a role in William's appointment to the abbacy of St-Bénigne.

²⁸For a list of these houses and their connections to St-Germain d'Auxerre or St-Bénigne at Dijon, see France, *Rodulfus Glaber Opera*, Introduction, pp. xxiv-xxxiv.

²⁹John France, "Rodulfus Glaber and the Cluniacs"; Constance B. Bouchard, "Merovingian, Carolingian and Cluniac Monasticism: Reform and Renewal in Burgundy," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41 (1990), pp. 365-88.

³⁰France, *ibid.*, p. 504; Bouchard, *ibid.*, p. 366.

³¹*PL*. 141, col. 775.

from the authority of diocesan bishops.³² While Cluny was certainly willing to appeal to outside authorities when the situation warranted, we must resist viewing Cluny as inherently hostile to the established ecclesiastical hierarchy. We know, for example, that Cluny's relationships with the local bishops of Mâcon "were extremely cordial throughout the tenth and into the eleventh century."³³ Surely if Cluny's "defiant" brand of monasticism was producing widespread hostility amongst the episcopacy,³⁴ this hostility would have manifested itself most vociferously at the local, diocesan level. Furthermore, Odilo himself, the supposed mastermind behind the newly liberated 'order of Cluny', maintained a very intimate relationship with Fulbert of Chartres, one of the most powerful and influential bishops of his day.³⁵ Glaber himself did not hesitate to defend the traditional prerogatives of bishops within their own dioceses. When the archbishop of Tours refused Fulk of Anjou's request to consecrate his new church, the count appealed to the papacy to send a cardinal to perform the ceremony. Glaber was indignant at such proceedings, and made this clear: "it is an old and well-founded rule that no bishop may

³²As Jean-François Lemarignier does: "Political and Monastic Structures in France at the end of the Tenth and the Beginning of the Eleventh Century," in *Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe. Selected Readings*, edited by Fredric L. Cheyette, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968), pp. 100-27. He places great stock in the letter of papal exemption given to Cluny by Gregory V in 998, and then goes on to state that, as the "fruit of a defiant monasticism that was successfully carrying through an autonomous plan of reconstruction, these extensions [of exemption] could not but raise a reaction on the part of a disturbed episcopacy... The quarrel over the structure of monasticism was calling into question the entire organization of the Church. It would do so even more when, from the rung of exemption for a single monastery, monasticism reached up and grasped exemption for an entire order, the Order of Cluny (1016-1027)" (pp. 113-14) (emphasis mine).

³³Barbara Rosenwein, Thomas Head, and Sharon Farmer, "Monks and Their Enemies: A Comparative Approach," *Speculum* 66 (1991), p. 767. In her section on Cluny, Rosenwein notes that papal letters of exemption given to Cluny "must be read in the context of Cluny's social network" (ibid., p. 775-77). She also maintains that this congenial relationship did not change significantly until the late eleventh and early twelfth century (ibid.).

³⁴Lemarignier, "Political and Monastic Structures in France at the end of the Tenth and the Beginning of the Eleventh Century," pp. 113-14.

³⁵This relationship is illustrated well in some of the correspondence between the two men (cf. Frederick Behrends, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* [Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1976], Letters 49, pp. 84-86; 50, pp. 86-90; 63, p. 108; 64, pp. 108-110; 85, p. 152; 98, pp. 176-78; 130, p. 236).

presume to exercise any authority in the diocese of another unless he is asked, or at least permitted, to do so by its own bishop."³⁶ Rather than viewing this passage as an example of Glaber's resistance to Cluniac ideology,³⁷ however, we would do better to acknowledge the complexities and local particularities of the relationship between reformist monks and abbots and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The great diversity of Cluny's social relations and the ambivalent responses of contemporaries to new 'monastic structures' certainly warrants a reappraisal of the notion that Cluny developed into a monolithic and independent institution during this period. Bonds with Cluny in the early eleventh century were actually far more fluid and personal than they were rigid and structural. This reality can be seen, curiously enough, when we look at the two most important monasteries next to Cluny that Glaber was closely associated with: St-Germain d'Auxerre and St-Bénigne at Dijon.³⁸

Both of these houses, as we have seen, were reformed by Helderich and William, monks sent out from Cluny at the direction of St. Maiol. While the chain of command appears to be quite clear, there are a number of details that tend to complicate the relationship between these two houses and Cluny. The first is that both Helderich and William were sent out to reform their respective monasteries not as *priors*, but as *abbots*, who in turn selected priors under their authority.³⁹ This meant that while they may have adopted the customs of Cluny, they were not under the direct supervision of the abbot of Cluny for the administration of their affairs. This sense of autonomy was reflected in the

³⁶*Histories*, II.iv.6. pp. 62-3.

³⁷John France, "Glaber as a Reformer," pp. 46-7.

³⁸The following information on the relationship of St-Germain d'Auxerre and St-Bénigne at Dijon to the monastery of Cluny is derived largely from Bouchard, "Merovingian, Carolingian, and Cluniac Monasticism," pp. 375-80.

³⁹For the significance of the authority invested in an abbot, see Giles Constable, "The Authority of Superiors in Religious Communities," in *Monks, Hermits and Crusaders in Medieval Europe*, essay No. III, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988), pp. 189-210.

way in which abbots were chosen for the two monasteries upon the deaths of Helderic and William.

When Helderic died in 1009, the monks at St-Germain were at complete liberty to choose the abbot of their choice, which they did without deference to Cluny in any way.⁴⁰ Similarly, upon the death of St. William in 1031, Halinard, who had been prior of St-Bénigne under St. William, was chosen as his successor, again without any apparent interference from the monastery of Cluny.⁴¹ Thus, the picture that emerges of the relationships between both important and obscure monastic houses in Burgundy and their powerful exemplar, Cluny, is one that does not neatly accommodate the idea of a Cluniac 'order'. Given this situation, two important observations must be made. The first is that close, personal ties between Burgundian monasteries was a phenomenon that originated in the late ninth century in response to local political conditions. Furthermore, while for the most part those relationships remained close into the eleventh century, they were no more permanently binding at this time than they had been in the earlier period.⁴² The second observation is that although the institutional nature of Cluny's ties with other monasteries in this period should be de-emphasized, the deeply personal and ideologically suasive nature of those relationships should become increasingly the focus of our attention. If Cluny achieved the pervasive influence and high reputation that it did by the middle of the eleventh century *without* creating formal institutional ties, then we must look elsewhere for its phenomenal success. It was as a result of the *personal connectedness* between Cluny and its abbots and the abbots of affiliated monasteries that

⁴⁰Bouchard, "Merovingian, Carolingian, and Cluniac Monasticism," pp. 375-6. It is also interesting that in the case of the other two houses under Helderic's care (Moûtier-St-Jean and Flavigny), which had *not* been entrusted to him by Cluny, the monks also chose freely his successor. (In the case of Moûtier-St-Jean, the monks chose St. William to be their abbot, emphasizing further the organic nature of the relationships between different Burgundian houses) (ibid.).

⁴¹*Analecta Divionensis*, pp. 178, 182.

⁴²Bouchard, "Merovingian, Carolingian, and Cluniac Monasticism," pp. 370-71.

Cluny's presence was felt throughout Europe. Furthermore, it is because of these personal connections that we can refer to Glaber without any hesitation as a Cluniac monk.

Glaber was extremely conscious of the personal alliances that existed between himself and his patron, William, and between William and the abbots of Cluny, Maiol and Odilo. While he rarely mentions Helderich in either of his works, his relationship with the abbot of St-Bénigne, though clearly not without some tension, was a close one.⁴³ In his *Life of Saint William*, Glaber describes an occasion after the death of the abbot where the father appeared to him in a dream, and, "with a gentle expression, his hand placed caressingly on [his] head," said, "I pray you, do not desert me, if you were not feigning that you loved me; rather I want you to busy yourself about the work you had promised."⁴⁴ The tenderness and intimacy he experienced with his mentor are obvious. Glaber seemed very concerned, however, to define the nature of the relationship that existed between his patron and the abbots of Cluny. Earlier in the *Life* Glaber records that William came into contact with Odilo at a time when the latter was still a canon at the church of St-Julien at Brioude.⁴⁵ After extensive discussions about "the true salvation of souls," Odilo was deeply moved, and shortly afterwards entered the monastery of Cluny, where he was "devoutly received by St Maiol and, according to custom, consecrated into the holy vocation of a monk."⁴⁶ Odilo himself acknowledged William's influence on his

⁴³Glaber's silence regarding Helderich can be explained in two ways: the first being that he was a fairly young man during his association with him, and that his memories of him were distant. The second is that Glaber did not get along very well with him. In one of the only autobiographical digressions in the *Histories* (V.i.3. pp. 218-21), he tells us that he was expelled from the monastery for his intolerable behaviour, though this could have occurred after Helderich's death. On the tension between William and Glaber, see the *Life of Saint William*, xiii. pp. 294-5.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵Jotsald tells us in his *Vita Odilonis* that Odilo entered the church of St-Julien early in life: "Igitur Odilo vir beatissimus, nobilitatis stemmate procreatus, inter ipsa primordia tanquam alter Isaac Christo consecratus, et Brivate (brioude) apud sanctum Julianum gloriosum martyrem clericali sorte est donatus" (PL. 142, col. 899).

⁴⁶*Life of Saint William*, x. pp. 280-81.

life in his *Life of Saint Maiol*.⁴⁷ Earlier in his career, William had cultivated a deep, personal friendship with Maiol in a similar manner. Glaber notes that the two men "had private and very frequent conversation... concerning those things which are necessary for true salvation."⁴⁸

It was not merely William's close relationship to Maiol and Odilo, however, that concerned Glaber. He was equally committed to showing that William was a faithful transmitter of the monastic rule that he had learned at Cluny - and in fact an equal of her two great abbots. When Glaber introduces St. William for the first time in the *Histories*, he does so in a significant manner. After drawing attention to William's fame as a rebuilder of churches, Glaber notes, "Nor was he any the less famous for the rigour of his rule, and in his time he was an incomparable propagator of the regular order."⁴⁹ He follows this introduction with a very brief recapitulation of the history of monasticism from St. Benedict of Nursia up to Odilo, "the fourth abbot of Cluny after the founder Berno."⁵⁰ Most telling of the high esteem in which Glaber held William, however, is that at the apogee of his abbreviated monastic history can be found the person of William, who "turned out to be a more industrious labourer and a more fruitful sower of the Rule than anyone who had gone out from that house before him."⁵¹ In Glaber's mind, William, as the abbot of St-Bénigne and numerous other houses, was no less 'Cluniac' than his mentor and equal, Maiol, and Maiol's successor Odilo. This is emphasized many times. William was an "instructor after the manner of Cluny" in every place he went, teaching all the salvific truths he "had learnt from the holy Maiol at Cluny."⁵² This representation

⁴⁷*De Vita Beati Maioli Abbatis*, PL. 142, cols. 954-55.

⁴⁸*Life of Saint William*, v. pp. 266-67.

⁴⁹*Histories*, III.v.16. pp. 120-21.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, III.v.18. pp. 126-27.

⁵¹*Ibid.*

of a "monastic trinity," as John France puts it, "is a simple and touching picture which becomes lost in modern writing because the emphasis is on institutional development."⁵³ Yet it is a crucial picture for us to see if we are to understand the way in which Cluniac ideas could have permeated Glaber's view of the world.

There are three themes present in Glaber's writings which I believe reflect ideas that were current at the monastery of Cluny and those houses influenced by her reforms. We will not, as implied above, find clearly demarcated chapters devoted to any of these broader themes in Glaber's texts.⁵⁴ Rather, they are ideas that find their expression - and more naturally as a result - in the course of Glaber's chronicle of what appear to be straightforward, even prosaic events. The first of these themes deals with the way in which Glaber saw the character and focus of the reforms being promulgated by the monastic circle in which he lived. It was not only decrepit *monastic* practices that were to be rejuvenated by the ideal customs and practices of Cluny. All of society - including monks, clerics and lay persons - was to benefit from the disciplines and attitudes previously expected only of those dedicated to the cenobitic life. Glaber believed, as his mentors did, that part of the task of reform was to call ecclesiastics (including the pope himself) to account for their actions, and to influence powerfully all members of secular society, from kings, queens and lesser nobles right down to the meanest peasant. Cluny sought, with its far-reaching reforms, to 'monasticize' not only monks, but the clergy and laity alike.⁵⁵

The second theme that looms large in Glaber's thought is his preoccupation with the millennium of the birth and passion of Christ. At the beginning of his *Histories*

⁵²*Life of Saint William*, v. pp. 266-67; ix. pp. 278-79.

⁵³"Rodulfus Glaber and the Cluniacs," p. 503.

⁵⁴Cf. above, p. 6.

⁵⁵France, "Glaber as a Reformer," p. 44. Duby also emphasizes strongly this aspect of Cluniac reform (*The Three Orders*, pp. 139-46, 192-205).

Glaber's stated objective makes this clear. The dates 1000 and 1033 are meant to provide a framework for all the events he deemed worthy of mention.⁵⁶ The *Histories* was designed to proclaim to contemporaries the temporal significance of the age in which they lived. It was an age in which manifest signs and wonders were testifying to an inescapable, eschatological fact. That fact was that the end was near. Cluny believed itself to be the harbinger of Christ's return in the last days.

Finally, and related closely to Glaber's millennial concerns, is his expression of a distinctive notion of Cluny's view of itself in Christian history. This is an element of Cluniac ideology that has been little explored. One historian has noted that Cluny's "historical orientation of [itself] imparting to it the sense of its own uniqueness is consistently overlooked."⁵⁷ Glaber takes great pains to show that Christian history has progressed in a linear fashion, and that it would come to a close with a very specific terminus. He provides us with both a four-fold and a seven-fold schema of the ages in which Cluny providentially occupies a very special place. In terms of the temporal progress of the physical world, no fifth or eighth age would arrive. While the lack of precision regarding specific dates in Glaber's writings is frustrating, his emphasis on the direction of time's flow is unmistakable.⁵⁸ Glaber's historical sense is instructive regarding the very purpose of his *Histories*. Believing (however wrongly) that "for a period of nearly two hundred years, since the time of the priest Bede in Britain and Paul in Italy, there [had] been no one anxious to leave any written record for posterity,"⁵⁹

⁵⁶*Histories*, I.Preface.1, pp. 2-3; IV.Preface.1, pp. 170-71.

⁵⁷Robert Heath, *Crux imperatorum philosophia: Imperial Horizons of the Cluniac "Confraternitas,"* 964-1109 (Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1976), p. 39. Heath is more concerned to show, however, that Cluny recognized its place as a *continuator* in the history of the gospel, rather than as significant to its *culmination*.

⁵⁸Cf. *The Three Orders*, p. 194.

⁵⁹*Histories*, I.Preface.1, pp. 2-3.

Glaber determined to set the record straight. This he did as a herald, writing with the urgency of one inspired by a sense of divine dispensation.

Chapter I

Cluny's Monastic Ideal: Reform of Monastery, Church and World

Any discussion of Cluniac ideology must surely begin with the movement's *raison d'être*. From its earliest days, Cluny possessed a very clear mandate. It was, above everything else, to live a reformed monastic life based upon the pattern established by St. Benedict of Nursia in his *Rule*. In its foundation charter, when Cluny and the surrounding lands, serfs and churches associated with it were given to Berno and his successors in perpetuity, there were only two stipulations, one of which will be discussed later. As one of these provisos, the giver, William of Aquitaine ('The Pious') specified that these things were given with the understanding "that in Cluny a *regular* monastery shall be constructed in honour of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and that there the monks shall congregate and live according to the rule of St. Benedict."⁶⁰ The expectation that a monastery should guide its internal life based upon the Benedictine model was nothing new. Assisted by the royal support of Louis the Pious almost a century earlier, Benedict of Aniane had worked hard to make the Benedictine Rule the normative rule for monasteries throughout the empire. Yet the significance of the historical context in which Cluny had its genesis was not lost on the abbots and monks that came to live within its walls in succeeding generations. The collapse of Carolingian political structures created dire consequences for the various institutions of the time. Monasticism was one of those institutions that was not immune to the results of decentralizing political power in post-Carolingian Europe. In the vacuum created, monasteries became tools in the hands of

⁶⁰The *Foundation Charter of the Order of Cluny*, in *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, edited by E.F. Henderson (London: G. Bell, 1892; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1965), p. 331 (emphasis mine). Here it should be noted that the word 'regular' does not imply as full a meaning in English as it does in Latin. Whereas in English it simply means 'normal' or 'ordinary', here it is the operative word, meaning 'rule-bound', 'upright' and 'ordered'.

territorial lords who could exercise their power competently on a local level.⁶¹ The effect of such circumstances on monastic practices was devastating. Glaber notes that when Cluny was founded, the Rule was "almost defunct."⁶²

While the restoration of a regular monastic observance was the primary goal of Cluniac monasticism, the abbots of Cluny, beginning in earnest with Odo (924-946), possessed a vision of society that could not be contained by the walls of the cloister.⁶³ It is in fact, with Odo, that we can begin to trace many of the ideas that became so vital to the spread of Cluniac monasticism in the later tenth and eleventh century.⁶⁴ Odo was revered by the abbots and monks of Cluny who came after him for his faithful adherence to the *Rule*. But he was also a man who felt acutely the need for reformed monasticism to take a role in emending the moral corruption of the world in general. Odo's biographer, John of Salerno, records that Odo constantly had words of advice and correction for all who came across his path, regardless of their status or place within society.⁶⁵ Odo's writings reflect this broader concern for the moral regeneration not just of monks, but of the other two social orders as well: clerics and laymen. This tripartite notion of the division of society into monks, clerics and laymen was distinctly Carolingian.⁶⁶ Later, in

⁶¹For a discussion of these changes, see J-F. Lemarignier, "Political and Monastic Structures in France at the end of the Tenth and the Beginning of the Eleventh Century," pp. 111-21.

⁶²*Histories*, III.v. 18. pp. 124-25.

⁶³Kassius Hallinger, "The Spiritual Life of Cluny in the Early Days," in *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, edited by Noreen Hunt (London: MacMillan Press, 1971), p. 47.

⁶⁴Cf. Raffaello Morghen, "Monastic Reform and Cluniac Spirituality," in *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, pp. 11-28.

⁶⁵Sitwell, *The Life of St. Odo of Cluny*, pp. 19-20.

⁶⁶Cf. Duby, *The Three Orders*, pp. 81-109; P.E. Dutton, "Illustre Civitatis et Populi Exemplum: Plato's *Timaeus* and the Transmission from Calcidius to the end of the Twelfth Century of a Tripartite Scheme of Society," *Mediaeval Studies* 45 (1983), pp. 87-88. For further discussion of the medieval idea of the three orders, see Duby, "The Origin of a system of social classification," in *Chivalrous Society*, pp. 88-93, trans. Cynthia Postan, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Jacques Le Goff, "A note on Tripartite Society, Monarchical Ideology, and Economic Renewal in Ninth- to Twelfth-Century Christendom," in

the eleventh-century, both Adalbero of Laon and Gerard of Cambrai would articulate a division of society into a trifunctional schema: those who pray, those who fight, and those who work (*oratores, bellatores/pugnatores, laboratores*).⁶⁷ Yet this later, royal scheme of the three orders was not Cluniac; when Glaber spoke of the three orders, his was clearly the older, ecclesiastical scheme in which monks stood at the summit.⁶⁸

In the preface to his *Collations*, Odo makes it clear that his work was intended to correct the vices found amongst the priests of his day.⁶⁹ He was greatly concerned that the same corruption that had so deeply infiltrated the monasteries had also profoundly affected the secular clergy. Consequently his sights were set on the most flagrant abuses that came about as a result; simony and clerical marriage.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Odo was unflagging in his attempts to provide a moral standard for laymen. He penned *The Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac* with the specific goal in mind of providing a moral exemplum for laymen based upon the purity of life found in one of their own. "Let not the observance of the commandments of God seem hard or impossible," he exhorted, "since it is seen to have been achieved by a layman of great position."⁷¹ His emphasis on Gerald's elevated social status was designed to lend even greater force to his words, for Odo makes it clear elsewhere that the relative ease by which the poor man can achieve the virtues is paralleled by the ease with which a rich man falls prey to the vices.⁷² It was with this

Time, Work, & Culture in the Middle Ages, pp. 53-57, 296-300, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

⁶⁷Duby, *The Three Orders*, pp. 21-55.

⁶⁸See below, pp. 22, 39.

⁶⁹*Odonis Abbatis Cluniacensis Collationum libri tres*, PL. 133, col. 519: "Cum subito recordatus sum illius vestrae querimoniae, quam de hujus vitae qualitate profundis singultibus contexere vos in prima jussione audieram: videlicet de perversitate pravorum, qui semper in malum succrescentes et ecclesiasticam censuram penitus contemnentes, quoslibet invalidos crudeliter affligunt."

⁷⁰Odo is particularly vitriolic when it comes to simony, on which see *ibid.*, cols. 552-54.

⁷¹Sitwell, *The Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac, by St. Odo of Cluny*, p. 92.

three-fold concept of reform in mind that Cluny approached its own function in society. The cenobitic life may have been the calling of the very few who could endure its rigours and deprivations, but a life of virtue and purity was available to all who chose to live it. This was an ideal that Cluny espoused throughout the tenth and early eleventh century, and it is one that finds expression in Glaber's writings as well. At one point when he speaks of the "ruinous perdition" into which all members of the catholic faith had then fallen, the inextricable link between society's three orders is most clear; "When the piety of bishops wanes, and the austerity of abbots softens, when the rigour of the monastic discipline grows cold, and by their example the rest of the people sinfully break God's commands, does it not seem as if the whole of mankind is sliding back again of its own free will into the old abyss of perdition?"⁷² The only antidote to such spiritual malaise would be an outpouring of the mercy of God, mediated through his humble servants, the reform-minded monks associated with Cluny.

The Monastery

Whenever historians refer to the great age of monastic reform that occurred in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the discussion turns inevitably to Cluny and its phenomenal success. What was it about Cluny's approach to the monastic life that made it so appealing to contemporaries? Of one thing we can be sure; "Cluny came to the height of

⁷²In the context of the virtue of humility and the vice of pride, Odo states, "Quanto autem quique pauperiores sunt, tanto in illam abominationem rarius incurrunt, at vero istud sacrificium divites vix inveniunt" (*Collationum libri tres*, col. 567). This idea is generally derived from Christ's warning to his disciples, "I tell you the truth, it is hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. Again I tell you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 19: 23-24). Yet it was an idea that Cluniac monks took care to cultivate. Glaber records that when the parents of Hugh the Great were mourning their son's untimely death, St. William attempted to assuage their grief by stating, "You ought not to reckon yourselves unhappy because you have lost a son, but rather truly happy because you were found worthy to have him. I believe that from no rank of mankind will so very few be saved as from that of kings" (*Life of St. William*, ix. pp. 284-85).

⁷³*Histories*, II.vi. 12. pp. 72-73.

its fame in response to strictly contemporary needs."⁷⁴ This is not to say that Cluny saw itself as a movement born creatively to meet those needs in a *novel* way. On the contrary, as we shall see when we look at the way in which Cluny viewed itself in Christian history, Cluniacs saw themselves as inheritors of an ancient monastic tradition that could be traced back to the great Carolingian reformer, Benedict of Aniane, and even further back to the founding father of western monasticism, St. Benedict of Nursia.⁷⁵ Yet there was something about the way in which Cluny represented itself and expressed its monastic ideals that was powerful and compelling to contemporaries.

One of the most clearly identifiable hallmarks of Cluniac practice from its earliest days was its passion for regulation and systematization. This took form in many different aspects of the life of the monastery. Berno, the first abbot of Cluny, captured this ideal well in his last testament:

Wherefore, O abbots and brethren here present, and ye who shall come in the future, I conjure you in the name of the mercy of God in whose sight we live, to keep staunchly united, to observe with the same exactness as before the established usage in chanting the psalms, in keeping silence, in the quality of food and raiment, and above all in the contempning of personal property.⁷⁶

⁷⁴H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 127.

⁷⁵Both John of Salerno, in his *Life of Odo* (pp. 25-26), and Nagold, the twelfth-century biographer of Maiol, in his *Vita Sancti Maioli* (*Acta Sanctorum*, May, II, col. 659), testified that Cluny's customs could be traced back to Benedict of Aniane. While there may be grounds for questioning this perception, it is more important to understand how the Cluniacs perceived the derivation of their practices, as Barbara Rosenwein points out ("Rules and the Rule at tenth-century Cluny," *Studia Monastica* 19 [1977], p. 314). See also Adriaan Bredero, "Cluny et le monachisme Carolingien: continuité et discontinuité," in *Benedictine Culture 750-1050*, edited by W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst, *Mediaevalia Louvaniensia*, ser. 1, *Studia* 11 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983), pp. 50-75. Similarly, both Glaber and Odilo, in roughly contemporaneous accounts, traced Cluny's heritage back to the original St. Benedict (cf. *Histoires*, III. v. 17. pp. 122-25; *De Vita Beati Maioli Abbatis*, PL. 142, col. 945).

⁷⁶Trans. Joan Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny 910-1157*, p. 9.

A few years later, shortly after Odo's death, John of Salerno reported with admiration and respect the abbot's "perfect observance of rules", which included among them "contempt of the world... zeal for souls, the reform of monasteries... the reform of the clothes and food of monks... his perseverance in watching and prayer," and "his care for the poor." Odo was, in John's words, "the example of all virtues."⁷⁷ It should come as no surprise that this emphasis on the establishment of an ordered equilibrium, at a time when political and social instability was the norm, attracted many admirers, patrons and converts.⁷⁸ From amongst these elements of regulated Cluniac observance, one in particular became synonymous with its specific brand of monastic life throughout the tenth and early eleventh century.

From its very founding Cluny was meant to be a house of prayer. It was an idea enshrined in the code of the monastery, for William of Aquitaine, like many others had done before him, made his donation "for the gain of his soul."⁷⁹ The general principle at work was that the gift itself contained some redemptive efficacy for William and the others listed in the charter. Yet the reciprocal benefits achieved were to be more specific and concrete than this. William's expectation - indeed requirement - was that "the venerable house of prayer which is there shall be faithfully frequented with vows and supplications, and that celestial converse shall be sought and striven after with all desire and with the deepest ardour; and that there shall be sedulously directed to God prayers, beseechings and exhortations as well for me as for all, according to the order in which

⁷⁷*The Life of Odo*, p. 16.

⁷⁸Barbara Rosenwein discusses the appeal of Cluny's legalism during the tenth and early eleventh centuries by applying the sociological concept of anomie. Hence, "people in new positions of status and power supported a monasticism devoted to mastering old traditions and adhering to manifold laws... The Cluniacs imposed an *ordo* (their donors wanted them to do precisely this) that disciplined other monks to adhere to the exact rites that the Cluniacs themselves followed" (*Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century*, pp. 106-07).

⁷⁹*The Foundation Charter of the Order of Cluny*, p. 330.

mention has been made for them above."⁸⁰ This was a calling that the monks of Cluny took seriously, and it was one that increasingly became the most distinctive and attractive feature of its way of life for those looking for peace of mind both now and in the hereafter.⁸¹

It is important to remember that when we speak of Cluny and prayer, we are in fact addressing one of the central reasons why "the world outside and the world inside the cloister met over property."⁸² Toward the end of the tenth century it was widely believed that association with Cluny through prayer, confraternities and burial provided the most advantageous investment in the after-life that one could find. Recent work, however, on the *Liber tramitis*, the Cluniac customary dating from between 1020 and 1035, demonstrates that the naming of specific laymen in prayer was usually reserved for those of extremely high status, and that donation did not necessarily imply more prayers for the donor than for other departed faithful.⁸³ Yet the same work admits that the reality was far more complex than a simple donations-for-prayers equation allows. Eternal benefits accrued through *general* liturgical intercession and other means were none the less benefits, for monks inevitably prayed, even if tacitly, for those who fell within their purview. Any manner of increasing one's visibility with those who constituted the firmest bridge between heaven and earth could only prove useful. Cluny thrived precisely

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 331.

⁸¹One of the ways that this appeal manifested itself at Cluny was in the formation of informal confraternities of prayer (H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Unions and Confraternity with Cluny," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 16 [1965], pp. 152-62).

⁸²Barbara Rosenwein, *To be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 43.

⁸³Ibid., p. 39. Here it is important to recognize that Rosenwein's purpose in raising doubts about the paramount significance of donations for prayers is to show that property also retained an important *social* function as it changed hands between patron and monastery (as the title of her work implies). It is interesting, however, that in her introduction she acknowledges the anachronism involved in constructing a dichotomy between 'social' and 'religious' meaning in the tenth and eleventh centuries by stating: "I call this bonding the 'social' meaning of Cluny's property; but in fact it might very well be called the 'religious' significance. This is certainly what contemporaries considered it" (ibid., p. 4).

because its particular custom of liturgical economics generated a pious reputation for itself that attracted many patrons.

There are many places in Glaber's works where he expresses this same commitment to monastic prayer. It was a form of prayer that was to be orderly and continuous, and it was also to be for both the living and the dead. Curiously enough, we encounter Glaber's concern for prayer and the performance of the *opus Dei* most in Book Five of the *Histories*, the most autobiographical and disorganized portion of the work. Yet in a way this makes good sense. Glaber presumably wrote this final Book in his old age, after he had left Cluny and returned to St-Germain d'Auxerre, and the abrupt ending may in fact indicate that his death prevented him from completing it.⁸⁴ These reflections then, came at the end of Glaber's life, at that point where worry over the state of his own soul would have been most acute. The stories told in Book Five are also highly illustrative of the fact that his life was lived in a number of monasteries that were all deeply influenced by the customs of Cluny. We get a good sense of the rigorous and demanding liturgical travail expected of the monks, felt anxiously by one who had been influenced deeply by its spirit throughout his monastic career.

At the beginning of Book Five, Glaber tells the story of a particular monk who was met by a loathsome being one night "when the bell rang for matins." The words of advice given by the demonic apparition cut right to the heart of the monastic calling:

⁸⁴For a discussion of the abrupt ending of Book V, see M.-C. Garand, "Un manuscrit d'auteur de Raoul Glaber? Observations codicologiques et paléographiques sur le ms. Paris, B.N. latin 10912," p. 25. There are a number of interesting parallels that can be drawn between Book V of Glaber's *Histories* and Book IV of the *Histories* of Nithard. In both works the last book is darker and more autobiographical or 'subjective' than the balance of the account; and in both cases it has been thought that the author died before the work's completion. Janet Nelson, however, argues that in Nithard's case, there is a 'private history' that runs through the work and surfaces most obviously in the last Book. She also notes a change in his audience ("Public *Histories* and Private History in the Work of Nithard," in *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* [London: The Hambledon Press, 1986], pp. 195-237). Both notions of 'public' versus 'private' history and a different audience may well provide an explanation for the tenor and content of Glaber's fifth Book, which was written at St-Germain toward the end of his life.

Why do you monks so labour, enduring vigils, fasts, mortifications, the chanting of psalms and many other humiliations far beyond the common practice of men? Don't you think that the innumerable secular men who persist in different sins down to the day of their death will gain the same rest to which you aspire? A day, even an hour, of such exertions would be enough to gain that everlasting beatitude which you regard as the reward of your virtue...

Know that each year, on the anniversary of that day on which Christ rose from the dead bringing new life to mankind, He harrows all hell and returns with his faithful to heaven. Because of this you have nothing to fear, and can enjoy all the delights and desires of the flesh with no worries and to your heart's content.⁸⁵

After the demon departed, Glaber tells us that the lies had their desired effect, for the monk failed to join the other brothers for prayer. Glaber narrated this incident for a couple of reasons, both of which were meant to highlight the insidious nature of the devil's contrivance and to illustrate the efficacy of Cluniac practices.

In the first place Glaber was concerned to show to all monks that the times in which they lived were such that the monastic vocation would suffer the intensified and wrathful onslaughts of the devil. It was an age afflicted "by the frequent appearance of evil spirits (*infestationibus sinistrorum spirituum*)."⁸⁶ Glaber believed that the monks engaged in the perpetual liturgical rounds that had come to characterize Cluniac practice were in fact engaged in a cosmic struggle between Evil and Good; between Satan and his minions (the demons), and God and his soldiers (the monks).⁸⁷ Book Five contains many

⁸⁵*Histories*, V.i.1. pp. 216-17. The story that Glaber tells here is one that we find later in the *Visio Anselli Scholastici*. The story is in fact about Odo, abbot of St-Germain from 1032-52, whom Glaber obviously casts in a bad way. R.A.F. Shoaf argues that the *Visio Anselli Scholastici* was a cleaned up version of the story, written in response to Glaber's account in order to counter it ("Raoul Glaber et la *Visio Anselli Scholastici*," *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale* 23 [1980], pp 215-19). If this is true, then two issues are of consequence. First it would appear that for whatever reason, Glaber did not like Odo very well; and second, we would possess incontrovertible evidence that Glaber's work was circulated and read very shortly after its completion.

⁸⁶*Histories*, V.i.1. pp. 216-17.

⁸⁷On the notion of Cluniac monks as *milites Christi*, engaged in battle through their liturgical round, see Barbara Rosenwein, "Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression," *Viator* 2

stories that illustrate the same contest, but in one incident, Glaber admits that he himself, along with others, was seduced by the same evil habit of sleeping in when the bell sounded for matins.⁸⁸ Furthermore, it was not just the neglect of prayer and the liturgy that disturbed Glaber. It was also the improper observation or performance of the rituals. Excessive drooling or spitting at prayer, unworthy participation in the eucharist, and even accidental clumsiness in the handling of the 'chrismal' were all transgressions that required a suitable penance.⁸⁹ Proper observation of rituals, down to their very minutiae, was of paramount concern to Glaber, as it was to all of his Cluniac brothers.

There is a second important element in the story of the recalcitrant monk told above. The danger presented by the devil's lie was not only in its threat to the *monk's* spiritual welfare. The demon implied that the *opus Dei* was largely about self-preservation when he stated that "even an hour of such exertions would be enough to gain that everlasting beatitude which *you* regard as the reward of *your* virtue,"⁹⁰ but Glaber recognized the broader implications of the challenge. The logic of the demon's argument was that Christ harrows hell annually, irrespective of the prayers of monks. Hence, there was little point in labouring so intensively for the liberation of souls, whether it be one's own or the souls of the departed. I am convinced that Glaber was troubled about the welfare of the latter.

By this time Cluny had developed an elaborate system of prayer for the dead, and, as we have seen, this element of its monastic practice was widely revered and coveted by many for themselves. This increasing concern for the fate of departed souls found its fullest expression in 998, when Odilo established All Soul's Day for the commemoration

(1971), pp. 129-57; idem, "St. Odo's St. Martin: The Uses of a Model," *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1987), pp. 317-31; see also Duby, *The Three Orders*, p. 196.

⁸⁸*Histories*, V.i.5. pp. 220-23.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, V.i.7,11,12. pp. 224-25, 230-35.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, V.i.1. pp. 216-17 (emphasis mine).

of those faithful dead who had been adherents of the Cluniac way of life. This institution was specifically "for Cluny and all its houses, with the clause 'and if anyone else takes our pious institution for example, may he by this very deed become a participant in all the prayers made'."⁹¹ It was both the 'pious institution' and prayer for the dead in general that Glaber was committed to defending. Later in Book Five, Glaber tells the story of a citizen of Marseilles who set out on a journey to meet an African hermit, well-known for his pious and austere observance. The two finally met, and Glaber records:

Then the holy man said: 'I know that you have come from Gaul. Tell me, have you ever seen the monastery of Cluny, which is in that country?' The fellow replied: 'I have, and I know it well.' Then the hermit went on: 'Know that it exceeds all the monasteries in the Roman world in the number of souls it liberates from the clutches of the devil. The life-giving sacrifice is so often performed there that hardly a day passes without some souls being torn thereby from the power of the devils.'

Glaber then goes on to record his own observations of the monastery:

In fact, as we ourselves observed, the number of brethren in that house was so great that it was the custom to celebrate mass without interruption from daybreak to dinner-time. These masses are so reverently, piously, and worthily performed that you would have thought them the work of angels rather than men.⁹²

Although Glaber nowhere makes direct reference to the feast of All Souls, the same story is told by Jotsald in his *Life of Saint Odilo*, where he states explicitly that the African hermit provided the inspiration for Odilo to establish the special, commemorative day.⁹³

⁹¹Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny*, p. 23, n. 2.

⁹²*Histories*, V.i.13. pp. 234-37.

⁹³Jotsald, *De Vita et Virtutibus sancti Odilonis abbatis*, PL. 142, cols. 926-27. France makes this connection (*Histories*, p. 235, n. 1). Yet it is unclear just how we should account for the shared story. France cites "a Cluniac tradition which both Jotsald and Glaber are reporting independently" (ibid.). It may have been a more personal source than that, however, for both men lived at Cluny, and both could well

Glaber prefaced this story stating the firm conviction that the celebration of the mass "confers great benefits upon the souls of the faithful departed."⁹⁴ This was clearly an element of Cluniac practice that Glaber believed was worth upholding. When a monk was dilatory in his liturgical observances, it was not just his own soul that was in jeopardy, but the departed souls of all who looked to the warriors of prayer for their eternal liberation.⁹⁵

The internal life of the monastery was the very centre of Rodulfus Glaber's existence. Although he may have been more transient than St. Benedict's *Rule* seemed to permit,⁹⁶ he was firmly committed to the cenobitic life that found its mainspring at the monastery of Cluny. He believed that the reforms instigated there were ushering in an age of purified monastic observance that harkened back to the days of the founder himself. But it was also an age in which the secular Church was in desperate need of reform, and he frequently turned his attention to its affairs.

The Church

Cluny's relationship to the Church has long been a subject that has animated historians of the eleventh century. The centre of this discussion has usually tended to focus on Cluny's fight for liberty in the form of exemption from the authority of local, diocesan bishops, particularly as that liberty related to the later Gregorian reforms.⁹⁷ In

have heard the story from Odilo himself. While Jotsald wrote his story later than did Glaber, there is no evidence that he relied on Glaber's account, and the two are significantly different.

⁹⁴*Histories*, V.i.13. pp. 234-35.

⁹⁵On the general importance of prayer for the dead during this period, see Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

⁹⁶*The Rule of Saint Benedict*, trans. with an introduction by Cardinal Gasquet (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1966), p. 8. Glaber was certainly not a gyrovague, at least as the *Rule* defined that category of monks, but he did have a problem remaining in one place for an extended period of time.

this view, the same forces that had led to scandalous monastic practices in Europe had also gravely affected appointments to episcopal sees. As episcopal investiture was gradually wrested from the hands of the king, candidates were no longer chosen on the basis of their meritorious lives or pastoral abilities. Rather, they were elected for their political usefulness, wealth or family connections.⁹⁸ This is a fairly accurate assessment of ecclesiastical investiture in the tenth and early eleventh century. A number of questions might rightly be asked given this situation: "Did such prelates have the qualities necessary to exercise a beneficent control over the monasteries of their dioceses? Would not the monks, threatened if not hard pressed, seek to escape such bishops' grasp and turn toward Rome against them?"⁹⁹

In Cluny's case this argument has an appealing quality. After all, the monastery had originally been dedicated to the apostles Peter and Paul, and during the first century of its existence popes had occasionally taken interest in its success, affirming its freedoms through charters and bulls. Yet as we have seen, complete immunity and exemption from both lay and ecclesiastical control, while technically granted to Cluny in its foundation charter and later papal affirmations, remained a largely abstract and unrealized goal.¹⁰⁰ Until well into the abbacy of Hugh in the middle of the eleventh century, Cluny maintained cordial relations with the diocesan bishops of Mâcon and other more powerful bishops in France. This being the case, however, Cluniacs believed firmly that, as much as monasteries had fallen prey to the viciousness and corruption of the times, so too was

⁹⁷See J-F. Lemarignier, "L'Exemption monastique et les origines de la réforme grégorienne," in *A Cluny, Congrès scientifique. Fêtes et cérémonies liturgiques en l'honneur des Saints Abbés Odon et Odilon*, 9-11 July 1949, (Dijon: Sociétés des Amis de Cluny, 1950), pp. 288-340; H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, pp. 3-63.

⁹⁸Lemarignier, "Political and Monastic Structures in France," p. 112.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰See above, Introduction, pp. 10-11.

the Church in desperate need of reform, and they felt it their responsibility to sound the trumpet call.

Already in the early tenth century, abbot Odo had taken a clear stand on corrupt practices within the secular Church. Of all of these, simony was the one which he attacked most vehemently. John of Salerno tells us of a time when abbot Berno, recognizing that Odo's virtues would lead him on to great things, summoned a bishop to ordain him priest. Odo, however, was unwilling, and after being compelled by Berno to go through with the consecration, he reacted "as though some great misfortune had befallen him."¹⁰¹ John, who was well aware of the possible implications of the ordination of an unwilling candidate, registered the disclaimer, "I beg that no one may hold it against me that I said he had been ordained against his consent, lest perchance he [Berno] who attempted so to ordain him should be seen to be among those who do not fear to buy or sell the gift of the Holy Spirit."¹⁰² Berno, knowing what was in Odo's heart, sent him to the bishop in the hope that Odo would be convinced of the distinction of the office. The results, however, were not what Berno expected. John notes,

After the bishop had spoken at length to his great consolation on the dignity of the priesthood, they were led on to discuss the state of the Church, and Odo began to expound on Jeremias' lamentation over the priests. When he had finished, the bishop asked him to write down what he had said and to put it into the form of a book...

Then at the abbot's [Berno's] command Odo wrote three books on the prophecy of Jeremias, the text of which has already been sent to various churches.¹⁰³

The text here points us to Odo's *Collations*. The three Books of the *Collations* are generally about the vicissitudes and hardships that are the lot of all men, and particularly

¹⁰¹ *The Life of St. Odo of Chuny*, p. 39.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

those who live in this present evil age. Odo is, however, particularly hard upon those amongst the clergy who, rather than providing an example to the world around them, have succumbed to its moral turpitude. One of the most despicable of these vices, in Odo's view, was the buying and selling of ecclesiastical offices.¹⁰⁴

When we turn to the works of Glaber we are struck by his consistent invective against the corruption of the secular clergy. In Book Two of the *Histories* Glaber engages in a lengthy diatribe focused largely on the "shameful avarice" that had seized the prelates in his day. In much the same way Odo had done, Glaber, alluding to Matt. 24:12, ascribes this malignant condition to the "evident fact that as the last days go by charity will be chilled and iniquity will blossom amongst men, who will find dangerous times for their souls."¹⁰⁵ For Glaber, the worst of these vices was simony:

Kings ought to have chosen worthy persons for the service of holy religion, but they have been corrupted by bribes and prefer to appoint anyone from whom they can expect more gifts to the rule of churches and the cure of souls. So presumptuous men, swollen with pride, push themselves forward for every preferment... Furthermore, once they are installed, they are the more zealous in avarice because it was through avarice that they satisfied their ambition for office.¹⁰⁶

This was a vice that led to many others, including envy, deception, fraud and murder. And, as if these things were not bad enough, it was through the increasing "irreligious laxity amongst the clergy" that "wantonness and incontinence prevail[ed] amongst the laity."¹⁰⁷ Those who were meant to tend the flock of God had instead become a millstone around its neck.

¹⁰⁴*Odonis Abbatis Cluniacensis Collationum libri tres*, PL. 133, cols. 552-55; 589-92.

¹⁰⁵*Histories*, II.vi.10. pp. 68-69.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, II.vi.11. pp. 70-71.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, II.vi.12. pp. 72-73.

The practice of simony was also of great concern to St. William, Glaber's patron and abbot at St-Bénigne. Glaber records two separate occasions on which his master had written to Pope John XIX in Rome. One of these correspondences was brief but none the less scathing in its denunciation of simony. In the text of the short letter, found in the *Life of St. William*, William exhorts, "Let it be enough for mankind that Christ has already been sold for the common salvation of all... If the river is stagnant close to its source there can be no doubt that lower down it stinks. Who buys the care of souls purchases his damnation! I want you, pontiffs and bishops alike, to be mindful of the judge who wields the axe and stands before the door!"¹⁰⁸ We know that William's offence at this custom was as authentic in practice as it was in theory. On one occasion he had been targeted for promotion to the office of deacon by Peter, the bishop of Vercelli.¹⁰⁹ Glaber notes, though, that "the practice of a wickedly usurped custom had grown up that none of the brethren of that house could enter the rank of deacon before promising faithful service to the bishop on oath."¹¹⁰ While this appears to be evidence for 'typically' Cluniac resistance to episcopal control, it is more likely that simony was once again involved; for William's response to Peter was "that where those things were concerned *which ought to be given freely* at the command of God alone, he could not safely consider in any way swearing any oath of obedience to a minister concerned with their discharge."¹¹¹ Where corruption among the ranks of ecclesiastics was involved, none, from the lowest priest right up to the pope himself, was immune from the reforming influence of Cluniac mores and values.

Glaber's concern for the reformation of the clergy can be found more positively expressed as well. He tells the story of a man named Hervé, who had been treasurer and

¹⁰⁸*Life of St. William*, x. pp. 282-83.

¹⁰⁹At the age of seven, William had been taken to the monastery of St. Michele, which was situated in the diocese of the city of Vercelli (cf. *ibid.*, ii-iv. pp. 258-65; n. 2, p. 258).

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, iv. pp. 260-61.

¹¹¹*Ibid.* (emphasis mine).

then canon at the church of St-Martin of Tours.¹¹² His life was, in its entirety, "an incomparable example to the men of this age."¹¹³ Hervé's greatest longing was to enter a monastery and live in obedience to the *Rule*, which he managed to do only for a very short while. Yet his family would have none of it, and they forced him to abandon his intentions. Eventually, as a form of compromise, Hervé was appointed treasurer of the church at St-Martin by king Robert, in the hope that he would eventually assume the bishopric. This never happened, as a result of Hervé's refusals. Glaber praises Hervé for his great resolve, but he reserves his greatest approbation for the canon when he introduces the manner of his life in the world: "Although charged against his will with the care of a church, and sometimes dressed in white according to the canon, in spirit and way of life he was a monk through and through: he habitually wore a hair shirt next to his skin, he mortified his body by relentlessly fasting, was miserly to himself and generous to the poor, and devoted himself to constant vigils and prayers."¹¹⁴ There is no question that Glaber would have preferred to see Hervé unfettered and released to live out his life in a monastery. Yet the canon had achieved the next best thing. For those clergy who had the mind to do so, the exemplary lifestyle of the monk could be achieved even without the walls of the cloister.

From simony to carnality, from nepotism to complicity in a fraudulent relics trade,¹¹⁵ Cluniac monks were always prepared to call the members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy back to a life of holiness. Not only had Cluniac monks attained a perfection of

¹¹²For more on Hervé of Tours, see G. Oury, "L'idéal monastique dans la vie canoniale: Le bienheureux Hervé de Tours (†1022)," *Revue Mabillon* 52 (1962), pp. 1-31.

¹¹³*Histories*, III.iv.14. pp. 116-17.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, III.iv.14. pp. 118-19.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, IV.iii.6. pp. 180-83.

lifestyle for themselves, but they also believed it their duty to perfect the clergy along the lines of their purified monastic observances.¹¹⁶

The World

Cluny's preoccupation with the reform of both religious orders was by no means a reflection of indifference to the state of lay society. Each of the five abbots of the monastery up to Glaber's day were themselves of illustrious, noble stock, a fact of which Cluny was somewhat proud. Odo's biographer remarks that his abbot was of such noble lineage that he was raised at the court of William of Aquitaine, and trained in all the skills appropriate to a man of his high social status.¹¹⁷ Odilo, himself a member of the knightly class, spoke candidly of the impeccable pedigree of the abbots who succeeded him. Of Maiol he said, "That man, our most blessed father Maiol, sprang from a distinguished line, and was nobly raised from infancy with careful vigilance by his noble parents."¹¹⁸ Yet it was not just their blood ties with the world of lay nobles that gave them more than a passing interest in it, for in general they were "nurtured by its charitable members, protected by lay advocates..., and victimized by its oppressors."¹¹⁹

Early in the tenth century Odo provided a perfect model for the layman seeking to live a righteous life. In the preface to his *Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac*, he states: "Since, therefore, I believe this man of God to have been given as an example to the mighty, let them see how they may imitate him as one of themselves held up for their example."¹²⁰

¹¹⁶Duby, *The Three Orders*, p. 140.

¹¹⁷*The Life of St. Odo*, pp. 6, 9-10.

¹¹⁸*De Vita Beati Maioli Abbatis*, PL. 142, col. 947: "Fuit vir iste, beatissimus pater noster Maiolus, praeclaro stemmate ortus ac nobilibus parentibus pervigili cura ab ipsa infantia nobiliter enutritus."

¹¹⁹Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound*, p. 57.

¹²⁰*The Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac*, p. 92.

Gerald was a worthy exemplar because he had overcome the vices of lust, avarice and pride which were thought to so easily encumber a man of his status.¹²¹ Furthermore, he was a protector of the lowly. Not only did he abstain from plundering the goods of others, but he justly used his might in order to protect the defenseless.¹²² The greatest of Gerald's virtues, however, was his monk-like discipline and lifestyle. Like Hervé, the canon at the church of St- Martin of Tours, Gerald longed to enter a monastery, but he was dissuaded by Odo and others. Though he was kept in the world against his will, he performed faithfully the duties of a monk. Wearing a cap to hide his tonsured head, and a hair shirt beneath his rich clothing, he devoted himself constantly to prayer, self-invigilation and good deeds.¹²³ Odo even remembered, with obvious approval, that Gerald was known to say, "I tell you that a good layman is far better than a monk who does not keep his vows."¹²⁴

Odo established a pattern for Cluniac monastic reform that "exceeded the bounds of the cloister,"¹²⁵ and this was a tradition that rooted itself deeply in the Cluniac ethos. Odilo praised Maiol for the shining example of virtue that he provided to kings, princes, bishops and popes. Their lives and actions were changed as a result of Maiol's powerful influence. Odilo himself occupied a similar place in his relationships with the great. He composed an epitaph on the death of Otto the Great as well as a life of the emperor's wife, Adelaide,¹²⁶ and we also know that during the abbacy of Odilo prayers for the Spanish monarchs commenced.¹²⁷ Reformation that touched at the very pinnacle of society was a

¹²¹Ibid., p. 160.

¹²²Ibid., p. 101.

¹²³Ibid., pp. 132-41.

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 139.

¹²⁵Hallinger, "The Spiritual Life of Cluny in the Early Days," p. 47.

¹²⁶Cf. *PL.* 142, cols. 967-68. See also R.G. Heath, *Crux imperatorum philosophia*, pp. 53-63.

crucial element of the Cluniac agenda. For in much the same way that their bad example would corrupt the lower orders, so too would their good example have the opposite effect. In this way, all of society would be transformed.

This concern was one that was clearly a part of Glaber's monastic upbringing too. He tells us of a time when Fulk Nerra, driven by the fear of hell, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. It was then that he conceived of the idea of establishing a community of monks "who should intercede day and night for the redemption of his soul."¹²⁸ Glaber goes on to reveal that the count's anxiety over his soul was well founded, for Hugh, the archbishop of Tours, refused to consecrate his new church because "he could present before the Lord the vow of one who had stolen property and serfs on a grand scale from the mother-church of his see."¹²⁹ Fulk's refusal to comply with the archbishop's wishes had dire consequences, for on the day of its consecration, the church was destroyed by an act of God. Glaber is very explicit about what he intends to achieve by recording this story: Fulk's presumption should serve as "a clear lesson to present and future generations that they should not behave this way."¹³⁰

One event that Glaber relates is particularly illustrative of his desire to see the moral reformation of all of society. After describing the terrible famine that struck Europe in the early 1030s, he tells us that councils were convened throughout the entire country for "re-establishing peace and consolidating the holy faith." These were attended by all members of society - "great, middling and poor," - who came "ready to obey the

¹²⁷C.J. Bishko, "Liturgical Intercession at Cluny for the King-Emperors of Leon," *Studia Monastica* 3 (1961), p. 55.

¹²⁸*Histories*, II.iv.5. pp. 60-61. For a recent discussion of Fulk Nerra's pilgrimages, see Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins, 987-1040," in *Religion, Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard Sullivan*, edited by Thomas F.X. Noble and John Contreni (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987), pp. 205-17; idem, *Fulk Nerra, the Neo-Roman Consul, 987-1040. A Political Biography of the Angevin Count* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 100-104, 121-23, 163-65.

¹²⁹*Histories*, II.iv.6-7. pp. 60-65.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, II.iv.7. pp. 64-65.

commands of the clergy."¹³¹ Glaber tells us that there was much that took place at these councils that he would have liked to relate, but he states that there was "one matter worth remembering." "All agreed" he states, "by a perpetual edict, that men, except when gravely ill, should always abstain from wine on the sixth day of the week, and from flesh on the seventh, unless an important feast happened to fall on one of these days."¹³² Here Glaber reflects a theme that was clearly articulated in Odo's *Life of St. Gerald*: monastic disciplines were equally applicable to all members of society. While the life of a monk was a specialized one, attainable in its perfected form only by a select few, it was a model for *all* to live by. When Glaber later rails against the terrible tendency to evil that he saw all about him, he laments that "insolence mounted amongst almost all orders of men."¹³³ In this particular instance, having just denounced the crimes against all law and right committed "in ecclesiastical as in secular affairs," the "*almost* all orders of men" is significant, reflecting the tenacity of the Carolingian notion of the three orders in Glaber's view of the world.¹³⁴ Monks, though one of society's three orders, are absent from the equation here because they, more like angels than men in their already perfected state,¹³⁵ were able to provide the impetus for reform that society needs.

Lay reform was an element of the Cluniac vision that was passed down to Glaber through his patron, St. William. Glaber recalls that when Duke Richard II of Normandy brought St. William to restore the monastery of Fécamp in 1001, the holy father took care that the work he founded there would reach all levels of society. Along with the establishment of "monastic workshops" and "schools in the holy ministry for clerics,"

¹³¹Ibid., IV.v.14. pp. 194-95.

¹³²Ibid., IV.v.15. pp. 196-97.

¹³³Ibid., IV.ix.25. pp. 212-13.

¹³⁴See above, pp. 20-21.

¹³⁵Ibid., V.i.12. pp. 234-35.

William made sure that the benefit of teaching was "freely bestowed on all those who converged on the monasteries entrusted to his charge; none who aspired to it was to be deprived, rather an example of uniform charity was to be given, for the slave and the freeman, the rich and the poor."¹³⁶ Here in Glaber's choice of terms we find faint echoes of the apostle Paul's letter to the Corinthians, where he affirms that in Christ there is neither slave nor free.¹³⁷ In the egalitarian spirit of the gospel, William sought to bring renewal to the broad spectrum of society. Glaber records near the end of his *Life* that William encouraged Ursus, the Patriarch of Venice, to stay with his clerical calling when he desired to become a monk, for "the absence of such a man would be a loss to that people." This was not a unique occurrence, for Glaber then tells us that William was "known to have done the same thing in many cases for the same reason."¹³⁸ This is reminiscent of Odo's refusal to allow Gerald to enter the monastic life. The monks who lived according to the pattern of life established by Cluny saw themselves as the most able mediators between heaven and earth. It was only within the walls of the monastery that the *opus Dei* could be fulfilled to perfection. Monks, however, were *not* the sole repositories of monastic virtues. Cluniac ideology promoted the 'monasticization' of all orders in society.

¹³⁶*Life of St. William*, vii. pp. 272-73.

¹³⁷Glaber states, "nullusque qui ad hoc vellet procedere prohiberetur quin potius tam *servis quam liberis*, divitibus cum egenis uniforme caritatis impenderetur documentum" (ibid.) (emphasis mine). In Galatians Paul states that, "non est Iudaeus neque Graecus, *non est servus neque liber*, non est masculus neque femina, omnes enim vos unum estis in Christo Iesu" (Gal. 3: 28), *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, edited by Boniface Fischer OSB, John Gribomont OSB, H.F.D. Sparks and W. Thiele with a brief critical apparatus by Robert Weber OSB (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1969) (emphasis mine).

¹³⁸*Life of St. William*, xiv. pp. 296-97.

Contrito corde et humiliato corpore: Cluny's Penitential Ethic

One of the key ingredients in Cluny's view of reform, whether it be reform of the monastery, the Church or the world, was its universal call to repentance. Earlier reference was made to the fact that Cluny was so remarkably successful in its reforms because it was able to meet the spiritual needs of tenth- and eleventh-century individuals in a way that no one else could. At the very heart of those spiritual needs was the remission of sins (*remissio peccatorum*).¹³⁹ All of the abbots of Cluny from Odo (d. 944) to Hugh (d. 1109) cultivated scrupulously the image of Cluny as a refuge from the world, where one could divest oneself of all worldly cares and engage in a life of penance. This ideal is best summed up in a letter that Abbot Hugh wrote to King Philip I of France in 1106, urging him to embrace the monastic profession at Cluny: "Behold, St. Peter and St. Paul, the Princes of the Apostles, who are the judges of emperors and kings no less than the whole world, are ready to receive you into this their house, which our fathers have named the refuge of the penitent (*asylum poenitentium*)."¹⁴⁰

Part of this penitential ethic involved the cleansing gift of tears (*donum lacrimarum*), a virtue that receives considerable attention in the *vitae* and other works composed by the abbots of Cluny during this period.¹⁴¹ John of Salerno records that when Odo set about to tell him of his life, it was in words "full of tears and groans."¹⁴² He himself admits that the very telling of Odo's story required that he invoke divine aid "with heartfelt tears."¹⁴³ Odo, too, records that Gerald of Aurillac would often kneel and pray in

¹³⁹Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, p. 121.

¹⁴⁰*PL*. 159, cols. 930-32, trans. Cowdrey (*ibid.*, p. 128).

¹⁴¹On the *donum lacrimarum*, see Heath, *Crux imperatorum philosophia*, pp. 197-99.

¹⁴²*The Life of St. Odo of Cluny*, p. 7.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 4.

tears over the oppression and suffering he witnessed around him.¹⁴⁴ Syrus, in his *Life of Maiol*, tells us that on journeys the abbot would often withdraw from the rest and water the ground with his tears; and on many other occasions he notes that Maiol's prayers were often accompanied by an abundance of tears.¹⁴⁵ Odilo confirms that Maiol wept with those who wept, mourning over the lamentable state of their youth and the many disasters scourging the earth.¹⁴⁶ Odilo was clearly not just an admirer of those who possessed this gift, for his biographer tells us that he too was blessed with an "abundance of tears" (*affluentia lacrymarum*), and that his eyes shone brightly and were filled with tears, "because the virtue of compunction was often present [in him]."¹⁴⁷

The monastery of Cluny and other houses influenced by its reforms were meant to be earthly havens from the turmoil of the world, reflecting most perfectly the penitential ethic. Yet penance, like all other monastic virtues, was not to be monopolized by monks. Rodulfus Glaber's own experiences in reformed monasteries strongly suggest that he too was heavily influenced by Cluny's call for a penitent society. Nearing the end of his life, Glaber recorded that the devil had appeared to him one night. He was

of middling stature with a thin neck, skinny face, jet-black eyes, and a lined and wrinkled forehead; his nostrils were pinched and he had a wide mouth and blubbery lips; his goat-like beard covered a receding and pointed chin, while his ears were shaggy and pointed; his hair was a disordered mop and he had dog-like fangs; he had a pointed head, a swollen chest, a hunchback, and mobile haunches; clad in dirty clothes, his whole body seemed to quiver with effort as he leant forward.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴For one example of this, see *The Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac*, pp. 148-49.

¹⁴⁵*PL*. 137, cols. 758, 762: "Plerumque terra ante oculos ita lacrymis videbatur irrigata, ac si foret unda perfusa"; "Mox oratorium petiit, seseque cum lacrymis in orationem dedit."

¹⁴⁶*De Vita Beati Maioli Abbatis*, *PL*. 142, col. 952: "Cum beatis lugentibus desiderabat filiorum suorum negligentias et totius mundi discrimina plangere."

¹⁴⁷Jotsald, *De Vita et Virtutibus Sancti Odilonis Abbatis*, *PL*. 142, col. 901: "quia saepius aderat virtus compunctionis."

This ghastly image had a profound effect upon Glaber, for he leapt from his bed, ran to the Church of St-Léger-de-Champceaux where he was staying, and threw himself prostrate at the altar, "trying desperately to recall all the grave sins of which I had wantonly or carelessly been guilty since childhood; but especially because I had almost never since then done satisfaction of penance for love or fear of the Godhead."¹⁴⁹ Glaber's deliberate affectation of monastic humility - vowing that he had never done proper penance since his childhood - should not mislead us. He may well have understood from the vision that his penance had never been sufficient to erase the stain of his guilt. Yet ever since his entrance into the religious vocation at the age of twelve, Glaber had been steeped in a milieu where penance was a way of life. His swift, almost unthinking, reaction to his sinister guest only confirms this for us.¹⁵⁰

Glaber viewed the monastery, as did all of his Cluniac brethren, as an *asylum poenitentium*. Compunction was a virtue that he spoke of highly. In one of his most effusive descriptions of St. William, he notes that the father was of a "pious spirit and a contrite heart," and he also made use of the gift of tears to call others to repentance.¹⁵¹ Yet Glaber was also convinced that the urgency of the times required that all members of society shoulder the burden of penance. Glaber is one of the best witnesses that we have concerning the revival of pilgrimage to Jerusalem that occurred around the turn of the tenth century.¹⁵² We know from Glaber's testimony that it was fear of hell that compelled

¹⁴⁸*Histories*, V.i.2. pp. 218-19.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰It is interesting to observe that Book V is strongly penitential in its overall tone. The reason for this is likely the same as the reason why Book V reflects most clearly Glaber's legalistic obsession with the performance of Cluniac rituals (cf. above, p. 26).

¹⁵¹*Life of St. William*, xii. pp. 288-91.

¹⁵²On public rites of penance in this period, see C. Vogel, "Les rites de la pénitence publique aux X^e et XI^e siècles," in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, vol. 1, edited by P. Gallais and Y.J. Riou (Poitiers: n.p., 1966), pp. 137-44.

Fulk Nerra to make the journey to Jerusalem - an act that he performed no less than three times in his life.¹⁵³ Later in the *Histories*, however, Glaber relates with considerable wonder that "an innumerable multitude of people" made the journey. "First to go," he says, "were the petty people, then those of middling estate, and next the powerful kings, counts, marquesses, and bishops; finally, and this was something which had never happened before, numerous women, noble and poor, undertook the journey."¹⁵⁴ All members of society were participating in a ritual that was penitential at its heart, reflecting a commonly felt need by all to beseech God for the expiation of their sins in a concrete way.¹⁵⁵

Elsewhere Glaber tells the story of a fire that broke out in the Church of St. Peter in Rome. When the people saw what was happening, "as one man they gave out a terrible scream and turned to rush to confess [to] the Prince of the Apostles, for a long while crying that if he did not watchfully protect his church at this time then many men would fall away from the faith."¹⁵⁶ This was an image of society the way it should be, recognizing and confessing its sins before God. People were often intransigent, however, and Glaber notes that in the midst of the terrible famine of the early 1030's, when misery and hardship were widespread, it was rare "for anyone, under the secret and divine vengeance, to raise his heart and hands unto the Lord as he should have done, with a contrite heart and a prostrated body (*contrito corde et humiliato corpore*) begging for His

¹⁵³*Histories*, II.iv.5. pp. 60-61; see also Bachrach, "The Pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra," p. 205. Bachrach confirms Glaber's report that it was fear of hell that constrained Fulk, for in a letter that the count himself wrote to archbishop Hugh of Tours, he said, "Because I caused a great deal of bloodshed in various battles and was terrified by the fear of hell, I went to the sepulchre of the Savior in Jerusalem" (*ibid.*, p. 206).

¹⁵⁴*Histories*, IV.vi.18. pp. 198-201.

¹⁵⁵On the penitential pilgrimage, see Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), pp. 98-113. On its importance to Glaber's eschatology, see below, Chapter II, pp. 69-72.

¹⁵⁶*Histories*, II.vii.13. pp. 74-75.

aid."¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, Glaber and his Cluniac brothers aspired to see a society in which all of mankind, "[mortifying] themselves..., prayed to the Lord."¹⁵⁸ The model for such a society was found within the walls of the monastery.

Cluny's brand of monasticism embraced a view of reform that "combined its doctrine of other-worldliness and withdrawal with a desire to communicate to the world at large religious standards that would raise the lives of the clergy and laity alike."¹⁵⁹ The monks recognized that they shared humanity's fallen condition with their counterparts in the world. Their concern for the nature of the world was solidly anchored in the reality that their separation from it had produced the type of moral regeneration that it so desperately needed. This does not imply that the monks of Cluny professed utopian dreams of an egalitarian social order. Glaber was as disparaging of the "*rusticanae*" as all members of the higher orders were in his day,¹⁶⁰ and there is no reason to think otherwise of Cluniac monks in general. They believed their monasteries to be "the anterooms of paradise," and presenting themselves in this manner may have secured them an elevated status far above the clergy and laity alike.¹⁶¹ From that lofty perch, however, Glaber and his *fratres* hoped to monasticize the world, thus creating an ideal society in keeping with the gravity of the times.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., IV.iv.13. pp. 192-93 (trans. France as: "with a contrite heart and humble body"). I translate the phrase in this way because Glaber's choice of the perfect passive participle implies a body subjugated by fasts and other mortifications, a concept more in keeping with his notion of penance.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., IV.viii.23. p. 208: "Semet affligentes, Dominum rogaverunt."

¹⁵⁹Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, p. 134.

¹⁶⁰*Histories*, IV.iii.6. pp. 180-81.

¹⁶¹Duby, *The Three Orders*, p. 140.

Chapter II

The Millennium

In the preface to Book I of his *Histories*, Glaber reveals his intention to record for posterity the "many things [which] have happened in the Roman Empire and in distant and barbarous provinces."¹⁶² These things, he claims, will serve as a lesson in wisdom and vigilance for all who are sensitive to the signs of the times. Yet he voiced particular concern about the "many events which occurred with unusual frequency about the millennium of the Incarnation of Christ."¹⁶³ Most of Glaber's chronicle through Book III (all of which was written prior to 1030) makes use of the year 1000 as a temporal reference point. In terms of the biblical narrative of Christ's life, however, the millennium of the Savior's birth was only one of two dates which Glaber invested with special eschatological significance.

At the beginning of Book IV, which was written sometime between 1036 and 1041, Glaber shifts his focus. Here he states, "After the many prodigies which had broken upon the world before, after, and around the millennium of the Lord Christ, there were plenty of able men of penetrating intellect who foretold others, just as great, at the approach of the millennium of the Lord's Passion, and such wonders were soon manifest."¹⁶⁴ We shall shortly discuss some of these manifestations which he describes - from the heretics in Lombardy who were accompanied by black hordes of demonic spirits, to the crowds of pilgrims who flocked to the holy Sepulchre of the Savior in Jerusalem, to a famine which devastated Europe just prior to 1033.¹⁶⁵ This calamity

¹⁶²*Histories*, I.Preface.1. pp. 2-3.

¹⁶³*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴*Ibid.*, IV.Preface.1. pp. 170-1.

¹⁶⁵*Ibid.*, IV.ii.5. pp. 177-81; IV.vi.18-21. pp. 199-205; IV.iv.9-13. pp. 185-93.

achieved such horrific proportions that some, Glaber informs us, tried to alleviate their hunger by disinterring and consuming the corpses of the dead. The *Histories* was meant to be, both in tone and content, an anthology of events that were invested with significance by their proximity to the years 1000 and 1033.

Historians have made both much and little of what has been often referred to as 'The Terrors of the Year 1000'. One historian who is currently doing work on the writings of Ademar of Chabannes, a contemporary of Glaber, represents what has been an unpopular school of thought when he argues that "much eschatological tension in the late tenth and early eleventh century... [was] based on fear of the imminent last judgement."¹⁶⁶ For a particularly vivid description of those fears, he points us to Glaber, who "is our most valuable source."¹⁶⁷ Most historians, however, and especially those whose interests are principally in social and economic history, find this characterization of the early eleventh century unacceptable.¹⁶⁸ Even John France, who has completed the most recent critical edition and translation of Glaber's works, claims that "the sense of anxiety and tension which informs the *Histories* springs not from an expectation of the coming of the Antichrist but from the author's perception that he was living in a world which was

¹⁶⁶Daniel F. Callahan, "The Manichaeans and the Antichrist in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes: 'The Terrors of the Year 1000' and the Origins of Popular Heresy in the Medieval West" (Forthcoming), p. 2. I am grateful to Professor Callahan for sending me a copy of the final draft of this paper prior to its publication. For a brief discussion of the historiography surrounding the "Terrors of the Year 1000" see notes 3-5. See also Richard Landes, "The Making of a Medieval Historian: Ademar of Chabannes and Aquitaine at the Turn of the Millennium" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Princeton University, 1984), pp. 3-6. For a more recent and very effective refutation of the 'anti-terrors' school, see Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 285-327.

¹⁶⁷Callahan, "The Manichaeans and the Antichrist," p. 2.

¹⁶⁸The tenth and early eleventh century is certainly a period that has achieved a marked reputation for obscurity. While Charles Homer Haskins points out that the vibrant twelfth century did have its specific antecedents, he was able to say after only 29 pages of his seminal work, "So much for the period of origins. Vague, obscure, tantalizing, as all such periods are, it at least shows us clearly that the new movement is nothing sudden or catastrophic, but reaches far back into the eleventh century and even earlier" (*The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927], p. 29). Richard Landes notes this tendency amongst other well-respected historians of this period (including Colin Morris and Malcolm Lambert) ("The Making of a Medieval Historian," p. 3).

changing dramatically."¹⁶⁹ Implicit in this stance is the suggestion that we ought to graciously overlook Glaber's explanation for these stresses. In much the same way that he explained the expansion of the Latin Christian world in "inevitably... religious terms,"¹⁷⁰ Glaber expressed his bewilderment at a world in flux.

Glaber was certainly aware of the great changes that were transforming the world in which he lived; and those changes may, in fact, have been of a largely socio-economic nature. To imply, however, that Glaber may have deliberately veiled his 'clear-headed' appraisal of events with the religious verbiage that would have been expected from a Cluniac monk is to fall prey to historical anachronism. Perhaps much of the skepticism that historians express when confronted with phenomena such as 'The Terrors of the year 1000' is rooted in their belief that many of the changes which were taking place at this time heralded the dawning of 'modern' Europe. While this period has been little studied compared with that of the twelfth century, most historians acknowledge it "as the starting point of the characteristically Western passions for urban life, technological manipulation of nature, territorial expansion, travel, reason, timekeeping, literacy, religious dissent and reform, and individuality."¹⁷¹ Consequently, many assume that dynamic, *rationalizing* forces were at work which led, inexorably, to the demise of 'brutish' practices and beliefs such as the trial by ordeal.¹⁷² This is an attractive argument for medievalists, particularly those who study the tenth and eleventh centuries, who have for years vigorously resisted the disparaging epithets ('barbarous', 'superstitious', 'dark') which have often been used to

¹⁶⁹France, *Introduction*, p. lxiv.

¹⁷⁰Ibid.

¹⁷¹Landes, "The Making of a Medieval Historian," p. 1.

¹⁷²Constance Bouchard, in her recent book on the Church and nobility in Burgundy states, almost as a truism: "Certainly the High Middle Ages was no Age of Faith." She then concedes, almost apologetically: "but it was a period in which religious concerns at least occasionally influenced all members of the aristocracy" (*Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987], p. 26). That this must be said *at all* reveals the influence that modern sentiments exercise on the scholarship of historians today.

describe this period of the Middle Ages. Yet we subvert the historical task if we stumble over ourselves to 'liberate' this age from its supposed irrationality. For the inhabitants of Europe in the eleventh century, the cosmos was inhabited by angelic and demonic hosts. Like those who lived in the world of late antiquity, eleventh-century individuals set their gaze upon the heavens with a sense of fear, expectancy and faith. This perception of the universe, as Peter Brown points out, is generally beyond the comprehension of the modern historian. "Living as we do in a bleakly submonotheistic age," he states, "we tend to look up into the sky and find it empty."¹⁷³ Whether we like it or not, however, Glaber and his contemporaries conceived of their world in profoundly religious terms. This we must grant them if we are to gain a proper understanding of their world.

The preoccupation with the millennium of Christ's birth and passion that we find in Glaber's writings cannot be regarded as an exclusively Cluniac concern. Ademar of Chabannes, a monk of Saint-Cybard of Angoulême, wrote with the coming of the antichrist in mind, "Know, brethren, that terrible tribulations have already come to pass, and now they are even worse, as you can see, since everywhere there is fear, wickedness, pride, the sword, hunger, pestilence, terrors and great signs from heaven."¹⁷⁴ Fulbert of Chartres, one of the foremost intellectuals of his day, twice referred, in an eschatological context, to a rain of blood which fell in France in 1027. While this topos may have been a constant in medieval cosmology, the omen caused a good deal of consternation amongst those who witnessed it.¹⁷⁵ Elsewhere too such signs of the end were observed and recorded. Although these portents were considered by many to bear greater significance

¹⁷³Peter Brown, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 8.

¹⁷⁴"Scitote fratres quia iam transierunt pessimae tribulationes, et modo pessimae sunt sicut videtis, quia ubique est timor, ubique iniquitas et superbia, gladius, fames, pestilentia, terrores de caelo et signa magna" (cited in Callahan, "The Manichaeans and the Antichrist," p. 77, n. 20).

¹⁷⁵*The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, pp. 224-7, 273-7.

than usual due to their occurrence around the millennium, Cluny possessed an eschatological tradition which had existed from the days of its earliest abbots.

This tradition can be found in the writings of Odo, the second abbot of Cluny. In the preface to his *Life of Saint Gerald of Aurillac*, Odo wrote, "I marvel... that in this age of ours, when charity has almost entirely grown cold, *and the time of Antichrist is at hand*, the miracles of the saints should not cease."¹⁷⁶ In a later work, the *Occupatio* or *Meditations*, he reflects upon the unfolding panorama of human history from Adam's sin to the redemption offered through Christ's atonement.¹⁷⁷ In Book VII, however, the overwhelming impression given by Odo is that he fully anticipated the second coming of Christ in his own day. Raffaello Morghen observes that in the poem Odo's "eschatological expectation is tinged with gloomy reflections on a catastrophe already taking place. The knowledge that humanity has now reached the end of time pervades the whole of the seventh book and... justifies the author's insistent call to penitence."¹⁷⁸ We have seen that Cluny's vision of a penitential society is an ever-present motif in Glaber's writings as well. This is one element of the reforming Cluniac spirit for which the millennium had an instrumental efficacy.

Sometime around 1033 Odilo, the fifth abbot of Cluny, composed the *Life of Saint Maiol*, his immediate predecessor. In the preface to the work he tells us what it was that spurred him on to write: "I was then, at that time, fainting and mourning - not only the loss of temporal things, but also the enormous danger of unusual calamities and unheard of miseries, and, what pressed [upon me] more, the great and lamentable loss of the entire land and all the poor. The troubling thought of such a great number of perils and such

¹⁷⁶*The Life of Saint Gerald of Aurillac*, p. 296 (emphasis mine). This biblical topos, found in Matt. 24:12, is one that Odo refers to frequently, and it is one that Glaber relies on as well (cf. *Histories*, II.vi.10,12, pp. 68-69; 72-73).

¹⁷⁷*Odonis Abbatis Cluniacensis Occupatio*, edited by Antonius Swoboda (Leipzig: n.p., 1900).

¹⁷⁸Raffaello Morghen, "Monastic Reform and Cluniac Spirituality," in *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, p. 21.

sadness caused me sleeplessness for many nights."¹⁷⁹ It was during one of these sleepless nights that Odilo received a vision in which he was counselled to "exert effort to occupy [his] mind in [Maiol's] praises."¹⁸⁰ For a man of Odilo's stature and responsibility as the abbot of Cluny, there would have been many factors which could have produced this deep anxiety. But it appears to have been an anxiety which transcended his own immediate and personal problems. The famine which raged throughout Europe at the very moment which he wrote must have impressed Odilo deeply, and we can sense his trepidation regarding the appearance of adversity and upheaval all around him. Later in the *Life*, Odilo writes that Maiol, in a characteristic exhibition of his "gift of tears" (*donum lacrimarum*), lamented over the disasters being experienced by the entire world.¹⁸¹ We must guard against the tendency to view these numerous references to calamity and ruin as mere literary topoi. As we shall see when we discuss Cluny's view of its own place in history, the image of a resurgent and purified monastic *ordo* stood out in sharp relief against a world which, now in the heyday of its wickedness, was ripe for the appearance of the antichrist. Cluniac reform was to be, in the view of its disseminators, of paramount importance in setting the stage for the final drama in human history. Christ would come back to find his bride, the Church, clothed in white.¹⁸² When Glaber describes the sudden increase in the building of churches around the year 1000, his choice of terminology is

¹⁷⁹*PL.* vol. 142, cols. 943-44: "Eram tunc temporis lugens et deficiens non modo damnum rei familiaris, sed et insolitae calamitatis et inauditae miseriae ingens periculum, et, quod magis urgebat, totius patriae et omnium pauperum grande lamentabileque dispendium. Tanti vero discriminis tantique moeroris anxia cogitatio per plures iam me noctes insomnem reddiderat." Although the date of composition for this work is not certain, most date it to 1033 because of the great famine of that year, to which these lines seem to refer.

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*: "Si animum in eius laudibus occupare satagerem."

¹⁸¹*Ibid.*, col. 952. Robert Heath states that "Cluny was able to permeate Western society with a consciousness of the cleansing and penitential gift of tears, *donum lacrimarum*" (*Crux imperatorum philosophia*, p. 197). See above, Chapter I, pp. 41-42.

¹⁸²"Gaudeamus et exultemus et demus gloriam ei quia venerunt nuptiae agni et uxor eius preparavit se et datum est illi ut cooperiat se byssinum splendens candidum byssinum enim iustificationes sunt sanctorum" (*Apocalypsis Iohannis*, 19: vii-viii).

important: "It was as if the whole world were shaking itself free, shrugging off the burden of the past, and cladding itself everywhere in a *white* mantle of churches."¹⁸³ While Glaber might have easily used the word *albus* to describe the mantle of churches, he instead chose *candidam*. Alluding to the nineteenth chapter of John's *Apocalypse*, the moral and spiritual overtones Glaber implies are striking; for the white robes symbolize the just deeds of the saints.¹⁸⁴ The further society degenerated in its sin, the sharper in contrast grew Cluny's purified image.

When we speak of Glaber's interest in the millennial dates 1000 and 1033, it is helpful to keep in mind the many and varied forms that millennialism took as it surfaced throughout the first thousand years of the Church's history. At times these beliefs took on dark, apocalyptic implications. At other times, they embraced a triumphant expectation of the imminence of Christ's glorious reign on earth - a millennial dawn of sorts, as opposed to a destructive apocalypse. In some cases the two perspectives were conflated. In the *Histories*, however, we find no cohesive millennial theology at all. Glaber records signs and wonders of both a hopeful and pessimistic nature that occurred around the years 1000 and 1033, while making no attempt to reconcile the two. Despite this confused millennialism, Glaber was deeply and ultimately convinced that all of these portents heralded the end of time. His perspective was decidedly apocalyptic.

Yet Glaber was also judiciously vague about his expectations regarding the *exact* date of Christ's return.¹⁸⁵ This is not surprising, given that during the first 800 years of its existence, the Church was subject to paroxysms of millenarian excitement, which were often followed by attempts to reify Christian chronography.¹⁸⁶ Saint Augustine was

¹⁸³*Histories*, III.iv.13. pp. 116-17. See also *ibid.*, III.vi.19. pp. 126-27 (emphasis mine).

¹⁸⁴*Apocalypsis Iohannis*, 19: viii: "Byssinum enim iustificationes sunt sanctorum."

¹⁸⁵Glaber states, "at [abbot William's] command I had already written the greater part of the story of the events and prodigies which happened around and after the millennial year of the Incarnation of the Saviour" (*Life of Saint William*, xiii. pp. 294-5).

willing to consent that there would be a final persecution of the Church, and that it would be "inflicted by the Antichrist."¹⁸⁷ Nevertheless he was scathing in his condemnation of those who tried "to reckon and put a limit to the number of years that remain for this world, since we hear from the mouth of the Truth that it is not for us to know this."¹⁸⁸ 'The mouth of the Truth' of course, belonged to Christ. It was he who first warned his disciples that it was not for them to know the times or the dates which his Father had established in secret by his own authority.¹⁸⁹ Glaber would have been a fool to ignore the heavy weight of patristic admonitions in this regard, and there is no indication that he was ever tempted to do so.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶Cf. Richard Landes, "Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled: Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Chronography 100-800 CE," in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, pp. 137-211, edited by Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst and Andries Welkenhuysen (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988).

¹⁸⁷Augustine, *City of God*, trans. Henry Bettenson with an introduction by John O'Meara (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984), Bk. XVIII.54, p. 838.

¹⁸⁸Ibid.

¹⁸⁹Acts 1:7.

¹⁹⁰One of the earliest attempts to date Christ's *parousia* can be found in the Epistle of Barnabas, where it states: "Listen carefully my children to these words: 'God finished his work in six days...' That means that in 6000 years God will bring all things to completion, because for Him 'a day of the Lord is as 1000 years...' Therefore, my children, in six days, that is in 6000 years, the universe will be brought to its end. 'And on the seventh day he rested...'" (cited in Richard Landes, "Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled," p. 142). This seven-fold scheme of the ages was also articulated by Augustine in the closing lines of the *City of God*. The first five ages he measures in blocks of ten generations each, but concerning the sixth age (in which he considered himself to be living), he declares: "that [epoch] cannot be measured by the number of generations, because it is said, 'It is not for you to know the dates: the Father has decided those by his own authority'" (XXII.30. p. 1091). Glaber also proposes a schema of seven ages, which he very likely drew directly from Augustine (cf. *Histories*, I.v.26. pp. 44-47). While Glaber was careful to avoid any rash inference of the date, the eschatological implications were, for him, more imminent than they were for Augustine. For the significance of this scheme of the ages, see below, Chapter III, pp. 83-84. Richard Landes makes an interesting, though debatable, point when he argues that abbot William's intention for Glaber was for him to have connected the year 1000 to "a millennial dawn rather than the apocalypse" (*Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History*, p. 296). For his reasoning, see *ibid.*, n. 30.

In orthodox Christian theology there were certain, concrete signs which were to accompany the last days. Christ had prophesied that among the birth-pangs of the end would be wars, political dissension on both a small and large scale, and various physical calamities. Added to the distress of these terrestrial portents would be heavenly ones: "the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light; the stars will fall from the sky, and the heavenly bodies will be shaken."¹⁹¹ Glaber was acutely sensitive to all of these signs, and he compiled evidence to indicate his firm conviction that he was witnessing their fulfilment.

In Book I of the *Histories*, Glaber focuses on the political fragmentation that occurred in Europe following the collapse of the Carolingian empire. He speaks ruefully of "the disasters, both external and internal, which scourged the Roman world under the [Ottonian] kings."¹⁹² This political disintegration has been thoroughly examined by many historians, most of whom see latent feudalism in the midst of the ensuing political decentralization.¹⁹³ While the search for the roots of this turmoil continues to occupy historians today, there was, for Glaber, a far simpler explanation. Once the proper moral foundations of the empire had begun to dissolve, the inevitable results were insubordination and oppression. No longer did government rest upon mild benevolence

¹⁹¹Cf. Matt. 24: 6-8, 29.

¹⁹²*Histories*, I.iv.16. pp. 30-1.

¹⁹³As Duby observes with specific reference to Glaber (*The Three Orders*, p. 37). For an excellent general survey of this period see Richard W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953; reprint ed., London: Pimlico, 1993). By far the most influential work written on the birth of feudalism is Marc Bloch's *Feudal Society*, 2 vols., trans. L.A. Manyon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). Although in some ways dated, it still remains an impressive and useful work. For a more recent work written along the same lines, see Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation 900-1200*, trans. Caroline Higgitt (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1991). For a complete reassessment of the very nature of 'feudal' society, see Susan Reynold's controversial *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), particularly pp. 115-80 for the period and region dealt with here.

and hereditary right: it was now founded upon tyranny and greed - which we might regard as a manifestation of incipient vassalage.¹⁹⁴ Political authority, according to Glaber, could stem from two, diametrically opposed sources. At one point he records the devil himself admitting that it was he who was responsible for creating Conrad as Emperor; and then, in addition to his list of diabolical achievements, Satan gloated that he was also responsible for conferring the kingdom of the Greeks upon Michael.¹⁹⁵ Glaber's inveterate hatred of these two rulers is evident throughout his work; but what concerns us here is his association of political upheaval with the increased activity of Satan in his day. Of this connection he had no doubt.

It was not only the political implications of Christ's apocalyptic prophecy that Glaber saw manifest around him. His writings bear vivid testimony to numerous cataclysmic events which were appearing both on the earth and in the heavens. Mention has already been made of the famine which swept over Europe early in the 1030's. This was accompanied by other disasters, including the destruction of churches by mysterious fires, larger conflagrations which destroyed whole cities, plagues, and the eruption of a volcano around the year 1007.¹⁹⁶ Portents were given with increasing frequency as Christ readied the world for his return. A great whale was sighted by many off the coast of Normandy, and Glaber tells the story of how the experiences of Brendan the Confessor with this whale were significant for the development of monastic reform.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴*Histories*, I.iv.17. pp. 30-1. Here we should note that when Glaber speaks of the virtues of Henry III, he does so with an emphasis on his generosity and benevolence (*ibid.*, III.ii.8. pp. 108-11).

¹⁹⁵*Histories*, IV.ii.5. pp. 178-9.

¹⁹⁶*Ibid.*, II.v.8. pp. 64-7; II.vii.13. pp. 74-5; II.ix.17. pp. 81-3; IV.iv.9-13. pp. 184-93. On the phenomenon of ordering disorder in the Carolingian period, see P.E. Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), pp. 82-91, 95-96.

¹⁹⁷*Histories*, II.ii.2. pp. 50-5. See also L. Musset, "Raoul Glaber et la baleine: les sources d'un racontar du XI^e siècle," *Revue du Moyen Age Latin* 4 (1948), pp. 167-72.

In 988, in the city of Orléans, two portents occurred which presaged the burning of the great cathedral in that city. The church contained an icon of the holy cross that bore the image of Christ crucified, and this image wept tears for a period of some days. This was followed by the stealthy entrance of a wolf into the church, which then seized the bell and began to ring it.¹⁹⁸ Glaber then records the appearance of a great dragon in the sky around the millennium of Christ's birth which "terrified almost all the men in Gaul who saw it."¹⁹⁹ In 1033 there was an eclipse of the sun which threw the land into darkness "from the sixth to the eighth hour." This was to be the first of three solar eclipses that occurred in Glaber's time. The responses to this first eclipse were characteristically those we have come to expect of the medieval mind: "extreme fear and terror gripped the hearts of men, for they understood that this omen portended some dreadful affliction which would fall upon mankind."²⁰⁰ Thirteen years later it was a lunar eclipse which produced the same reaction.²⁰¹ Finally, in what was surely one of the most terrifying of Glaber's signs, he records the appearance of Halley's comet, which became visible for a period of two months in 989. "Whenever such a prodigy appears to men," Glaber states, "it clearly portends some wondrous and awe-inspiring event in the world shortly thereafter." This came to pass, according to Glaber, when the church of St. Michael the Archangel burned to the ground three years later.²⁰² If we cast our minds back to Christ's prophecy in Matthew twenty-four, to which Glaber makes numerous references, we find that the signs mentioned there find fulfilment in Glaber's construction of cataclysmic events. In his mind, the immediacy of the end was unquestionable.

¹⁹⁸*Histories*, II.v.8. pp. 64-7.

¹⁹⁹*Ibid.*, II.viii.15. pp. 78-9; see also Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, pp. 158-76.

²⁰⁰*Histories*, IV.ix.24. pp. 210-11. See also V.iii.20. pp. 244-5.

²⁰¹*Ibid.*, V.i.18. pp. 240-1.

²⁰²*Ibid.*, III.iii.9. pp. 110-11.

Around the turn of the tenth century there was a poor peasant named Leutard, who lived in the village of Vertus in the county of Châlons in northeastern France. He was a simple farmer, and, like all the other villagers, deeply religious. The local church was both the hub of social activity and the sole source of spiritual nourishment for the inhabitants of the village. It was here that they partook of the holy sacraments administered by the parish priest, and listened to him read and expound on the scriptures. Beneath Leutard's rustic, simple exterior, however, lay a keen and inquisitive mind. Having committed to memory the sermons and scripture readings regularly delivered by the priest over the years, he began to question some of the doctrines and practices of the Church.

One day, while Leutard was working out in the fields, he became drowsy and lay down for a nap. As he slept he dreamt that a great swarm of bees entered his body through his anus, and then proceeded to exit through his mouth - all the while buzzing loudly and stinging him repeatedly.²⁰³ During the encounter the bees ordered Leutard to commit certain acts that were to prove incompatible with the orthodox faith prescribed by the Church. As he obeyed those commands he earned himself a notorious reputation. First, in response to a promise given by Jesus in Matthew 19:29 that none would leave mother, brother or sister for the sake of the gospel without receiving a hundred-fold in return, Leutard, in an 'inspired' fit of literalism, demanded that his wife leave him. He then entered the local church and committed an act of sacrilege, breaking the crucifix and image of the Saviour. When the locals of Vertus believed him to be mad, he set out to convince them of the truthfulness his vision by preaching and teaching before the village 'crowds'. Leutard was eloquent and persuasive, for many responded. He argued that

²⁰³On the symbolism of the bees, see Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, pp. 102-06; Duby, *The Three Orders*, p. 132.

although the prophets of the Old Testament had said many good things, they were not to be accepted and believed *carte blanche*. Furthermore, in what was the most revolutionary of his messages, he proclaimed that it was no longer necessary for the peasants to pay tithes to the Church. It requires little imagination to recognize that this audacious teaching would have been as attractive to the peasants of Vertus as it would have been threatening to the established clerical hierarchy. Understandably, then, the response of the Church was decisive. Gebuin, the bishop of the diocese of Châlons, ordered that Leutard be brought before him, and shortly thereafter the demonic and poisonous nature of Leutard's teachings was exposed. Those who had been led astray were quickly and firmly restored to the catholic faith, and when Leutard discovered that he had been deserted by his followers, he ended his life by throwing himself down a well.²⁰⁴

One of the most inauspicious signs Glaber associated with "the advent of the accursed Anti-Christ"²⁰⁵ was a dramatic increase in the outbreak of heresy that occurred around the millennium. The existing literature on the development of medieval heresy affirms that this was, indeed, the case.²⁰⁶ While the sources for heresy in the early eleventh century are few in comparison with those written in the twelfth century, they constitute a body of evidence that qualitatively surpasses all extant evidence from the

²⁰⁴*Histoires.*, II.xi.22. pp. 88-91.

²⁰⁵*Ibid.*, IV.vi.21. pp. 204-5.

²⁰⁶The sheer quantity of historical work that has been done on heresy in this period makes an exhaustive reference impossible here. The following citations, while admittedly exclusive, provide an introduction to the richness of this topic, as well as good bibliographical sources: H. Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Historische Studien, 267, 1935; 2nd edition, Darmstadt: n.p., 1961); Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960); Jeffrey B. Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965); Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages: Selected Sources Translated and Annotated* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969); R.I. Moore, *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975); Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1977); idem, *The Origins of European Dissent* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1985; reprint ed., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); idem, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1987).

previous five centuries.²⁰⁷ The search for the origins of these heresies has engaged historians for years, and it appears that any form of consensus remains impossible.²⁰⁸ For our *immediate* purposes, however, it is more interesting to examine Glaber's perceptions of and attitudes toward 'the problem'. In doing so we may not achieve any clarity on the true origins of these heresies at all. But explanations which were given by eleventh-century individuals open a marvelous window through which we can observe prevailing attitudes and concerns - particularly those expressed by the monks allied with Cluny.

Glaber's association of the end times with heresy was no exercise in aberrant, eschatological speculation. Christ himself, in response to his disciples' query about the sign of his coming and the end of the age, had warned, "At that time many will turn away from the faith and will betray and hate each other, and many false prophets will appear and deceive many people."²⁰⁹ The Apostle Peter confirmed that in the last days there would be false teachers in the Church who would secretly introduce destructive heresies, and that many would follow those heresies and their deceitful leaders.²¹⁰ Throughout late antiquity and the early middle ages, orthodox theologians persistently affirmed that the coming of the antichrist would be portended by an increase in his messengers - the heretics.

²⁰⁷ Landes, "Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled," p. 93.

²⁰⁸ As mentioned above, the work done on heresy is extensive. The following essays provide a general historiographical introduction to the 'problem of origins' by representing the various arguments which exist in the literature: A. Dondaine, "L'origine de l'hérésie médiévale," *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 6 (1952), pp. 47-78; Jeffrey Burton Russell, "Interpretations of the Origins of Medieval Heresy," *Mediaeval Studies* 25 (1963), pp. 26-53; R.I. Moore, "The Origins of Medieval Heresy," *History* 55 (1970), pp. 21-36; idem, *The Origins of European Dissent*; Janet Nelson, "Society, Theodicy and The Origins of Heresy," in *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, pp. 65-77, edited by Derek Baker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

²⁰⁹ Matt. 24:10-11.

²¹⁰ II Peter 2:1-3.

This brings us back to Leutard - the "mad heretic" as Glaber calls him.²¹¹ Despite the thinness of the source we can observe certain features of the heresy. Whatever the motive was for Leutard's destruction of the crucifix, there was precedent from the ninth century and even earlier for this kind of reaction to the liturgical symbols and accoutrements of the Church. Leutard would have likely been unaware of these earlier reactions, but his limited knowledge of the scriptures combined with a sharp mind provides a satisfactory explanation for his ability to reach similar conclusions. Likewise, his rejection of certain teachings of the Old Testament prophets was hardly an original idea. Some of the earliest heretics in the Church - the 'Marcionites' - were condemned for their inability to believe that the God of the Old Testament was the same God found in the New Testament Gospels. However, the most threatening aspect of Leutard's heresy, as mentioned earlier, was the popular response to his insistence that the people of Vertus need no longer pay tithes to the Church. Not only does this speak of a latent anti-clericalism in the people, but it also implies a certain degree of social unrest. We might cite all of these and more as the plausible origins of Leutard's discontent. Glaber, however, had a different perspective. In his eyes Leutard was a common peasant - a *homo plebeius*.²¹² By 'common' of course he would have meant to imply that which was 'common' amongst all peasants - they were poor and they were stupid. When the vessel for such corrosive and dangerous ideas was a man of coarse, humble stock, their true origin could only be diabolical. Leutard, Glaber states explicitly, was "an envoy of Satan."²¹³ The madness of this heretical peasant, given the significance of the time at which it occurred, was a clear sign to Glaber of the kind of demonic manifestation that was to be expected in the last days.

²¹¹ *Histories*, II.xi.22. pp. 88-89.

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *Ibid.*, II.xi.22. pp. 90-91.

There are three other heresies to which Glaber refers in his *Histories*. The first is a very brief account which follows on the heels of Leutard's story. Around the same time there was a certain man in Ravenna (in Northern Italy) who was deeply learned in the grammatical arts. One night demons appeared to Vilgardus (as he was known) in the forms of the poets Virgil, Horace and Juvenal. They convinced him that their works should be believed in everything - even above the teachings of Scripture and the Church. Peter, who was then the bishop of Ravenna, was quick to try and condemn Vilgardus for his heresy, but not quick enough. It spread throughout Italy and even into Spain, where Glaber tells us that the heretics perished by fire and sword at the hands of the orthodox.²¹⁴ We in fact learn very little about this heresy from Glaber. We know that it was primarily intellectual, but more suggestive than that, it was from *Italy*. I will touch briefly on Glaber's general suspicion of the south when dealing with the last two heresies. Most significant, however, are Glaber's conclusions regarding these two heretical events. In the first place Leutard and Vilgardus represent in symbolic terms the spread of heresy throughout all of society, from the rustic to the intellectual. Furthermore, if his reader is in any doubt about the infernal origin and eschatological implications of the heresies, Glaber cites directly from the Apocalypse of John - the only time he does so in the *Histories* - to make his point; "All this accords with the prophecy of St. John, who said that the Devil would be freed after a thousand years."²¹⁵

In 1023 a heretical sect was discovered in the city of Orléans, a short distance away from Glaber's first monastic residence at Auxerre. Of this heresy we know a good deal thanks to other sources that corroborate and augment Glaber's.²¹⁶ It was generally

²¹⁴Ibid., II.xii.23. pp. 92-93.

²¹⁵Ibid.

²¹⁶It has also been well studied by historians. See in particular the important article by Robert-Henri Bautier, "L'hérésie d'Orléans et le mouvement intellectuel au début du XI^e siècle," *Actes du 95^e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes (Reims, 1970): Section de philologie et histoire jusqu'à 1610*, vol. 1, (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1975), pp. 63-88.

believed that the heresy was brought to northern France from Italy. Glaber records that it was a certain woman, possessed of the devil, who carried the virulent spiritual disease with her from the south. Glaber's contemporary, Ademar of Chabannes, confirmed with greater specificity that it was a rustic, peasant woman (cast from the same mould as Leutard) who bore the heresy northward from a small town called Perigord.²¹⁷ Glaber notes, however, that the base origins of the heresy did not preclude it from spreading rapidly to all levels of Orléannaise society. According to Glaber, on account of the infernal powers which gave the heresy impetus, the woman was able to seduce not only lay folk and fools but many who were considered the most learned amongst the clergy. She managed even to persuade two of the most prominent men of learning in the city, Lisious and Herbert, who were important figures at the church of Sainte-Croix and the school of the church of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier respectively.²¹⁸ Many who knew of the sect, including Ademar, labeled it 'Manichaean' on account of its dualism.²¹⁹ It is of great significance, however, that Glaber explicitly distanced himself from this view. This heresy, he claimed, was "one more stupid and miserable than any of the ancient heresies."²²⁰ It was *new* and *unheard of*. Thus for Glaber, it was not just the heresy *per se* that was alarming, although this was worthy enough of concern. It was the *novelty* of the heresy that was particularly distressing.

Glaber, like his master William at St-Bénigne at Dijon, held a dim view of novelty in general. At the close of Book III, in which we encounter the Orléannaise heretics, Glaber describes "a great flood of strange men [who came] from the Auvergne and Aquitaine. They were flippant and vain fellows with strange manners and clothes, close-

²¹⁷Callahan, "The Manichaeans and the Antichrist," p. 19.

²¹⁸*Histories*, III.viii.26-31. pp. 138-51.

²¹⁹"The Manichaeans and the Antichrist," pp. 9-12. This is in reference to the powerful sect that had captured the imagination of St. Augustine in the late fourth century.

²²⁰*Histories*, III.viii.27. pp. 140-41.

shaven from half-way down their heads, and beardless like actors." Worst of all, he claimed, they wore indecent hose and shoes!²²¹ Glaber closes Book III with a diatribe against novelty that strikes the modern reader as an odd conflation of the serious and the absurd. He writes,

Men are become prey to the gravest errors.
As we seek to discern the many forms of things
And model our manners on ancient example,
Novelty throws itself rashly into the teeth of danger...
This life now produces tyrants with strange bodies,
Faithless and foolish men, with clothes too short for them...²²²

Ademar branded the heretics at Orléans "messengers of the Antichrist (*nuntii Antichristi*)"²²³ - placing them squarely within his own understanding of apocalyptic events. But they were, for him, descendants of an ancient and enduring heresy. Glaber, too, recognized the apocalyptic importance of this heresy, but more so because of its originality. The appearance of anything new-fashioned at a time when millennial fears were being confirmed by numerous signs and wonders, merely proved to Glaber that he was living in the final decades of the Christian era.

In Glaber's final reference to heresy we are presented with a fabulous account of devil-worshippers. The heresy appeared around 1028 in the Lombard town of Montefort - once again, *à propos* Glaber's purposes, in northern Italy.²²⁴ A particular knight of Turin who had fallen gravely ill was paid a visit by a noblewoman representing the heretical group. All that Glaber says regarding the intentions of the woman was that she wished to

²²¹*Ibid.*, III.ix.40. pp. 166-67.

²²²*Ibid.*

²²³"The Manichaeans and the Antichrist," p. 10.

²²⁴*Histories*, IV.ii.5. pp. 176-81.

give the sect publicity - in which matter, of course, Glaber unwittingly complied. He records that when the woman entered the sick knight's room, he observed following her a great horde of demonic beings with black apparel and sinister countenances. When their attempts to seduce the knight failed, they succumbed to their arrogance and revealed some important events for which they took credit. First the demons claimed to have established the Saxon king Conrad as emperor over the whole of Germany and Italy. Second, they boasted that it was by their demonic intrigue that the kingdom of the Greeks in Constantinople had been conferred upon Michael, the eastern patriarch.²²⁵ There are two related elements of Glaber's account that are of special importance. The heresy in Montefort, like the other three he mentions, was ultimately born of diabolical seed. Moreover, the fiendish crowd attached to the sect spoke in confirmation of Glaber's inveterate distrust of the southern regions of Europe. Just prior to his relating the story of the Montefort heretics, Glaber adamantly expressed his opposition to the friendly overtures being made by Pope John XIX to the Greek Church in the east. The Greeks were requesting universality in their own sphere, a privilege that many in the west, including Glaber, felt was the exclusive right of Rome.²²⁶ To put it idiomatically, in recording this heresy Glaber was killing three birds with one stone: he once again identified Italy as the locus and source of all kinds of heretical perversion - an identification which is consistent with his wariness of the south as the centre of anti-Christian forces and his general disparagement of Italians throughout the *Histories*. He was also indicting the two most powerful emperors of southern kingdoms in his time - both of whom he was deliberately hostile towards elsewhere in his work; and finally he was reaffirming the hellish origins of all heresy in his day, once again drawing attention to the correlation between Satan's resurgent activity and the millennium.

²²⁵Ibid., IV.ii.5. pp. 178-79.

²²⁶Ibid., IV.i.2-4. pp. 172-77.

The stated objective of the *Histories* was to verify and explain the many signs and wonders that occurred around the millennial years 1000 and 1033. Of these signs, heresy was most illustrative of the forces of evil which would accompany the appearance of the antichrist. The four heresies that Glaber recorded, read within the larger context of the *Histories*, provide us with enough material to make some general observations regarding his interpretation of them. It was by design, not chance that Glaber referred to the powers of darkness that lurked behind each instance of heresy. His was an upside-down world - one in which poor and illiterate peasants were seducing not only members of their own order, but members of the intellectual elite as well. Wickedness was spilling forth from the south in an unprecedented manner, and novelty, the mother of evil, impudently flaunted itself at every turn. Yet Glaber was unwilling that his reader view his many references to demonic origins as topoi that can be found so abundantly in other medieval sources. Ultimately, Rodulfus and Ademar agreed on the origin of the revival of heresy in their day. It was not to be attributed to those material transformations which modern historians can see with the clarity of hindsight. Rather, heresy was the work of that great 'adversary of God and man' - Satan. It was he whose minions the heretics were. *We* might trace the origins of heresy in the early eleventh century to social, economic, political and religious change. Glaber undoubtedly saw the marks of change, but only obscurely. Of one thing he felt sure; heresy on a scale that he was observing could only have been the work of the antichrist.²²⁷

The Peace of God

Around the turn of the eleventh century, Europe witnessed the development of a movement known as 'The Peace of God'.²²⁸ With its genesis in Aquitaine and Burgundy,

²²⁷A link which he explicitly makes (*ibid.*, IV.vi.21. pp. 204-05).

the movement radiated out to encompass almost all of Gaul by the middle of the eleventh century. In political, social and economic terms, the birth of this movement in the late tenth century is understandable. Along with the breakup of the central, public authority which characterized the Carolingian empire at its height came numerous problems for the Church and the poor. Whereas previously the interests of the Church had been closely associated with those of the Carolingian court, now the power either to protect or despoil the Church's lands came increasingly to rest with the local lords. Thus, as the Church lost its ability to look to the imperial sword for its well-being, local bishops and abbots began to appeal to their spiritual authority to curb the violence that threatened the well-being of their domains. Cluny and its abbots "took a leading role, orchestrating the great assemblies at which crowds of people swore on relics the monks brought out into the fields to support each other and the oppressed against the *milites* who had destroyed the peace."²²⁹ On a certain level then, the motives for establishing the Peace of God were clearly self-interested. Yet local churches and monasteries also had a mandate to look out for the interests of the poor. While the benevolent charity of the Carolingian monarch may have been symbolic, it was both mandatory and expected. In theory at least, the poor had their protector. Now however, the task fell almost entirely upon the Church.²³⁰

²²⁸This important phenomenon has recently been the focus of considerable scholarly attention. For a work that exposes the complexity of this movement, see Thomas Head and Richard Landes, eds. *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992). H.E.J. Cowdrey provides the best succinct description of the aims of the Peace of God: "The purpose of the Peace of God, in its original form, was to place under special ecclesiastical protection certain categories of persons, such as monks, the clergy, and the poor; and certain categories of material things, like church buildings, church property, and poor people's means of livelihood" ("The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century," *Past and Present* 46 [1970], p. 42).

²²⁹R.I. Moore, "Postscript: The Peace of God and the Social Revolution," in *The Peace of God*, p. 314. There is no question that the impetus for the movement came from local ecclesiastical authorities. Of particular interest here is the role that Abbot Odilo played in the Peace. Both Bernhard Töpfer and Georges Duby point out that Odilo was instrumental in convincing both local aristocracy and the lower strata of society to participate in the peace councils (cf. Duby's *The Three Orders*, p. 55, and Töpfer's "The Cult of Relics and Pilgrimage in Burgundy and Aquitaine at the Time of the Monastic Reform" in *The Peace of God*, p. 42). Glaber notes in his *Life of Saint William* that the abbot of St-Bénigne at Dijon was also involved in the peace councils (vi. pp. 270-71).

There are a good number of contemporary sources that describe the nature of the *pax Dei*, but none as fully as Glaber's *Histories*. Glaber states that

at the millennium of the Lord's Passion... the bishops and abbots and other devout men of Aquitaine first summoned great councils of the whole people, to which were borne the bodies of many saints and innumerable caskets of holy relics. The movement spread to Arles and Lyons, then across all Burgundy into the furthest corners of the French realm. Throughout the dioceses it was decreed that in fixed places the bishops and magnates of the entire country should convene councils for re-establishing peace and consolidating the holy faith. When the people heard this, great, middling, and poor, they came rejoicing and ready, one and all, to obey the commands of the clergy no less than if they had been given by a voice from heaven speaking to men on earth. For all were still cowed by the recent carnage, [the great famine of 1032-33] and feared lest they might not obtain future abundance and plenty.²³¹

The account is clearly 'telescoped', as Cowdrey notes, for the first Peace council occurred fifty-eight years earlier in 975 at Le Puy, and there were many others that took place prior to the 1030's.²³² We might assume that Glaber would have been aware of these earlier councils, for his pinpointing the origins of the Peace movement in Aquitaine meets with the approval of most historians today. There were other reasons, however, that lay at the heart of Glaber's selectivity.

In the first place, it appears that there was, in fact, an increase in the number of Peace councils which were held in Aquitaine around the years 1000 and 1033. In these instances, according to Callahan, we should not dismiss too easily intensified apocalyptic expectations as a source of this renewed interest in organized peace.²³³ In Glaber's case,

²³⁰When Abbot Odo recorded the deeds of Gerald of Aurillac, he deemed the count's generous dealings with the poor especially meritorious (cf. *The Life of Saint Gerald of Aurillac*, pp. 308-311). The implication, of course, is that Gerald's deeds were a rarity in his day.

²³¹*Histories*, IV.v.14. pp. 194-95. Glaber goes on to describe in a very detailed way the different issues which the councils addressed.

²³²"The Peace and Truce of God," p. 44.

²³³Daniel Callahan, "The Peace... Centuries," in *The Peace of God*, p. 171.

however, we might as easily cite (as an explanation for his condensed account) his own concern with the significance of the times. Miraculous healings attended these meetings, and nature itself seemed to confirm society's resolve to turn from its wicked ways. There was food and wine in such plenty that Glaber was able to compare the festive atmosphere with "the great Mosaic jubilee of ancient times."²³⁴ Rather than the vision of a terrifying apocalypse, Glaber describes an atmosphere akin to what was expected during Christ's millennial reign on earth. Although the clergy were too circumspect to preach the Peace movement "as the long-awaited millennium..., they may have encouraged such an interpretation among a populace whose value to the movement was directly proportional to its enthusiasm and solidarity."²³⁵ However, the excitement was short-lived. Glaber records that many, in their proclivity to commit evil, soon returned to their formerly rapacious ways "like a dog returning to its vomit or a pig wallowing in its mire."²³⁶ If the effect of the Peace councils had been to keep before the people "the ideal of peace, order, and justice; and [if it] drew all classes into active cooperative efforts of a practical nature in support of a common cause,"²³⁷ then the failure of the movement along with its dashed hopes evoked dangerous responses from a disgruntled and resentful populace.²³⁸ One of these responses which emerged from the popular religious sentiment that had been ignited by the Peace movement was pilgrimage.

²³⁴*Histories*, IV.v.16. pp. 196-97.

²³⁵Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History*, p. 31.

²³⁶*Histories*, IV.v.17. pp. 196-99 (cf. Prov. 26:11).

²³⁷Loren C. MacKinney, "The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh-Century Peace Movement," *Speculum* 5 (1930), p. 205.

²³⁸Landes cites a number of popular responses not only to the failure of the Peace movement but to other social problems of the time as well. These were "pilgrimage, heresy, assarts, civic uprisings, and attacks on castellans" (*Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History*, p. 35).

Immediately following his vitriolic diatribe against the evils which resulted from the collapse of the Peace movement, Glaber refers to a phenomenon that swept through the land during the same period. "At this time," he states, "an innumerable multitude of people from the whole world, greater than any man before could have hoped to see, began to travel to the Sepulchre of the Savior at Jerusalem."²³⁹ Many have associated the flocking of masses of pilgrims to Jerusalem with the passionate and effective appeals for crusade delivered by Pope Urban II in 1096. Yet both local pilgrimage and pilgrimage to Jerusalem and other holy sites such as Santiago de Compostella were features of European society long before it was swept by the crusading zeal of the late eleventh century.²⁴⁰ The monastery of Cluny played an instrumental role in creating the spiritual environment in which this occurred.²⁴¹ As was the case with most medieval chroniclers, Glaber was no stickler for quantitative detail. We should allow for a measure of hyperbole when he refers to the *innumerabilis multitudo* that made the journey to the holy land. Bernard Bachrach points out that the journey was one that few people ventured to make; for the resources required for such a trip were considerable and the prospect of a healthy and safe return (or *any* return for that matter) was bleak.²⁴² In spite of the

²³⁹*Histories*, IV.v.17. pp. 198-99.

²⁴⁰Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins, 987-1040," in *Religion, Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Thomas F.X. Noble and John Contreni (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987), p. 205. The best introduction to pilgrimage in the Middle Ages is Jonathan Sumption's *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (Totowa, N.J.: Faber and Faber, 1975).

²⁴¹*Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion*, p. 119. Sumption notes that Cluny's role was most significant, particularly in the later eleventh century, in promoting pilgrimage to Spain.

²⁴²"The Pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra," p. 205.

disclaimer, however, the general consensus today is that there was a notable increase in the numbers of pilgrims to Jerusalem early in the eleventh century.²⁴³

While a number of explanations might be posited to explain this surge of pilgrims to the Holy Land, few are more convincing than the sense of urgency felt by many concerning the imminence of the end.²⁴⁴ St. John's Apocalypse has much to say about the connections between the holy city of Jerusalem and the events that would take place during the last days. The Old Testament prophet Daniel, while living in exile in Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon, foretold a time when a certain king with his great army would desecrate the temple in Jerusalem with abominable pollutions.²⁴⁵ St. John appropriated similar imagery which connected Babylon with the destruction and persecution of God's people that would accompany the end. In his vision he saw "a woman sitting on a scarlet beast that was covered with blasphemous names... She held a

²⁴³See, for example, Richard W. Southern's *The Making of the Middle Ages*, pp. 50-53. There are some who persist in their denigration of Glaber as a reliable witness to anything at all. A. Vasiliev, who is deeply committed to debunking the 'Terrors of the year 1000' "legend", is exceptionally cynical about Glaber's witness regarding the confluence of pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem around the year 1033. Vasiliev states, "As a monk and chronicler, who lived in Gaul, Glaber had no large horizon to afford him information; he knew something about his own region, his own country, but when he mentions phenomena that occurred 'in all parts of the world,' his statement has no value. One conclusion only may be drawn from Glaber's chronicle, which is that... in some places especially among the uneducated and simple minded people some superstitious apprehension was felt and recorded" ("Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: East and West," *Byzantion* 16 [1942-43], p. 479). The considerable work which has been done on Glaber's life and works since Vasiliev's article certainly casts doubt on this view. Glaber may have spent a good number of years at St-Germain d'Auxerre, a relative backwater in the monastic world of the early eleventh century. Yet he also spent considerable time at St-Bénigne at Dijon and at Cluny itself. Glaber was most certainly exposed to outside information during his stay at these two monasteries. Furthermore, as explored in Chapter One, his relationships within a very important circle of monastic reformers (Helderic, William and Odilo) should make us hesitant to castigate Glaber as an ignorant, provincial bumpkin. For a discussion of Glaber's life and travels, see France, Introduction, pp. xxiv-xxxiv. Vasiliev's off-hand remark about 'superstitious apprehension being felt and recorded' by the 'uneducated and simple minded' in 'some places' is simply nonsense. Glaber kept erudite company when he expressed his millennial fears. We have already noted the writings of Ademar of Chabannes and Fulbert of Chartres. To these we could add, amongst others, certain writings of Adso de Montier-en-Der, particularly his *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*.

²⁴⁴Southern is characteristically cautious when he attributes the popularity of pilgrimage to Jerusalem to a vague sense of "restlessness in the world" (*The Making of the Middle Ages*, p. 50).

²⁴⁵Daniel 11: 31-35.

golden cup in her hand, filled with abominable things, and the filth of her adulteries." The title which John saw written on her forehead was:

MYSTERY
BABYLON THE GREAT
THE MOTHER OF PROSTITUTES
AND OF THE ABOMINATIONS OF
THE EARTH.²⁴⁶

Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon became a popular image of the antichrist in the Middle Ages, and both Glaber and his contemporary Ademar were clearly aware of this symbolic representation.²⁴⁷ In 1009, Caliph Al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah of Cairo destroyed the Sepulchre of Our Lord and Saviour in Jerusalem. He was well known to have been an unstable individual, and this act was only one of many which he committed in his program of repression against the Christians and the Jews in Jerusalem.²⁴⁸ Both Rodulfus and Ademar, when writing of this significant event, portray the Caliph in these apocalyptic terms. Ademar explicitly refers to the prince of Cairo as "Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon," and Glaber presents him as "the prince of Babylon."²⁴⁹ If it was thought that the end was truly near, then the city of Jerusalem would have inevitably captured the imaginations of many as the place where the consummation of the ages would occur. Though the fear of hell was commonplace in the Middle Ages, these were times which

²⁴⁶Revelation 17: 3-5.

²⁴⁷Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), p. 26.

²⁴⁸Cf. *Histories*, p. 133, n. 4. It may have been, however, that in this particular case the Caliph was responding to the fraudulent 'Miracle of the Holy Fire' by which the seven altar lamps were ignited by a concealed clockwork mechanism. For a description of this fraud (which Glaber did not recognize as such), see *Histories*, IV.vi.19. p. 202-03, and particularly n. 2.

²⁴⁹On Ademar's reference see Daniel Callahan, "Ademar of Chabannes, Millennial Fears and the Development of Western Anti-Judaism," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995), p. 26. For Glaber's reference to Al-Hakim see *Histories*, III.vii.24. pp. 132-33 ("principis Babilonis"). France points out that Babylon was the name commonly used for Cairo in the West throughout the Middle Ages (cf. *ibid.*, n. 4).

commanded a special urgency, and many responded to its tug at their heart by going to the Holy City.²⁵⁰

Just as the flood of pilgrims to Jerusalem has been commonly associated with the first crusades, so has the rise of anti-Semitism in Europe.²⁵¹ It is right to observe, however, that "the animosities which exploded so viciously in 1096 did not spring up overnight... There [were] signs of antipathy throughout the previous century... the most significant [of which] occurred between the years 1007 and 1012."²⁵² While the evidence argues convincingly for this thesis, the problem remains of determining the cause of this new anti-Semitic predilection which cropped up in the early eleventh century. Historians have proposed a number of possible explanations for the development of European anti-Semitism in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and yet the common weakness of each is that they fail to reckon adequately with the perceptions of contemporaries themselves.²⁵³

Glaber provides for us one of the most interesting and, some would argue, fanciful accounts of sustained, popular anti-Semitism in medieval Europe. After briefly mentioning the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem by Al-Hakim, he tells a story which is meant to explain the events which led up to the fateful moment. He claims that the devil, stirred to wrath by the steady stream of penitent pilgrims who were drawn to Jerusalem in those days, chose "his accustomed instruments, the Jews" to exact revenge on the Christians.²⁵⁴ Certain Jews from the city of Orléans contrived a plot to

²⁵⁰Cf. *Histories*, II.iv.5. pp. 60-1. For the example of Fulk Nerra, see "The Pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra," pp. 205-7; idem, *Fulk Nerra, the Neo-Roman Consul, 987-1040*, pp. 100-104, 121-23, 163-65.

²⁵¹Daniel Callahan cites a list of historians who have popularized this notion: "Ademar of Chabannes, *Millennial Fears and the Development of Western Anti-Judaism*," pp. 19-20.

²⁵²R. Chazan, "1007-1012: Initial Crisis for Northern European Jewry," *American Academy for Jewish Research* 38 (1970), p. 101. See also his *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 197-8.

²⁵³For various interpretations of the rise of anti-semitism, see Chazan's works above, as well as: R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting society*; and Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), pp. 42-57.

smuggle a letter to Al-Hakim in which they warned that the steady flow of Christians to the holy city posed a threat to the Caliph's political control. Following the Caliph's brutal reaction to this perceived threat, word leaked out that it was a Jewish conspiracy that lay at the heart of the violence. The response of many proved to be catastrophic for the Jews. Glaber notes with satisfaction:

[the Jews] became the objects of universal hatred; they were driven from the cities, some were put to the sword, others were drowned in rivers, and many found other deaths; some even took their own lives in diverse ways... The dispersed and wandering Jews who had survived this affliction remained hidden in distant and secret places until five years after the destruction of the Temple, when a few began to reappear in the cities. For it was proper, although ultimately to their confusion, that some of them should survive for the future to serve as witnesses of their own perfidy, or testimony to the blood of Christ which they had shed.²⁵⁵

À propos the argument of some historians, Glaber follows up this tirade against the Jews of Orléans with a lengthy discussion of the heresy that was discovered in the same city in 1023. Glaber, however, was not alone in pointing to the links forged between the Jews and the antichrist-like "prince of Babylon" as a convincing sign of the end. In many of his writings Ademar of Chabannes drew close connections between the coming antichrist and the Jews - an association that can be found in other writers of the period as well.²⁵⁶ In a social context where apocalyptic expectations were running high, Jews, given

²⁵⁴*Histoires*, III.vii.24. p. 134-5. For a complete description of the following story, see pp. 132-37.

²⁵⁵*Ibid.*, III.vii.25. pp. 136-7.

²⁵⁶"Ademar of Chabannes, Millennial Fears and the Development of Western Anti-Judaism," p. 27. Callahan also cites Adso of Montier-en-Der to the effect "that the AntiChrist is to be a Jew born in the tribe of Dan in the city of Babylon. He will come to Jerusalem, restore the Temple, circumcise himself and announce that he is the Messiah. All the Jews will then rush to join him and for three-and-a-half years there will be a persecution of the Christians" (*ibid.*, p. 25). For an interesting discussion of the connection between apocalyptic fears and anti-Semitism, see Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse and the Deceits of History*, pp. 43-46.

their historical relationship with the Church from its earliest days and their ambiguous treatment in the New Testament, became a likely target of Christians' fear and hostility.

Glaber recorded that when the "more watchful of the age" were consulted by some as to the meaning of the masses of pilgrims trekking to Jerusalem, some of them "replied cautiously enough that it could portend nothing other than the advent of the accursed anti-Christ who, according to divine testimony, is expected to appear at the end of the world. Then a way would be opened for all peoples to the East where he would appear, and all nations would march against him without delay. In fact then will be fulfilled that prophecy of the Lord, that even the elect will, if it is possible, fall into temptation."²⁵⁷ We are given no good reason to suppose that Glaber is eager to distance himself from those 'watchful' ones to whom he refers.²⁵⁸ At this point in his work, Glaber sets up what could have been the most opportune moment in which to explicitly reject the apocalyptic fears of the ignorant or uninformed. His failure to do so argues, *ab silentio*, for his personal identification with those very same 'watchful of the age'. Evidence of Glaber's preoccupation with the millennial is abundant in his *Histories*. It had become, for him, a paradigm within which he could collect and explain his ideas of the world. All other themes in his writings were charged with meaning by the millennium. Just how reflective Glaber's concerns were of the concerns of society at large remains a difficult question to answer.²⁵⁹ Nevertheless, viewed in the light of Cluny's perception of itself in Christian history, Glaber's fixation on eschatology was, if not inevitable, logical.

²⁵⁷*Histories*, IV.vi.21. pp. 204-5.

²⁵⁸As John France implies (see above, pp. 47-48, n. 169).

²⁵⁹Recent historical work, however, (as reflected above) indicates that the fears were more widespread than some historians would have us believe.

Chapter III

Cluny's View of Itself in History

The monastery of Cluny was founded upon an enduring tradition that could be traced back, at least in its own canon of writings, to the genesis of western monasticism in sixth-century Italy. This well-developed sense of history's progress is consistently expressed in Cluniac sources in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. They took pains to represent themselves as inheritors and continuators of normative, Benedictine monastic customs.²⁶⁰ For the *potentiores* who rose from the ashes of the Carolingian empire, this was an emphasis that exercised a great appeal. These men were acutely aware of their need to justify their acquisition of land and legitimize their new-found positions of status, and Cluny could provide them with just that.²⁶¹ Both Glaber and his patron St. William negatively exhibited a typically Cluniac veneration for age-old traditions when they inveighed against different forms of novelty that had made inroads into society.²⁶² Cluny had become a strong and popular institution precisely because it depicted itself as the antithesis of prevalent social and political trends - trends that were stigmatized by the epithet 'new'.

This having been said, however, Cluny was also very aware of the unique role it was to play in the unfolding panorama of Christian history. In an age when the only historical continuity available to man was that provided by the Church's progress in the Christian era, Cluny felt itself to occupy a very special place in that chronology.²⁶³ A

²⁶⁰Cf. above, Chapter I, p. 23, n. 75. See also D. Iogna-Prat, "La geste des origines dans l'historiographie clunisienne des XI^e-XII^e siècles," *Revue bénédictine* 102 (1992), pp. 135-91.

²⁶¹Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound*, pp. 105-108.

²⁶²*Histories*, III.ix.40. pp. 166-69; *Life of St. William*, xii. pp. 290-93.

Christian view of history was, and is, decidedly linear, possessing a relatively precise origin and moving ineluctably toward a dramatic conclusion. During the first thousand years of the Church's history there were many who reflected a preoccupation with the latter. We have already examined Glaber's avid interest in chronicling the signs and wonders that were to presage the second coming of Christ. Yet Glaber's interest in the end was informed by far more than just a long-standing tradition of Biblical and patristic exegesis on the subject, or by the apparent significance of the two millennial years. He was influenced heavily by an ideological framework that was current at Cluny which articulated a scheme of quadripartition. One of these emphasized various divisions of history into four ages, the last of these ages representing the age of justice, which manifested itself most perfectly in the age of monks. The ultimate importance of these ideas for Glaber lay in their expression of a distinctive notion that Cluny held regarding its own place in history.

Quadripartition and Glaber's De divina quaternitate

The symbolism of the number four attained considerable popularity in the Middle Ages, especially amongst writers in the Carolingian period.²⁶⁴ As a numerological schema it was so commonly used throughout the writings of the Church fathers and later that, until recently, there was a good deal of confusion over the sources that Glaber used for his passage on the divine quaternity.²⁶⁵ It is with this discussion that Glaber opens the

²⁶³Heath, *Crux imperatorum philosophia*, p. 39. Heath does observe that the tradition of Rome presented a special case for a sense of historical continuity, but he argues that it "was rendered potent only by association with the Church" (ibid.).

²⁶⁴P.E. Dutton, "The Materialization of Nature and of Quaternary Man in the Early Twelfth Century," in *Man and Nature in the Middle Ages*, edited by Susan J. Ridyard and Robert G. Benson (Sewanee: University of the South Press, 1995), pp. 143-45, particularly p. 144, n. 29; idem, "Raoul Glaber's 'De Divina Quaternitate': An Unnoticed Reading of Eriugena's Translation of the *Ambigua* of Maximus the Confessor," *Mediaeval Studies* XLII (1980), p. 438, n. 34.

Histories, justifying his plan by stating that, "since we are going to tell of what happened in the four parts of the globe, it seems to us proper, just as it is a pleasure..., that, God willing, we should put at the start of this work a dissertation on the glory of the divine and supramundane quaternity, and on its harmonies and correspondences."²⁶⁶ Yet by placing the passage on the divine quaternity at the beginning of his work, Glaber was also strategically identifying himself, as closely as possible, with his brothers at Cluny. Glaber's audience, as is clear from his dedication of the work to Odilo, must surely have been the monks at Cluny whom he had left in 1034/5, and by invoking quadripartition at the outset of the work, he was staking his claim to their spiritual heritage. Nowhere in Glaber's writings are his Cluniac affinities more overt.

The schema that Glaber provides is essentially two-fold. In the first he lists the four gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John), the four elements (aether, air, water and earth), the four virtues (prudence, fortitude, temperance and justice), and the four senses (sight and hearing [which he combines], smell, taste and touch). All of these groups exist in their own world: The gospels comprise the higher or spiritual world; the elements the sensible or material world; the virtues the intellectual world; and the senses the little world, or the physical world of man - the microcosm.²⁶⁷ Furthermore, every level in each world corresponds to another level in the other three. Consequently the parallels are as follows: 1) John, aether, prudence, sight and hearing; 2) Luke, air, fortitude, smell; 3)

²⁶⁵The interest in Glaber's sources began in earnest with S. Giet's "'La divina quaternitate' de Raoul Glaber," *Revue de Moyen Age Latin* 5 (1949), pp. 238-41. Further studies were done by P. Rousset, "Raoul Glaber, interprète de la pensée commune au XI^e siècle," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France* 36 (1950), pp. 5-24, and J. France, "The Divine Quaternity of Rodulfus Glaber," *Studia Monastica* 17 (1975), pp. 283-94. Despite these attempts, however, all Georges Duby could state confidently was that Glaber's ostensibly Greek source could *not* have been Dionysius (*The Three Orders*, p. 193). It was only with Dutton's article that the quest for sources finally seems to have been put to rest. There he demonstrates that Glaber's sources were two: Ambrose's *De Paradiso*, which had already been observed by France and others; and, what had never been noticed before, Eriugena's Latin translation of the *Ambigua* of Maximus the Confessor.

²⁶⁶*Histories*, I. Preface. I. pp. 4-5.

²⁶⁷*Ibid.*, p. 6.

Mark, water, temperance, taste; and 4) Matthew, earth, justice, touch.²⁶⁸ Reflected in this first pattern of fours is Glaber's cosmology, which is nothing unique in itself. This was a conception of the universe that informed "virtually all of the writing of this era,"²⁶⁹ and, more importantly for our present concern, "Tel est l'ordre du cosmos clunisien."²⁷⁰ Glaber explicitly notifies us of his purpose in all this: "God is proclaimed most plainly, beautifully, and silently by this patent chain of correspondences; in frozen motion each thing indicates another, and they do not cease to proclaim the original source from which they derive and to which they seek to return in order to find peace again."²⁷¹ Given the anxiety that Glaber exhibited regarding the present state of the world, it was important for him to affirm the essential unity of the cosmos, held in perfect order and harmony by God himself.

Glaber's expression of confidence in the providential husbandry exercised by God over the universe provides the transition between his first set of quaternities and his second. In this second pattern of fours he drew upon an established tradition of Biblical exegesis,²⁷² but as we shall see, his *purpose* in defining the second scheme is of far greater significance than his sources. He provides us once again with four groups of four: 1) the rivers of Paradise (the Pison, the Gihon, the Tigris, the Euphrates); 2) the virtues (prudence, temperance, fortitude, justice); 3) the gospels (John, Mark, Luke, Matthew); and 4) the ages of the world (From creation to the Flood, from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to the Incarnation, from the Incarnation to the present). Just as he did in his first

²⁶⁸Ibid., I.i.2. pp. 4-7. For further schematization and explanation of these connections, see Dutton, "Raoul Glaber's 'De divina quaternitate'," pp. 433-34; France, "The Divine Quaternity," pp. 283-84.

²⁶⁹France, Ibid., p. 284.

²⁷⁰D. Iogna-Prat, "Contenance et virginité dans la conception clunisienne de l'ordre du monde autour de l'an mil," *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, comptes rendus* (1985), p. 130.

²⁷¹*Histories*, I.i.3. pp. 6-7.

²⁷²As France observes: "The Divine Quaternity," p. 285.

scheme, Glaber here provides specific parallels: with the Pison he associates prudence, John, and the age from the creation to the Flood; with the Gihon, temperance, Mark, and the age from Abraham to Moses; with the Tigris, fortitude, Luke, and the age from Moses to the Incarnation; and with the Euphrates, justice, Matthew, and the present age commencing with the Incarnation.²⁷³

The particular significance of Glaber's second scheme of quaternities lies in its reference to the four ages. Glaber notes:

From the beginning of the world to the vengeance of the flood Prudence ruled... From the time of Abraham and amongst the other patriarchs who were favoured by visions and signs... Temperance is proven, for in adversity and prosperity they loved their Maker above all else. From the time of Moses and amongst the other prophets, mighty men indeed, who rested on the provisions of the Law, Fortitude is established, as they strove relentlessly to enforce its [the Law's] harsh provisions. From the moment of the Incarnation down to our own days Righteousness has nourished, governed, and enveloped all ages, as the end and foundation of the other virtues; as the Truth said to His baptizer, 'It is fitting for us to fulfil all righteousness.'²⁷⁴

The first group of quaternities laid down a cosmological framework for the events Glaber proposes to describe in the *Histories*. The second group, however, culminates in a description of the ages in order to provide a very specific moral and historical lead in to the *Histories*.²⁷⁵ From here he proceeds immediately to a concise introduction of the matter he intends to cover in his work. Yet it was not just a snappy introduction to his

²⁷³*Histories*, I.i.3. pp. 6-9.

²⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 9. Although the word *iustitia* is here legitimately translated 'righteousness', if it were translated 'justice' it would communicate more forcefully the continuity between Glaber's preceding discussion of the virtue, and the actual commencement of the narration of events which follows immediately. I am convinced that Glaber intended the reader to make this connection. See below, pp. 84-92. For this reason, all following instances of the word *iustitia* and its variants will be translated 'justice'.

²⁷⁵D. Iogna-Prat and E. Ortigues note that we see "une transition entre la première partie, 'cosmologique', de la méditation et la seconde partie, 'historique'" ("Raoul Glaber et l'historiographie clunisienne," *Studi Medievali* 26 [1985], p. 553-4).

historical narrative that Glaber was hoping to accomplish. As we shall come to see, quadripartition was not only a dominant *cosmological* notion expressed by other Cluniac writers; it also embraced a very distinct view of history that was propagated by the monastery during this period.

The notion of the quaternities was a firm tradition at Cluny that stretched back to the abbot Odo. In his *Moralium in Iob*, Odo had borrowed the notion of the four rivers of Paradise from St. Gregory the Great.²⁷⁶ Elsewhere, in his *Occupatio*, he had given expression to the idea of the world divided into four parts and four ages.²⁷⁷ Emphasis on the four virtues is commonplace in Cluniac writings, and this should not surprise us given the centrality of the virtues in living the monastic life. In general, quadripartite references fill the works of all the major Cluniac writers from Odo to Glaber himself. The meaning of the number four was unpacked in manifold ways and associated with greatly diverse ideas. In short, it was not only "a useful pattern for both conceptual organization and presentation... but it was also a basic Cluniac characterization of the world."²⁷⁸ While quadripartition may have informed Cluny's view of the world in general, it is a four-fold notion of the history of the ages that assumes the greatest importance in Glaber's work. Sometime around 1033, while Glaber himself was at Cluny, Odilo composed his *Life of Maiol*. Toward the beginning of the *Life*, Odilo provides a brief history of the Christian Church, beginning with the "most holy, excellent and beneficial example of the apostles and evangelists, and the most victorious, invincible and glorious struggles of the blessed martyrs."²⁷⁹ Following these he states, "in the third place," that "the divine dignity of

²⁷⁶PL. 133, col. 122.

²⁷⁷*Occupatio*, IV, p. 123. See also "Raoul Glaber et l'historiographie clunisienne," p. 548. It is also an idea that is expressed much later in the architecture of Cluny from the time of Abbot Hugh (cf. Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny*, pp. 119-22).

²⁷⁸P.E. Dutton, "Quadripartite Commonplaces in the Cultural Identity of Cluny: Raoul Glaber's 'De Divina Quaternitate'," (unpublished Licentiate thesis, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979), p. 30. For a complete discussion, see chapter two, pp. 13-44.

[God's] church provided new solace... I am speaking about the apostolic priests and most illustrious men, not boastful in human knowledge, but filled with wholesome gifts [and] divine wisdom, by whose spiritual knowledge and acute investigation into divine writings, the darkness of the law was made light."²⁸⁰ It was these latter, the fathers of the Church, who confirmed and disseminated the faith of the earlier apostles and martyrs, quelling heretics and destroying the power of all false gods.

What comes after this concise description of the early church is of great relevance to Glaber's quadripartite notion of history. Odilo goes on,

In the fourth place, from that supreme and heavenly republic [which had taken up as citizens the former representatives of the Church], divine judgement wished to gather the meek of the church in a suitable order, so that grace might soon be presented through humble, innocent and simple men, which it had formerly deemed worthy to present through lofty and brave men. Then the monastic order began to grow, and, to speak more truthfully, to revive.²⁸¹

Here we have an idea expressed in which the fourth age, described by Glaber as extending from the Incarnation to the present, is broken down further into an additional four ages, the last being the age of the monks. What we have, in a sense, is a scheme of four ages within the fourth age, with the last of these (*quarto loco*) being specifically a monastic dispensation. The clear implication is that history will experience a crescendo as it draws to a close, led by that order of men who, through renunciation of the world, have

²⁷⁹*De Vita Beati Maoili Abbatis, PL.* 142, col. 943: "apostolorum et evangelistarum sacrosancta, divina et salutaria documenta, ac victoriosissima et invictissima beatorum martyrum gloriosa certamina."

²⁸⁰*Ibid.*, cols. 943-44: "Tertio, ut ita dicam, loco, praestitit divina dignatio Ecclesiae suae nova solatis.... Apostolicos dico sacerdotes et illustissimos viros, humano scientia non vane, sed salubriter praeditos, divina sapientia refertos, per quorum spiritalem intelligentiam et in divinis litteris perspicacissimam indagacionem legis umbra lucesceret."

²⁸¹*Ibid.*, col. 945: "Ex ipsa suprema coelestique republica, divina censura quarto loco ordine congruo parvulis Ecclesiae consulere voluit, ita ut gratiam, quam praestare dignabatur per sublimes et fortes, postmodum praestaret per humiles et innocentes et simplices. Deinde coepit monasticus ordo pullulare, et, ut verius dicamus, reviviscere."

taken human existence to its greatest possible heights. Odilo goes on to complete his survey of monastic history by describing the role that St. Benedict played in establishing the true pattern for monasticism in the West. Following the latter's death, his disciple, St. Maurus, was responsible for spreading the Benedictine form of monasticism throughout all of Gaul, where it finally found its resting place at Cluny.

This shortened version of monastic history bears a striking resemblance to a version provided by Glaber in the *Histories*, which has been referred to earlier in brief.²⁸² Glaber too points out that "the institution and the observance of this custom [in this case the one taught by St. William]... are said to have taken rise from the monasteries founded by the holy father, Benedict, and from his Rule, and to have been brought to our land of Gaul by his disciple St. Maurus."²⁸³ Glaber spends slightly more time than did Odilo describing the progress of the Rule as it made its way to Cluny, but in the end, both men agree that the Rule found a place to dwell at the Burgundian monastery. Both men then proceed to give a genealogy of its abbots, with Odilo's beginning with Berno and ending with Maiol, and Glaber's beginning with Berno and ending with Odilo.²⁸⁴ What is most interesting, however, is the manner in which Glaber describes the passage of monasticism from St. Benedict's Monte Cassino to Cluny. From Italy the Rule was carried by St. Maurus into Anjou, to the monastery of Glanfeuil. From there, once "their ardour for the Rule began to wane it was taken up for a time in the monastery of Saint-Martin-d'Autun." Following this, Glaber notes, "in what we may call its *third migration*," the Rule "passed into Upper Burgundy, to the monastery of Baume."²⁸⁵ It was after this third migration (*terna transmigratio*) that the Rule made its ultimate journey, coming to rest, as we

²⁸²Cf. above, Introduction, pp. 7, 15.

²⁸³*Histories*, III.v.17. pp. 122-23.

²⁸⁴Concerning Odilo's and Glaber's genealogies, see D. Iogna-Prat, "La geste des origines dans l'historiographie clunisienne des XI^e-XII^e siècles," pp. 138-50.

²⁸⁵*Histories*, III.v.17. pp. 123-25 (emphasis mine).

know, at Cluny.²⁸⁶ This last move was nothing less than a fourth and final migration, constituting, as it were, a fourth dispensation in the age of monasticism. The age of monasticism, as Odilo described it, was a fourth dispensation in the age between the Incarnation and the present; which, in *its* turn, returning to Glaber's divine quaternity, was the fourth of four ages in the history of the world.²⁸⁷

These three competing schemas of four distinct ages, two given by Glaber and one by Odilo, seem to provide a confusing reflection of Cluniac notions about the division of history, if they provide one at all. This confusion only seems to increase when we draw attention to Glaber's seven-fold division of the ages, found in Book I of the *Histories*. Here, in Augustinian tradition, Glaber reflects that,

Just as the Creator completed all the functions that make up the complexity of this world in six days, then rested on the seventh having finished it, so for six thousand years He worked to teach men, showing them frequent and clear signs. At no time during these past ages was there a lack of signs and miracles proclaiming the eternal God, right down to the time when the great Originator appeared in this world in the disguise of man, that is in this the sixth age of our earthly life; and, as it is believed, (this will continue) until there is an end in the seventh (age) of this world's mass of diverse troubles, so that it may most certainly find a suitable end....²⁸⁸

In this partition of the world into seven ages, each roughly composed of a thousand years, the sixth age corresponds to the fourth age of Glaber's quaternity, embodying the final age

²⁸⁶For some reason Iogna-Prat, referring to this passage, states that the Rule passed through its first two migrations and then finally "comme une troisième migration," passed to Cluny ("La geste des origines dans l'historiographie clunisienne des XI^e-XII^e siècles," p. 146). Yet Glaber is quite clear, "Deinde vero quasi terna transmigratio in superiore Burgundia locatum Balmense occupavit monasterium." It was only after this, in what is clearly a final relocation, that the Rule, "iam pene defessa, auctore Deo, elegit sibi sapientiae sedem, vires collectura ac fructificatura germine multiplici in monasterio scilicet cognomento Cluniaco" (*Histories*, III.v.17. p. 124-25).

²⁸⁷It is quite possible that Glaber had the chance to read Odilo's *Life of Maiol* while he resided at Cluny during these years, though there is no way to know for sure. Yet clearly both were influenced by the notion of the quadripartite division of time, though they apply this idea in different ways. They also communicate the identical idea that justice is the foundation of all the other virtues (see below, p. 87).

²⁸⁸*Histories*, I.v.26. pp. 44-47.

of human history. Glaber appears to be oblivious to any contradiction between the two schemes, for he never attempts to reconcile them. Yet where we would see a philosophical inconsistency in Glaber's thought, we are likely missing his point. In much the same way that the *Histories* is devoid of any coherent millennial theology, so too does it lack the polish of an ideological treatise.²⁸⁹ Glaber would not have been disturbed at all by the inconsistencies in the historical systems he constructed, nor would he have felt at odds with the one proposed by Odilo. The whole point of Glaber's fixation on the epochs of time was to show that humanity was well into the final phase of its existence. Whether the fourth age or the sixth, the current age in time was to be the last. Having survived its birth pangs and six centuries of highs and lows, monastic life was now at the brink of realizing perfection through the reforms of Cluny and those connected to it. Formulated in the moral terms that Glaber used in his discussion of the divine quaternity, this was the age of justice. It is to this distinctively Cluniac emphasis that we now turn.

The Age of Justice - The Age of Monks

In Glaber's mind, the idea of history unfolding in four stages was linked closely to his understanding of the moral development of humanity. He was very deliberate about the manner in which he brought his description of the divine quaternity to a close. While the four ages had their proper correspondences in the rivers of paradise and the gospels, it was a careful alignment of the ages with the virtues that Glaber felt was of paramount importance. We will recall that Prudence, Temperance and Fortitude characterized the first three ages of the world respectively.²⁹⁰ It was with the final age, however, - the age of Justice - that Glaber was most concerned; for "from the moment of the Incarnation

²⁸⁹See above, Introduction, p. 6; Chapter II, p. 52.

²⁹⁰See above, p. 79.

down to our own days justice has nourished, governed, and enveloped all ages, as the end and foundation of the other virtues; as the Truth said to His baptizer, 'It is fitting for us to fulfil all justice'."²⁹¹ Yet even greater significance is added to these closing comments on the divine quaternity when we see how Glaber returns to the original focus of his work. He begins, "We intend to narrate the story of all the great men who have lived since the year 900 of the Incarnation of the Word which created and breathed life into all things - all the men in the Roman world, that is, who have distinguished themselves *by their devotion to the catholic faith and to justice*."²⁹² Consequently, with the signs of the millennium occupying centre stage in the *Histories*, Glaber's investigation into the execution of justice in society takes on apocalyptic significance. The coming age would be the age of Christ's judgement, realized at his second coming. In pursuing the theme of justice, however, Glaber was placing himself firmly within a mental framework that was expressed persistently in other Cluniac writings.

Odo of Cluny was a man who was both conscious of the injustices that were perpetrated in society and actively engaged in attempting to confront them. In the preface to his *Life of St. Gerald*, Odo invokes the solemnity of the last days, saying, "For in judgment the king will say to many who prophesied and who did great things: *I knew you not*. [Matt. 25:12.] But those who execute justice, in which Gerald excelled, are to hear *Come ye, blessed of my father* [Matt. 25:34]."²⁹³ He earlier draws a parallel between St. Gerald and Noah, both of whom were men chosen by God for their just and pious lives. In Gerald's case, however, Odo provides added significance in that "divine dispensation performs these things *in our age*."²⁹⁴ Gerald was a part of "the generation of the just."²⁹⁵

²⁹¹*Histories*, I.i.3. pp. 8-9.

²⁹²*Ibid.* (emphasis mine).

²⁹³*The Life of St. Gerald*, p. 93.

²⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 92 (emphasis mine).

He was a man who, though burdened by the affairs of the secular world, sought to "surpass the justice of the Pharisees as the Lord commanded [Matt. 5:20];" for instead of setting aside a tenth of the produce of his fields, he set apart a ninth, "and from this the poor were fed in certain of his houses, and clothes and shoes were provided for them in these places."²⁹⁶ In short, Odo upheld Gerald as an exemplar because "he was a man who cultivated justice, and, according to the apostolic precept, lived soberly and piously and justly." It was in this manner, Odo believed, that God fostered religion in an age when it was "despised and forgotten."²⁹⁷

When we turn to John of Salerno's *Life of St. Odo*, it appears that Odo's greatest virtue was that of patience. Having withdrawn into the cloister he was constantly mindful "of that precept of the Lord, *In patience you shall possess your souls*. [Luke 21:19.]" Despite some digressions and promises to discuss the other virtues, John's emphasis is clearly on patience. Many of the stories that he relates about Odo were told with a view to providing, as John himself says, "an opportunity to demonstrate the abbot's patience."²⁹⁸ Yet John's emphasis on patience in no way contradicts Odo's emphasis on justice in St. Gerald's life, nor the emphasis placed on justice in the lives of later abbots of Cluny.²⁹⁹ What we are witnessing, in fact, is a transition between the Carolingian world and the world of the late tenth and eleventh century. Odo, in his *Life of St. Gerald*, was, in essence, attempting "to formulate a new model combining piety with coercive power."³⁰⁰ He was as concerned to see justice served as were the later abbots of Cluny, but his role was strictly in advising those in the lay world who had the ability to bring it about. Up to

²⁹⁵Ibid., p. 94.

²⁹⁶Ibid., p. 108.

²⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 130-31.

²⁹⁸See, for example, *The Life of St. Odo*, pp. 34, 46-47.

²⁹⁹Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound*, p. 86.

³⁰⁰Ibid., p. 70-71.

this time, saints could provide an exemplum only for those wishing to renounce the world; for there had always been a clear delineation between the functions of a saintly monk and those of a noble warrior.³⁰¹ This idea, however, would undergo significant transformation, as we find it expressed in the *Lives* of the later abbots, Maiol and Odilo.

By the time Maiol was abbot of Cluny, patience was no longer upheld as the greatest of monastic virtues. Odilo, in his *Life of Maiol*, states that justice "which is spread through all the other virtues... seems to be the foundation of those same virtues."³⁰² This statement is remarkably akin to Glaber's reference to justice "as the end and foundation of the other virtues."³⁰³ Elsewhere we find the virtue of patience employed to serve the greater virtue of justice: "[Maiol] learned, for the sake of justice, to bear patiently the persecutions and antipathy of the ancient enemy and wicked men."³⁰⁴ Maiol, as a friend of kings, popes, and emperors, was no longer content, as Odo had been, to remain in a purely advisory role when it came to the execution of justice. It was by way of justice that Maiol hoped to achieve the crown of justice (*coronam iustitiae*) laid up for him in heaven.³⁰⁵ Even Odilo's account of the origins of monasticism took on a tone informed by this increasing concern for justice. St. Maurus was praised for educating his followers to justice, and the later period in which Cluny had its foundation was characterized by a rarity of the same virtue.³⁰⁶ Maiol's function as abbot of Cluny had clearly taken on dimensions that Odo would have felt were the sole responsibility of

³⁰¹Ibid.

³⁰²*De Vita Beati Maoili Abbatis*, PL. 142, col. 952: "Per omnia genera virtutum diffunditur... earundem virtutum condimentum esse videtur."

³⁰³*Histories*, I.i.4. pp. 8-9: "Veluti ceterarum finis ac fundamentum." This is one example among many of the cross-pollination of ideas that occurred at Cluny.

³⁰⁴*De Vita Beati Maoili Abbatis*, PL. 142, col. 952: "Propter justitiam persecutiones et passiones ab antiquo hoste et malis hominibus patienter didicit sustinere."

³⁰⁵Ibid.

³⁰⁶Ibid., col. 946.

powerful laymen. This is reflected most clearly by Odilo's persistent emphasis on the fourth of the cardinal virtues in his predecessor's life.

Jotsald, in his *Life of St. Odilo*, took further steps to entrench this emphasis on justice in the lives of the abbots of Cluny. He not only extolled the presence of the virtue in Odilo's life, but went so far as to "illustrate how Odilo was the prototype of a whole society in the exercise of this virtue."³⁰⁷ The entirety of this discussion is placed within the context of the "four principle virtues," leaving no doubt as to which of the four was most highly esteemed by the monks at Cluny.³⁰⁸ Odilo himself expresses this concern well in a letter to Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, where he cites the prophet Daniel saying, "They that are learned shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that instruct many to justice, as stars for all eternity."³⁰⁹ The four-fold notion of the ages that was current at the monastery of Cluny during the abbacy of Odilo was inextricably linked to the prevailing emphasis on the virtue of justice. Justice not only characterized the fourth age - in whatever 'scheme of fours' it was presented - but its greatest arbiter was now the confraternity of monks associated with Cluny. They understood themselves to be representatives of the justice of Christ, now approaching the hour of its greatest outpouring.³¹⁰

This brings us back to Glaber. We know that his work opens with a pointed reference to justice as it fits the schema of the four ages. He follows this up with a declaration of his will to tell the reader of "all the men in the Roman world, that is, who

³⁰⁷Heath, *Crux imperatorum philosophia*, p. 41-42. See also *De Vita et Virtutibus Sancti Odilonis Abbatis*, PL. 142, cols. 902-03.

³⁰⁸Jotsald begins the section prior to his discussion of Odilo's justice with the title, "Quod in eo quatuor virtutes principales refulserint" (ibid., col. 901).

³⁰⁹Behrends, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, pp. 88-89. Cf. also Dan. 12:3.

³¹⁰Cf. Iogna-Prat, "Raoul Glaber et l'historiographie clunisienne," p. 558; idem, "Continence et virginité dans la conception clunisienne de l'ordre du monde autour de l'an mil," p. 139.

have distinguished themselves by their devotion to the catholic faith and to justice."³¹¹ Yet we might ask ourselves if the remainder of the *Histories* bears out this stated objective. Glaber first observes that "The mighty kings of the Franks were now the greatest of all Christendom, powerful in justice and excelling all in their dedication to arms and their military might."³¹² Here he seems to articulate a very Carolingian notion of the implementation of justice, much like that espoused by Odo. Yet it is of the ninth century that Glaber is speaking here, for he notes that "the [two] most distinguished [of these Frankish Kings] were Charles the Great and Louis the Pious."³¹³ This, in fact, is the last we hear of these early Carolingians, and Glaber betrays his ignorance of the period by introducing these two historically significant figures and then dismissing them cursorily by noting, "But because it is not our purpose to give a historical account of this family's deeds and lineage, we have taken steps to indicate briefly how and when the kingdom and empire of their descendants came to an end."³¹⁴

We would expect, given Glaber's optimistic introduction, that the following chapters would be dedicated to showing how successful the Frankish rulers were at distributing justice to their subjects. As we read on, however, a very different picture emerges. He tells stories about Capetian dukes, Ottonian kings and Roman emperors that had come to power in the course of the tenth century, but very little is said about the

³¹¹*Histories*, I.i.4. pp. 8-9.

³¹²*Ibid.*, I.i.4. pp. 10-11.

³¹³*Ibid.*

³¹⁴*Ibid.* Whereas Duby attributes this scanty reference to the ninth century as Glaber's indifference to and "rejection of the Carolingian cultural legacy" (*The Three Orders*, p. 193), France's conclusion that Glaber was ill-informed of certain political details seems more likely (cf. France, Introduction, pp. xlv-xlvii; *Histories*, I.i.4. pp. 10-11, n. 4). Indeed, if there were anything that Glaber would have absorbed from the ninth century, it would have been that 'cultural legacy' of the Carolingians that was so well represented in the library at Cluny during his time. See André Wilmart, "Le Convent et la bibliothèque de Cluny vers le milieu du XI^e siècle," *Revue Mabillon* 11 (1921), pp. 89-124; see also Dutton, "Raoul Glaber's 'De divina quaternitate'," pp. 436-37. Glaber also conveniently avoids having to give a description of the ancestry of the Robertians by noting, "if one goes any distance back it becomes very obscure" (*Histories*, I.ii.6. pp. 14-15).

proper dispensation of justice. On the contrary, in a very short space Glaber takes up mentioning "in some measure the disasters, both external and internal, which scourged the Roman world under the kings we have mentioned." The reason for these disturbances lay in the fact that now "the power of the government rested upon tyranny rather than upon gentle mildness or hereditary right."³¹⁵ The remainder of Book I is given over to this topic.

Book II of the *Histories* has always been regarded as a somewhat confusing compilation of disparate events that have no bearing on the rest of the work. John France's comment that "It is impossible to see any order in Book II" is penetrating.³¹⁶ While we cannot dismiss the wandering nature of the Book, it might be helpful to view its disorder in a different light. If we examine closely its contents, it quickly becomes apparent that disorder (and the portents that accompany that disorder) is the central organising theme.³¹⁷ In the midst of miraculous occurrences we are told that "War broke out in all the West..." and, "As often happens, because of the offences of the ordinary people, their kings and other princes fell into dispute."³¹⁸ Later we are informed of the "tumult and civil strife [which] broke out in the lower parts of Gaul."³¹⁹ In an especially poignant lament, Glaber claims that "where greed for filthy lucre rules, justice is most

³¹⁵*Histories*, I.iv.16. pp. 30-31.

³¹⁶France, Introduction, p. xxxix.

³¹⁷It might be argued that Book II could not fit into the overall plan in the *Histories* proposed here because of the fact that the inclusion of the section on the divine quaternity came later, as part of a revision of Book I, while Book II never appears to have been revised at all (*ibid.*, pp. xxxiv-xliv). Yet it may well be that in discovering Ambrose's and Maximus the Confessor's two quadripartite schemes while he was at Cluny, Glaber found the perfect way to introduce the theme of justice (or injustice, as the case may be) which he had expounded at an earlier time. On the other hand, we know that the monastery at St-Bénigne possessed a copy of Maximus's *Ambigua*, and very likely a copy of Ambrose's *De Paradiso* as well. Hence, Glaber could have been formulating these ideas prior to his residence at Cluny (cf. Dutton, "Raoul Glaber's 'De divina quaternitate'," pp. 439-40).

³¹⁸*Histories*, II.ii.3. pp. 54-55.

³¹⁹*Ibid.*, II.iii.4. pp. 56-57.

often stifled."³²⁰ Indeed the situation was so bad that the clergy themselves "caused [the people] to stray from the path of justice."³²¹ Further references would only serve to reinforce the general impression. What we are most struck by is the complete inability of the rulers of the day, whether Frankish, Saxon or other, to secure true justice and peace.

For Glaber, all that remained in this situation was for God and the reformist monks of Cluny to step in and fill the void. Book III contains a number of curious stories in which God intervened in blatant cases of injustice. For example, we are told of a thief who was captured in the act and, having been brought before Raynard, the count of Sens, was, despite his penitence and contrition, condemned to a cruel death - a punishment far too severe for his crime. When the thief was left for dead, Glaber records that "through the will of God, the rope then snapped, and so he who was compelled to submit himself to a violent death hoisted through the yielding air, fell to the earth a free and living man."³²² The fact that the thief returned to his wicked ways was irrelevant. Glaber meant to show how justice, though breached by a wicked man, could be served by the power of God. Prior to these accounts, Glaber observed that the monks of Cluny "were always devoted to godly works such as justice and mercy." In the *Life of St. William*, Glaber records how his master came upon a situation in which a man had been hung upon the gallows for reasons that Glaber leaves unsaid. William, who was a mile off when he received the news, ran as quickly as possible to the site of execution, only to find the man dead. He went up to him, however, and said, "Arise, because... the Lord commands it'." At this, the man opened his eyes, and went to spend the rest of his life in a monastery. Glaber then notes that William, "by intercession and ransom... freed many from the gallows and from a violent death in the different provinces."³²³ This story is reminiscent

³²⁰Ibid., II.vi.10. pp. 70-71.

³²¹Ibid., II.vi.12. pp. 72-73.

³²²Ibid., III.vi.21. pp. 128-31.

of a story told of Odilo, where he displayed similar kindness to a horse thief. In this case too, as in the first case involving William, the thief was condemned despite his cries for mercy.³²⁴ In William's case, what Glaber is trying to show how the abbots and monks who bore the torch of Cluniac reform were compelled to take a stand against the capricious nature of justice in their day. The belief in the fourth age as the age of justice had gradually taken on added significance, so that now it was monks who would achieve its perfect fulfillment. This was an idea that Glaber took to heart.

Glaber's *Histories* and the *Life of St. William* possess "a sense of vertigo which is wont to overcome those who find themselves propelled into the political stratosphere."³²⁵ He wrote with the self-assurance of a man who had come into contact with some of the most powerful and influential men of his times. His dedication of the *Histories* to Odilo surely must have been "part of an effort to reopen the gates of Cluny which he must have left only reluctantly."³²⁶ This having been said, however, Glaber had already drunk sufficiently at the well of ideas that motivated and nourished the renowned abbot. Certainly while at Cluny, and very likely while residing earlier at St-Germain d'Auxerre and St-Bénigne at Dijon under the care of Helderic and St. William, Glaber absorbed a notion of the historical significance of the monastic movement to which he belonged. His appropriation of a quadripartite scheme, combined with an emphasis on the unfolding age of justice, aligned him with an ideology that had attained currency at Cluny throughout the tenth and early eleventh century. The specific application of the scheme to his *Histories*, however, was both artful and ingenious, revealing a sharper intellect than many

³²³*Life of St. William*, xiii. pp. 294-95.

³²⁴*De Vita et Virtutibus Sancti Odilonis Abbatis*, PL. 142, cols. 918-19.

³²⁵J. France, "Rodulfus Glaber and French Politics in the Early Eleventh Century," *Francia* 16 (1989), p. 112.

³²⁶France, Introduction, p. xlv.

have been willing to concede to him. He was certainly no Odorannus of Sens,³²⁷ but he knew what he believed and he put it in writing as best he could.

³²⁷France, "Rodulfus Glaber and French Politics," p. 112.

Conclusion

Rodulfus Glaber lived his entire monastic life at houses that were closely tied to the great Burgundian monastery of Cluny. In particular, while at St-Bénigne at Dijon, he developed a close relationship with St. William, one of the most formidable reformers of his day. The intimate connections that William had developed previously with Maiol and Odilo, the fourth and fifth abbots of Cluny respectively, set the direction for his monastic career. Consequently, Glaber was in steady contact with ideas that were being disseminated by Cluniac monks. Not only did he have access to the relatively large libraries at St-Bénigne and Cluny, but he was deeply affected by current perceptions of the world that predominated in Cluniac circles. These were consistently expressed in his writings. This observation, however, must be tempered by the admission that Glaber never intended to be a spokesman for Cluniac ideas. His articulation of Cluniac thought is neither systematic nor comprehensive. The danger in reading Glaber in ideological terms is that we attribute to him an agenda that he may not have consciously held. He was not, as observed earlier, an ideologue.³²⁸

On the other hand, Glaber's *Histories* and *Life of St. William* provide us with a unique window into the mind of one intimately familiar with Cluniac practice and belief. These ideas may not have been very clearly compartmentalized in Glaber's own mind. Yet in the process of writing, even while documenting prosaic and sometimes disparate events, he betrayed quite naturally the contents of his heart. Had St. William not died in 1031, we can be sure that the *Histories* would have been written in his honour, for it was begun at his instigation years earlier.³²⁹ Yet the work in its final redaction is dedicated "to the most eminent of famous men, Odilo, father of the abbey of Cluny."³³⁰ By this point

³²⁸See above, Introduction, pp. 5-6.

³²⁹*Life of St. William*, xiii. pp. 294-95.

Glaber was experiencing what amounted to a monastic exile, for he was no longer at his beloved Cluny, but once again back at St-Germain d'Auxerre. In Glaber's mind, one's monastic career could find no greater fulfillment than to run out its course at Cluny - the very centre of his universe. In this he had somehow failed, and he was desperate to rectify the situation.³³¹ Glaber explicitly attempted to identify himself with the monks of Cluny by expounding on quadripartition at the outset of the *Histories*. Yet this may have been redundant. The rest of the work makes it clear that Glaber was not merely posturing as a Cluniac monk to earn a reprieve at Odilo's monastery. He was irrevocably committed to ideas that had their source at Cluny. No matter where he might have ended his life, it would have been as an advocate of the Cluniac way.

I have focused on three particular themes in Glaber's works, for these can be seen to mirror the essential set of values and ideas through which Cluniacs viewed their world in the early eleventh century. Cluny came into being at a time when monastic life in Gaul was in need of revitalization. Regular observance of the Benedictine *Rule* was the driving force behind the reforms sponsored by those who were connected with the Burgundian house.³³² Yet this particular brand of monastic reform soon became socially comprehensive in its objective. It was not just monks who were to pursue a course for moral regeneration. While those within the cloister were to serve as exemplars, the ultimate end of Cluniac reform was to 'monasticize' all of society. Glaber expressed these ideals well. He speaks with admiration of clerics and laymen to the extent that they demonstrated monastic virtues within their lesser vocations. Not all were called to *be*

³³⁰*Histories*, I.Preface.1. pp. 2-3.

³³¹This situation was only exacerbated by the arrival of a monk from Cluny who, at least according to Glaber, told stories about him that aroused animosity in the abbot and monks at St-Germain to such an extent that they defaced the inscriptions on the altars that Glaber had done (*ibid.*, V.i.8. pp. 226-27).

³³²In using the word "regular" here, I mean to imply all that the term meant when it was used in Cluny's foundation charter. See above, Chapter I, p. 19.

monks, but all were expected to recognize that the most perfect manifestation of earthly existence could be found in that order of men.

Reformist zeal provided the impetus for all that Cluny was and did. Glaber, however, understood monastic reform in view of other Cluniac concerns that emphasized the historical significance of the times. The two millennial dates 1000 and 1033 create the unifying theme in the *Histories*. Whatever event was being recorded, whether the death of great abbots, bishops and kings, or the death of the Leutard the 'mad heretic', everything achieved greater significance in light of the millennium. Cluniac monasticism had been eschatological right from its inception, but the millennium provided Glaber with a highly useful paradigm into which he could place current events. Signs and wonders served well as portents, pointing to the coming judgement of Christ that was soon to fall upon humankind. Here Cluny's emphasis on quadripartition became a useful explanatory device as well.

Quadripartition was such a commonplace notion at Cluny that it could provide a conceptual framework for almost anything. The four rivers of paradise, four elements, four virtues, four gospels, and many other four-fold characterizations of the world formed an integral part of Cluny's spiritual heritage. The most useful of these for Glaber's purposes, however, was the notion of the division of history into four ages, the last of these being the age of justice. His particular expression of quadripartition, though based upon an unusual Carolingian source, was of great significance in the way it reflected how Cluniacs viewed their special role in human history. They were not merely continuators of a great tradition passed down from the apostles, evangelists, martyrs and Church fathers. The linear progress of history was now reaching its climax, with the monks of Cluny providing the essential bridge between temporality and eternity. The virtue of justice was embodied in the abbots of Cluny and disseminated throughout all of its ranks. As stars of justice in the world they were harbingers of the ultimate justice of Christ that would soon be realized at his second coming.

The sure success of Cluny's reforms lent justification to the notion that Cluniac monks were chosen by God to usher in the consummation of the ages. That all of this was taking place around the millennium, attended by prodigious signs, was, for Glaber, highly indicative of God's special providence. Glaber was no ordinary monk, in that he was among the very few of his brethren who took the time to record and interpret contemporary events. Though eclectic in style and presentation, his two works are extremely valuable. They present a view of the world held tenaciously by those associated with the monastery of Cluny.

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