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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

History

Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury and the Fear
of Heresy in Late Twelfth-Century England

by

Suzanne Grace Coley

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

April 2018

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

History

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury and the Fear of Heresy in Late Twelfth Century England

Suzanne Grace Coley

Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury was one of the most influential English ecclesiasts of the late twelfth century. He was also a prolific writer, whose writings are significant in their synthesis of Cistercian spirituality and monastic theology. His *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, composed in the 1170s whilst he was still a monk, is a unique example of an anti-heretical treatise produced in England before the rise of Wycliffe, and yet it has received far less attention than his other works. This thesis, for the first time, argues that heresy was an important issue to ecclesiasts in England at this time. Twelfth-century England was a keen observer of continental popular heresy. This perspective inspired debate about the theoretical prospect of heresy which was combined with an active concern for the faith across the country, and how heresy could be identified and confronted. Baldwin's *Liber* was the most ambitious manifestation of this discourse which drew inspiration from a second key consideration. This was a recognition that the monasteries, and specifically the Cistercian order, had a special role to play in the Church's struggle against heresy. The Cistercians' involvement with heresy in the twelfth century came in the anti-heretical activities of some of its most famous members, and in the development of specifically Cistercian thinking on society, *caritas*, and humility, which inspired individuals both inside and outside the monasteries to expect the participation of monks in the Church's affairs. This thesis demonstrates how Baldwin's role as an anti-heretical polemicist provided a link between an ambitious new religious order and a country preparing for the unprecedented threat of heretical incursion.

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Academic Thesis: Declaration Of Authorship

I, Suzanne Grace Coley, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research:

‘Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury and the Fear of Heresy in Late Twelfth-Century England.’

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signed:

Date:

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A. H.* Irenaeus of Lyons, *Against Heresies: The Complete English Translations from the First Volume of the Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, notes by A. Cleveland Coxe, new en. (Indiana: Ex Fontibus, 2005).
- Ann. Mon.* *Annales Monastici*, ed. by H. R. Luard, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, Rolls Series, 36, 5 vols (London: Longman, 1864-1869).
- Bury* *The Chronicle of Bury of St. Edmunds, 1212-1301: Chronica Buriensis, 1212-1301*, ed. and trans. by A. Gransden (London: Nelson, 1964).
- C. o. F.* Baldwin of Forde, *The Commendation of Faith*, trans. by J. P. Freeland and D. N. Bell, *Cistercian Fathers Series*, 59 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, Inc., 2000).
- C. S. 1* *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Related to the English Church, vol. 1 – A. D. 871 – 1204*, ed. by D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).
- C. S. 2.1* *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, vol. 2 – A. D. 1205 – 1313, Part 1: 1205-1265*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).
- C. S. 2.2* *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, vol. 2 – A. D. 1205-1313, Part 2: 1265-1313*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1964).

- H. E.* Eusebius of Caesarea, *The History of the Church, from Christ to Constantine*, trans. by G. A. William, 2nd edn. rev. by A. Louth (London: Penguin, 1989).
- Heresies* *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, trans. by W. L. Wakefield and A. P. Evans, new edn., Records of Western Civilization (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).
- Howden* Roger of Howden, *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden Comprising the History of England and of Other Countries of Europe from A. D. 732 to A. D. 1209*, trans. by H. T. Riley, 2 vols (London: H. G. Bohn, 1853).
- L. D. S. H.* Baldwin of Forde, *Balduinus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, Liber de Sectis Hereticorum et Orthodoxe Fidei Dogmata*, ed. by J. L. Narvaja, *Rarissima Medievalia Opera Latina*, 2, (Münster: Aschendorff, 2008).
- Letters* Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. by B. S. James, new edn. (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1998).
- Map* Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. by M. R. James, rev. by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).
- Newburgh* William of Newburgh, *The History of English Affairs*, ed. and trans. by P. G. Walsh and M. J. Kennedy, Medieval Latin Texts, 2 vols (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 1988, 2007).
- Paris* Matthew Paris, *Matthew Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Maiora*, ed. by H. R. Luard, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii*

- Aevi Scriptores, Rolls Series, 57, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1872-1873).
- P. L.* *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, ed. by J. P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: [Author], 1844-1864).
- Rule* Benedict, *The Rule of Saint Benedict: in Latin and English*, ed. and trans. by J. McCann, Classics of Spiritual Writing (London: Sheen and Ward, 1972).
- Songs* Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs*, trans. by K. Walsh and I. M. Edwards, Cistercian Fathers Series, 4,7,31,40, 4 vols (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1971, 1976, 1979, 1980).
- S. T.* Baldwin of Forde, *Spiritual Tractates*, trans. by D. N. Bell, Cistercian Fathers Series, 39, 41, 2 vols (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1986).
- Wendover* Roger of Wendover, *The Flowers of History: from the year of Our Lord 1154, and the first year of Henry Second, King of the English*, ed. by H. G. Hewlett, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, Rolls Series, 84, 3 vols (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1886-1889).

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INTRODUCTION

By the insinuation of many... it has come to our ears that John Wycliffe, rector of the church of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, Professor of the Sacred Scriptures (would that he were not also Master of Errors), has fallen into such a detestable madness that he does not hesitate to dogmatize and publicly preach, or rather vomit forth from the recesses of his breast, certain propositions and conclusions which are erroneous and false. He has cast himself also into the depravity of preaching heretical dogmas which strive to subvert and weaken the state of the whole Church and even secular polity...¹

In 1377, Pope Gregory XI issued five papal bulls condemning the views of the English university master, John Wycliffe. He sent three of them to the Archbishop of Canterbury, one to the King of England, and one to William Barton, the chancellor of Oxford University, which is quoted above.² Gregory commanded the university to have John arrested, and to condemn his teachings. Disappointingly for Gregory, it would not be until 15 June 1382 that Wycliffe would finally be condemned, following the promulgation of exceptionally controversial teachings on the Eucharist.³ Wycliffe and his disciples were forbidden to teach, and the following month the chancellor and proctors of Oxford University were ordered to enquire into their supporters and writings, and to report suspicions to the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁴

The general consensus has been that this incident was the turning point for formal heresy prosecution in England, where previously there had been little interest in heretics. Furthermore, it has been seen as the catalyst whereby heresy would begin to

¹ *The Library of Original Sources*, ed. by O. J. Thatcher, 10 vols (New York: University Research Extension, 1907), v, p. 378.

² A. Hudson and A. Kenny, 'Wyclif, John (d. 1384),' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30122>> [accessed 28 August 2017].

³ M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 247-257.

⁴ A. Hudson and A. Kenny, 'Wyclif, John.'

be conceived of as a social problem, rather than an isolated or academic one.⁵ The discovery of a tract dealing with the nature and origins of heresy produced in the late twelfth century by an English Cistercian monk, Baldwin of Forde, under the title *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, offers a new perspective with which to approach this assertion, and to investigate attitudes about heresy in England in the centuries before the rise of Wycliffe.

Previously, studies of heresy in England have considered the rise of Wycliffe, the Lollards and the subsequent persecution of their followers throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There is a remarkable survival of primary material, and there have been many efforts in the last few decades to produce editions of Wycliffite sermons preached in medieval England. As a result researchers have tended to focus fairly exclusively on the beliefs, associations, and writings of the people who are 'too uncritically' called heretics and Lollards.⁶ In light of this, the sporadic occurrence of incidences of confrontation between the English Church and heretics prior to 1381 has seemed like too great an obstacle to be surmounted by many in the examination of a school of English thought on heresy in the earlier period. However, a few studies have been produced in the field of earlier English history which have provided some promising insights.

Peter Biller, for example, has produced a study of the interest shown in instances of heresy amongst monastic scholars in the north of England which began with the discussion in William of Newburgh's *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* of the trial of a group of heretics in Oxford in 1166. He demonstrated through the writings of William and his successors within various monastic foundations that there was a keen interest amongst Northern scholars about the development of heresy in France, and the threat this posed for Christendom.⁷ Evidently, there was a great concern amongst some circles of the English ecclesiastical hierarchy about the possibility of an encounter with heresy which was informed through communication with contacts on the continent. Another study

⁵ I. Forrest, *The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), p. 2; M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 247-305.

⁶ I. Forrest, p. 2.

⁷ P. Biller, 'William of Newburgh and the Cathar Mission to England,' in *Life and Thought in the Northern Church c. 1100-1700: Essays in honour of Claire Cross*, ed. by D. Wood, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 12 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 11-30.

produced more recently focusing on the authors of texts which dealt with heresy by even earlier English writers provides an interesting approach to supplement that of Biller. Paul Hayward studied the writings of Bede, Ælfric of Eynsham and various post-conquest writers in an attempt to shed light on why they chose to write about heresy at times in English history when heresy was not an endemic problem.⁸ He linked each to an interest in emphasizing and strengthening the vitality, strength and unity of the English Church, in the face of adversity. What both of these studies lacked was access to a full-length treatment of heresy written by an English author which could demonstrate more fully how English ecclesiasts were able to engage with broader trends of anti-heretical polemic and activity in Europe.

The *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* of Baldwin of Forde is a remarkable and unique tract on many levels. Firstly, it survives in only one manuscript, and there is no extant twelfth-century version. There is a rare glimpse of the tract's potential readership in a letter to an anonymous cleric by Peter of Blois, a man who studied under Baldwin in Bologna, and who served him as a letter-writer at Canterbury and accompanied him to Acre on crusade. In the letter, Peter named Baldwin as the first Englishman amongst the ranks of Eusebius of Caesarea, Athanasias of Alexandria, Ruffinus of Aquileia, Irenaeus of Lyons, St. Hilary, St. Jerome, St. Augustine and Epiphanius of Salamis, as men who have written against heretics.⁹ The surviving manuscript is preserved in MS 12264, folios 158r to 262v, at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, along with another largely unknown work by Baldwin, but which was also noted by Leland, the *Orthodoxe Fidei Dogmata*, and has been edited by José Luis Narvaja. This manuscript was found amongst the books which had been commissioned by Thomas Basin, Bishop of Lisieux between 1447 and 1474. The appearance of this manuscript recalls others which he had made during his residency in Utrecht between 1477 and his death in 1491.¹⁰ The answers to

⁸ P. A. Hayward, 'Before the Coming of Popular Heresy: The Rhetoric of Heresy in English Historiography, c. 700-1154,' in *Heresy in Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by I. Hunter, J. C. Laursen and C. J. Nederman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 9-28.

⁹ Peter of Blois, *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, ed. by E. Revell, *Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi*, 13 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), letter 77, p. 325.

¹⁰ J. L. Narvaja, 'Introducción,' in Baldwin of Forde, *Baldwinus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus: Liber de Sectis Hereticorum et Orthodoxe Fidei Dogmata*, ed. by J. L. Narvaja, *Rarissima Mediaevalia Opera Latina*, 2 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2008), pp. 13-25 (pp. 13-14).

how and why this manuscript came to survive in such a way must be the work of a future study.

The tract's second unique feature is that it is an example of twelfth century anti-heretical polemic produced in England, a country where heresy was not an endemic or prolific problem, during the twelfth century. This situation is rendered even more interesting when the authorship of the tract is taken into consideration. The Parisian manuscript is anonymous, but there are indications within its narrative which allowed Hermann Josef Sieben to estimate that its composition lay in the twelfth century. Based on the author's knowledge of Nihilianism and the Cathar heresy, Sieben argued that the work was likely composed in the 1170s or 1180s.¹¹ He also posited that the author was a monk, as the writing had an 'unctuous style and an emphatically pious attitude,' as well as a certain hostility towards the emerging theological scholasticism of the second half of the twelfth century. Narvaja renewed the investigation by identifying the text of the manuscript with descriptions and *incipits* found in medieval library catalogues for England with the previously thought lost tract on heresy written by Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury.¹²

A manuscript entitled *Baldwinus de Sectis Hereticorum* with the same *incipit* as the fifteenth-century copy existed at Christ Church Canterbury during the thirteenth century according to the catalogue made by Prior Henry of Eastry between 1284 and 1331.¹³ The same entry also appeared in the list of books created by Prior William Ingram in 1508.¹⁴ Similarly, John Leland saw a manuscript at Christ Church Canterbury during the sixteenth century entitled *De Sectis Haereticis* attributed to Baldwin with the *incipit* '*Misterium fidei a sapientibus*' matching that of the Parisian manuscript.¹⁵ For the first time, this thesis examines the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* in the context of

¹¹ H. J. Sieben, 'Der Liber de Sectis Hereticorum und Sein Beitrag zur Konzils-idee des 12. Jahrhunderts,' *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum: Internationale Zeitschrift für Konziliengeschichtsforschung*, 15 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1983), pp. 262-306 (pp. 265-267).

¹² J. L. Narvaja, pp. 17-18.

¹³ *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover: The Catalogues of the Libraries of Christ Church Priory and St Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury and of St Martin's Priory at Dover*, ed. by M. R. James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903), p. 26.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¹⁵ R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 66-67.

Baldwin's other more well-known writings. The consistency of interest in the key themes of heresy, the defence of the faith and the means by which wisdom could be gained across his corpus of theological works further justifies the attribution of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* to Baldwin whilst he was still a monk.

Baldwin of Forde was a Cistercian monk, abbot of Forde Abbey in medieval Devon, and in later life became Archbishop of Canterbury, as the second successor to Thomas Becket. There has been no monograph-length treatment of Baldwin's life, and until recently historians' interest in him has concerned his decision as Archbishop to instal a college of secular canons into a collegiate church at Hackington, much to the displeasure of the Benedictine monks of Canterbury. This was an overriding concern for some of his contemporaries as well, evidenced by the *Visio Edmundi*, a purgatorial vision written by Edmund and his brother Adam, both monks of the Benedictine house of Eynsham. In the vision, Edmund saw a certain archbishop of Canterbury suffering 'great pains' for having unwisely promoted unworthy persons to benefices of the clergy, for fear of displeasing the king and for his own profit.¹⁶ However, more studies are beginning to appreciate Baldwin as a deeply religious figure, and a great spiritual leader of men, both in the capacity of bishop and abbot.¹⁷ He was a prolific writer, having produced various works on the faith, and gained a reputation within the Cistercian Order for his erudition and teaching ability. The *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* compared to his other works is reasonably short in length, but follows his style in paying great respect to patristic authority, and builds complex layers of meaning throughout the narrative. The concern of this thesis is for what the *Liber* reveals about Baldwin's conceptualisation of heresy in the context of his life, works, and times.

A pertinent starting point for any study of heresy is the task of defining what 'heresy' is. The first step for any such endeavour might be a consideration of the word's linguistic meaning, and its roots in the Greek word for 'choice.' In this sense, heresy can

¹⁶ Adam of Eynsham, 'The Vision of the Monk of Eynsham,' in *Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham*, ed. by H. E. Salter, Oxford Historical Society, 51, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906-1908), II (1908), pp. 285-371 (pp. 343-344).

¹⁷ D. N. Bell, 'Baldwin of Forde and Twelfth-Century Theology,' in *Noble Piety and Reformed Monasticism*, ed. by E. R. Elder (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1981), pp. 136-148; C. Holdsworth, 'Another Stage... A Different World': *Ideas and People around Exeter in the Twelfth Century* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1979).

be defined as the free choice of an individual to dissent from recognised and authoritative doctrine. This, however, raises more questions than it answers. Crucially, how can it be decided that a decision made, choice taken, or behaviour exhibited by an individual has crossed a boundary of religious belief or speculation? How is this boundary set in the first place? Who is it that has the authority and the ability to define these boundary lines, and who has or has not crossed them? Indeed, the history of 'heresy' cannot be separated from the history of 'orthodoxy.'

Forrest's work in *The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England* addressed some of these issues by investigating the inquisitorial records of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He examined the relationships between different sections of society who had a role in the detection of heresy, from the formulation of legislation concerning the offence, to its communication and finally its implementation. His premise was that heresy detection involved carefully negotiated collaboration between a variety of groups within society, whether this was cooperation between ecclesiastical and secular authorities in arranging investigations and trials, the discussion between these authorities to determine the nature of required procedures and the personnel capable of deciding on the difficult matter of orthodoxy, or the responses from parish clergy and the lay population with reliable reports of suspected heretics.¹⁸ The second of these negotiations is the predominant interest of this thesis: the determination of suitable authority, capable of deciding on the difficult matter of defining orthodoxy, and by extension, defining heresy. It is only by identifying this that it becomes possible to form a view of specific medieval attitudes towards heresy, and attitudes towards its treatment.

Forrest's work has been informed by almost a century's worth of historiographical debate, which has attempted to focus on the issue of heresy in the Middle Ages by understanding social relationships. The pioneering work was produced by Herbert Grundmann, who wrote on the religious culture of the European Middle Ages in the 1930s. Grundmann demonstrated that the religious movements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, whether they were ultimately orthodox or heterodox, were

¹⁸ I. Forrest, p. 6.

generically similar phenomena.¹⁹ Grundmann's model provided a counterpoint to histories which had sought to appropriate the history of heresy in the development of self-identities. Previously, Protestant historians saw in the belief systems of medieval Cathars and Waldensians the foundations of their own Church and sought to emphasize these comparisons. In response, Catholic historians have chosen to define and portray heretics as perpetual enemies of the Church, justifying their own self-identification as defenders of the true faith by describing Protestants as the heirs to an erroneous tradition and emphasising the Catholic Church's special relationship to Christ through its patrimony descending from St Peter. Moving away from the purely theological perspective, historians influenced by Marxist theories of history read into the history of heresy the rise of a proletariat dissatisfied with the status quo as defined by the 'oppressive' universal Church.²⁰

What Grundmann achieved in response to these was the start of an investigation into how 'authority' was defined and delegated in the Middle Ages according to medieval principles and social relationships, rather than those of nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians. This is significant as the approach can be used to locate the treatment of heresy, and attitudes concerning tolerance and intolerance, within a period of great social, political, economic, and, most importantly, religious experimentation, innovation, and upheaval. This is made possible by a comparative approach to the study of religious groups, which has informed the approaches of modern historians, resulting in a renewed focus on the context and authorship of medieval anti-heretical literature, which has aimed to expand understanding of the relationship between heretics and orthodox inquisitors.

In order to simplify matters, two broad directions of investigation can be identified: Firstly, there are studies which consider heretics, and secondly, there are studies which consider inquisitors. In recent times, a great proponent of the first

¹⁹ H. Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links Between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism*, trans. by S. Rowan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994).

²⁰ P. Biller, 'Heresy and Literacy: Earlier History of the Theme,' in *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530*, ed. by P. Biller and A. Hudson, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 23 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 10-18.

position has been Peter Biller. His work has encouraged historians to reconsider the meaning and medieval understanding of 'literacy' visible through anti-heretical literature and inquisitorial records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It has been his argument that these 'texts of repression' can show what it was that led people to hold dissenting opinions, if studied alongside texts produced by heretics. He is interested in the heretic not only as an individual, but especially as a member of a network of communication and literary practices.²¹

This school of thought builds on another view which adopts a more negative critical approach to medieval texts. In his study of thirteenth-century *exempla* dealing with heresy, Alex Gurevich noted that any historian who attempted to approach the subject of medieval heresy through anti-heretical polemic from a purely theological point of view, or, in other words, hoped to recreate a sense of the doctrinal belief systems of medieval heresies, could 'run into the danger of becoming a victim of delusion created, consciously or subconsciously, by the opponents and persecutors of the heretics.'²² As a result, heresy has come to be understood increasingly as a social phenomenon, studied through the social, political and intellectual relationships between the Church and the lay world, during the time of the eleventh- and twelfth-century reform movements. Awareness of this background is thus used to contextualise the anti-heretical literature produced by orthodox authorities, in response to assertions made that pre-Inquisition sources on heresy must be allied to enquiries along the lines of 'texts constructing heresy where there was none.'²³

Studies which investigate heresy as a social phenomenon include the work of Malcolm Lambert. His *Medieval Heresy* offers a comprehensive, chronological treatment of the appearance of multiple dissident groups across Europe from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, placing each firmly in the social and political context of reform. By comparing the social, political and economic conditions of southern Italy

²¹ P. Biller, *The Waldenses, 1170-1530: Between a Religious Order and a Church* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); P. Biller and C. Bruschi, 'Texts and the Repression of Heresy: Introduction,' in *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, ed. by C. Bruschi and P. Biller, *York Studies in Medieval Theology*, 4 (York: York Medieval Press, 2003), pp. 3-19.

²² A. Gurevich, 'Heresy and Literacy: Evidence of the Thirteenth-Century *Exempla*,' in *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530*, ed. by P. Biller and A. Hudson, pp. 104-111 (p. 104).

²³ P. Biller and C. Bruschi, p. 15.

and France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to those of England in the fifteenth, he was able to demonstrate that in the case of the rise of large-scale, popular heresies like Waldensianism, Catharism and Lollardy, there came a point at which a substantial proportion of the population was forced to conclude that the Catholic Church no longer channelled the means of salvation.²⁴

Andrew Roach has attempted to broaden this perspective, by considering the role played by the emergence of 'choice' in the lay world between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, focusing on what he called 'the consumer's experience of religion.' His book, *The Devil's World*, created an image of the medieval world as a marketplace of freely accessible varieties of religious life, broken down into the broader categories of the life of the orthodox Church, and the religious lives offered elsewhere, as competitors to the Church.²⁵ He argued that the proliferation of so-called 'popular religions' greatly increased the opportunities for social emulation, resulting in an increasing motivation for individuals to appear to be active in religion. This meant that the circumstances of the urbanising twelfth century emboldened members of the laity to make decisions about their own spirituality, and thus choice-making, including the decision to disobey the dominant orthodox Church, became a significant spiritual experience for the believer.²⁶

From the perspective of these studies, 'heresy' is a form of self-identification, in which conscious disobedience to a central, dominant authority is inherent. The concept of 'disobedience' is, in turn, loaded with issues of its own. In the first place, the concept implies that a demand must have been made by a dominant authority against which dissent might be rallied – a demand or expectation which could not be consistent with the spiritual expectations and aspirations of the dissenters. This idea was approached in an earlier generation by the work of Janet Nelson on Theodicy. 'Theodicy' was 'the problem which arises within a belief system when an individual's experience involves suffering which the system fails to accommodate or explain.'²⁷ In this article, Nelson

²⁴ M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 70-96, 115-189, 247-305.

²⁵ A. P. Roach, *The Devil's World: Heresy and Society: 1100-1300* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁷ J. L. Nelson, 'Society, Theodicy and the Origins of Heresy: Towards a Reassessment of the Medieval Experience,' in *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, ed. by D. Baker, *Studies in Church History*, 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 65-77 (p. 66).

called for a reconsideration of why there was a new consciousness of different spiritual needs. Significantly, she stressed the importance of looking to the educational developments of the later eleventh century onwards to explain how more people became capable of doctrinal speculation. At the same time, she emphasised the importance of considering the role of religion in society, and its special relationship to political and economic structures as a pronouncer and affirmer of the values of stability and tradition, by enjoining the fulfilment of ascribed roles to groups of individuals and vocations. This resulted in a situation where the Church was aware that new standards of purity and holiness were being set in different sections of society, and that as variety proliferated, there was an increasing urge to assert institutional unity within Christian society.²⁸ Thus, heresy can be seen as a conscious act of disobedience.

An important issue is raised in Nelson's article. This is that the Church was aware of social, political and intellectual developments taking place within the culture of medieval Europe, and was interested in what this meant for the unity of spiritual life within Christian society. Indeed, Nelson asked what relevance a religion of stability had to a life of mobility, competition, and uncertainty.²⁹ The related work of historians interested in the study of faith is useful here. John Arnold in particular has provided interesting perspectives in his work on faith and uncertainty in the Middle Ages, by demonstrating how there was a variety of opportunities for lay and clerical populations to interact, which allowed for the emergence of new cultural ideas and standards of holiness.³⁰ In his view, the dominant culture, represented by the Catholic Church, did not remain passive, but reproduced and redefined itself to maintain hegemony, and therefore Christianity should not be pictured as a linear development generated solely by isolated theologians.³¹ This idea is very much the premise for Giles Constable's work on the twelfth-century reformation, which demonstrated how this was a period characterised by the proliferation of religious orders, and the acceptance of variety and diversity, but not adversity, in differing standards of holiness.³²

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³⁰ J. H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Hodder Education, 2005).

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³² G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); G. Constable, 'The Multiplicity of Religious orders in the Twelfth Century: Pluralism and Competition,'

It is important to remember that the Church itself was a great proponent of social and spiritual reform, and that quite often the criticisms levelled at a political and social level against the Church by laymen were echoed by members of the clergy and regular orders. Furthermore, attempts were made by some groups who would be condemned as heterodox, such as the Waldensians, who took steps to gain for themselves papal recognition and a place of authority within the diverse body of the Church, at the same time and in the same manner as groups such as the Franciscan friars, whose applications were successful. Regardless of the complexities of each group's application and relationship to the papacy, both, in making the attempt to apply, held a similar view of the role of the Church in society as a dominant provider of guidance and unity. It becomes clear that in order to temper the view of heresy as a self-defined expression of socially motivated disobedience, the development of the 'dominant' authority throughout the Middle Ages is equally important in defining what could constitute a heresy. The nature of this authority needs greater consideration in terms of the development of its self-identification, prescribed roles, and relationship to the experience of religion held by the laity.

Moving from studies of heretics towards studies of the inquisitors, or members of the 'dominant' Church, it is expedient to note in the first place that in the historiography of the twentieth century, the study of the Church's aptitude for tolerance and distinction of minority groups has been influenced by the results of the Second World War. After the horrific revelations of the Nuremberg trials, the study of medieval minorities and persecution acquired a renewed sense of urgency, as historians sought the discovery of the roots of modern evils in medieval origins. Such histories have undoubtedly influenced the writings of Robert Moore, whose work encapsulates the direction of many modern studies of medieval persecution and inquisition. In his seminal study, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, Moore argued that heresy was defined as a social state existing outside the protection of society, for the purpose of the social and political exclusion of groups of individuals potentially hostile to ecclesiastical authorities. He traced, through his encyclopaedic acquaintance with

paper given April 1978, The New York University Conference on Consciousness and Group Identification in High Medieval Religion, University of New York.

incidents of confrontation between heretics and the Church since the eleventh century, a transition from the use of accusations of heresy from an 'occasional expedient for the consolidation of power' over dissidents, to the 'establishment of regular machinery for their detection and pursuit as one of the foundations upon which power was erected and maintained.'³³

The definition of heresy found in the anti-heretical literature of the period, according to this perspective, cannot reflect the realities of the historical heretic, but only the concerns and political preoccupations of the ecclesiastical authorities who wrote it. The production of this material, and the act of persecution itself, thus served to stimulate the development of the claims to power and techniques of government in the Church and state as well as the increasing cohesiveness and confidence of those who operated them.³⁴ One of the ways in which this was done was through the exaggeration and manipulation of fear surrounding the toxic nature of heresy in anti-heretical literature. Moore has emphasized how the usage of descriptions of heretics found in these sources had changed from a tool for ecclesiasts for understanding the spread of the social phenomenon of heresy to a metaphor for the fear of the privileged of those to whom they owe their privileges.³⁵ Nowhere is Moore's position on the medieval Church's definition of heresy clearer than in his description of this process as the support of a 'conspiracy theory.'³⁶

Similar ideas can be seen in the work of Alexander Patschovsky, a student of Grundmann. For Patschovsky, the creation of a definition of 'heresy' was an indicator of the mentality of groups who were socially mobile and actively seeking progression within society.³⁷ He argued that over time the definition of the term was stretched so far by a succession of popes and papal commentators as to lack any real, doctrinal

³³ R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1259* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), p. 145.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101, 123; R. I. Moore, 'Literacy and the Making of Heresy, c. 1000-c. 1150,' in *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530*, ed. by P. Biller and A. Hudson, pp. 19-37; R. I. Moore, 'Heresy as a Disease,' in *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages (Eleventh to Thirteenth Centuries): Proceedings of the International Conference Louvain, 13-16, 1973*, ed. by W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1976), pp. 1-11.

³⁶ R. I. Moore, *The Formation*, p. 123.

³⁷ A. Patschovsky, 'Heresy and Society: On the Political Function of Heresy in the Medieval World,' in *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, ed. by C. Bruschi and P. Biller, pp. 23-44.

meaning and thus could be used indiscriminately as a weapon against unstable social groups.³⁸ This instability was a direct consequence of society's increasing sensitivity to the ideal nature of Christian life, brought about by the publicity of the reform movements.³⁹ To demonstrate how this works, he provided a view of medieval society as a paradox where heresy both as a social phenomenon and as a phenomenon created and continually redefined by ecclesiastical authority, was a natural product of social competition:

In a society which was at the same time as much religious as profane, where lay princes controlled spiritual life and prelates directed princely estates, where the high ethical standards of theory were in principle incompatible with daily life and practice, heresy was no exception in social life, but its natural product... It was the necessary expression of the inner contradictions of that system.⁴⁰

This idea promised to provide a dual definition of heresy; however, a problem with his argument arises in the admission that such a society does not seem to have existed, even taking into account the amount of evidence that might have been lost, or never recorded in the first place. By way of explanation, he suggested that there was no political incentive at this time, thus 'the principle desiring the eradication of religious deviants was not often put into practice and the sad reality of its full destructive force was seldom realised.'⁴¹ This explanation relies on the conclusion that accusations of 'heresy' must have played a much less important role than he imagined.

Between these two works, a dichotomy has appeared. Patschovsky's conclusion that accusations of heresy must not have been as important as first imagined does not sit comfortably with Moore's evidence demonstrating the political impact of such events. One of Moore's greatest strengths was demonstrating the complex social and political relationships at play between religious and lay authorities which must be considered as a backdrop to incidences of heresy in the early Middle Ages. However, a criticism of Moore's work has concerned his identification of the Church as a centralized

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

power whose rhetoric can be so rigorously documented. This does not match the reality of an institution which was often too 'frail' in practice to realize the claims made by and for it.⁴² Perhaps a more useful investigation would be the variety of vocation and opinion within the dynamic hierarchy of the Catholic Church, and the relationship between these groups, which could have had an impact on the direction of anti-heretical movements.

Brenda Bolton discussed possible evidence that the Church's response to the spread of heresy can be understood not merely as one of negative repression and power consolidation, but as a positive attempt to set its own house in order, and meet the requirements of some dissident lay groups.⁴³ She based this on evidence of a degree of communication between the papacy, the highest levels of the Church hierarchy, and lay dissidents that aimed to distinguish a difference between heresy and disobedience, on the grounds that it was only refusal to submit to the ultimate decision of the Church which would bring about condemnation whilst complete submission could guarantee a degree of toleration towards the group.⁴⁴ Thus, it would appear that the medieval papacy considered it to be a part of its role to provide a forum for the discussion of the spiritual experiences and expectations of the laity in order to maintain the unity of the Catholic Church, to the extent that in some cases it was willing to find a compromise in order to avoid anathema.

Christine Cadwell Ames has provided a more dynamic idea of heresy related to this. She suggested that concepts such as 'Christianity,' as well as 'Judaism' or 'Islam,' whilst having significant meaning as identities in the Middle Ages, can often hinder modern historians by suggesting a greater degree of coherence and uniformity amongst believers than actually existed.⁴⁵ She posited three crucial premises to aid any understanding of heresy. Firstly, heresy must not be seen as defined clearly against a self-evident divine truth, nor as an always-moving target which was entirely divorced

⁴² C. J. Nederman, 'Introduction: Discourses and Contexts of Tolerance in Medieval Europe,' in *Beyond the Persecuting Society: Religious Toleration Before the Enlightenment*, ed. by J. C. Laursen and C. J. Nederman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), pp. 13-33.

⁴³ B. Bolton, 'Tradition and Temerity: Papal Attitudes to Deviants, 1159-1216,' in *Scholars, Heresy and Religious Protest*, ed. by D. Baker, pp. 79-92 (p. 81).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁴⁵ C. Cadwell Ames, *Medieval Heresies: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 2.

from doctrine, but as a balance between divergent interpretations of certain ideas and practices.⁴⁶ Secondly, the definition, condemnation and even the punishment of heresy is not necessarily an expression of power and hegemony, but one of vulnerability, where the Latin Church admitted to propagating diversity despite its formal unity.⁴⁷ Finally, definitions of heresy were bound to sacred texts, which did not create or present an obvious orthodoxy, but did record the dangers for religious communities of disunity, and of choosing falsehood over divine truth.⁴⁸

Religions bound to specific sacred texts are, inevitably, religions of interpretation. Therefore, authority within that religion is bound to relationships with these texts and their meaning. This final point affirms the importance of Cadwell Ames' previous two premises. The way in which the sacred texts came to be understood, and the means by which this understanding became the intellectual prerogative of particular groups of individuals at different times, can all reflect shifts in the way that heresy was defined and conceived of as a threat. In the twelfth century, a period in which plurality in forms of religious expression was increasingly common, this issue of how authority could be related to ownership of authoritative stances relating to the interpretation of scriptural truths was especially pertinent.

In the light of this, the understanding of literate cultures is important, and other studies have turned to a closer examination of the interests of the authors of anti-heretical literature as members of a Christian society. For example, the work of Jessalynn Bird on the writings of Peter the Chanter's circle in twelfth-century Paris is useful in its insight into how theological and moral debate amongst scholars concerning the nature of heresy could result in the production of anti-heretical texts. The premise of this literature was that instead of repression, the education and salvation of simple Christians and unconfirmed heretics would be the more efficient means of defending the faith.⁴⁹ Perhaps the most important contribution in recent years to this field of enquiry has been provided by Lucy Sackville's work on anti-heretical texts produced in

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴⁹ J. Bird, 'The Construction of Orthodoxy and the (De)construction of Heretical Attacks on the Eucharist in *Pastoralia* from Peter the Chanter's Circle in Paris,' in *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, ed. by C. Bruschi and P. Biller, pp. 45-62.

the thirteenth century. Her work is based upon the central aim of looking at what these sources say about the attitudes of various groups of Catholics towards heresy and heretics rather than what they can reveal about heresy itself.⁵⁰ For each genre of source she identified, whether polemical, pastoral, canonical or inquisitorial, Sackville was able to demonstrate that each employed common motifs to serve a different purpose.

These different purposes reflected the needs of the variety of individuals within the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, as well as the needs they perceived in their audiences. In response to the earlier comments of Brian Stock, that it is possible to see what was understood by 'heresy' through the means that were considered effective to combat it, she has demonstrated that heresy was not seen as a 'fixed and monolithic creature,' and was not treated as such by an 'authority' which was equally heterogeneous.⁵¹ In comparison to the work of Moore and Patschovsky, these kinds of studies offer a greater opportunity to consider the experience of religion and moral duty as the driving forces of the relationship between the Church and lay society, rather than the consolidation of power and authority for its own sake.

It is the purpose of this thesis to investigate whether this approach to textual representations of heresy can be used to provide an insight into the attitude held by English ecclesiasts towards the threat posed by heresy in the twelfth century through the study of the influences at work on the mind of Baldwin of Forde at the time of composing the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. This threat was understood in relation to a specific understanding of what the authority of the Church was, and how it had persevered against the historical onslaught of heresy. To explore this, a twofold approach will be adopted. In the first place, the premise, purpose and structural composition of the narrative constructed throughout the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* must be expounded to give an unprecedented perspective into an English attitude towards the threat posed by heresy and the role of the Church in combating it.

⁵⁰ L. J. Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations*, Heresy and Inquisitions in the Middle Ages (York: York Medieval Press, 2011).

⁵¹ B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 107; L. J. Sackville, p. 198.

Of equal importance is a consideration of the relationship between different groups within the hierarchy of the Church. As a Cistercian monk in the twelfth century, Baldwin was a part of a young and dynamic monastic order undergoing a period of self-definition and reconsideration of its place in society. It had, in the model of its most renowned member, Bernard of Clairvaux, a precedent for engagement with the wider concerns of the Church and active confrontation with the reality of heresy. This was complemented by a wider debate in the Church on the role of the monastery in society as a provider of spiritual inspiration and pastoral leadership, which, arguably, created societal expectations of the role of monasteries and monks as bastions against the enemies of the Church. These debates were especially important at a time when the traditional means of learning and teaching about the faith were being challenged and revised within the schools of theology growing from the traditional monastic and innovative secular cathedral schools across Western Europe. For Baldwin, these issues would drive him to write many works on the nature of the faith, suggesting that the relationship between the developing influence of the schools and concerns about the spread of heresy are pertinent to a complete understanding of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*.

The second branch of enquiry concerns the dissemination of information about heresy within England in the twelfth century, extending into the thirteenth. Whilst there were not many incidents of heretics being confronted in England, members of the Angevin royal court and the English monasteries were engaging with reports of heresy and its persecution on the continent throughout this period. A key challenge in approaching this issue lies in the complicated survival of the sources, which are likely not representative of how far heresy was discussed in certain circles in England. This is especially the case for historical writing which dealt with the unfolding of contemporary events. Considering the relations between such accounts can reveal how information about heresy was shared, but also how much has been lost to modern observation. What is not at first clear is that historical chronicles and annals were used as forums for airing concerns about the threat and spread of heresy. Moreover, the reporting of heresy fitted in with a wider trend of collecting material together for the protection of the unity and spiritual identity of the Church.

The final issue concerns the documents which provide evidence of attempts made by individuals within England to confront the perceived reality of heresy, and perhaps to prepare for its onslaught. The works composed by friends of Baldwin, namely Bartholomew of Exeter and Peter of Blois, demonstrate how others were directly inspired by Baldwin's thinking on heresy, and were involved in the promulgation of shared ideas about how the defence of the Church ought to be mounted. The impact of individual endeavours can also be seen in the manipulation of the mechanisms of ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction in order to educate a wider community of clergy about the nature of heresy and its detection, and to facilitate the cooperation of royal and Church authorities in the capture and treatment of heretics. As a result, it may come to light that when the Wycliffe and Lollard heresies emerged in the fifteenth century, England was not as unprepared and without guidance as has on occasion been supposed.

PART ONE
BALDWIN OF CANTERBURY–
POLEMICIST, MONK, AND
SCHOLAR

CHAPTER ONE - BALDWIN AND THE *LIBER DE SECTIS* *HERETICORUM*

‘All human beings are by nature complex, but Baldwin, perhaps, was more complex than most.’¹ So wrote David Bell about the Cistercian abbot, Baldwin of Forde, future Bishop of Worcester and eventual Archbishop of Canterbury. Indeed, Baldwin led a dynamic life. He was born in the first half of the twelfth century, in the diocese of Exeter, to a father named Hugh. In a charter of 1159 notifying Robert II, bishop of Exeter, of a dispute with the priory of St. James, Baldwin was listed as amongst the witnesses as ‘Master Baldwin, son of Hugh.’² This Hugh was likely Hugh de Auco, the archdeacon of Totnes between 1143 and 1165 who also held the churches of Branscombe and St. Mary’s in Devon.³ This fact alone suggests that Baldwin’s contemporary Gervase of Canterbury’s assertion that he came from lowly stock in Exeter was incorrect.⁴ Indeed, Baldwin very likely had familial and feudal ties to the most prominent landowners in the diocese, which allowed him to gain access to prestigious ecclesiastical positions. The honour of Totnes at this time was held by Roger de Nonant.⁵ Roger held his land of Richard de Redvers, the second Earl of Devon, a leading magnate in the diocese of Exeter, and acted as a witness to one of Richard’s charters issued between 1100 and 1107.⁶ Richard’s father was Baldwin, first Earl of Devon, and the popularity of the forename

¹ D. N. Bell, ‘Introduction,’ in Baldwin of Forde, *Spiritual Tractates*, ed. and trans. by D. N. Bell, Cistercian Fathers Series, 39, 41, 2 vols (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1986), I, p. 9-30 (p. 9).

² *Charters of the Redvers Family and the Earldom of Devon, 1090-1217*, ed. by R. Bearman, Devon and Cornwall Record Society: new series, 37 (Exeter: B.P.C. Wheatons, 1994), no. 47, p. 95.

³ *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066-1300, vol 10: Exeter*, ed by D. E. Greenway (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2005), p. 25.

⁴ Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, by E. Stubbs, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, Rolls Series, 73, 2 vols (London: Longmans, 1879-1880), II (1880), p. 400.

⁵ R. Bearman, ‘Baldwin de Redvers: Some Aspects of a Baronial Career in the Reign of King Stephen,’ in *Anglo-Norman Studies: XVIII Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, ed. by C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer Press, 1995), pp. 19-46 (p. 41); B. Thomas, ‘Free Alms Tenure in the Twelfth Century,’ in *Anglo-Norman Studies: XVII Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, ed. by M. Chibnall (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1994), pp. 221-243 (p. 288).

⁶ R. Bearman, pp. 40-41; *Charters of the Redvers Family*, 55, no. 3.

'Baldwin' within this family and its generations of intimates suggests that Baldwin of Forde's family might have been a part of this wider network within Exeter and Devon.⁷ Another important magnate who counted as amongst Earl Baldwin and Earl Richard's circle was Robert Warelwast, bishop of Exeter, as is shown by Robert's appearance as a witness in Baldwin's charters between 1141 and 1146.⁸ Robert had a close relationship with Baldwin of Forde as a young man, becoming his patron and arranging for him to go to Bologna to study canon law.⁹

Baldwin's first appearance in historical record was in Italy, where he was appointed by Pope Eugenius III to join his household as a tutor to the previous Pope's nephew.¹⁰ He taught and housed other students including Peter of Blois in canon law in Bologna at this time.¹¹ It was not long before Baldwin returned to England, and between 1155 and 1160 he appeared amongst the witnesses of several charters as a member of the household of Robert Chichester, Bishop of Exeter.¹² From 1164, Baldwin appeared in these charters as Archdeacon of Totnes, following in his father's footsteps.¹³ Around this time Baldwin was appointed to act as papal judge-delegate, and would continue to serve in this capacity for most of his life. He also began to compose his most significant contribution to scholastic canon law in the form of an extensive decretal collection.¹⁴ Whilst there is no conclusive evidence, it is very likely that this collection constituted a lifetime of endeavour, which Baldwin continued to augment with new papal letters received throughout the course of his career.¹⁵

⁷ V. Gibbs and A. Doubleday, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom*, 2nd edn. 14 vols (London: St. Catherine Press, 1916), IV, pp. 312-313.

⁸ R. Bearman, p. 41.

⁹ F. Barlow, 'Warelwast, Robert de, (d. 1155), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/94377>> [accessed 13 January 2017].

¹⁰ R. L. Poole, 'The Early Lives of Robert Pullen and Nicholas Breakspear,' in, *Essays in Medieval History Presented to T. F. Tout*, ed. by A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (Manchester: [the authors], 1925), pp. 61-70 (p. 69); C. Holdsworth, 'Baldwin (c.1125-1190),' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1164>> [accessed 4 May 2015].

¹¹ Peter of Blois, *The Later Letters*, Letter 10.3, p. 53.

¹² *Fasti*, vol. 10, ed. by D. E. Greenway, p. 25; C. Holdsworth, 'Baldwin'.

¹³ *English Episcopal Acta XI: Exeter 1046-1184*, ed. by F. Barlow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), no. 58, p. 51; no. 60, p. 52; no. 64, p. 54; no. 65, pp. 54-55; no. 66, pp. 55-56; no. 68, p. 57; no. 73, pp. 59-60; no. 74, pp. 60-61; no. 82, pp. 70-71.

¹⁴ C. Duggan, *Twelfth-Century Decretal Collections and their Importance in English History* (London: The Athlone Press, 1963), pp. 110-114.

¹⁵ C. J. Holdsworth, 'Another Stage,' p. 17.

In late 1169, Baldwin took monastic vows and entered the recently founded Cistercian Abbey of Forde in Devon, where he quickly rose to the abbacy within five years. It is quite likely that Baldwin had familial connections which facilitated this move and swift promotion. Forde Abbey was founded by Richard fitz Baldwin, son of Baldwin of Meules, a companion of William I, who had accompanied him on his conquest of England.¹⁶ Following Richard's death, the monks were forced to abandon this foundation, but were later reinstated at Harescath, renamed Forde, and endowed with the manor of Thorncombe by his sister and heir, Adelicia, between 1141 and 1142.¹⁷ Adelicia, during the course of her life as the sheriff of Devon, became a part of the circle of influential landowners connected with the Earls of Devon, the Redvers family, of which Baldwin's family was also a part. In 1142, Adelicia sought approval from Earl Baldwin to grant the chapel of Exeter castle to Plympton Priory.¹⁸ Her nephew and heir, Ranulf Avenall, and his son and heir, William of Avenal, continued this association, testifying to its strength.¹⁹

Having spent some years at Forde, Baldwin was elected to the bishopric of Worcester in 1180, and then in 1184 he became Archbishop of Canterbury, as the second successor to Thomas Becket.²⁰ Baldwin's tumultuous and controversial reign as Archbishop is much more well-known, in large part due to his involvement in the proposal and establishment of a collegiate church of secular canons at Hackington, as well as his preaching campaigns in Wales, and finally his decision to preach and join the Third Crusade.²¹ In addition to this colourful and certainly busy career Baldwin was still frequently called upon to perform the service of a papal judge-delegate, almost always by the side of his close friend Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, and thus must have

¹⁶ J. B. Rowe, 'Cistercian Houses in Devon: Forde,' *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 10 (1876), pp. 349-370; J. R. Planché, *The Conqueror and His Companions*, 2 vols (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1974), II, pp. 40-45.

¹⁷ *The Cartulary of Forde Abbey*, ed. by S. Hobbs, Somerset Record Society, 85 (Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1988), p. 84.

¹⁸ R. Bearman, pp. 42-43.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

²⁰ *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066-1300, vol 2: Monastic Cathedrals (Northern and Southern Provinces)*, ed. by D. E. Greenway (London: Athlone Press, 1971), p. 4.

²¹ D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943-1216* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), pp. 319-321; D. N. Bell, 'Baldwin of Forde,' pp. 136-137.

travelled widely in this role.²² His opportunities to travel were also increased by his duty as a Cistercian abbot to attend the regular chapter meetings of the Order at Cîteaux. This was a very full life, affording Baldwin many opportunities to meet a wide range of ecclesiasts across Europe from many walks of life. The connections he made during the early years of his life in the schools and in the cloister would have influenced the development of his thinking about the Church and the faith throughout the rest of his career.

When Bell described Baldwin as ‘complex,’ he was referring more specifically to Baldwin’s literary endeavours. Baldwin, as a monk and abbot of Forde, was a prolific writer. Holdsworth has suggested that given the extant manuscript tradition for his theological works, Baldwin’s writings probably circulated more widely and in more languages than those of any other medieval archbishop of Canterbury, except for Anselm.²³ Until 2008, the known survivors of Baldwin’s theological writings consist of three main works. The first was the *De Sacramento Altaris*, a rumination on the biblical authority for the Eucharist and a discussion of transubstantiation. The second was a work called *De Commendatione Fidei*, which presented a progressive argument on the true nature of faith, on knowledge of God and of the relationship between God and mankind. Finally, he produced a series of twenty-two sermons, almost all of which were addressed to his monastic community at Forde. These cover a range of topics, from the nature of God’s love to the characteristics of the perfect monk. Modern commentators have emphasized the strong and distinctly monastic character of Baldwin’s writings, as opposed to any sense of innovation or originality in his style. His theological learning as demonstrated in these texts has been described by Knowles as ‘thoroughly abreast of the times,’ and he has been assessed by Holdsworth as a ‘man of a capable, and thorough, if unadventurous, turn of mind.’²⁴

His modern critics follow his contemporary biographers in describing him as a man who never quite left the monastery. Gerald of Wales wrote: ‘In his way of life he

²² A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter: Bishop and Canonist, A Study in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), pp. 44-52.

²³ C. Holdsworth, ‘Baldwin’.

²⁴ D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, p. 317, n. 5; C. J. Holdsworth, ‘John of Forde and English Cistercian Writing, 1167-1214,’ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 11 (Dec. 1961), pp. 117-136 (p. 125).

had always been more of a monk than anything else.’ In his character and habits, ‘he was modest and sober, and of great abstinence and self-control, so that very little criticism was ever levelled against him.’ Despite this, Gerald’s final assessment will always read as somewhat condemnatory: ‘He was clearly a better monk than abbot, a better abbot than bishop, and a better bishop than archbishop.’²⁵ To take a broad initial view of this, it is pretty unsurprising that Baldwin’s writings seem to be very monastic, systematic, and greatly indebted to an individual’s dedication to his vows and the Church. As such, his theological works take on a distinct style, which can be largely lost on modern readers; indeed, Holdsworth described the *De Sacramento Altaris* as a ‘chewing over of the biblical text in a way which seems to us arbitrary and fanciful.’²⁶

However, it would be wrong to remove Baldwin so decisively from the world, despite his monastic vocation. Deeper readings of his theological works, and an appreciation of the intellectual world which Baldwin belonged to, demonstrate that the picture is far more complicated. The community at Forde which adopted Baldwin was, by and large, a product of his continental higher education. Many of its members who arrived at a similar time to Baldwin shared his background of intense education across the schools in Europe, and brought with them a strong literary tradition which would inspire many of its members to produce various literary works.²⁷ The presence of so many lively minds meant that reading and writing were seen as natural, and necessary, outcomes of the practice of the ascetic life.²⁸ There is evidence that some, including Baldwin, were becoming more concerned with the rapidly increasing popularity of the scholastic approach to theology. The early stages of this development have been extensively considered by Richard Southern who discussed how new methods of intellectual analysis and the application of Aristotelean models were being used to produce a systematic body of knowledge which could provide a definitive statement of the faith, as the consensus of competent judges.²⁹ The impacts of the debates and

²⁵ Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales, The Description of Wales*, ed. and trans. by L. Thorpe (London: Penguin Books, 1978), pp. 205-206.

²⁶ C. Holdsworth, ‘Another Stage,’ p. 18.

²⁷ See below, pp. 158-159.

²⁸ C. Holdsworth, ‘John of Forde,’ pp. 124-125.

²⁹ R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe, Vol 1: Foundations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 3-5.

controversies of this period were still very much felt by the 1170s, and certainly resonated for Baldwin. Concerning debates on matters such as the true nature of faith and knowledge, Baldwin stood on the threshold of scholasticism and was not impressed by what he saw.³⁰

A recurring theme in his writings was the failing of certain men to see that true knowledge of God could not be achieved through human intellect and scholastic endeavour, but only through the gift of grace. He phrased these sorts of ideas in sermonising comments which seem to be levelled directly at university scholars engaged in the 'new theology:'

[Human wisdom] however, being ignorant of the limits to which it could go, has dared to attempt an examination of the things above it, things to which it could never attain if left to itself. It has busied itself with arduous and obtuse investigations into the nature of God, the origin of the world, the condition of the soul, and the quality of righteousness and blessedness, and [in so doing] has been able neither to find the way of truth nor to attain to the wisdom of God.³¹

Those who take this path, for Baldwin, have fallen away from the truth of faith, and risk straying into doctrinal error, or heresy. The idea of combating this eventuality seems to have inspired Baldwin's theological writings, as is shown by his preface to the *De Commendatione Fidei*. In this, Baldwin explained his motivation for writing the tract, and gave an insight into the regulations governing the production of written materials by Cistercian monks during the twelfth century. In the early years following its foundation, members of the Cistercian Order were prohibited from writing and distributing books without the permission of the abbot of Cîteaux, the mother-house of the Order.³² The idea behind this was to stop the production of works by the less-able members of Cistercian communities, who might confuse matters of Scripture. Baldwin, it appears, was ordered to write the *De Commendatione Fidei*, a work on the nature of faith and certainty with the intention of edifying its potential audience, by the abbot of Cîteaux,

³⁰ D. N. Bell, 'Introduction,' in Baldwin of Forde, *The Commendation of Faith*, ed. and trans. by J. P. Freeland and D. N. Bell, Cistercian Fathers Series, 59 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2000), pp. 13-31 (p. 18).

³¹ S. T., I, p.157.

³² E. Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe, 1090-1500* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 209.

with whom Baldwin conversed following a meeting of the Grand Chapter. Baldwin was delighted, for '[the abbot] had ordered me to do the very thing I had intended to do had I not been forbidden.'³³

Later on in the text, Baldwin defined 'heresy' as a 'feigned faith,' for heretics 'fabricate from their own hearts what they believe.'³⁴ The beliefs of heretics are doctrinal errors which they obstinately defend, and which have no correct scriptural, and therefore no authoritative, basis. This definition of heresy builds upon the view of the limits of human wisdom expounded earlier, as it becomes possible for the intellectual and inquisitive mind, if misdirected, to lose sight of the knowledge revealed by God's grace. It might come to doubt those things which all Christian minds ought to hold dear, and to fall into the belief of falsehoods on the presumption that their own discoveries must be infallible. These ideas were expanded in Baldwin's discussion of hesitation in the *De Commendatione Fidei*. He began by stating that hesitation 'is born of a lack of devotion, since it doubts the truth of faith and distrusts the promise of God... the [type of] doubting when one doubts the things one ought most firmly to believe is impious.'³⁵

Baldwin called the things that ought to be believed 'cognitions' granted by God's revelation. Presumably, he expected his audience to already be familiar with what these 'cognitions' were, as his only explanation of them was the claim that they were not the same as ideas about God which had been contrived by human wisdom.³⁶ Baldwin's argument was that hesitation in faith is caused by men putting too much trust in themselves, and not enough in God. The significance of this idea is made clear in its reference to the scholastic scene in the Parisian schools in the first half of the twelfth century, and in particular to the activities and writings of Peter Abelard. In the prologue to his *Sic et Non*, Abelard summarised in very brief and blunt terms how he saw that knowledge of the truth could be achieved: 'By doubting, we come to enquiry, and by enquiry we perceive the truth.'³⁷ His definition of faith as an 'estimate' of things which

³³ *C.o.F.*, pp. 40-41.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. 8, p. 59.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, ch. 10, p. 62.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. 13, p. 80.

³⁷ Peter Abelard, *Sic et Non*, ed. by B. B. Boyer and M. McKeon (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1977), p. 103.

are not apparent, and thus in need of further investigation, would, to a monastic audience, seem particularly scandalous.³⁸ Whilst Baldwin never mentioned Abelard by name, nor discussed the specifics of his works or ideas, it seems that the development of his argument in the *De Commendatione Fidei* was intended to refer to these controversies.³⁹

This is not the only time that Baldwin referred to the controversies of his own day, nor is it the only time that questions of heresy had been in his mind when preparing his theological works. In the *De Sacramento Altaris*, Baldwin gave a response to the underlying issues of the Azymitic controversy, the argument over whether the correct administration of the Eucharist should distribute leavened or unleavened bread which played such a significant role in the 1054 Great Schism between the western Catholic and the eastern Orthodox Churches.⁴⁰ He again showed an interest in the administration of this sacrament in his defence of the term 'transubstantiation.' This was in relation to contemporary concern about the use and emphasis of terminology not found in the Bible, despite the use of this phrase by some patristic fathers. The significance of this debate had much deeper impacts on the question of authoritative texts and would not achieve its final definition until the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, some forty years after the composition of Baldwin's *De Sacramento Altaris*.⁴¹

Baldwin's contribution was to stress how the unscriptural term 'transubstantiation,' along with others, had been used by the earliest Church Fathers, and could thus continue to be used in a way that affirmed the truth and the proclamation of the truth.⁴² However, the continuation of such themes and questions on the sacrament of the Eucharist, and especially on the substantial transformation of the unleavened bread into the body of Christ, referred to another instance of recent heresy. Baldwin was offering a rejection of the heretical views of Berengar of Tours. Berengar had been a master of theology in Paris between 1040 and 1080, and his

³⁸ Peter Abelard, 'Theologia Scholarium,' in *Petri Abelardi Opera Theologica*, 2, *Theologii Christiana; Theologia "Scholarium"; Recensiones Breuiiores, Accedunt Capitula Haeresum Petri Abelardi*, ed. by E. M. Buytaert, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 12 (Turnholt: Brepolis, 1969), p. 318.

³⁹ D. N. Bell, 'Baldwin of Forde,' p. 138; See below, pp. 149-150.

⁴⁰ Baldwin of Forde, 'De Sacramento Altaris,' *P. L.*, cciv (1855), cols. 641-774 (cols. 651-652).

⁴¹ D. N. Bell, 'Baldwin of Forde,' p. 138.

⁴² Baldwin of Forde, 'De Sacramento Altaris,' cols. 662C-D.

methods of teaching involved the application of grammatical analysis to the Bible and patristic writings. He argued that according to the rules of grammar, the subject of the sentence must remain substantially unaltered when the sentence was completed. Therefore, the Eucharistic bread, as the subject of the sacrament, could not be substantially altered into the flesh of Christ through transubstantiation. This argument was rejected by Pope Gregory VII as heretical, and led to Berengar's condemnation.⁴³

The wider implications of Berengar's career in the eleventh century were understood in England in the twelfth century, as is shown by William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*. William demonstrated an understanding of how a heretic's legacy could potentially be more dangerous than the original occurrence. Even though Berengar had recanted the unconventional views of his youth as an older man, he was unable to convert all of those whom he had infected with his heresy throughout the world, 'so dreadful a thing it is to seduce others from what is right, either by example or by word.'⁴⁴ The text also extolled the model of the diligent ecclesiast confronting heresy and protecting his flock in the story of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres who even on his deathbed 'endeavoured to drive away Berengar with all the force he had remaining, protesting that an immense devil stood near him, and attempted to seduce many persons to follow him by beckoning with his hand and whispering from enticement.'⁴⁵ Returning to the *De Sacramento Altaris*, it seems that although Baldwin did not mention either Berengar's name nor the precise nature of his ideas, his writing reflected a concern over the proliferation of views concerning the nature of the Eucharist which had been condemned as heretical.

Baldwin took more than a passing interest in the issue of heresy and the proliferation of doctrinal error, and he used his theological writings to make a form of response to these concerns. However, the concern must have been of more importance to Baldwin, as it led him to write his *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, the 'book on the followers of heretics'. Despite the continuity of interest in heresy, the *Liber de Sectis*

⁴³ R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe, Vol 2: The Heroic Age* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), p. 117.

⁴⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. by M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, trans. by R. A. B. Mynors, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), I, bk. 3, ch. 284, pp. 513-515.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

Hereticorum is a significant departure from Baldwin's norm. At first appearance, the text is an extended collection of extracts from patristic anti-heretical texts, ordered to produce a sort of potted history of classical heresy. These extracts from second- and fourth-century texts are pasted together with comments and glosses in Baldwin's own words which serve to illuminate the most bizarre beliefs of a few ancient heretics. Initially, it is tempting to hope that the work was compiled in a similar manner to an encyclopaedia, designed to provide a sort of reference guide composed of collected research which could be used to identify which sort of heresy a clergyman might find himself confronted with.

However, the *Liber* is both much less than this, and much more. The idea of an encyclopaedia presupposes that there is a degree of systematisation in the composition of such a collection of knowledge, which is designed for ease of access. As will be seen, there is little evidence of such a scheme apparent in the tract. Instead, it is more expedient to turn to Baldwin's own terminology and definition of what he produced:

I have chosen to bring together a partial and condensed brief summary of the blasphemies of the heretics, encouraged by the example of the apostles and the evangelists and the Church Fathers who did this themselves, recording the ignorance and many errors against the Glory of God. To an example of such authority was added my own motive of a consideration the doctrines of the heretics would be more easily understood if their falsehood was previously known⁴⁶

The remainder of this chapter will focus on an analysis of this proposal, in order to form some preliminary conclusions on the wider implications and meanings in the text.

⁴⁶ *L. D. S. H.*, pp. 40, ll. 24-29, p.41, l. 1: 'In hoc ambiguitatis incerto preelegi hereticorum blasphemias ex parte summatim perstringere, ammonitus exemplo apostolorum et evangelistarum et orthodoxorum patrum qui id ipsum faciunt, ignorancias et errores multorum ad gloriam dei rememorantes. Ad tante auctoritatis exemplum accessit ratio considerationis proprie qua putavi, sanctorum patrum scripta contra doctrinas hereticorum edita facilius posse intelligi eorum confictione precognita.'

Recording the ignorance and many errors.

The first example of ignorance and blasphemy introduced by Baldwin was Simon Magus. Simon made a minor appearance in the text of the New Testament, Acts 8. 4-25, where he was described as a man living in Samaria some time after the ascension of Christ. He had made a reputation for himself as a Holy Man and magician, yet had decided to convert to Christianity after being amazed by the miraculous powers of the apostles. He tried to join the ranks of the disciples and attempted to solicit St Peter by offering him money in exchange for the miraculous powers of the Holy Spirit which he had witnessed, and the ability to confer this power on his own followers. St Peter, of course, was outraged by this offer. Simon's story ended with his condemnation as a blasphemer and agent of the devil, and thus began his legacy in the condemnation of simony, or the buying and selling of ecclesiastical office. Baldwin appended to this something which cannot be found in the Bible, but was explained in Irenaeus of Lyons' work *Adversus Haereses*, written in the second century. This was a brief description of Simon's doctrines, which he allegedly preached after his encounter with Peter.

The development of this information, whilst having no scriptural basis, was in itself a patristic-medieval tradition which transformed Simon Magus into the 'quintessential bad-guy,' the embodiment of every imaginable form of doctrinal error and moral depravity.⁴⁷ Informed by this tradition, Baldwin reported that Simon had preached that he himself was the creator of the mother of the world. This was a woman named Helen, whom Simon had rescued from a brothel in Phoenicia, where she had been imprisoned by the wicked angels who were her offspring. This imprisonment was even more harrowing as the angels had trapped Helen's immortal soul inside a series of mortal human bodies, forcing her spiritual essence to endure endless reincarnation and incarceration.⁴⁸ Simon taught that he had descended to earth to free her from this fate, and consequently to free all of humanity from the tyranny of these wicked angels, and their accomplices, the prophets of the Old Testament.⁴⁹ Baldwin expressed outrage at how Simon allegedly appeared to different nations in different guises, appearing to

⁴⁷ A. Ferreiro, *Simon Magus in Patristic, Medieval and Early Modern Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p. 9.

⁴⁸ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 35, ll. 10-28.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36, ll. 2-6.

some as the Father, to others as the Son, and to others still as the Holy Spirit.⁵⁰ In addition to all of this, followers of Simon were purported to believe that salvation could only be gained through belief in Simon and his Helen, and accordingly, they committed all sorts of depravities and adultery.⁵¹

The next example Baldwin turned to detailed yet more bizarre doctrines. This was the second-century heretic, Valentinus, who taught in Rome during Irenaeus' lifetime and against whom Irenaeus directed his *Adversus Haereses*. Irenaeus, and then Baldwin paraphrasing from him, offered a greatly summarised, yet very complex, gnostic system of belief. This system predicated the existence of a 'Pleroma' of invisible, spiritual beings, called Aeons, who were all created in a series of generations from a single, unknown and unknowable entity named 'Bythus.' The youngest of these Aeons, Sophia, was responsible for the ultimate creation of the world because she strove to achieve an understanding of Bythus. Her progeny, the Demiurge, the product of her strife and suffering caused by her failure to comprehend Bythus, was meant to be the creator-God described in the Old Testament.⁵² It should be noted that Baldwin's treatment of this complex system of belief was highly reductive, which is logical given his intention, expressed in the preface, of producing a 'brief and partial summary.'⁵³ Where Valentinus wrote whole volumes to expound the complexity of this doctrine, Baldwin's summary amounts to just enough to fill a mere few paragraphs. Indeed, without having both the text of Baldwin's *Liber* and Irenaeus' *Adversus Haeresis* open side by side, the *Liber* actually makes limited sense here. However, a full explanation of Valentinus' doctrine and his followers was not Baldwin's intention. He sought to portray the variety of errors and thus contradictions in the doctrines of the classical heretics, whilst also demonstrating how this variety is linked.

Following on from his handling of the heresy attributed to Simon, Baldwin explained how Irenaeus spotted that, just as many profound Aeons were meant to have emitted from Valentinus' 'Bythus', so too had many heresies emitted from Simon. Thus, Simon was the 'most profound Bythus of the heretics,' with all other heretics becoming

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34, ll. 7-13.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37, ll. 5-13.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 37, l. 27, p. 38, ll. 1-24, p. 39, ll. 1-12.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 40, ll. 24-27

just one of his various spiritual progeny.⁵⁴ In introducing Simon Magus, Baldwin drew upon the root and tree metaphor which Irenaeus adopted in *Adversus Haereses*; this was that by knowing the ‘deepness of their Bythus’ as the source and root of all heresy, it is possible to perceive the tree from which the fruits of heresy flowed.⁵⁵ The implication here was that all instances of heresy and the biographies of individual heretics could be located on an enormous family tree, much like the generations of Aeons allegedly promulgated by Valentinus. Ultimately, the influence of any heretic throughout time could be linked back to an historical generation of heresy, and thus the discovery of heretics at any time could be seen as part of the continuing power and influence of the ancient heretics.

In her study on the form and function of historical narrative, Gabrielle Spiegel discussed the importance of such constructed genealogies as a formal structure of biography linked by the principle of hereditary succession. This succession stands as a quasi-legal notion of transference with the aim of demonstrating an expression of purpose on the part of the descendants of the tree to have an impact on their immediate political and social surroundings.⁵⁶ She added that such use was clearly illustrated in the monastic application of typological exegesis to the interpretation of secular history.⁵⁷ The real-life significance of this genealogy was certainly important to Baldwin, as he continually emphasised the links between generations of heretics throughout the *Liber*. A good example is his use of the scriptural idiom, ‘a corrupt tree brings forth corrupt fruit,’ with the emphasis that to those who know and discern the tree, the later fruit will always be visible.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 34, ll. 16-26: ‘Hireneus Simonem appellat profundissimum Bythum hereticorum. Hoc autem sumptum est de secta Valentini heretici. Dicebat enim idem Valentinus inter invisibiles altitudines unum perfectum eonem esse quem vocant patrem omnium, et ab eo dicunt multas emissiones processisse quas eons vocant. Bythus autem profundissimus dicitur quia secundum Valentinum incomprehensibilis est. Et sicut a profundissimo Bytho multe emissiones prodierunt quas error Valentini induxit, sic a Simone mago varie hereses defluerunt. Profundissimus Bythus auctor est falsarum emissionum. Simon magus in suis figmentis incomprehensibilis et super se altiora scrutatus auctor est falsarum opinionum. Propterea dictus est profundissimus Bythus hereticorum.’

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33, ll. 16-18: ‘Necessariums arbitrate sumus prius referre fontem et radicem eorum, uti sublimissimum eorum bythum cognoscens, intelligad arborem de qua defluerunt tales fructus.’

⁵⁶ G. M. Spiegel, ‘Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative,’ *History and Theology*, 22.1 (1983), 43-53 (p. 49).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁵⁸ L. D. S. H., p. 34, ll. 26-28: ‘Hunc Bythum, id est Symonem, cognoscens, intelliges arborem de qua defluerunt tales fructus: “Mala quippe arbor malos fructus facit,” [Matthew 7. 17, Luke 6. 43].’

Baldwin was not unusual amongst medieval writers in promulgating such ideas, since at various times all manner of ancient and medieval heresies were associated with Simon Magus. The idea was even incorporated into an Anglo-Saxon tradition which included some very imaginative and interesting adaptations.⁵⁹ A notable example of this can be found in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, on the subject of the tonsure of Irish monks. According to Bede, the Irish were guilty of wearing a tonsure more akin to the fashion of Simon Magus's hairstyle whilst his own monks wore their tonsures after the manner of the Apostle John.⁶⁰ The figure of Simon Magus also appeared in the twelfth-century chronicle of Ralph of Coggeshall, who recounted the capture of a group of heretics in France who were convicted and condemned to death. On the morning of the execution, an older woman who had been a leader of the condemned group was allegedly rescued from her captivity in front of the men sent to collect her. They claimed that Simon Magus had appeared before her bedroom window and had dragged her through it using a ball of string and a group of wicked demons to help him fly.⁶¹ Evidently Simon had a very active career in the high medieval period!

Returning to Baldwin's own handling of this theme, it would seem logical that he should continue to build the genealogy of ancient heretics throughout the rest of the tract. Moreover, it might be expected that Baldwin had planned to elaborate how the original doctrinal errors of Simon had percolated through the branches of the tree, as his use of the term 'fruit' suggests that the various doctrinal errors attributable to different individuals constituted their heresy. To an extent, this was the case, and making a chronological survey of ancient heresy was important to Baldwin's organisation of the collected patristic extracts. For example, Menander was first introduced not by his erroneous beliefs, but by his position in the genealogy as the direct successor of Simon.⁶² Furthermore, Baldwin chose to include extracts in which his patristic sources dated the lifetimes of various heretics to the rules of the bishops of Rome. Valentinus was alleged to have lived at Rome under Pope Hyginus, Pope Pius I

⁵⁹ A. Ferreiro, p. 5.

⁶⁰ Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, trans. by B. Colgrave, ed. by J. McClure and R. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), bk. 5, ch. 21, p. 284.

⁶¹ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. by J. Stevenson, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii aevi Scriptores*, Rolls Series, 66 (London: Longman, 1875), pp. 123-124.

⁶² *L. D. S. H.*, p. 41, l. 18.

and Pope Anacletus, whilst Cerdon also taught there during the time of Hyginus, and Marcion, who succeeded him, flourished under Anacletus. Baldwin was also careful to retain the extra detail that Hyginus was the eighth bishop of Rome following on from St Peter himself, and that Anacletus was the tenth.⁶³

The idea of dating any event in the early Church's history by the reigns of the first popes is by no means a new one, but it is interesting in light of the significance attached to the papal succession. This is the principle by which each individual pope was viewed as the direct successor of St Peter, the original pope, chosen and endowed with his holy office by Christ himself. Baldwin pointed to this in referring back to Peter or the papal succession each time he moved onto a different heretic. The Petrine Commission which gave Peter the powers of heavenly and earthly jurisdiction was seen as the guarantee of the Church's foundations. A pivotal biblical authority for this was Christ's promise to Peter in Luke 22. 23: 'I have prayed for you, Peter, that your faith shall not fail.' This passage was understood to refer to the whole Church, not just to the papal succession, although the strength of each institution was still linked to the other.⁶⁴ With the guarantee of a directive authority sanctioned by Christ, the Church could not lose its integrated and indivisible character.⁶⁵ Christ's promise meant that the Church's directive authority would be transferred in order to maintain consistency, and the language of Roman Civil Law helped to develop a way for this to be expressed that was recognised in the Middle Ages. The Petrine Commission became the Petrine Inheritance, with inheritance being understood as the transference of an episcopal office, through a process by which the powers of the office could not be altered, diminished, or even augmented, in any way.⁶⁶

This principle of inheritance can be applied in the same way to the heretical succession. If the purpose of the heretic was to provide some sort of opposition to the Church, as seems to have been the case for Simon Magus in Baldwin's eyes, then the 'office of enemy to the Church' could be transferred without being changed, whilst the

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 58, ll. 17-21; see below, p. 53, no. 68.

⁶⁴ B. Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility, 1150-1350: A Study on the Concepts of Infallibility, Sovereignty and Tradition in the Middle Ages*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1972), p. 34.

⁶⁵ W. Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (London: Methuen, 1966), p. 34.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-39.

nature and characteristics of the individual heretics, or occupiers of the 'office,' could be very different. Therefore, the inclusion of such references to the papal succession and the implied legal connotations of inheritance in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* was important for a number of reasons. Firstly, in a purely historical sense, it served as a demonstration of how heresy had opposed the Church since its foundation, as Simon Magus was officially made an enemy of the Church by St Peter himself. Secondly, the transference of authority throughout the apostolic succession and the transference of the role of opposition to that authority can be conceived and recognised in the same terms, and as interdependent historical developments. Finally, in the idea of heretical succession and inheritance there is the suggestion of a possible transference of heretical doctrinal systems which might have occurred as each member of the sequence was inspired by another who came before him. Indeed, Baldwin seems to have been at pains to demonstrate that the careers of Valentinus, Cerdon and Marcion all overlapped in Rome, and therefore it was likely that they came into contact with each other. The implication that they might have shared and transferred erroneous ideas amongst themselves seems fairly clear.

There is some evidence suggesting that Baldwin was interested in representing the development of doctrinal error in concurrence with this constructed genealogy. In the first place, there were instances when Baldwin made specific reference to how some heretics had been inspired to continue teaching the doctrinal errors of their 'progenitors.' For example, Menander asserted that the world was made by angels sent forth from Ennoea in imitation of Simon, and Marcion 'amplified' the dualist doctrines of his predecessor Cerdon.⁶⁷ Further evidence that doctrinal similarity was of importance to Baldwin is provided by the fact that the genealogy constructed in the *Liber* is not a simple linear structure, and, as a result, the tree has many branches departing at wide tangents.

Most significant is the break which Baldwin displayed between the heretics who were inspired by Menander, whom he referred to as the 'Gnostics,' on the one hand,

⁶⁷ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 41, ll. 19-20: 'Inter cetera secte sue dogmata mundum dixit factum ab angelis quos et ipse similiter ut Simon, ab ennoia emissos dicit'; p. 48, ll. 23-24: 'Cerdon docens alterum deum iustum alterum bonum esse, successorem habuit Marcionem qui hanc doctrinam ampliavit.'

and those related to Valentinus, Cerdon and Marcion on the other.⁶⁸ Presumably this categorisation was informed by the differences and similarities observed in the behaviour and teachings of these heretics which were recorded by Baldwin's patristic sources. Indeed, Baldwin noted early on that there are differences in the opinions of various heretics, and that at times they contradicted each other as well as the true faith. In particular, one of his glosses on Irenaeus' account of the heresies of Menander highlighted how even though both Menander and Valentinus agreed in some points with Simon Magus, they disagreed strongly with each other to the extent that they were pitted against each other, and were only united at all by their mutual opposition to the Catholic Church.⁶⁹ This provided an explanation for how various branches seem to have been constructed, based on comparison of doctrinal assertions.

However, Baldwin's interest in doctrinal continuity was limited, and for the most part overshadowed by the relative chaos of many of Baldwin's summaries. Baldwin had a penchant for the strange and was largely interested with listing as many errors and blasphemies as possible, often with little reference to any idea of doctrinal development. To this extent, he described a lot of oddities. He did not include all of the details about each sect found in his patristic sources; instead he extracted stories and issues which were most unusual and weird. To give a very brief overview, Baldwin described a wide variety of doctrinal systems, from heretics who claimed that marriage and procreation are acts of depravity taught to humanity by Satan, to others who used mathematical equations to prove how there must be three hundred and sixty-five heavens to match the number of days in a year.⁷⁰ There were schismatics who argued that Jesus was only ever a man, and others who rejected the testimony of some Apostles but not others.⁷¹ There was a group who believed that Christ never suffered and died on the cross, but that he was able to substitute himself for a bystander and then stood by and laughed

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 58, ll. 17-21: 'Valentinus venit Roman sub Ygino, increvit vero sub Pio et prorogavit tempus usque ad Anicetum. Cerdon autem qui Marcionem et hic sub Ygino qui fuit octavus episcopus. Marcion autem illi succedens invaluit sub Aniceto, decimum locum episopatus continente. Reliqui vero qui vocantur gnostici a Menandro, Simonis discipulo, acceperunt initia.'

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41, ll. 22-24: 'Menander Simoni consentit a quo et Valentinus dissentit. Heretici nimirum in diversitate sectarum quandoque ab invicem discordant et tamen omnes in contradictione veritatis concordant.'

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 44, ll. 5-8.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 45, ll. 3-4; p. 46, ll. 25-26.

whilst Simon's soul was crucified in his place.⁷² The problem of vegetarianism was ever-present, as were the teachings of groups who used extracts from Greek poems and comedies as well as ancient philosophical writings to construct authoritative texts and new scriptural works.⁷³ As the tract went on, there were yet more groups of heretics who invented new pantheons of divine beings, similar to Valentinus, but with different names and different patterns of generation.⁷⁴

There are a few broad, recurring themes, such as the nature and substance of God, the suggestions of a dualist hierarchy of divine beings, the question of Christ's humanity, and the issue of the true apostolic lifestyle. Other inclusions in the lists of summarised errors might have been influenced by biblical references to heretical doctrine. The Bible itself was a key text for all anti-heretical literature, and helped to provide readers with the fundamental words, definitions and images required for them to be able to conceive of heresy as a subject.⁷⁵ There are times at which some heretical doctrines are expounded in the Bible: for example, in I Timothy 4. 3, vegetarianism and the forbidding of marriage are condemned as heretical errors. These themes were highlighted in Baldwin's treatment of the heretical errors attributed to Saturninus, Tatian, the Continents and a group of 'Others' who were allegedly inspired by Basilides and Carpocrates.⁷⁶ There is also an instance in II Timothy 3. 6 of a heretical conversion, which is reflected in Baldwin's inclusion of a warning about the wiles of Marcus: 'Thence crossing the Pyrenees, he occupied Spain, making it his desire to seize upon the rich and especially the women, who were led away with diverse lusts, ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.'⁷⁷ In all, it seems that Baldwin had succeeded in his first goal, recording the sheer range and variety of heretical ignorance and errors.

On a related note, the amount of detail which Baldwin gave regarding the various ancient heretics did not remain consistent throughout the tract. An excellent

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 43, ll. 22-27.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 59, ll. 3-22.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60, ll. 1-3.

⁷⁵ C. Bruschi and P. Biller, pp. 4-5.

⁷⁶ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 50, ll. 10-11; p. 51, l. 10.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58, ll. 8-11: 'Inde Pireneum transiens Hispanias occupavit et hoc studii habuerit, ut divitum et in ipsis feminas maxime sibi appeteret que ducuntur variis desideriis semper discentes et nunquam ad scienciam veritatis pervenientes.'

example of this is seen in his handling of the teachings attributed to Valentinus as compared to Simon Magus. Simon's doctrine was reasonably detailed at the beginning of the *Liber*, whilst on the other hand Baldwin's paraphrased summary of Valentinus' doctrinal system is relatively hard to understand. Baldwin also made some significant omissions from Irenaeus' original. For example, he mentioned that there were thirty Aeons, yet he only specifically named a small selection of these, in contrast to Irenaeus who gave the names, attributes and genders of each Aeon, along with an explanation of how they were allegedly related to one another.⁷⁸ Furthermore, Baldwin's version of the creation story lacked the clarity and attention to detail which can be found in Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses*, and did not clarify the full nature of Valentinus' dualist theory. This is an important distinction to make about Baldwin's tract. His work is disjointed in places. There is far less appreciation for the intricate detail of doctrinal systems in Baldwin's text as opposed to some of his patristic authorities. Indeed, Valentinus' story seems to have been reduced to just one depraved and illogical fantasy within a collection of depraved and illogical fantasies.

In this way, Baldwin's tone and handling of his material does, at times, seem reductive, and it is hard to reconcile this with his motivation in collecting together these particular 'records.' To an extent, this approach is not dissimilar to his sources. Eusebius of Caesarea could be repetitive in the language he used to describe the doctrinal systems of heretics encountered by the ancient Church.⁷⁹ However, Baldwin did not always directly imitate the character of his patristic sources. In particular, he lost the joviality of Irenaeus' handling of the absurdity of the ideas he was discussing. For Irenaeus, all heresies were newly-minted religions in contrast to the relative longevity of Christian traditions, and therefore became ludicrous to a sophisticated observer.⁸⁰ In the preface to *Adversus Haereses* Irenaeus stated that it was his intention in compiling this text to recount the details of these 'portentous and profound mysteries, which do not fall within the range of every intellect, because all have not sufficiently purged their brains.'⁸¹

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40, ll. 5-6; *A. H.*, ch. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, pp. 30-49, 53-56.

⁷⁹ R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 85.

⁸⁰ D. Minnis, *Irenaeus: An Introduction* (New York: T. & T. Clark, 2010), p. 15.

⁸¹ *A. H.*, preface, p. 28.

Later on, Irenaeus ridiculed Valentinus' description of the Aeons as an attempt to invent new vocabulary which would give his erroneous teaching an air of mystery and profundity. In order to demonstrate Valentinus' stupidity in attempting to do such a thing, Irenaeus made up his own example of a strangely-named divine pantheon, showing how ridiculous it all was. He invented an omnipotent power which was called 'Gourd,' which existed alongside another power which called itself 'Utter-Emptiness.' The combination of these powers produced a divine pleroma, known collectively as 'Cucumber,' known to mankind by the name of its related essence which Irenaeus called 'Melon.'⁸² This nonsensical joke was meant to demonstrate how easy it would be for another human being to copy Valentinus in affixing glorified names to made-up constructions. In this way, Irenaeus was laughing at the entirety of Valentinus' teaching and following.

With this joviality removed, Baldwin's redaction produced an image of heresy which focused less on its absurdity and more on its horrific and startling appearance. This picture was exacerbated by Baldwin's use of righteous insults and vitriolic language in some of his glosses. In his further explanation of the problems caused by the Nicholaitans, he claimed that they 'step beyond the laws, they mutilate the law [and] they squander the covenant.'⁸³ He called the Ophites and the Cainites 'the gates of hell, the generation of vipers, the pools of foetid water exhaling a fog which covers the entire world, the enemies of the truth, the enemies of piety, the heralds of impiety, [and] the instruments of falsehood.'⁸⁴ A final example is given in Baldwin's concern about Simon Magus' doctrine: 'the invention of a swindler by this leaser of malice, the venom of wickedness, the poison of sorrow, the obligation of unfairness, the ruinous dungeon, the noose of death, the pit of filth... the hissing of serpents, this pestilential spirit and corrupting air.'⁸⁵ In some respects, Baldwin's collected and paraphrased summaries of ancient heretical doctrines amounted to a chronological horror story.

⁸² *Ibid.*, bk. 1, ch.11.4, p. 72-73.

⁸³ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 48, ll. 13-14: 'Transgrediuntur leges, mutant ius, dissipant fedus sempiternum.'

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p 57, ll. 11-15: 'Hec sunt porte inferi, hec genimina viperarum, hec paludes aquarum fetentium, nebulam exhalantes que totam terram tegebat, hii hostes veritatis, inimici pietatis, precones impietatis, organa falsitatis, horum perfidia in sanctis conciliis ex sacris scripturis detegitur, conuincitur et condemnatur.'

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37, ll. 13-17: 'Hec secta Simonis, hec doctrina impostoris et imposture seductoris, hec adinuencio deceptoris hoc fermentum malicie, venenum nequicie, fel amaritudinis, obligation iniquitatis,

A further point to make on the detail given in the tract about doctrinal systems is that in some places, especially towards the end of the work, there is a lack of detail altogether. For example, the following extract is all that was given about a series of heretics he found discussed in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Historia Ecclesiastica*:

In the fourth book, Eusebius wrote about Cerinthus and Nicholas, about Saturninus and Basilides and Carpocrates and the gnostics and about Valentinus, and Cerdon and Marcion and others who supported erroneous sects and who were pre-eminent for their alleged knowledge, and about Tatian.⁸⁶

Baldwin gave no more explanation in this instance before moving onto the next group of heretics. No detail was given here, no extra information imparted to the reader of the tract other than that these heretics had been mentioned at all by Eusebius. Furthermore, all of the heretics mentioned in this passage had already been discussed by Baldwin in his handling of Irenaeus' distinction of heresy. What seems to have been of interest to Baldwin is not a comparative study of how his patristic sources described their ancient heretics, but that these heretics had already been collected at an earlier time, and by a recognised patristic authority. Baldwin was identifying himself with an ancient trend of collecting together these particular names, in this particular order, whilst adding further emphasis on to the horrifying nature of his material.

The Examples of Authority.

Baldwin drew upon extracts from patristic works which corroborated one another on the existence of a certain chronological series of heretics. Amongst those ancient authors Baldwin read were Irenaeus of Lyons and Eusebius of Caesarea, as well as Cassiodorus and St Jerome. A note should be made here about Baldwin's selection of

puteus interitus, laqueus mortis, sordium lacuna et fetoris sentina, hic sibilus serpentis, hic spiritus pestilens et aura corrumpens.'

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 67: 'In quarto vero libro scripsit Eusebius de Cherinto et Nicholao, de Saturnino et Basilide et Carpocrate et gnosticis et de Valentino et Cerdone et Marcione et aliis devias sectas asserentibus et qui falsi nominis sciencie principes extiterunt et de Taciano.'

sources, as there is a very significant omission here. The works against heretics, and especially against the Manichaeans, of St Augustine of Hippo were well read during the Middle Ages.⁸⁷ His style of writing provided a reference point for twelfth-century polemicists, furnishing them with details about ancient heretics and allowing them to spot similarities between his descriptions and the heresies of their own time. Augustine wrote various treatises which provided point-by-point refutations of heretical errors which would also prove influential to later anti-heretical writers. For Baldwin to have not included Augustine's writings in his *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* is therefore surprising, but perhaps not quite as much as his decision to focus on the writings of Irenaeus of Lyons.

In the first place, finding a copy of Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses*, from which Baldwin selected the vast majority of his references throughout the *Liber*, would have been very difficult. There is no known extant manuscript associated with any English Cistercian library.⁸⁸ However, the length and precision of Baldwin's quotations from the text suggest that he must have had personal access to a copy of the work. This suggests that Baldwin must have had opportunity to work with a copy of the text elsewhere – perhaps whilst working in Italy, the papal household, or in Exeter. Equally problematic is the language barrier, as *Adversus Haereses* was written in Greek. The ability to read Greek in twelfth-century England seems to have been exceedingly rare.⁸⁹ However, it appears that Baldwin himself might have been able to read Greek. In his *Orthodoxe Fidei Dogmata*, he claimed to have produced a Latin version of a Greek text, for the benefit of his monastic brethren who were unable to read it.⁹⁰ It is not clear which text he had translated in this claim, but it is fair to assume that at some point Baldwin was able to procure and translate a copy of *Adversus Haereses*. In writing the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* from his reading of *Adversus Haereses*, Baldwin was perhaps hoping to

⁸⁷ C. Cadwell Ames, pp. 51-52.

⁸⁸ D. N. Bell, *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*, Corpus of British Library Catalogues, 3 (London: British Library Board, 1992).

⁸⁹ A. Coates, *English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 108-112.

⁹⁰ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 100, ll. 5-6: 'Extat tractatus grece editus de septem conciliis generalibus grecis quem ego nuper in latinum transferri feci.'

make Irenaeus' texts more familiar to readers of Latin during his own time, so that it could stand alongside the anti-heretical writings of St Augustine.

Irenaeus' original set out to define and describe the heretical doctrinal system of Valentinus, his followers, and his predecessors and then to address how these teachings were not consonant with apostolic tradition. Whilst Irenaeus was not the first to take up his pen against the problem of heresy – indeed he was inspired by the earlier, and now lost, anti-heretical literature of Justin Martyr – he was the first to put Simon Magus at the head of a succession of heretics and to argue that Simon had founded the sect from which all other Gnostics and heretics would derive their inspiration.⁹¹ Some historians of ancient gnostic sects have criticised Irenaeus' work for being too reductive in its treatment of the complexities and wider meanings of some of these doctrinal systems by forming this pattern of succession. For example, Denis Minnis has argued that Irenaeus was only able to give unity to his attack on such diverse schools of thought by emphasising superficial resemblances between different dualist systems.⁹²

Whilst Irenaeus' work is evidently not a reliable historical account of ancient heresy, it is far more valuable for giving an insight into his personal concerns for the position of the Church in the face of a perceived threat. During the second century, Rome was as much of a cosmopolitan centre for education and intellectual debate as the schools of Paris and Italy in the twelfth century, and, indeed, as any modern-day university. The diversity of religious teachings was so great that Rome itself has been described as the 'Roman World's oversupplied market-place of religions.'⁹³ Such diversity was a key characteristic of mid-second-century Christianity, with numerous different groups adopting different gospels as their ultimate authority.⁹⁴ As a religious leader himself, Irenaeus was alarmed by the number and variety of so-called 'Gnostic' teachers who he saw as heretics infesting Rome. His *Adversus Haereses* outlined what he saw as the worst of these in the teachings of Valentinus, and his work sought to

⁹¹ A. Ferreira, p. 43.

⁹² D. Minnis, *Irenaeus*, p. 29.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁹⁴ H. Chadwick, *The Church in Ancient Society: from Galilee to Gregory the Great*, Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 100.

provide an explanation of how the Church had survived, and would continue to survive against this onslaught.⁹⁵

To this end, Irenaeus unwittingly produced an innovation in the ancient Church's understanding of its own nature and structure which would remain influential in the medieval world. When explaining the course of salvation, Irenaeus appealed to a general principle of order and fittingness. His greatest achievement was that he began to give solid definition to this framework during a time when there was no formal concept of a universal, Catholic Church.⁹⁶ In the face of the diversity he saw represented by potentially heretical teachers, he aimed to bolster the position and strength of his church by setting forward a picture of what genuine and authentic Christianity had to offer the non-Christian world.⁹⁷ This unique contribution was what he termed the 'Rule of Faith,' a single, unifying precept of faith which united all apostolically-founded churches, centring on the Church at Rome. For Irenaeus, this was a very simple and brief statement of faith which was reiterated a few times throughout the text of *Adversus Haereses*. This was, 'Faith in one God the Father Almighty and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God,' and again, 'One God maker of heaven and earth, announced by the law and the prophets, and one Christ son of God.'⁹⁸

This idea laid the foundation for later Christian writers to build the concept of a single rule of faith which defined the unity of the Catholic Church, and would continue to influence how the Church defined itself throughout the Middle Ages. For canonists in the twelfth century the Christian faith and adherence to the norms deducible from it were the defining elements that held together the *Corpus Christi*, the body of Christ or corporate union of all Christians.⁹⁹ It can be seen that Baldwin, a canonist himself by training, was also influenced by these ideas, which informed his own understanding of what faith is and how it is represented within the Church. Indeed, he incorporated a recognition of the 'Rule of Faith' into his own explanation of how the word of God can

⁹⁵ R. M. Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 21.

⁹⁶ D. Minnis, *Irenaeus*, pp. 10-12.

⁹⁷ D. Minnis, 'Truth and Tradition: Irenaeus,' in *Cambridge History of Christianity: Origins to Constantine*, ed. by M. M. Mitchell and F. M. Young (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 261-273 (p. 263).

⁹⁸ *A. H.*, bk. 1, ch. 3.6, p. 41; bk. 3, ch. 1.2, p. 276.

⁹⁹ W. Ullmann, pp. 33-34.

be proven to be true in the coming together of 'a shared knowledge of the truth, the statement of the witness, [and] the agreement of the co-witness.'¹⁰⁰ He was at great pains to demonstrate that this faith, which was the foundation of the universal Church, was founded by God through the agency of the Holy Spirit. He argued that 'None could arrange [this] save the Spirit of truth, who taught them a single truth in such a way that they felt, spoke and wrote exactly the same things about Christ, and had no disagreement amongst themselves,' and because of this, the strength and unity afforded by the power of faith has no end.¹⁰¹

On a related note is how this divine revelation of the true faith related to the concept of human wisdom. Irenaeus defined true wisdom as an understanding of 'divinity' which does not go beyond what ought to be known. Those who go beyond this knowledge are ejected from the paradise of life.¹⁰² There is a similarity here with Baldwin's handling of human wisdom, in that a person could fall into heresy by wittingly choosing to trust his own intellect and reasoning over divine truth revealed by Grace. Irenaeus used this principle to give his 'Rule of Faith' the effect of a doctrinal standard, a 'measuring ruler' of faith.¹⁰³ This standard was based on scripture, but not scripture alone. Of equal importance was a traditional method of biblical exegesis. The true spiritual disciple was someone who has read the scriptures under the guidance of the Church, which possessed the apostolic tradition of scriptural interpretation.¹⁰⁴ It is only in this way that the Church has been able to maintain and pass down a consistent means of teaching the truth, in the form of a series of points of doctrine, 'just as if she had but one soul, and one and the same heart, and she proclaims them, and teaches them, and hands them down, with perfect harmony, as if she possessed only one mouth.'¹⁰⁵

Baldwin asserted in a similar way that the authenticity of Christian faith and truth had been guaranteed by a principle of direct inheritance and succession from the

¹⁰⁰ *C. o. F.*, ch. 90.4, p. 245.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, ch. 91.1, p. 248; ch. 32.2, p. 121.

¹⁰² *A. H.*, bk. 5, ch. 20.2, p. 607.

¹⁰³ D. Minnis, *Irenaeus*, p. 11.

¹⁰⁴ E. Molland, 'Irenaeus of Lugdunum, and the Apostolic Succession,' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 1.1 (April 1950), 12-28 (p. 18).

¹⁰⁵ *A. H.*, bk. 1, ch. 10.2, p. 69.

prophets of the Old Testament to the apostles of the New Testament and continuing to the Christians of his own time in his adoption of Christ's words to John:

...there is one who sows and another who reaps. I have sent you to reap that for which you did not labour. Others have laboured, and you have entered into their labour.¹⁰⁶

The principle of succession was also inherent in Irenaeus' thesis, as a guarantee of Christianity's authenticity. He claimed that a guarantee of the genuineness of the Christian doctrinal tradition must be recognised in the well-known and easily-verifiable series of men who, in an unbroken succession, have occupied the episcopal offices in the churches founded by the Apostles. All of these men had preached the same doctrine, informed by the universal 'Rule of Faith.'¹⁰⁷ This image of unity and strength in a single Church of Apostolic foundation is contrasted in all points with the disunity, weakness and vulnerability of the heretical succession. These were themes which Baldwin was not remiss in exploiting further in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*.

A continuation of these themes can be read in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which helps to explain the importance of its inclusion in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* and the inspiration it provided Baldwin with for developing his version of the heretical genealogy. In this, Eusebius set out to fulfil a series of promises in recounting the history of the Church from the time of Christ and the Apostles. The second promise was to give the names and dates of men who 'through a passion for innovation have wandered as far as possible from the truth, proclaiming themselves the founts of Knowledge falsely so called, while mercilessly, like savage wolves, making havoc of Christ's flock.'¹⁰⁸ He achieved this by further expounding the genealogical system found within Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses*, and explained how this system came to be founded through the ingenuity of the devil, who had originally sought to attack the Church with her persecutors from without, but being debarred from this, had resorted to 'unscrupulous impostors as instruments of spiritual corruption and ministers of destruction.'¹⁰⁹ He claimed that the legacy of this system was still recognisable in the

¹⁰⁶ C. o. F., ch. 9.2, p. 244.

¹⁰⁷ E. Molland, p. 22.

¹⁰⁸ H. E., bk. 1, ch. 1, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, bk. 4, ch. 7.2, p. 108.

present day in his recounting of the heresies attributed to Simon Magus, by claiming that from this time to his own time, those following Simon's lead were actually devoted to the 'idolatrous superstition from which they seem to have escaped,' whilst appearing to accept sober Christian philosophy.¹¹⁰

Inspired in large part by Irenaeus, Eusebius focused his attention on the unity and strength which was inherent in the Church and which allowed it to withstand the onslaught of the devil, and it is this emphasis which is of importance for Baldwin's thinking. More than in Irenaeus' tract, Eusebius' focus was the progressive triumph of the Church against successive generations of heretics in different guises. As the Church has advanced throughout history, so too have the latest generations of heretics developed to confound it. The reverse position is also evident; as a new wave of heretics emerges, the Church inevitably rises up to combat it. Without a doubt, the doctrinal errors and blasphemies become markedly more degenerate, but no matter how bad the heretics or persecutors of the Church are made to look, the Church responds by shining more radiantly.¹¹¹ This idea can be seen in the *Historia Ecclesiastica's* description of the allegations Carpocrates had raised against the Church, such as the claim that Christian ministers took part in heinous and unlawful sexual rituals with their mothers and sisters. In response, Truth asserted itself...

...and with the march of time shone with increasing light. For by her activity the machinations of her foes were promptly shown up and extinguished, though one after another, new heresies were invented, the earlier ones constantly passing away and disappearing, in different ways at different times, into forms of every shape and character. But the splendour of the Catholic and only true Church, always remaining the same and unchanged, grew steadily in greatness and strength, shedding on every race of Greeks and non-Greeks alike the majestic, spotless, free, sober, pure light of her inspired citizenship and philosophy.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, bk. 2, ch. 13.7, p. 48.

¹¹¹ R. M. Grant, *Eusebius*, p. 85.

¹¹² *H. E.*, bk. 4, ch. 7.13-7.14, p. 110.

That Eusebius' work was a source of inspiration to Baldwin might be in the latter's consideration of how faith benefited from comparison with wickedness in the *De Commendatione Fidei*. Put simply, the idea is that good things always shine out more brightly when they are compared with the dullness of things that are wicked, and thus impious.¹¹³ The point was obviously of greater importance to Baldwin, as it was worthy of being expounded further:

By contradiction, therefore, impiety exercises faith and increases it; by comparison, it commends and adorns it; by persecution, it provides it with grace and glory. When faith suffers by contradiction, it profits from it; when it is subjected to comparison, it outshines it; when it undergoes persecution, it is loved more freely and crowned more gloriously.¹¹⁴

Baldwin also used the metaphor of the mustard-seed from Matthew 13. 31-32 to talk about the strength of faith, in reference to how it grows from the smallest and humblest of all the seeds into the greatest of the herbs and becomes a tree that provides shelter to the birds within its branches. Interpreted allegorically, it grows 'into the multitude of the faithful, then, through the mystery of the cross, it is raised on high as a tree, so that the righteous may dwell in its protection.'¹¹⁵ The combination of these two points, that the truth of faith is perfected through adversity and that it has produced an institution that serves to protect the body of the faithful, is certainly reminiscent of the idea excerpted from Eusebius. The idea is replicated in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, in the recollection of Paul's words in the letter to the Corinthians that there must be 'scandals.'¹¹⁶

In the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Eusebius moved on to recount the events of the great Church councils called to deal with specific cases of dissent and heresy. He called particular attention to how the Church had always risen to the occasion when opposing unorthodoxy. The final instance of heresy discussed in the text was that attributed to

¹¹³ C. o. F., ch. 62, p. 184.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ch. 55, p. 169.

¹¹⁶ L. D. S. H., p. 31, ll. 1-3: "Oportet," inquit apostolus, "et hereses esse, ut qui probati sunt manifesti fiant," et veritas dicit: "Necesse est, ut veniant scandal. Verumptamen ve homini illi per quem scandalum venit."

Novatus, a contemporary of Eusebius, who caused a synod 'on the largest scale' to be called at Rome. The council was attended by 60 bishops and many other presbyters and deacons, while at the same time local pastors met in all the other provinces of the Empire to consider separately what ought to be done.¹¹⁷ Building up to this event, Eusebius reported various similar congregations when large councils were convened to discuss and resolve heretical error. For example, at a Council called in Arabia to discuss one group of heretics, the synod heard the counsel of Origen, who preached against a series of unorthodox beliefs, with the result that he was able to strengthen the resolve of the assembled Church authorities and compel those who had subscribed to that heretical doctrine to change their views.¹¹⁸

The tone with which Eusebius discussed these incidents is interesting in its dismissiveness. There seems to have been a presumption that individual instances of heresy were almost always 'extinguished,' often immediately.¹¹⁹ This in part also helps to explain why Eusebius often did not report many details about the nature of the doctrinal errors in question; they did not stand long enough against the collected authority of the Church for it to be worth committing the ink. For example, those individuals who were led astray by the Ebionites, or by Cerinthus and Nicolaus, were allegedly rebuked and returned to the faith so quickly that Eusebius felt justified to exclaim, 'So much for those who during that period endeavoured to twist the truth, only to be extinguished completely, in less time than it takes to tell.'¹²⁰ Again, the later Helkesaite sect was quick to capitulate: 'At the same time, another distorted idea was started by the 'Helkesaite' sect, but it was no sooner started than it was extinguished.'¹²¹ Quite simply, the heretics never stood a chance, much to the glory of the Church.

There are times at which Baldwin supported these sentiments in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. He frequently marvelled at the strength of the Church and how it was able to defeat its opponents with ease due to its special position as the repository

¹¹⁷ *H. E.*, bk. 6, ch. 43.6, pp. 214-215.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, bk. 6, ch. 37, pp. 207-208.

¹¹⁹ R. M. Grant, *Eusebius*, p. 85.

¹²⁰ *H. E.*, bk. 3, ch. 29.5, p. 93.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, bk. 6, ch. 38, p. 208.

of the true faith. For example, in the preface he wrote, 'What can the hissing of the serpent do when the spirit of the truth breathes forth? The Spirit breatheth where it wishes,' [John 3. 8].'¹²² This theme was picked up again later in a discussion of why the errors of the heretics ought to be remembered, when Baldwin spoke of the pleasure he felt in considering the strength and glory of the united Church, 'It is indeed glorious to explain the victory of the truth, and to not remain silent about how many battles it has won, how many enemies it has conquered, and how many triumphs it has accomplished.'¹²³ These statements reflect Eusebius' confidence in the inevitable success of the Catholic Church, and its ultimate inability to fall when confronted by its adversaries as a result of its history of interdependent development. Baldwin also gave a succinct summary of this shared history, which was reminiscent of Eusebius' claim that the devil orchestrated the activity of the heretics and blasphemers in opposition to God's plan for humanity:

The house of the Lord was built, and from the territory of the synagogue of Satan camps were set up against camps, falsehood against truth, infidelity against piety, unfaithfulness against faith, the sons of darkness against the sons of light, the wolves against the shepherds, the heretic against the Catholic, Simon the Magician against Simon Peter.¹²⁴

This conception of a shared history once again recalls the ideas of the truth of faith being confirmed and guaranteed by an apostolic succession in contrast to the inherent wrongness of heretical doctrine, whose ideas and interpretations are transferred by a diabolic succession.

Eusebius' thoughts on this theme constituted a development of Irenaeus' principle of succession, which influenced Baldwin's conception of the Church in his own time. The first development was the appearance of the Church council, whose

¹²² *L. D. S. H.*, ed., p. 31, ll. 17-18: 'Quid potest sibilus serpentis ubi spirat spiritus veritatis? Spiritus ubi vult spirat.'

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 40, ll. 22-24: 'Gloriosum quippe est veritatis victorias enarrare et quanta prelia gesserit, quantos hostes vicerit, quot triumphos egerit non tacere.'

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30, ll. 18-22: 'Domus dei edificabatur et e regione synagoga sathane erigebatur castra contra castra, falsitas contra veritatem, infidelitas contra pietatem, perfidia contra fidem, filii tenebrarum contra filios lucis, lupi contra pastores, hereticus contra catholicum, Symon magus contra Symonem Petrum.'

deliberation constituted a guarantee of the true faith to such an extent that it could easily vanquish its heretical opponents. The importance of the early councils as a standard of authority cannot be misunderstood in the medieval period. This appreciation can be demonstrated from the canonist tradition by the inclusion of a letter of Pope Gregory I in Gratian's *Decretals* which proclaimed that the first four general Councils of the Church were to be revered 'like the four gospels,' because they were 'established by universal concern.'¹²⁵ The importance of such documents was seen in light of a growing recognition that the bishop of Rome alone was not the sole successor of the apostolic tradition, but that the regular bishops should be included too, and thus the fullness of jurisdiction of the Church resided in a general council.¹²⁶ Such ideas would give rise to the Conciliarist school of thought in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The importance of the early councils as guarantees of Christian authenticity was not lost on Baldwin, and at the end of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, he appended a list including the papal succession and a record of convocation of the early Church councils.¹²⁷ Evidently for Baldwin, as for Eusebius, the activity of the Church councils was a part of the tradition of apostolic succession.

Eusebius developed the principle of succession and inheritance in a further way. This was in describing and emphasising the efforts of highly-learned Christian scholars working alongside the heirs of the apostolic inheritance. One manifestation of this inheritance was seen through the physical succession of Eusebius' contemporary bishopric from the episcopacy of the apostles. In the preface to the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Eusebius promised to recount the order and careers of the bishops of Rome.¹²⁸ However, Eusebius' understanding of apostolic inheritance was broader than this and is seen in his particular style of composing and structuring his history which focused more heavily on the writings produced during the patristic era. On the whole, Eusebius tended to focus very little on actual events throughout the *Historia*, which can instead be read more as a survey of Christian literature as Eusebius drew heavily from numerous patristic sources. Indeed, at one point in the fifth book, he breaks the

¹²⁵ *Corpus Iuris Canonici. Pars Prior: Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, ed. by A. Friedberg (Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1959), dist. 15, cap. 2, pp. 35-36.

¹²⁶ B. Tierney, p. 115.

¹²⁷ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 79, ll. 4-27.

¹²⁸ *H. E.*, bk. 1, ch. 1, p.1.

flow of events entirely to give a full account of the various books, letters and other sorts of texts compiled by Irenaeus which he has been able to gain possession of.¹²⁹ Evidently, the interpretive traditions elaborated by patristic authorities, the fruits of their learning, constituted another important element of the apostolic inheritance belonging to the Catholic Church in Eusebius' eyes.

A particularly good illustration of how this related to the opposition of heresy in Eusebius' mind can be seen in his narration of the life of his role-model, Origen, who, as has previously been seen, was called to refute a series of unorthodox beliefs in Arabia. No detail was given of what it was that Origen actually said to dissuade these individuals. His words were relatively unimportant in this context, and Eusebius likely assumed that his audience was capable of referring to the relevant works of Origen to enlighten themselves. What was of importance was to stress that Origen *could* do this by virtue of his orthodox intellect, and that in this instance he had united with a wider array of ecclesiastical officials in order to refute this heresy. Quite often Eusebius offered lists of orthodox writers as a refutation in response to the various heretical doctrines he described.¹³⁰ Their names alone constituted evidence of a transfer of orthodox belief and intelligence which was separate to the episcopal succession, but which complemented its divine vocation in defending the Church from its enemies.

Irenaeus also suggested that it required a certain acumen to be able to identify heresy, but that this must be employed in conjunction with the assistance and authority of the wider Church:

It is as when, on a beast hiding itself in a wood, and by rushing forth from it is in the habit of destroying multitudes, one who beats around the wood and thoroughly explores it, so as to compel the animal to break cover, does not strive to capture it, seeing that it is truly a ferocious beast; but those present can then watch and avoid its assaults, and can cast darts at it from all sides, and wound it, and finally slay that destructive brute.¹³¹

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, bk. 5, ch. 26, p. 174.

¹³⁰ R. M. Grant, *Eusebius*, p. 40.

¹³¹ *A. H.*, bk. 1, ch. 31.4, p. 137.

The idea of prerequisite knowledge was clearly of importance in Baldwin's attitude towards the treatment of heresy, and this is evidenced by his statement that 'one does not know how to care for the assault of disease which one does not recognise.'¹³² By employing this medical metaphor, Baldwin revealed much about his understanding of authority in the Church in the context of being able to form conclusions specifically about the treatment of heresy. The metaphor of the doctor implies a degree of professionalism, the possession of a unique and specialised body of knowledge which can be applied by a skilled practitioner to the detection, diagnosis and treatment of some form of malady.

The combination of the collected authority, knowledge, and literary tradition within the idea of apostolic succession and inheritance was an important part of Eusebius' understanding of how the defence of the Church could be mounted. For Eusebius, as it would be for Baldwin after him, it followed that by recounting and narrating this history of collective authority and knowledge, it was possible to build upon the strength of the Church in the contemporary world. This is seen in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* by the continuation of Baldwin's discussion of why it was important to remember the instances and some of the details of blasphemy:

Besides this, I also thought, and I said in my heart: 'Oh how great is the darkness, how great the fog, how great is the blindness of the heretics.' And also I said this: 'Oh how great is God and how worthily to be praised by us, who called us from so great darkness into his wonderful light!' Therefore, so that we may give up more magnificent thanks to God, the radiance of the truth into which we are brought must be known, and on account of this especially I believed that I should not be silent about the lies of the heretics, so that the light that shines in darkness might nevertheless shine from the darkness upon us.¹³³

¹³² *L. D. S. H.*, p. 30, ll. 5-6: 'Curare nescit qui uim morbi non agnoscit.'

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 41, ll. 10-16: 'Preter hec etiam cogitavi et in corde meo dixi: O quante tenebre, quanta caligo, quanta cecitas hereticorum! Dixi et illud: O quam magnus et quam digne a nobis est laudandus deus qui de tantis tenebris nos vocavit in admirabile lumen suum! Ergo, ut magnificencius gratias deo referamus, cognoscenda est et veritatis claritas in qua transpositi sumus, et ob hoc maxime credidi mendacia hereticorum non tacenda, ut lux que in tenebris de tenebris tamen nobis luceat.'

This response drew inspiration from the ideas suggested by Irenaeus. Irenaeus decided that the best means of confronting heretical error was to first expound its nature, and to then counteract each of its points individually with relevant arguments from scripture. However, despite the difference in approach from Baldwin's patristic authorities, they both seem to be linked in being founded on the same principle. This is essentially that heresy is an intellectual phenomenon and problem and must therefore be combated on those terms.

Sackville recognised this as being a key idea inherent in the strategy of twelfth and thirteenth-century authors of anti-heretical, polemical literature.¹³⁴ In the twelfth century this was linked to a reliance on the patristic model of anti-heretical polemic, which caused writers like Peter the Venerable and Eckbert of Schönau to draw on Augustine's writings for authorities and content. Sackville also noted that as the genre of polemic developed in the later 1100s, scholars began to move away from the patristic towards what she called a more 'high-medieval' mode.¹³⁵ It has been argued that some writers began to develop the patristic style into a new way of writing polemic, which was not as heavily reliant on older sources, but which dealt more on an intellectual basis with the contemporary reality of heresy.¹³⁶ Dominican friars like Moneta of Cremona and Peter Martyr, and Franciscans such as James Capelli, identified by Sackville, all produced works which were highly learned, but which used contemporary details and scholastic reasoning to structure their texts and represent their subjects.¹³⁷ Baldwin of Forde's *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* therefore holds an interesting place in this timeline. His reliance on patristic models, and unusual models at that, to present the authority required to deal with heresy, would seem out of place amongst the writings of his European contemporaries.

¹³⁴ L. Sackville, p.20.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹³⁶ D. Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism and Islam (1000-1150)*, trans. by G. R. Edwards (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 120-147.

¹³⁷ L. Sackville, pp. 14-40.

Making Heresy Easier to Understand.

In producing a text which aimed to draw together descriptions of heretical errors in a way which would make them easier to identify and understand, Baldwin was by no means alone in the twelfth century. Alarm caused by the prevalence of popular heresy on the continent created a desire amongst ecclesiasts for effective counter-measures. This was exacerbated by the need for parish clergy and other preachers to be educated in the nature of heresy and the terms in which it should be rebutted.¹³⁸ There was no dearth of documents produced in the eleventh to early twelfth centuries in an attempt to satisfy this need, and these circulated in a broad range of genres, including historiography, hagiography, biography and autobiography, letters of denunciation, and exegetical literature. However, from the 1130s onwards, a new genre of anti-heretical literature can be identified in the form of the treatise, which treated the teachings and beliefs of the individual heretics as propositions put up for debate and ultimate rebuttal.¹³⁹ These were books produced by ecclesiasts, often monks, and represented the intellectual response to heresy. These texts represent the beginning of an attempt to treat heresy as an educated and intellectual phenomenon, which needed to be answered in similar terms. Sackville has identified this kind of writing as constituting one of the fundamental literary defences against heresy developed by ecclesiasts in the thirteenth century.¹⁴⁰ Thus, these works tended to focus heavily on the capability of the individual Christian to combat heresy on intellectual and apologetic terms.

What each of these texts aimed to do was outline the key components of doctrinal error held by a named heretical group in a systematic manner, so that they might be better understood and refuted by the appended authoritative arguments excerpted from scripture, from the writings of the Church Fathers, or from reason. They discussed contemporary heresy, the so-called 'popular' heresies which had been increasing in prominence since the eleventh century. For example, about a third of the surviving tracts included in Wakefield and Evans' survey of anti-heretical tracts were designed to refute only the errors of the Cathars. About two-thirds of these dealt with

¹³⁸ *Heresies*, pp. 59-60.

¹³⁹ D. Iogna Prat, p. 120.

¹⁴⁰ L. Sackville, p. 20.

the heresies attributed to the Cathars and the Waldensians together, and only six treatises dealt with any other named heresy.¹⁴¹ The authors of these tracts appear to have gone to some lengths to ensure that the information they reported about the nature of their subject's heretical error was correct, and as up-to-date as possible. They might have done this by personally conducting, or witnessing, interviews with heretics, by reading their writings or confessions, or even through the systematic interrogation of imprisoned heretics.¹⁴²

William the Monk, writing his *Contra Henricum Schismaticum et Hereticum*, which was completed between 1133 and 1135, described his questioning process from when he personally confronted Henry of Lausanne: 'Thereupon, I addressed the fellow in the words: "I ask you who propose such wicked tenets, so hurtful to our faith: In obedience to whom do you preach? Who commissioned you to this function? What scriptures do you accept?"'¹⁴³ Peter the Venerable was at great pains to ensure his understanding of the errors of Henry of Lausanne were correct. He did this by writing to the Archbishops of Arles and Embrun, and the bishops of Die and Gap, contacting them not to instruct them but to ask them to send information about Henry.¹⁴⁴ He made it clear that he felt himself unable to respond fully to Henry's heresy without confirmation of his errors from an authoritative witness: 'since full assurance has not yet been given to me that this truly represents his thought or teaching, I have deferred a response until the time when I shall have undoubted certainty about the things which are there set forth.'¹⁴⁵

Evidently, knowledge about the precise nature of the erroneous doctrinal systems was considered of vital importance to these anti-heretical authors. It barely needs to be said in light of what has already been discussed concerning the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* that Baldwin himself did not subscribe to this school of thought. A letter written by the bishop of Le Mans about Henry of Lausanne can offer inspiration for why Baldwin thought in this way. The bishop wrote: 'When his speech entered the

¹⁴¹ *Heresies*, p. 62.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118, 121; D. Iogna-Prat, pp. 112-113.

¹⁴⁵ *Heresies*, p. 121.

ears of the mob, it stuck in their minds. Like a potent poison, it penetrated into the inner organs, vented an inexorable hatred on life. Ever more eagerly it changes its form and renews its attacks.¹⁴⁶ The heresy was not described as a set of beliefs, but as a poison which had been created specifically to target Henry's audience. The Bishop of Le Mans was positing that the force behind this attack was redesigning the poison, so that it could appear in different guises to remain undetected and to increase its potency. Perhaps a similarity could be drawn to how certain strands of bacteria are developing immunity to modern antibiotics, if it is imagined that this process is driven by some external entity. The entity which the Bishop of Le Mans was concerned about here was the heretical succession, driven by its diabolically-inspired origins to mount an onslaught of heresy against the Church. As has already been demonstrated, emphasizing this aspect of heresy's nature was more important to Baldwin than enumerating individual doctrinal errors.

The patristic legacy of anti-heretical writing in the twelfth century is also evident in the way that many authors still drew upon descriptions and models of classical heresies from the work of the Church Fathers. For example, Guibert of Nogent, although not writing an anti-heretical treatise, likened a group of heretics near Soissons in around 1114 to the ancient Manichaeans: 'If you will reread the various accounts of heresies by Augustine, you will find that this resembles none more than that of the Manichaeans.'¹⁴⁷ Such appeals to the past to understand and represent heresy were common; it meant that similarities in doctrine, which, in reality, might have been simply the result of continuing theological reflection on the one hand, or mere coincidence on the other, could be credited to a direct legacy of condemned heretical groups.¹⁴⁸ Peter the Venerable drew heavily upon this in *Contra Petrobrusianos*. In referring to Peter of Bruys' rejection of church buildings, he called him the 'restorer of an ancient error,' and placed him in a line stretching back to King Ahaz of Judah, who offered sacrifices up to the idol, Baal.¹⁴⁹ He also spoke of the 'predecessors' of the Petrobrusians, the 'ancient heretics,'

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹⁴⁸ C. Cadwell Ames, p. 129.

¹⁴⁹ D. Iogna-Prat, p. 129.

Apelles, Cerinthus, Montanus, Novatian, Sabellinus and Mani, 'the most hateful of them all.'¹⁵⁰

Bernard of Clairvaux, another writer who had not produced an anti-heretical treatise, but whose writings on heresy must not be overlooked, used similar themes when he wrote about Peter Abelard. In Bernard's mind, Abelard sounded like Arius when he spoke about the Trinity, like Pelagius when he spoke about Grace, and like Nestorius when he spoke about the Person of Christ.¹⁵¹ In his sermons on the Song of Songs, Bernard also wrote that he did not recall having heard of anything that has made 'any new contribution to knowledge, but only trite sayings well-aided by heretics of old, yet crushed and exploded by our theologians.'¹⁵² It is clear that drawing similarities between contemporary and ancient heresies was an important tool for twelfth-century anti-heretical writers. However, it was arguably not the most important consideration for them, as was evidenced by the insistence with which some of them pursued the most up-to-date information on their subjects from their contemporaries. Indeed, as the twelfth century progressed into the thirteenth, anti-heretical writers experienced a boost in confidence in their ability to describe contemporary heresy without reliance on older models, having accumulated an extensive knowledge base.¹⁵³

Perhaps the true legacy of patristic anti-heretical literature for these twelfth-century writers was the adoption of the '*Adversus Hereticos*' genre seen in the writings of Justin Martyr and Irenaeus. For the medieval period, the most important model for writing in such a way was produced by St Augustine of Hippo.¹⁵⁴ His works provided a taxonomy, model replies and an art of diatribe to twelfth-century clerics engaged in the production of anti-heretical literature.¹⁵⁵ The aim in this approach was an extension of Christian apology: to convert the unbeliever back to the real faith. This style and emphasis on conversion can be seen in Peter the Venerable's *Contra Petrobrusianos*, where he insisted that 'it is right that Christian Charity should put the greater effort on

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹⁵¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia*, ed. by L. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957-1977), VIII (1977), letter 192, pp. 43-4.

¹⁵² *Songs*, II (1976), sermon 65, p. 188.

¹⁵³ L. Sackville, p. 22.

¹⁵⁴ C. Cadwell Ames, pp. 51-52.

¹⁵⁵ D. Iogna-Prat, p. 129.

converting heretics than on driving them out, let authority be cited to them, let reason also be added, so that they may be compelled to yield.’¹⁵⁶ By virtue of this style of writing, Peter was considered to be an authority in the area of fighting heresy. This is shown by a letter addressed to him by Peter of Poitiers written sometime after the completion of *Contra Petrobrusianos*, in an attempt to compel him to write against Islam.

I want [the Saracens] too to be confounded by you, just as the Jews and Provençal heretics were. For you are the only one in our days to have slain with the sword of the divine word the three greatest enemies of Holy Christendom: the Jews, the heretics, and the Saracens. And you have shown that Mother Church is neither bereft, not robbed of good sons, but still has such as can, with Christ’s favour, answer any inquirer concerning the hope and faith that are in us.¹⁵⁷

Another of these ‘good sons’ was Bernard of Clairvaux. Writing to him in either 1143 or 1144, after the discovery of the presence of various groups of heretics at Cologne, Eberwin of Steinfeld called for the production of a text which analysed all of their doctrines, and set against them arguments and authoritative texts extracted from the Bible with which to refute them.¹⁵⁸ His letter revealed a real desire for such texts to be produced, and provides an insight into who the potential audience for these tracts might have been. In trying to plead with Bernard to complete this task, Eberwin wrote:

Answer us not that ‘the tower of David to which we fly for refuge has been sufficiently built with bulwarks; a thousand buckets hang upon it, all the armour of valiant men,’ for we are inexperienced and inept; we would, therefore, Father, that by your zeal this armour be assembled in one place, where it may be the more readily available for our use against these monsters so numerous, and be more effective in resisting them.¹⁵⁹

At face value, Baldwin’s *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* does not seem to belong in this genre of literature at all. It did not consider the nature and doctrinal systems of contemporary heretics. He did not follow the *Adversus Hereticos* style; in fact, he did not

¹⁵⁶ *Heresies*, p. 119.

¹⁵⁷ Peter of Poitiers, ‘Epistola Petri Pictavensis,’ p. 228, translated in D. Iogna-Pratt, p. 117.

¹⁵⁸ *Heresies*, p. 128.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.

appear to have made use of any of Augustine's tracts on heresy, which is a striking omission for a twelfth-century writer. Whereas the use to which Augustine's works could be put to practical use in the confrontation of heretics is reasonably clear, it is difficult to see how Baldwin might have intended his tract to similarly prepare his readers.

To a modern observer, Baldwin's tract reads more like an exercise in discussing the nature of heresy, its transmission and origins whilst directing the reader to different, but relevant, works of patristic literature which dealt with heresy. Manuscript evidence from surviving texts which were once held at Forde Abbey corroborates this. According to the *Registrum Anglie*, a list of unusual patristic sources compiled by the Oxford Franciscan friars in the fourteenth century, Forde at one time possessed many works by St Augustine, including at least six volumes which dealt explicitly with heresy that were not referred to in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*.¹⁶⁰ During the twelfth century Forde also held a copy of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* which survives in the Bodleian library in Oxford, in Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 450. The manuscript was annotated fairly heavily in a twelfth-century cursive script. One such annotation can be found on fol. 14^v [Image 1]:

Nota causam marci evangelii
In prima libro v^o capitulo viii^o dicitur quod
post exitum petri scripsit evangulis¹⁶¹

There are two parts to this annotation. The first line refers to the account on the same folio of how Mark, as a disciple of St Peter, wanted to record the Apostle's preaching in writing. The second part makes reference to a later section of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*; book five, chapter eight recorded how Mark wrote his gospel after Peter's death.

A further example of annotation can be seen on fol. 102^v [Image 2]:

Nota quod Ruffinus
Beati basilii instituta
de graeco in latinum transtulit

¹⁶⁰ *Registrum Anglie de Libris Doctorum et Auctorum Veterum*, ed. by R. H. Rouse, M. A. Rouse and R. A. B. Mynors, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 2 (London: The British Library, 1991), pp. 282-283: 'De moribus ecclesie et Manicheorum,' 'De Gen. adversus Manicheos,' 'De baptism contra Donatists,' 'Contra sermonem Arrianorum,' 'Contra 5 hereses,' 'De omnibus heres.'

¹⁶¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 450, fol. 15^v.

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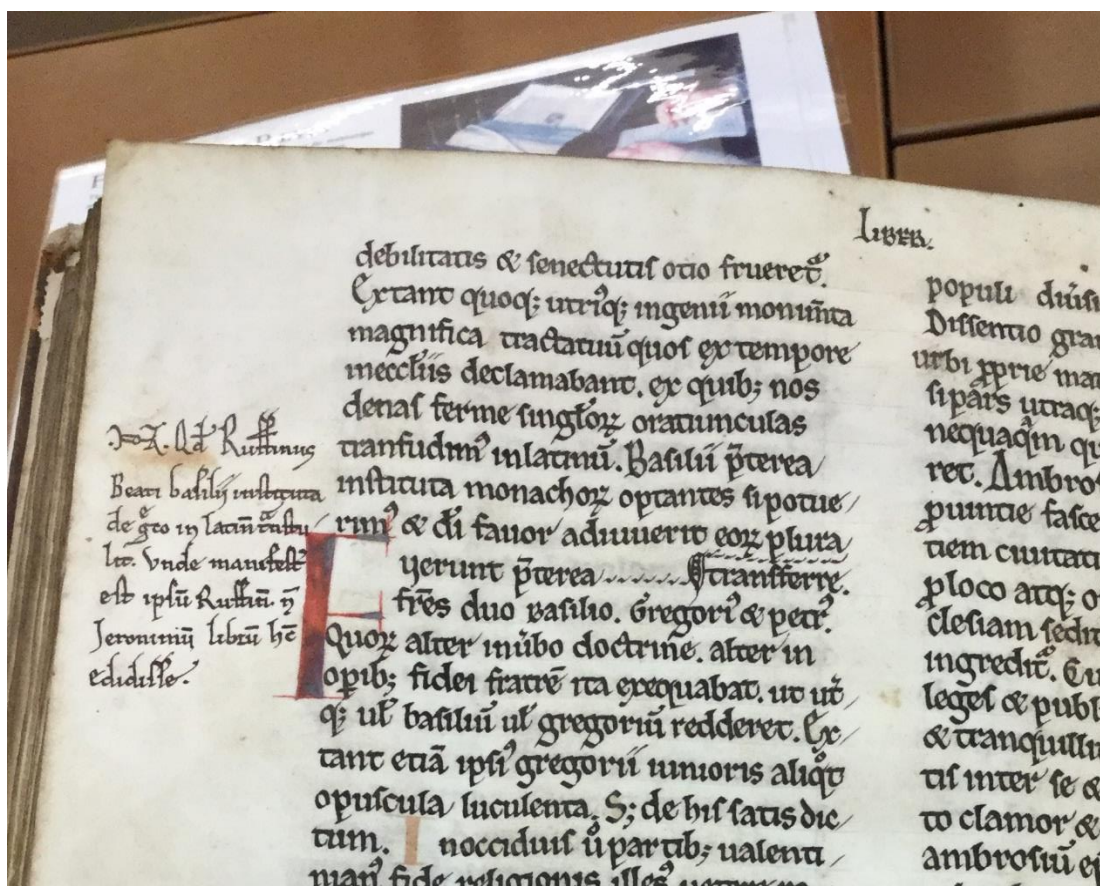


Image 2 – Twelfth-Century Marginal Annotation. Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 450, fol. 102v.

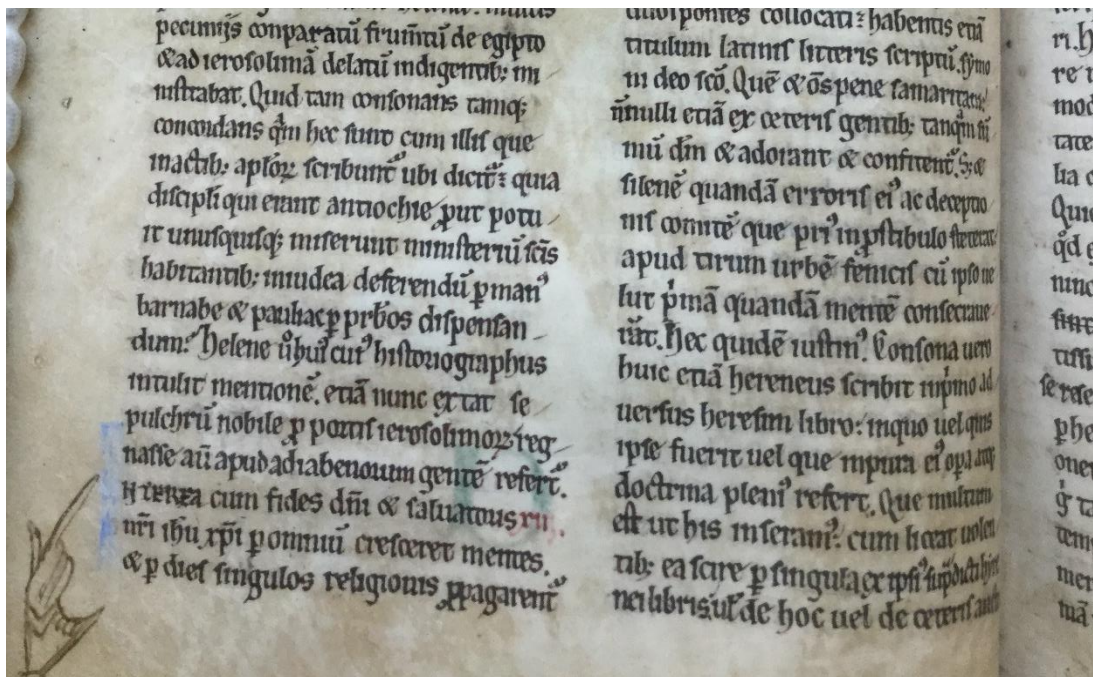


Image 3 – Hand Highlighting Simon Magus. Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 450, fol. 14v.

unde manifestum est
ipsum Ruffinum non
Jeronimum librum hunc
edidisse¹⁶²

This annotation appears alongside the additions to Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* made by Ruffinus of Aquileia concerning Gregory of Nazianzus' successes against the heretics of his day and the books written by both him and by St Basil.¹⁶³ The twelfth-century annotator noted that Ruffinus had translated St Basil's *Instituta* from Greek to Latin, and that it was therefore clear that it was Ruffinus, and not Jerome, who had produced this book. Both Ruffinus and St Jerome in the late fourth and early fifth centuries had sought to make Greek theology accessible to the Latin world, and both were active spiritual advisers with an interest in the ascetic lifestyle in Italy.¹⁶⁴

These two examples demonstrate that the annotator at Forde Abbey was aware of the relationships between the scriptures and his patristic sources, and the contexts in which they were produced. That these comments were deemed important enough to write into the manuscript is indicative that there was a wider debate about these sources amongst the monks at Forde. The importance of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* to Baldwin's thinking on heresy strongly suggests that Baldwin was participating in, if not leading, this debate, and that this informed the preparation of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* whilst he was at the abbey.

There can be no doubt that this manuscript was used heavily during the composition of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. Such a survival is very rare, and all the significant for the information it reveals about the composition of the tract as a collaborative exercise involving the monks of Forde. In particular, this includes the monks who helped Baldwin prepare an initial draft of the *Liber*. At multiple points throughout the texts, indicators were drawn to highlight relevant sections of the text which would be transcribed into the main body of his tract on heresy. These marks were made either by Baldwin or by another monk who was working with him. For example,

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, fol. 102^v.

¹⁶³ Ruffinus of Aquileia, *The Church History of Ruffinus of Aquileia: Books 10 and 11*, trans. by P. R. Amidon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), bk. 11, ch. 10, p. 73.

¹⁶⁴ H. Chadwick, pp. 433-445.

one such indicator highlights a section in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* which described the apostles' confrontation with Simon Magus [Image 3].¹⁶⁵ Clear similarities can be seen between this version of events and the version which was recorded in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, as preserved in the fifteenth-century manuscript housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and edited by Narvaja.¹⁶⁶ There are a few differences in the spelling and phrasing at times between the two versions, but they are reasonably small-scale discrepancies which could easily be explained by scribal alterations or errors. This example demonstrates how Baldwin wished to highlight the significance of this history to the wider community of Cistercian monks at Forde.

Although not all of the marginal annotations or highlighters found in the manuscript referred to the material which was directly relevant to the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, each example of inclusion or omission is still significant as evidence that Baldwin was seeking to impress the importance of Eusebius' historiographical approach and the genealogical view of heresy on the monks of Forde, and to initiate debate on these issues. The evidence of a wider group of monks involved in the preparation of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* and the discussion of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* in wider terms highlights the value of information about classical learning and heresy held by Baldwin and the monks at Forde. In concentrating almost exclusively on the idea of heresy as an historical phenomenon, Baldwin's *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* was unique in the twelfth century, but the importance of such an approach was gaining recognition amongst his peers.

There is only one point in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* at which Baldwin made reference to the concerns of his own day. This is when he reported the heresies attributable to Tatian, and a group he referred to as the 'continents,' or 'abstainers,' who were recorded by Irenaeus in the first book of his *Adversus Haereses*. An extract from St Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* was added to this report, which provided the extra detail that Tatian inspired another sect which called itself the Encratites, and which was subsequently 'increased' under the leadership of Severus and later became known as

¹⁶⁵ MS Laud Misc. 450, fol. 14^v.

¹⁶⁶ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 66, ll. 19-28, p. 67, ll. 1-4.

the sect of the Severans.¹⁶⁷ At this point, Baldwin changed the tone of the work by relating these ancient heresies to those of his own time: 'These heresies of continence remain warm today.'¹⁶⁸

In the following summary, Baldwin revealed himself as highly knowledgeable about the errors of these modern sects, even though he did not specifically name them. They tried to emphasise poverty by wearing the basest clothing, they were vegetarians, they denied the need for obedience to the clergy, and they reprimanded the indulgence of the bishops. Indeed, Baldwin appears to have been well-informed about the contemporary heresies of his own day. He suggested that it will not be possible to fully reprimand the behaviour of heretical groups without a discussion of the 'questions and distinctions of the sects.'¹⁶⁹ It might seem surprising for a modern observer to see how well-informed Baldwin was, considering his lack of opportunities to encounter heresy as a monk living in England. The means by which this might have been the case will be the subject of the rest of this thesis, but for now the interest in this passage on the heresies on 'continence' is how Baldwin perceived this link, or transmission of ideas from the ancient heresies to his own day, and how he set out to deal with this.

It is clear from the *Liber* that Baldwin assumed that heresy was transferred by seduction. In the case of the heresy of the 'continents,' the errors look pious. Realising this, the heretics try to make themselves look even more pious in order to lead those who are simple in their faith away from the unity of the Church. That this ploy would continue to oppose the Church beyond the classical period was predicted by St Paul's warning in Colossians 2. 18-19:

Let no man seduce you, willing in humility, and religion of angels,
walking in the things which he hath not seen, in vain puffed up by
the sense of his flesh, and not holding the head from which the

¹⁶⁷ L. D. S. H., p. 50, ll. 20-22: "'...Postea inflatus eloquencie tumour, novam condit heresim que encratitarum dicitur quam postea Severus auxit, a quo heretici severiani appellantur.'" Hec Ieronimus de Taciano.'

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 51, ll. 6-7: 'Hae heresis continentium hodie resolescit...'

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29, l. 29, p. 30, ll. 1-2: 'Hec autem exercitation sine discrepacione questionum et discrecione sectarum perfect non apprehenditur.'

whole body, by joints and bands, being supplied with nourishment and compacted, growth unto the increase of God.¹⁷⁰

In the following paragraphs, Baldwin developed this view of the growth of the Church, an idea which is reminiscent of Irenaeus and Eusebius' work on the unity of the Catholic Church. The Church was described as an institution which could provide all the protection that the faithful need. It provided an example and model of the truth in the words of the prophets and apostles. The development of similar ideas can be seen in some of Baldwin's other works on the nature of the faith. For example, he described the Church as the moon, enlightening the ignorance of the simple faithful as the moon does the night, by the word of its preaching and the example of the holy way of life, because it was founded by the apostles who followed the example of life lead by Christ himself.¹⁷¹ There were so many witnesses to the true faith within the Church that they seem to be a cloud, provided by God to cool the faithful from the heat of the persecution of their enemies.¹⁷²

Because the heretics had divorced themselves from this host of witnesses, and from the protecting unity of the faithful, the simple faithful were ultimately best served in shunning the heretics altogether. This is seen in the next section of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. Baldwin built upon the words of St Paul to produce a very clear condemnation of individuals who involve themselves with heretics:

Whoever supports or agrees with heretics is a heretic. Those things that the heretics offer must not be touched or tasted, because they are all through that very contact, that is, through taste or touch, a cause of destruction, because they drag the souls of those who believe in them into the pit of destruction. For these things are not according to the commands of God but invented and introduced for the subversion of mankind's faith.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, l. 24, p. 52, ll. 1-3: "Nemo vos seducat, volens in humilitate et religione angelorum que non vidit, ambulans frustra, inflatus sensu carnis sue et non tenens caput ex quo totum corpus per nexus et coniunctiones subministratum et constructum crescit in augmentum dei."

¹⁷¹ *C. o. F.*, ch. 75.1, p. 208.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, ch. 75.3, p. 209.

¹⁷³ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 54, ll. 4-8: 'Qui favet vel consentit hereticis, hereticus est. Propterea que tradunt heretici non sunt tangenda vel gustanda quia omnia ipso usu, gustu scilicet vel tactu in interitum sunt quia animas

This advice raises an important question: how would the 'simple' Christian necessarily know who or who was not a heretic? This was pertinent, as Baldwin had already established that heretics were 'seducers' who could pretend to the faith in a manner that was convincing enough to alarm even St Paul.

This issue was addressed through the exposition of the Leviathan found in Job 41. 6-8:

His body is like molten shields, shut close up with scales pressing upon one another. One is joined to the other, and not so much as any air can come between them They stick one to another and they hold one another fast and shall not be separated.¹⁷⁴

Baldwin explained that the molten shields attached to the sides of the Leviathan represented the testimony of the Scriptures, for 'it is clear that these molten shields were constructed by the Holy Spirit with the skill of the smelting of the craftsman.'¹⁷⁵ He depicted the scales as serpentine in appearance, and he claimed that they were 'strategies of cunning falsehood and veils of concealed impiety.'¹⁷⁶ These represented the heretics who pose as members of the faithful by attaching false assertions, their serpentine scales, to the tenets of the faith, the molten shields, to bolster their erroneous claims and to seduce those who are simple in the faith. This special unity of heretical beliefs and ideas is extremely difficult to confront, as it is made firm 'by mutual support, as if by the compression of the scales in rigour.'¹⁷⁷ They are so firmly compressed that even the Holy Spirit, the air which cuts through the air-holes lacing the Leviathan's body, cannot penetrate into the midst of the heretical community. Therefore, the heretics are divorced from the enlightenment and protection of the Holy Spirit. The implication of this extended metaphor is that a special skill or wisdom is required in

eis credentium in puteum interitus trahunt. Non enim sunt hec secundum precepta dei, sed hominum ad subversionem fidei excogitata et introducta.'

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47, ll. 8-11: 'Corpus illius quasi scuta fusilia compactum squamis se prementibus. Una uni coniungitur et ne spiraculum quidem incedit per eas. Una alteri adherebit et tenentes se nequaquam separabuntur.'

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 47, ll. 14-15: 'Hec fusilia sunt quia arte fusoris artificis videlicet spiritus sancti composita.'

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 47, ll. 16-17: 'Squame serpentine pellis tegumenta sunt. Hec sunt autem argute falsitatis molimina et obtece impietatis velamina.'

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47, ll. 21-23: 'Sic fraus hereticorum suis tegumentis obvoluitur et mutuo favore quasi compressione squamarum in duriciam solidatur.'

order to discern the shields from the scales when confronted by a heretic, to indeed identify him as such.

Baldwin provided his answer to this problem through the development of his earlier argument that the Church provides witnesses. He claimed that 'there are in the Church people of diverse qualities following divisions of grace.'¹⁷⁸ The force which united these 'diverse qualities was the Holy Spirit, which forged bonds between all of the different groups in society and gave them the ability to share one mind, one set of sacraments and ultimately one faith. This was the process of charity acted out in the physical world: 'Mutual love, mutual prevention and assistance, mutual giving and supporting.'¹⁷⁹ For Baldwin, this seems to have been the process by which the Church had grown in strength throughout the centuries, 'The body thus supplied and thus constructed increases in the increases of God, that is to say that God works in augmentation and is not remiss to increase in number and in merit.' The 'body' was the entire community of the faithful, a body of believers of different social groups or 'qualities,' which work together for the mutual benefit of all through different degrees of grace bestowed on humanity by God so that the Church would always remain strong and increase in strength against its adversaries. Baldwin even portrayed the writing of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* as a part of this process: 'To this end I increase, and God increases in his limbs just as in his body.'¹⁸⁰

The 'limbs' of this body of the faithful, or the different divisions or degrees of faith are fundamental to understanding the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. This treatise, however, is not the only work in which Baldwin developed such ideas. In a sermon which he delivered to the brethren of Forde on the cenobitic, or common life, he ruminated on passages from Corinthians. Firstly, I Corinthians 12. 7, 'To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the Benefit of all,' again at I Corinthians 7. 7, 'Each has his own special gift from God, one of one kind, and one of another,' and I Corinthians 12. 4-6, 'There are different sorts of gifts, different sorts of service, and different sorts of working.' He then

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53, ll. 5-6: 'Sunt in ecclesia persone diversarum facierum secundum divisiones graciaram.'

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 53, ll. 8-10: 'Hec vicissitudines mutue dilectionis et alterne preventionis et subventionis mutue subministrationis et supportationis...'

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 53 ll. 20-23: 'Hoc corpus sic subministratum et sic constructum crescit in augmentum dei, in augmentum scilicet quod operator deus qui ecclesiam numero et merito multiplicare non cessat. Quo tamen augment et deus augetur in membris suis sicut in corpore suo.'

suggested a few of these 'gifts': 'whoever has the utterance of wisdom of knowledge, whoever has the gift of work or of service, whoever has any other gift, whether greater or lesser, should possess it as having been given it by God for the sake of others.'¹⁸¹ These roles reappear in the preface to the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*.

In the preface, Baldwin distinguishes between different groups of people united in the Church according to their ability to access knowledge about God, and wisdom. One such group was the *parvuli*, or the 'little ones' or 'little children.' These were individuals who were 'content with a moderate degree of simple understanding, who simply and reverently believed those things that the articles of the faith teach should be believed piously and retained in memory.'¹⁸² They have faith and devotion which compensates for their lack of learning. This compensation is significant, and Baldwin placed this group in opposition to another group who have knowledge of profound matters but have an inflated sense of their own wisdom making them proud and carnal. These individuals, unlike the *parvuli* could not receive the grace of God, as God only chooses to reveal himself to whom he wishes. Baldwin was specific that God only chooses to reveal himself and give grace to the humble, portrayed as the *parvuli*. In this respect, faith becomes the foundation for any greater appreciation of God or the mysteries of the faith. These two concepts are not necessary in order to receive grace, but they must be preceded by simple faith before they could be accomplished. The fragility of the faith is implied through this exposition, as it is vulnerable to human pride.

This vulnerability is recognised and protected by the final societal group described in the preface. These are the individuals to whom the 'word of wisdom' is given, which allows them to understand the mysteries of the faith more deeply. Baldwin used the text of Hebrews 5. 13-14 to emphasize that the word of wisdom can only be given to those who live a humble life of faith:

For every one that is a partaker of milk is unskilful in the word of justice,
for he is a little child. But strong meat is for the perfect; for them who

¹⁸¹ S. T., II, pp. 181-185.

¹⁸² L. D. S. H., p. 29, II. 9-12: 'Sunt enim in ecclesia quidam mediocritate simplices intelligencie contenti qui simpliciter et reverenter es credunt que symbolum fidei edocet pie credenda memoriterque tenenda.'

by custom have their senses exercised to the discerning of good and evil.

Having been weaned from 'milk' to 'solid food,' the bearers of the word of wisdom have progressed beyond the role of the *parvuli*, the simple, faithful devotees, to stronger intellects who were capable of discerning between what is good and what is bad in matters of the faith.

The power of discernment is of vital importance to Baldwin, as it was to many twelfth-century writers.¹⁸³ In one of his sermons he described it as the power which 'makes a division between the true and the false, the good and the bad, the honest and the dishonest, and all other opposites which are subject to its shrewd and skilful investigations.'¹⁸⁴ It was the foundation for any defense of the faith which required the defence of piety or the refutation of error, 'in which it is the task of that exercise not only to teach simply what is true, but also to prove what is to be taught by firm and certain arguments, and to refute those who contradict it.'¹⁸⁵ Elsewhere, Baldwin referred to this activity as the 'word of reconciliation.' In a sermon given to a congregation of priests and bishops, at a time when Baldwin had likely already become archbishop of Canterbury, he addressed his audience as 'the angels of peace in whom God has placed the word of reconciliation.'¹⁸⁶ They were the 'ministers of God,' who must burn with a consuming fire in order to further consume and enlighten the hearts of those in their charge so that they too could burn with the heat of the clergy's burning eloquence.

In order to hone this skill and to apply it to the practical defence of the faith with which they were charged, the bearers of the 'word of wisdom' must apply themselves to the 'discussion of questions and the distinction of sects.'¹⁸⁷ This required an active search for information about the faith as well as for collaboration between the defenders in the discussion of the distinctions of aggressors. Baldwin wrote about the

¹⁸³ D. N. Bell, 'Introduction,' (1986), p. 157.

¹⁸⁴ *S. T.*, I, p. 157.

¹⁸⁵ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 29, ll. 23-26: 'Alia vero est exercitatio ad defensionem pietatis vel impugnacionem erroris qua promptum est exercitatis non solum simpliciter docere quod verum est, sed etiam firmis et certis rationibus quod docendum est astruere et contradicentes revincere.'

¹⁸⁶ *S. T.*, II, p. 199.

¹⁸⁷ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 29, l. 29, p. 30, ll. 1-2; see above, p. 81, no. 169.

importance for these defenders of the faith to seek counsel and information about their enemies:

It was my aim to expose the questions raised against the faith and the cults of impiety secretly introduced for the subversion of the truth, so that once the variety of errors is known, the teachers and defenders of the faith may be more cautious, and more promptly purge errors and respond to those who are in error. For anyone who does not recognise the nature of a disease cannot care for it. Familiarity with vices is a form of moral training. Flight from a danger that had previously been identified is a safeguard of salvation. It is customary for those engaged in hostilities to find out the plans of their enemies lest they be found unprepared for unexpected stratagems. The apostle was not ignorant of Satan's wiles. And some of these ideas of the heretics [which] are against us stem from Satan's wiles. Therefore, it is necessary to expose them, because the detection of treacherous falsehood is a kind of disclosure of the truth to be revealed.¹⁸⁸

In summary, the efforts of those defending the faith against its adversaries could benefit from the power of discernment. Baldwin identified himself amongst this group in producing this text in recognition of a sort of responsibility to aid these defenders; in this increase, the power of God increases in his limbs just as in his body. In this portrayal of collaboration and learning shared between different degrees of Church members, Baldwin was reflecting on the inspiration he found in Irenaeus and Eusebius' tracts. Like Eusebius, Baldwin saw a unity within the Church of different degrees of members uniting to strengthen the faith and combat its opponents. This can also be found in Baldwin's adaptation of Eusebius' style of writing history, by citing extensively from recognised authorities, as evidence of Christian intellectual culture. From Irenaeus, Baldwin was able to draw upon an understanding of the Church as the product of historical growth in

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30, ll. 2-12: "Propterea cura michi fuit questiones contra fidem motas et sectas impietatis ad subversionem veritatis subintroductas in medium producere, ut errorum varietate cognita doctores et defensores fidei cautiores existant et promptiores erronea purgare et errantibus respondere. Curare nescit qui vim morbi non agnoscit. Noticia vitiorum quedam est disciplina morum. Cautela salutis est premonstrati fuga periculi. Solent hostes hostium explorare consilia, ne imparati inveniantur ad improvisa molimina. Non ignorat apostolus astucias sathane. Et quidem cogitationes hereticorum contra nos de astuciis sunt sathane. Illas ergo denudare oportet quia detectio subdole falsitatis quedam declaratio est manifestande veritatis."

conjunction with, and in contrast to, an ever-changing foe, which was only united in its opposition to the apostolic foundation.

Even so, it is hard to completely reconcile Baldwin's treatise with the anti-heretical literature of his contemporaries and peers. The fact that the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* lacks a detailed and systematic approach to describing and identifying different degrees of heretics as well as authoritative written refutations remains problematic in this respect. A possible answer has been suggested by Bell in his work on Baldwin's literary style. In his convincing assessment of the *De Sacramento Altaris* as having an underlying intention of commenting on the erroneous assertions of Berengar of Tours, Bell noted that Baldwin did not actually mention Berengar by name, nor did he include a discussion of *how* the Eucharistic mystery takes place. Bell argued that this was not Baldwin's concern; rather he was interested instead with *what* the mystery was and *how* it affects humanity. Thus Baldwin 'deals' with philosophical concepts ultimately by not dealing with them, because to pose arguments was a waste of time for an individual of the faith.¹⁸⁹

The same principle might be applied to the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. By not concerning himself overly with the detailing and identification of the different degrees of heretic, it is clear that Baldwin was not interested in individual heretics, but in the phenomenon of heresy itself, as the historical adversary of the Church. The process which Baldwin was interested in was how the Church had responded and how the faith had been strengthened. A final illustration of this is the development of Psalm 67. 31: 'The congregation of the bulls amid the vine of the peoples, to exclude them who are tried with silver.'¹⁹⁰ These bulls were the heretics who hide and disguise themselves amidst the cows, who are gullible and therefore susceptible to seduction. A keen discernor can recognise the bulls, much in the same way that an attentive shepherd could identify the proverbial wolves disguised as sheep amongst his flock. However, through their persecution, the bulls test the faith, and this was what Baldwin meant when he referred to the 'test of silver.' Those whose faith was thus tested could not be

¹⁸⁹ D. N. Bell, 'Baldwin of Forde,' p. 139.

¹⁹⁰ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 31, ll. 17-18: 'Congregatio taurorum in vaccis populorum, ut excludantur qui probati sunt argento.'

corrupted by heretical lies, and they provided an example of solidarity in the faith which was separate from the main body of the faithful, and fulfilled an invaluable function: 'They were tested, however, so that they may be excluded, so that they may not be concealed, so that they may be visible, so that they may stand out, so that they may become visible as an example.'¹⁹¹

St Augustine of Hippo placed special emphasis on this 'test of silver' in his Commentaries on the Psalms. He stated that 'silversmiths,' those who had succeeded in the test of silver and had become examples of their trade, were called *exclusores*. These individuals were able to mould the form of a vessel from a shapeless lump. The silversmith, for Augustine, was a model for those of singular intelligence who understood some of the hidden meanings of scripture by the grace of God and who used this knowledge righteously to refute heretics because these individuals incited 'even they that neglect the pursuits of learning... to a diligent hearing, in order that their opponents may be refuted.'¹⁹² The implication is that these individuals took up a position of leadership, providing an example by which other, less competent clerics charged with the defence of the faith, might emulate. Like the silversmith creating a pure silver chalice from a shapeless lump of raw material, those 'excluded by the test of silver' helped to form a more effective collaboration of defenders, armed with the power of discernment and the eloquence with which to apply it practically and effectively.

Such an interpretation of this passage, and its understanding of the nature of knowledge about the faith and its defence would have been especially influential on the Cistercian Order, of which Baldwin was a part, in the twelfth century. During the second half of the twelfth century the Cistercian Order experienced both a rapid growth in its membership across Western Europe and a great escalation of its involvement in the Latin Church's struggle against popular heresy. These two phenomena occurred at a time when the Order was in a process of self-definition, as it considered its relationship to lay society. Overtime, the role and image that it constructed within society led secular rulers to expect and seek the involvement of Cistercian monks in anti-heretical preaching

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31, ll. 25-27: 'Probantur autem, ut excludantur, ut non lateant, ut appareant, ut emineant, ut aliis in exemplum luceant.'

¹⁹² Augustine of Hippo, *Expositions on the Book of Psalms*, trans. by P. Schaff, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 8 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1956), p. 297.

campaigns, as their skills as preachers were deemed to be greater than the regular clergy. Membership to this dynamic Order played a key part in Baldwin's developing thinking on monasticism, heresy, society and knowledge about the faith which led to his composition of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* whilst he was a Cistercian abbot.

CHAPTER TWO - CISTERCIANS IN THE VINEYARD

The abbey of Forde into which Baldwin was initiated in 1169 and which would become home to the major body of his literary endeavours was, at that time, a relatively young institution. It was founded as an affiliated daughter-house to Waverley Abbey, the first Cistercian foundation in the British Isles.¹ Waverley Abbey had been founded in 1128 by the provision of William Giffard, the then Bishop of Winchester, who had settled a community of monks on his estates there from the French Abbey of L'Aumône.² Whilst the abbey did not enjoy the same celebrated reputation as the northern Cistercian houses of Rievaulx and Fountains, Waverley holds a significant place in the history of monastic orders in England by becoming the only foundation in the country to see its daughter houses spread into a third generation across the south and the midlands.³ These houses joined a rapidly increasing network of Cistercian abbeys across Europe.

By 1152, there were in excess of three hundred abbeys affiliated to the Order across Europe since the foundation of Cîteaux in 1098. In England, the original three abbeys of Waverley, Rievaulx and Fountains had provided for the foundation of some thirty-six new monasteries.⁴ As the Order grew, it began to assert its presence more decisively in the wider Church. This was felt especially in England over the controversial election of William Fitz Herbert to the archbishopric of York in 1141.⁵ At the same time, increasing numbers of Cistercian monks in Europe were being granted ecclesiastical office, and between 1098 and 1227, nineteen Cistercians were made cardinals, and 151 became bishops and archbishops.⁶ The apparent success of the Cistercian Order in the final half of the twelfth century is of interest here, as the relationship between the

¹ D. Knowles, *The Religious Houses of Medieval England* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1940), p. 74.

² *Ann. Mon.*, II (1865), p. 221.

³ J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 69-70.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, p. 247.

⁵ J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 77.

⁶ J. Lipkin, 'The Entrance of the Cistercians into the Church Hierarchy, 1098-1227', in *The Chimera of his Age: Studies on Bernard of Clairvaux*, ed. by E. R. Elder and J. R. Sommerfeldt, *Studies in Medieval History*, 5 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1980), pp. 62-75 (pp. 62-63).

monasteries and the secular world is the concern of the present chapter. An individual's motivation for entering a monastery, and the way in which their understanding of the world changed as a result of the experience will inevitably have influenced the way that they conceived of their place and role in the world.

The Monastic Vocation

Due to a lack of sources for his early years before joining the abbey at Forde, it will probably remain impossible to identify definitively the manifold reasons why Baldwin was inspired to take monastic vows. As was seen in the previous chapter, there might have been a familial connection which drew Baldwin to the abbey in medieval Devon.⁷ However, the decision to enter a monastery was first and foremost an expression of individual piety and religious ideal. That Baldwin chose to enter a Cistercian monastery at this time in the twelfth century rather than a more traditional and well-established Benedictine house locates Baldwin within a period of time during which different modes of religious expression were being explored. From the eleventh century onwards, the number of religious orders across Latin Christendom increased dramatically, and continued to the point that Constable was able to claim that the mid-twelfth century was 'more or less open season for all religious orders.'⁸ The result was the creation of an entire spectrum of religious orders with many slight differences in style and emphasis that added up to major distinctions between them.⁹ What each of these new orders did hold in common was an ascetic aspiration to a communal existence, based upon readings of the life of Jesus and his apostles in the New Testament.

Throughout the decades, historians of the twelfth century have proposed various explanations for this phenomenon of monasticism. It has been suggested that the urge to create new forms of religious life was triggered by a dissatisfaction with traditional Benedictine monasticism. Jean Leclercq called this crisis of monasticism a

⁷ See above, pp. 37-39.

⁸ G. Constable, *The Reformation*, p. 32.

⁹ C. N. L. Brooke, 'Monk and Canon: Some Patterns in the Religious Life of the Twelfth Century,' in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. by W. J. Sheils, *Studies in Church History*, 22 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 109-130 (p. 129).

‘crisis of prosperity,’ referring to how the prestigious wealth and social position of many of the Benedictine abbeys made their critics uncomfortable as they were no longer seen to be reflecting the ideal of poverty.¹⁰ Henrietta Leyser has also identified this ideal as a key motive in the increasing numbers of individuals choosing to take up the anchoritic life across Western Europe in the twelfth century. Whilst hermits had been a regular feature of the English countryside for centuries, the twelfth century saw the rise of a new class of hermits, who used the seclusion and isolation of the hermitage as a setting to launch criticism of corrupt and debauched ecclesiastical institutions.¹¹ These communities of ‘new hermits’ would become the founders and parents of new religious orders.¹² This argument suggests that reformers and eremitic innovators felt a sense that current monasticism had lost something of the motivation and intentions of its original founders, and had strayed far from the purpose of the apostolic life. There was concern that the *vita apostolica* had become a synonym for the monastic life, rather than a model for how it should be led. Therefore, there was an interest in reviewing and renewing the practicalities of the life of poverty and prayer found in the models of the New Testament, the writings of the Church and desert Fathers, and the monastic rules of St Benedict and St Augustine.¹³

Following on from this, there was a discourse concerning how the religious life ought to relate to the secular world. The eremitic life offered an opportunity to escape the worldly temptations of greed and materialistic ambition, made all the more apparent in the dynamic and growing economy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁴ It also offered a refuge from turbulent political controversy. For example, Henry Mayr-Harting demonstrated that more English people became hermits as a response to the changing political culture following the Norman Conquest.¹⁵ Some seized upon anchoritism as a means of escaping the bonds of oppressive social ties in order to

¹⁰ J. Leclercq, ‘The Monastic Crisis of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,’ in *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. by N. Hunt (London: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 217-237 (pp. 219-223).

¹¹ H. Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000-1150* (London: Macmillan, 1984).

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-28.

¹⁴ T. Licence, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society, 950-1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 4.

¹⁵ H. Mayr-Harting, ‘Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse,’ *History*, 60 (1975), 337-352 (pp. 337-352).

achieve the greater freedom of religious expression which they desired. For example, Christina of Markyate became a recluse partly so that she could escape the ties of her arranged marriage, and Wulfric of Haselbury similarly chose to live as a recluse attached to a church so that he might dedicate more time to a solitary existence of prayer and penance once free of the burdens of pastoral ministry in the wider secular world.¹⁶ Taken together, there were many reasons why the proponents of religious movements of the twelfth century were interested in removing themselves from secular society as well as unsatisfactory monastic institutions.

Explanations of the traditional understanding of the success of the Cistercian Order in its first century have always taken this into account. The Order has been described as the 'happiest synthesis' of eleventh-century spirituality, combining the best aspects of the eremitic and cenobitic life whilst eliminating the negative aspects of both.¹⁷ The fundamental principles of the original settlers at Cîteaux from the abbey of Molesme included a life that was more isolated from the secular world geographically, and organised around a greatly reduced version of the liturgy as practised in traditional Benedictine and Cluniac monasteries, but which they felt was more closely related to the liturgy prescribed by the Rule of St Benedict.¹⁸ They advocated simplicity in all aspects of their lives, allegedly keenly following the prescriptions for a simple diet set down in the Rule, and famously choosing undyed white habits in contrast to the black habits of the Benedictine monks. Through a combination of the ideal of purity and simplification in liturgical observances, the Cistercians were able to distance themselves in those early years from the reputation for self-indulgence of the grand Benedictine monasteries. In order to secure their independence from the world further, the Cistercians decided to try for self-sufficiency by incorporating the Benedictine ideal of manual labour more literally into their daily routine. However, to assist them with their agricultural work, and in order to make this a sustainable activity, they brought in a lay community of workers, who were invested as lay brethren at the abbeys, and provided

¹⁶ T. Licence, *Hermits*, p. 8.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42; J. Leclercq, 'The Monastic Crisis,' p. 229.

¹⁸ J. Leclercq, 'The Intentions of the Founders of the Cistercian Order,' in *The Cistercian Spirit: A Symposium in Memory of Thomas Merton*, ed. by M. Basil-Pennington, Cistercian Studies Series, 3 (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1970), pp. 88-133.

an innovative opportunity for members of the laity to participate in the new religious spirituality.¹⁹

In summary, this is fairly straightforward, yet there is still something missing from this picture. Whilst it is certainly very true for this period that individuals wished to escape from society in order to find God, the proliferation of monastic orders is symptomatic of another spiritual motive. Tom Licence has argued that in the case of anchorites in the twelfth century, the scale and nature of the movement actually reflects a new sensitivity towards humanity's common imperfection rather than any novel bent for individualism.²⁰ He identified this as a concern about sin, in an age when sin was coming to be understood more as something to be amended as part of an individual's personal relationship to God. Licence pointed towards a shift in descriptions of hermits, claiming that the native reverence for hermits in Anglo-Saxon England had become admiration for their role as penitents who adopted a life of isolation and austerity to perfect their souls for God.²¹ It was coming to be recognised, both within the monasteries and beyond, that anachoresis offered a means to overcome sin. Constable has also identified the twelfth century as a time when there was an intense concern with how the religious life corresponded to the 'personal reform of all.'²² This came from a new consensus that salvation was a possibility available to all walks of life, brought about by the proliferation of religious orders and the acceptance of variety and diversity, but not adversity, in different forms of religious life.²³

Inherent to this is the idea was that as salvation was possible to all, everyone must also be affected by the taint of sin, and whilst there are various means of overcoming sin, some means are more successful than others. In this sin-troubled age, anachoresis became a new 'gold standard for holiness,' as an act of spiritual warfare, developed to edify its practitioners, and to repair the damaged soul.²⁴ The nature of sin

¹⁹ D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, p. 215.

²⁰ T. Licence, *Hermits*, p. 198.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-122.

²² G. Constable, *The Reformation*, pp. 4-6.

²³ G. Constable, 'The Multiplicity.'

²⁴ T. Licence, *Hermits*, p. 114, 131.

and how it could be amended was accordingly a grave concern for Baldwin of Forde. In his sermons, he considered how it could be overcome by mankind collectively:

...there is... a certain sharing of sin and wrath, for nature is corrupt at its root, and its propagation is accompanied by [three things]: this corruption, original sin, and the wrath which this sin originally aroused. By nature, we are children of wrath, for we are all of us born wicked and miserable. The blemish of sin has so infected human nature that it cannot be cleaned by lye, or soap, or anything else we use to wash and clean ourselves, but only by the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, into whose death we are baptised.²⁵

Baldwin was referring here to an Augustinian interpretation of the original sin, a sin that is transferred to all of mankind as a result of Adam's disobedience in the Garden of Eden. This provided the basis for God to be angry with mankind. Baldwin's audience was impressed with the need to rid themselves of this taint, and make amends to God by purifying themselves, in the example set by the model of Jesus Christ. He argued that God had given a model of life by which salvation can be achieved by the individual, and this was the life led by Christ and given to his apostles. The inheritors of the apostolic lifestyle have been commanded by God to despise temporal matters: 'the self-glorification of human pride, the malice of jealousy, the quarrels of cupidity, and the delights of sensual pleasures.'²⁶

The concern for sin as a human phenomenon needing to be addressed partly accounts for the rise of a growing eremitical spirituality amongst certain groups of reforming religious thinkers in the twelfth century, yet it does not explain satisfactorily why this period in time witnessed a surge in cenobitic communities instead. The answer lies in a certain suspicion about the arbitrary life of the hermit, which can be seen reflected in the Benedictine Rule. The Rule is very specific on the danger of life outside of a community. For example, the 'Sarabaites' who sometimes live in twos or threes, or the 'Gyrovagues' who live alone, live a detestable life, for they live a life 'without a shepherd.'²⁷ Life without a shepherd entailed inherent, and unnecessary, dangers, as

²⁵ *S. T.*, II, p. 166.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

²⁷ *Rule*, ch. 1, p. 15.

there would be no guiding force for the hermit, other than their own will, to keep them from straying into error. Leyser has argued that in the case of those 'new hermits' who were able to come together to live within workable communities, the fact of cohabitation alone did not prove satisfactory, and that living in obedience only to a charismatic leader was not a sufficient guarantee against the pitfalls of an arbitrary life.²⁸ Therefore, they turned to the models of Scripture and the early Church Fathers in search of new rules, out of a desire for authenticity and consistency in monastic life and liturgy.²⁹

In the case of the Cistercians in particular, this resulted in a focus on the model of the shared life of Christ and his disciples, and a renewed interest in the attention paid to the bonds between members of a monastic community. The key precept of the monastic life as propounded by the Rule was that it was lived in a cenobitic community away from the rest of the secular world. This enabled the individual monk to live a life of charity, in which he could develop the necessary love of one's neighbour as oneself which was synonymous with the love of God.³⁰ As the Cistercian Order grew over the course of the twelfth century, it was this concept of charity, *caritas*, which became a focus for their spiritual experimentation. In large part this renewed attention was inspired by the observances of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. In a letter written to the monks of the Abbey of St. Jean-d'Aulps on the occasion of their abbot being elected as bishop of Sitten in the upper valley of the Rhône, Bernard gave this description of the true Cistercian life:

Our place is the bottom, is humility, is voluntary poverty, obedience, and joy in the Holy Spirit. Our place is under a master, under an abbot, under a rule, under discipline. Our place is to cultivate silence, to exert ourselves in fasts, vigils, prayers, manual work, and above all, to keep that "more excellent way," which is the way of charity; and furthermore to advance day by day these things, and to preserve in them to the last day.³¹

²⁸ H. Leyser, *Hermits*, p. 87.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4; G. Constable, *The Reformation*, p. 154.

³⁰ *Rule*, p. 13.

³¹ *Letters*, letter 151, p. 220.

What this way of charity meant for life within the monastery was a more attentive approach towards the needs of one's fellow monks, as a means of demonstrating love for one's neighbour. By taking responsibility for the spiritual needs of another, the monk could demonstrate his love of God's creation. Monastic writers, and especially Cistercians in the twelfth century, used the sayings of the desert fathers concerning the place of charity to encourage each other to form communities in which it would be possible for men to foster healthy relationships.³² The influence of this work is especially relevant for England. Anselm of Canterbury made monastic 'friendship' a desirable and attractive goal for monks from as early as the 1070s, whilst the later *De Spiritualis Amicitia* of Aelred, the abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx, set forward a series of written rules for the 'new friendship' which conceived of no gaps between love of one's fellow monks and love of God.³³ It has been suggested that Aelred pushed the boundaries of understanding for the role of friendship and *caritas*, but he certainly summarised the general attitude that one must do everything possible to secure the salvation of one's fellow monks, if one was to secure salvation for oneself.³⁴

When Baldwin himself joined the Order he was influenced by these developing schools of thought within Cistercian monasteries. In his sermon on the cenobitic life, he spoke of charity and love of one's neighbour as wonderful gifts given to sinful mankind, to allow man to be redeemed in the eyes of God:

If it be granted me from You above to love You and to love my neighbour, then even though my own merits are poor and meagre, I have a hope which is above and beyond all my merits. I am sure that through the communion of charity the merits of saints will profit me and that the communion of the saints can make good my own imperfection and insufficiency.³⁵

³² B. P. McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350-1250*, Cistercian Studies Series, 95 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1988), p. 194.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 210, 297.

³⁴ B. P. McGuire, 'Taking Responsibility: Medieval Cistercian Abbots and Monks as their Brother's keepers,' reprinted in *Friendship and Faith: Cistercian Men, Women and their Stories, 1100-1250*, ed. by B. P. McGuire, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 249-268 (p. 255).

³⁵ S. T., II, p. 190.

He even went as far as to say that this embracing of charity might be able to enlighten some individuals even more clearly than faith itself, as the feeling of *caritas* is the closest mankind can get to the nature of God himself.³⁶

It would be wrong to assume that Baldwin was writing about the practice of charity within the wider world. Like Aelred, Baldwin pictured a life of charity lived within a communal environment, guided by a set of rules. These rules derived from the practice of charity and communal living defined by the apostles and especially the lifestyles of the angels.³⁷ Baldwin envisaged that the practice of *caritas* would be most fruitful within a cenobitic community. He explained this more fully in a sermon on the order of charity, in which he considered the text of Song of Songs 2. 5: 'Sustain me with flowers, encompass me with apples, because I am afflicted with love.' He allegorized the flowers as novice monks who were 'just starting, who blossom, as it were, with the beginnings of virtue,' and the apples as those older in the monastic life who had 'reached the pinnacle of perfection by the maturity of their conduct.'³⁸ Taken together, Baldwin presented an image of the Bride of Christ, in this context meaning a monk in a monastery, struggling with the burden of loving and trying to know a Lord she cannot reach, and yet so borne up by flowers and encompassed by apples that 'she veers neither right nor left, but presses on inflexibly and strongly to greater and greater strength.'³⁹ The significance of this image must have been clear to Baldwin's monastic audience; the life of a cenobitic monk, encircled in a community of his brethren, isolated from the troubles of the secular world and guided by a rule towards the life of charity, was the most secure way of achieving eternal salvation.

In her study on the understanding of *caritas* within the Cistercian Order, Martha Newman has suggested that as the monks used the term to portray both their striving towards the divine and their insistence on the communal life, *caritas* would also come to describe the bonds joining all of Christian society.⁴⁰ She demonstrated that through the accumulation of ideas and images associated with and used to expound *caritas*, it

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 161-162.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157, 164-165.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153.

⁴⁰ M. G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098-1180* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 18.

is possible to see how Cistercian spirituality could imbue the monks with a concern for the proper ordering and well-being of Christian society as a whole alongside their own monastery.⁴¹ These arguments should be viewed in the context of the twelfth century, when ecclesiastical writers, as well as monks, and especially those who had been ordained and studied pastoral ministry before entering a monastery, were interested in the nature and composition of society around them. As the proliferation of religious orders during the twelfth century caused ecclesiasts to realise that traditional monasticism was not the only way to gain personal salvation, the acceptance of diversity in forms of religious life gave rise to an appreciation for how the organisation of society related to the functions of the vocations within it. As a result, religious significance came to be given to a greater variety of social roles.⁴² What this came to mean was that the unity of Christian society was seen to rely on the correct functioning of each order in society, in conjunction with their neighbours.

This idea held a special significance in the monasteries as there was a recognition that the aims of monastic life could only be achieved in a strong and unified church. Baldwin himself seems to have agreed with this idea, as he preached to his monks at Forde about the cenobitic life about a 'communion of grace.' He argued that anyone who partakes of the sacrament of the Eucharist, never does so with strangers, for 'this communion of the just is the unity of the Church, and it keeps the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace in all the members.' In considering how this communion impacted on the life of the religious, he claimed that 'there is no doubt that this communion of grace which we are now discussing is essential for instituting what is normally referred to as the "Common Life."' ⁴³ The existence of this correlation, described as a 'communion of obedience and charity,' led Ludo Milis to claim that monasticism did not have a 'specific and distinguishable value-system, other than what any society in search of a good relationship with its Lord and its neighbour, could formulate, but it stressed certain of the ways to fulfil this relationship.'⁴⁴ This view does not do justice to the societal role which monasticism was constructing for itself at this

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴² G. Constable, 'The Multiplicity.'

⁴³ *S. T.*, II, pp. 169-170.

⁴⁴ L. J. R. Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men: Monasticism and its meaning to Medieval Society* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), p. 77.

time. Indeed, twelfth-century monks did not see their monasteries as institutions which were separate from the Church, but as an essential part of the Church and Christian society. Fundamentally, they advocated an ecclesiological view of monasticism with the belief that monastic communities constituted a church in miniature, with which there was a parallel to the entire Church.⁴⁵ The monastic community thus provided a social function in providing an example of harmonious and faithful existence to the secular world.

This idea of a special place for monasticism should be understood as fundamental in any analysis of the Cistercian mentality in the second half of the twelfth century. From the 1170s onwards, *exempla* collections produced within the Order reflected a conviction that the Cistercian Order was unique and had a special role to play in the Church.⁴⁶ This special role was equated with the creation of Cistercian monasticism as a model of ascetic and cenobitic monasticism. Conrad of Eberbach's *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense* provides an excellent example as an *exempla* collection for the edification of the Cistercian brethren. It combined a history of the foundation with the aim of proving the superiority of the Order over other forms of religious life. It did this by connecting earlier stories of the foundation of the Order, such as the *Exordium Parvum*, with a linear history of Christian monasticism beginning with the Holy Spirit's inspiration of the Apostles. The purpose of this act of creation by God was to provide humanity with a beacon of pure faith and Christian charity at a time when other monasteries were beginning to fall from grace:

E'en so, the fostering goodness of God,
Having taken pity on the ruination of mankind,
Aims to level for his own the way of dutiful love.
Hence the Cistercian Order shines brightly for you, fulfilling your
desires;
You see it gleam by spreading its light in the darkness,
That through it Christ, the most high, may gain many thousands of
souls,

⁴⁵ G. Constable, *The Reformation*, p. 21

⁴⁶ B. P. McGuire, 'Birth and Responsibility: Cistercian Stories from the late Twelfth Century', reprinted in *Friendship and Faith*, ed. by B. P. McGuire, pp. 148-158 (p. 148).

And the devil's cunning be annihilated.⁴⁷

Interestingly, similar ideas were expressed in a letter written to the Cistercian General Chapter in 1170 by Pope Alexander III. He expressed an admiration of the activities of the Order which allowed them to extend an example of the perfected monastic vocation, describing them as the 'vine of the Lord of hosts,' extending like branches towards a deadly poison which has sprung up and is visible everywhere.⁴⁸

The community organisation and charitable activity of the Cistercian Order in 'extending' towards the 'deadly poison' by providing a model of perfected monasticism was couched by Pope Alexander here in similar terms to the Cistercian ideal of *caritas*, whereby taking responsibility for the spiritual development of others was an essential component of cenobitic life.⁴⁹ In the light of this, episodes in which individual Cistercians began to criticise other monastic orders become more understandable. Bernard of Clairvaux provided the best, and most prolific, example of this. For instance, he wrote a letter to a former Augustinian canon who had been persuaded to return to the world by his uncle. Bernard started by saying that he recognised that it was odd for a monk to wish to address someone to criticise them, but he explained his motivation with two quotations: 'I have the same duty to all, learned and simple,' and 'Charity does not seek its own.'⁵⁰

Other Cistercians who wrote letters of criticism similarly invoked this idea of *caritas*, which is identifiable with the same *caritas* that was associated with the discipline offered to the monks at the daily chapter and the yearly General Chapter, which involved chastising monks severely out of a concern for their spiritual well-being.⁵¹ This rebuking and advice-giving implied the potential development of a hierarchy of monasticism, which seems to contradict Constable's suggestion of diversity but not adversity amongst the religious orders as a steady characteristic of the twelfth century. However, it does confirm that the Cistercian Order was

⁴⁷ Conrad of Eberbach, *The Great Beginning of Cîteaux – A Narrative of the Beginning of the Cistercian Order: The Exordium Magnum of Conrad of Eberbach*, ed. by E. R. Elder, trans. by B. Ward and P. Savage, Cistercian Fathers Series, 72 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2012), p. 2.

⁴⁸ *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis Ab Anno 1116 Ad Annum 1786*, ed. by J. M. Canivez, 8 vols (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933-1941), I, p. 77.

⁴⁹ M. G. Newman, p. 43.

⁵⁰ *Letters*, letter 2, p. 10.

⁵¹ M. G. Newman, p. 131.

experiencing a period of transition in its own self-identification as an order with a special role to play as leaders of Christian spirituality.

The Cistercian interest in order and unity extended further than the order and unity of the monastic world. They associated their efforts to control their own physical nature with their 'charitable' desire to help other monks do the same. Eventually they came to identify *caritas* to include their interests in ordering and controlling the material world and their sense of an ideal Christian society.⁵² For Baldwin, it seems that it was almost the prerogative of *caritas* to impact on the lives of all the faithful:

Charity orders the angels in their offices and ministries; it orders the life and conduct of the just in their occupations and endeavours; it orders the host of the virtues in their stations so that the ordered troop of virtues – that is, the ordered battle-line of the army – cannot be broken or routed by the enemy.⁵³

It is through such an understanding of monasticism that he, and others like him, were able to conceive of a place for monks to take a stance against heresy. Over the course of this chapter, this understanding of monasticism's role in society will be analysed more closely in relation to the Order's encounters with heresy. The discussion will consider how monastic values and principles might have provided inspiration to ecclesiasts trying to decide on the correct treatment of heretics, how Cistercian monks came to be personally involved with the phenomenon of heresy, and whether there was a resulting expectation of monastic involvement in the persecution of heretics. All of these phenomena would have had a bearing on the production of anti-heretical literature by any member of the Cistercian Order, including Baldwin of Forde.

Influence of the Monasteries

In 1166, a group of just over thirty men and women, German by nationality and language, and a few English who had been added to their number, were brought before a

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

⁵³ *S. T.*, II, p. 148.

combined council of lay and ecclesiastical authorities in Oxford, to be tried for heresy. According to the chronicler William of Newburgh the suspected heretics were formally interrogated about their religion and questioned on the articles of the faith. They found themselves needing to defend their beliefs against an onslaught of divine testimonies drawn from sacred scripture.⁵⁴ The confidence with which William narrated these events and their conclusions, however, is deceptive. Indeed, as William himself acknowledged, this was the first time that any English authority had had to deal with an incident of heresy.⁵⁵ As such there was no set procedure in place to deal with heresy, as there was no direct experience of official encounters with heretics. The event was certainly unique in living memory within the country, and it is not hard to imagine that leading ecclesiastics who followed the unfurling events might have discussed amongst themselves what ought to be done. The existence of a couple of letters drafted by Gilbert Foliot, the bishop of London during the 1160s, and Roger the bishop of Worcester, gives testimony to this. Gilbert wrote these letters in response for a request for advice from Roger, who had asked how these heretics ought to be handled during their imprisonment in his diocese, before the trial could be arranged.

Of interest for the present survey are the suggestions which Gilbert made and the influences which are apparent in his thinking. He drafted two letters to Roger. Although it is not clear that both were ever sent, it can be assumed that Gilbert had considered the matters treated in the letters in depth, and had possibly discussed them with others around him.⁵⁶ In the first letter, he outlined briefly the diversity of opinions on the problem: clemency, imprisonment, burning or scourging.⁵⁷ His sources here were the orders of Gratian and St Augustine of Hippo.⁵⁸ In the second letter he advocated something slightly different. He explained that Roger should hold the suspected heretics under strict and careful guarding and recommended that the men chosen as guards ought to be those who are 'good and serious men, men of proven faith, learned in divine

⁵⁴ *Newburgh*, II (2007), ch. 13.4, pp. 58-59.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, ch. 13.2, pp. 56-57.

⁵⁶ Gilbert Foliot, *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot, Abbot of Gloucester (1139-48), Bishop of Hereford (1148-63) and London (1163-87)*, ed. by A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 208.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, letter 158, pp. 209-210.

⁵⁸ A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 243.

law and letters.’ During the imprisonment, these ‘good and serious men’ were to communicate with the suspects in order to redirect them back into the fold of the true faith:

[they] should visit them with the words of holy preaching, soften them by admonitions, frighten them with threats and the fear of punishment, coerce them at times, with moderate severity, by scourges and lashes, and do what they can to recall them to the unity of the Church in all the ways charity may suggest.⁵⁹

Additional emphasis on the importance of this scourging was stressed later on in the letter; Gilbert reminded Roger that there are people who cannot be moved by words alone but can only be improved by beating. He emphasised that it is necessary for the protection of the good from wickedness, and the compulsion of the wicked to better things, that such individuals experience physical punishment.⁶⁰

The tone and wording of this letter is reminiscent of the treatment of obstinately disobedient monks in the Rule of St Benedict. Chapter 27 for example suggests that in the case of a monk being excommunicated for a grave fault committed within the monastery and refusing to repent, the abbot should send in the ‘*senpectae*’, or the ‘old and prudent brethren’, who may secretly communicate with the wrongdoer, and reconcile him with the rest of the community.⁶¹ Parallels can be drawn here with Gilbert Foliot’s suggestion of entrusting the imprisonment and care of the suspected Oxford heretics to ‘good and serious men.’ Further similarities can be drawn with his advocacy of the usefulness of a variety of remedies, of alternately talking with and beating the suspected heretics. Chapter two, dealing with the characteristics of the perfect abbot, explains that an abbot must adapt himself to the circumstances of each individual wrongdoer, amending his reproaches accordingly, and using swift recourse to corporal punishment in the case of ‘bold, hard, proud’ characters.⁶² Additionally, chapter 28 rules on monks who have often been corrected, but will not amend even after more severe

⁵⁹ Gilbert Foliot, *The Letters*, letter 157, p. 208: ‘...qui eos visitant in verbo predicationis sancta, monitis emollient, minis et metu penarum exterreant, flagris interdum et flagellis cum moderata severitate coherceant, et ad ecclesie unitatem omnimodis prout caritas suggeret revocare procurent.’

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁶¹ *Rule*, ch. 27, p. 77.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

punishment by the rod.⁶³ The strong correlations between the Rule of St Benedict and Gilbert's letters were more than coincidental. Gilbert and Roger of Worcester had a monastic background in common. Having experience of the monastic life could account for their turning to the precepts of the Rule for inspiration in times of confusion or uncertainty. Clearly there existed a community of ecclesiasts in twelfth-century England, of which Baldwin of Forde was also a part, with personal connections to the monasteries, which was developing into a forum for discussing the role of the *vita apostolica* in a society which was increasingly having to confront the reality of heresy.

Research done by Mayr-Harting suggests that incorporation of the Rule into a model for another type of community can be seen in other circumstances. In his study on the 1284 statutes of Peterhouse at Cambridge University, he found evidence of deliberate and frequent insinuation of precepts taken from the Rule of St Benedict by the author, Hugh de Balsham, the Bishop of Ely, and a former monk.⁶⁴ In some cases, practical arrangements were incorporated, and in other cases, the moral sense of the Rule was applied to the daily business and activity of the college. This study of the Peterhouse constitutions offers a focused insight into how ideas and principles which were inherent to the monastic way of life were adopted and adapted by a non-monastic community. It highlights the special relationship between the monasteries and other groups in society, which allowed such a transference of ideas. It is possible to identify the transference of broader ideas, for example in the development of lay confession in the years before the decree of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 mandating the annual confession of all lay Christians. It has long been accepted that the confession practised within the monasteries and regular orders nourished the spread of confession amongst the laity, and that the history of confession can be fitted into the context of the emanation of monastic ideas into lay society at large.⁶⁵

For example, during Anglo-Saxon times, some monasteries worked with the secular rulers in order to enforce monastic expectations of penance on certain offences.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, ch, 28, p. 77.

⁶⁴ H. Mayr-Harting, 'The Foundation of Peterhouse, Cambridge (1284) and the Rule of St. Benedict,' *The English Historical Review*, 103.407 (April 1988), 318-338 (pp. 328, 332-333).

⁶⁵ A. Murray, 'Confession before 1215', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 3 (1993), 51-82 (pp. 80-81).

In the case of those guilty of ‘many evil deeds’ including murder, adultery and theft, the secular power could force the offender to enter a *monasterium* to do penance until their death.⁶⁶ By the time of Edmund’s reign in the mid-tenth century, no man could petition the king after shedding the blood of a Christian man without first completing the penance appointed to him by his bishop.⁶⁷ A shift in later law-codes suggests that the acceptance of the need for penance was more ubiquitous. For example, the laws of Æthelred produced around 1008 contained an admonition that ‘every Christian man... shall frequently go to confession, and readily confess his sins, and readily make amends as is prescribed for him.’⁶⁸ This emphasis was continued in Cnut’s first law-code in the exhortation, ‘let us very zealously turn from sins, and let us all readily confess our misdeeds to our confessors... and zealously make amends.’⁶⁹

It must be remembered that in making law-codes, the king’s power was not absolute, and could only affect change or innovation broadly within the boundaries of traditionally accepted and practiced ideals of justice. Thus, to an extent, the promulgation of any piece of legislation must have presupposed a level of familiarity with and acceptance of the material contained within it. Far from being coercive mechanisms of centralised government, the surviving early English law-codes represent attempts made by kings to collate traditional and customary practices, whether secular or ecclesiastical, in one place as an attempt to encourage a greater degree of uniformity of practice across the kingdom. Therefore, this is suggestive of the existence of a consensus that such practices could be beneficial to the kingdom as a whole.

An explanation for this phenomenon has been suggested by Talal Asad, who has argued that in the Christian west during the middle ages there was growing concern amongst the ecclesiastical authorities for the religiosity of lay Christians, and that these concerns can be seen reflected in attempts to develop disciplinary strategies for an increasingly heterogeneous population. He saw a concurrent development in secular

⁶⁶ *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal Libri Poenitentiales and Selections from Related Documents*, trans. by J. T. McNeill and H. M. Gamer (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), bk. 1, ch. 7, no. 1, p. 190.

⁶⁷ *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. and trans. by A. J. Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), Edmund, 1.3, p. 7.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Æthelred, 5.22, p. 85.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, I Canute, 18b.1, p. 169.

authorities seeking to borrow disciplinary techniques from the Church, whether these were administrative institutions, inquisitional procedures or penal sanctions, and adapting them to their own political strategies.⁷⁰ The sanctions outlined from the Anglo-Saxon law-codes linking secular authority and jurisdiction to the disciplinary procedure of the monasteries, and the adaptation of monastic confessional practices for parish use in the lead-up to the Fourth Lateran Council certainly seem to prove Asad's theory that there was a link being formed between the activities of the monastic world and lay society.

The ubiquity of the Rule of St Benedict, the respect in which reformed monasteries were held at this time and the emphasis placed on the sanctity of the regular life would all have meant that turning to the monastic example for inspiration was a viable option for secular and ecclesiastical authorities. At the time in which Baldwin was writing the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* at Forde, therefore, there was a culture of taking inspiration from monastic ideals to change or improve the spiritual lives of the Christian faithful. This was also important in the treatment of heresy, and a good example can be provided by the development of a juridical procedure to be used when confronting the university masters. This development was greatly influenced by the involvement of certain members of the Cistercian Order, as well as by the sorts of patristic authorities which Baldwin explored in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*.

Wim Verbaal has identified an increasing procedural regularity in the treatment of several high-profile intellectual heretics at the Councils of Sens, Rheims, Soissons and Rome. The first key development was the arrangement of meetings of scholars and ecclesiastical dignitaries prior to the commencement of the official Church Council in which the suspected errors were discussed and a list of points to be denounced were compiled.⁷¹ The earliest example of this comes from the hearing of the suspected heresiarch Berengar of Tours, who had denied the plausibility of transubstantiation using grammatical reasoning, in Rome in 1059. The presiding officer was Cardinal Humbert de Moyenmoutier, who conducted the hearing by reading aloud excerpts from

⁷⁰ T. Asad, 'On Ritual and Discipline in Medieval Christian Monasticism', *Economy and Society*, 16.2 (1987), 159-203 (p. 160).

⁷¹ W. Verbaal, 'The Council of Sens Reconsidered: Masters, Monks or Judges?' *Church History*, 74 (2005), 460-493 (pp. 472-473).

Berengar's writings, provoking commotion amongst the assembly and causing Berengar to throw himself to the floor in a gesture of submission and to make no speech in his defence. Whilst there is no specific mention of a separate meeting having taken place prior to the assembly, it can be inferred that such a gathering occurred due to the existence of the list of excerpts produced and displayed by Cardinal Humbert, as well as the specially prepared text of the Credo which was revealed for Berengar to read before being ordered to ceremoniously burn his own book.⁷²

At the Council of Soissons in 1121, Peter Abelard was treated in a similar manner. Upon his arrival at Soissons in advance of the Council, he was ordered to surrender his books. The texts were then allegedly discussed in a separate meeting of bishops in the final day of the Council before they were denounced officially to the assembled bishops.⁷³ His treatment at Soissons served as a prelude to that at the Council of Sens in 1141. The meeting arranged prior to the Council of Sens in order to discuss Abelard's works again is more fully recorded, due in large part to the involvement of the Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux. In his *Apologia* against Bernard, Berengar of Poitiers mentioned the meeting, recording that Abelard's books were brought out after the dinner shared by Bernard and the bishops and that someone was summoned to read them aloud.⁷⁴ Bernard's influence in organising these preliminary meetings can also be seen in the later hearing of Gilbert of Poitiers at the Council of Rheims in 1148, which was recorded in John of Salisbury's *Historia Pontificalis*. John himself was present at this meeting and described how Bernard sent to all the leading churchmen, those distinguished by their learning, or sanctity or office, asking them to meet with him privately in his lodgings.⁷⁵ Once they were assembled, Bernard read aloud to them the offending articles extracted from Gilbert's treatises, having Geoffrey of Auxerre write the words down as he did so, and then called on Geoffrey to read the statement out again with the question, 'Do you accept this?'⁷⁶

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 471-472.

⁷³ Peter Abelard, *Abelard: Historia Calamitatum*, ed. by J. Monfred (Paris: Vrin, 1962), pp. 83-84.

⁷⁴ R. M. Thomson, 'The Satirical Works of Berengar of Poitiers: An Edition with Introduction,' *Medieval Studies*, 42 (1980), 89-138 (pp. 112-115).

⁷⁵ John of Salisbury, *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. and trans. by M. Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), ch. 8, p. 17.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

A few trends can be highlighted from these three examples. Firstly, there was the increasing regularity with which these meetings were organised and then recorded, which corresponds to increasing recognition of them as traditional procedures to be followed in certain circumstances. In his letter to the pope, Henry Sanglier, Archbishop of Sens, wrote about the procedure which was followed in the hearing of Abelard's errors at the Council. His tone bordered on the flippant when he explained almost summarily that he had gathered with the other bishops the previous evening, suggesting that he felt that the pope would have accepted this as routine, or at least as not out of the ordinary.⁷⁷ A second trend can be seen in how this procedure was rarely challenged. Significantly, Berengar of Poitiers, who used his account of Abelard's trial to mock the intelligence and moral standing of the bishops involved in the hearing, never questioned the authority of the assembly itself or its right to discuss and judge Abelard's statements in his absence.⁷⁸ Even John of Salisbury, who at first glance was critical of Bernard's behaviour, does not actually seem to attack the right of Bernard to call a private meeting to be called and to discuss Gilbert's work. John's readers are only impressed with a sense of injustice that Bernard had targeted one of his friends.⁷⁹

Precedent for the importance of convening a council of ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries for the trial of heresy can be found in classical sources too. Perhaps the best example of a source for this is Eusebius of Caesarea's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. It was demonstrated in the previous chapter that an important and recurring theme in the *Historia* was the activities of the great church councils and their triumphs over the heresies of the ancient period.⁸⁰ In one example, the council called to discuss the heresies of Novatus was attended by at least sixty bishops as well as many other presbyters and deacons. At the same time separate meetings were held by local pastors in other provinces of the Empire to consider what ought to be done, and ultimately to feed back information to the larger council.⁸¹ These smaller, concurrent meetings held in the localities provide a model for responsibility being delegated to

⁷⁷ Henry Sanglier, 'Epistola 337', translated in C. J. Mews, 'The Council of Sens (1141): Abelard, Bernard and the Fear of Social Upheaval', *Speculum*, 77.2 (April 2002), 342-382 (p. 369).

⁷⁸ W. Verbaal, 'The Council of Sens', p. 471.

⁷⁹ John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ch. 9, p. 19.

⁸⁰ See above, pp. 64-67.

⁸¹ *H. E.*, bk. 6, ch. 43.6, pp. 214-215.

different bodies by a presiding council, who possessed different sets of skills and knowledge, in order to come to an agreement concerning the treatment of heretics. It is significant that Baldwin of Forde chose to emphasise this legacy in his *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, as he added to the growing acceptance of the authority of group decisions on the outcomes of heresy trials. Baldwin's treatise on heresy therefore reflects the development of thought on judicial procedure, as well as the role of monasticism in the defence of the Church.

The ascetic life also offered a model for communal judicial decision-making. As has already been demonstrated, in the case of obstinately disobedient members of a community, the Rule of St Benedict presupposes that the abbot will be supported by the monks in chapter as well as the special support of the '*senpectae*', or the 'old and prudent brethren.' In addition to this are the special regulations formulated by the Cistercian Order. In the *Carta Caritatis* provision was made for the treatment of contumelious and errant abbots, which mandated that all decisions made, and actions taken against the said abbots, should be the product of a consensus between the abbots and chapters of affiliated monasteries. So, for example, if an abbot was suspected of despising the rule, prevaricating against the Order, or knowingly conniving at the faults of his brethren, he was to be investigated by the abbots of the motherhouse of his abbey and of houses affiliated to it, and by his brethren.⁸² In the case of the delinquent abbot being the abbot of Cîteaux itself, then the abbots of La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux and Morimond were to be convened to investigate and condemn the suspect at the General Chapter. If the situation were so dire that this would take too long to arrange, they should proceed to arrange their censures at an assembly of abbots who have been taken from the filiations of Cîteaux.⁸³ The insistence in these statutes on the necessity of communal decision-making and censure is fundamental. The similar emphasis on the importance of communal decision-making can be seen in the increasing regularity with which private meetings were arranged to discuss accusations of heresy ahead of general Church councils.

⁸² *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux: Latin text in dual edition with English translation and notes*, ed. by C. Waddel, Cîteaux – Commentarii Cisterciensis: Studia et Documenta, 9 (Nuits-Saint-Georges: Abbaye de Cîteaux, 1999), *Summa Cartae Caritatis*, cap. 5, p. 406, ll. 1-18.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, cap. 5, p. 406, ll. 19-39.

In addition, the correlation between monastic ideals and the treatment of suspected heretics in these circumstances can also be seen in another key feature of the juridical procedure outlined by Verbaal. This was the physical reading of a compiled list of errors, which were the products of the private meetings, and the official denunciation of the heterodox masters.⁸⁴ This proclamation did not signify an opening of a discussion or disputation; the denounced parties were not expected to make a reply to this formal declaration. Indeed, both Berengar of Tours and Peter Abelard allegedly remained silent and said nothing in their defence as they listened to the recital of their errors. This formal reading should be understood as one of the stages of a traditional ecclesiastical procedure known as the *correctio* or *correctio fraterna* but would become known under Pope Innocent III as the *denuntiatio evangelica*.⁸⁵ The basis of the procedure took its inspiration from Matthew 18. 15-17:

But if thy brother shall offend against thee, go, and rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he shall hear thee, thou shalt gain thy brother. And if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more: that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand. And if he will not hear them: tell the Church. And if he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican.

This passage had strong importance within the monastic tradition. A key precept of the cenobitic life was a regular life lived in pursuit of personal eternal salvation, supported by a community of like-minded individuals, living in unison. This included encouragement and friendly advice when appropriate, but also included drawing attention to the faults of individual monks to be addressed for the benefit of the community. The theme is reminiscent of chapter 69 of the Rule of St Benedict dealing with monks who presume to defend one another. Any monk caught defending the misbehaviour of one of his brothers, or drawing him into his protection in any way, was to be severely punished for incubating a serious scandal. Instead, the monks were encouraged to denounce the faults of any brother to the abbot or to the daily chapter.⁸⁶ In the Cistercian tradition, the *Carta Caritatis* provided an example of the

⁸⁴ W. Verbaal, 'The Council of Sens', p. 472.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 481.

⁸⁶ *Rule*, ch. 69, p. 157.

concept of *denuntiatio evangelica* as an important part of cementing solidarity and addressing deviancy and disobedience within a monastic community. This might in part explain the severity of Baldwin's tone in using vitriolic language when condemning classical heretics with insults in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*.⁸⁷ The strength of his language demonstrates the seriousness of the threat posed by these heretics to the communal life of the Church, as well as the righteousness of Baldwin's denunciation of them.

This association between denunciation and charity is fundamental in recognising the potential extent of monastic influence on the organisation of anti-heretical procedure. It can be seen clearly in the language being used to describe and define the activities of the Church councils convened in order to deal with suspected heretics by members of the councils themselves. For example, Berengar of Poitiers in his commentary on the Council of Sens recorded the opening words of the Archbishop of Sens at the commencement of the council:

Brethren, fellows in the Christian religion, in every danger you ought to prevent the faith in you from being disturbed and the sincere eye of a dove from being clouded by the stain of swollen pride. For it will be of no avail to possess all the virtues when faith is failing, according to the words of the Apostle: 'Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.'⁸⁸

It would appear that the Archbishop was equating the work of the council with an act of charity on behalf of not only the faith of the wider church, but also the faith of Abelard. Nowhere is this association seen more strongly than in the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux. His letters which concern the Church councils called to deal with Peter Abelard at Sens are highly illustrative. For example, his letter written to the bishops of the archdiocese of Sens to summon them together impressed on them the need to act according to their love of Christ, in which their sense of charity is implicit. He reminded them of their station as the friends of Christ, and their duty in this position to not desert

⁸⁷ See above, p. 56.

⁸⁸ R. M. Thomson, 'The Satirical Works,' p. 115, translated in W. Verbaal, 'The Council of Sens,' p. 478.

the Bride, the Church, in her time of peril, and to act as friends to her in times of adversity.⁸⁹

He expressed similar ideas in the letters he wrote to members of the papal curia who were rumoured to sympathise with the suspected heterodox masters. In one letter written to Guy of Castello, a cardinal priest who was said to have been a disciple of Abelard, Bernard wrote to explain the nature of love:

It would be to wrong you were I to believe that you would so love any one as to love also his errors. Whoever loves anyone thus, does not yet know how he ought to love him. Such love is earthly, animal, diabolical and harmful both to the lover and the loved.⁹⁰

The purpose of this letter was to enjoin Guy to unite with the Church in a denunciation of Abelard, by demonstrating to him that by allowing Abelard to continue in error would be detrimental both to Abelard and to Guy himself.

The combination of the perceived correlation between juridical procedure in the handling of heterodox university masters and monastic disciplinary principles in this period seems to be highly suggestive of a level of acceptance within the Church hierarchy, and indeed in the wider world, of monastic ideals. There was a definite acceptance of the utility and appropriateness of monastic disciplinary procedures in the secular world and in the treatment of heretics. At this point it is worth returning to the letter of Gilbert Foliot to Roger of Worcester regarding the Oxford heretics, and in particular Gilbert's reasoning for offering his advice:

For when it is a matter of the salvation of those subject to us, it is proper in charity for us, who have the name of father and the office of pastor amongst the people, to try out these [remedies] and similar remedies of ecclesiastical correction, which the examples of the saints have set out for us, lest we should ever cause any harm or danger to the salvation of our brothers by undue haste... I hope that through your prayers it may be supported by the guidance of the saints, whom he

⁸⁹ *Letters*, letter 237, p. 315.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, letter 240, p. 320.

has inspired more profoundly, and into whom he has poured his spirit with greater grace.⁹¹

The repetition of the mention of 'saints' is significant, as they have provided Gilbert's source of information, and their example informs the ecclesiastical procedures of the day. It is possible that one of the saints whom Gilbert was referring to, in connection to the confrontation and treatment of heresy, was St Bernard of Clairvaux, whose canonisation process was well under way in the 1160s. There seems here to be an acceptance that the life and principles exemplified by this saint, who in turn exemplified those of the Cistercian Order, provided a good example of the correct treatment of heresy. A level of co-operation between those providing this example and others within the Church who might have taken inspiration from it was suggested within Gilbert's letters. For Baldwin of Forde, it was obvious that monks should provide an example to society. In the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* the monks could be seen amongst those who had been 'tested with silver,' according to Psalm 67. 31. They had undergone the tests of the disciplined life so that they could not be corrupted by heretical lies and would stand out as an example to anyone more vulnerable than themselves.⁹² An important influence on the development of this part of Baldwin's thinking was Bernard of Clairvaux. Bernard left a legacy for the Cistercian Order exemplifying an active component to the contemplative life.

Monastic Involvement– Bernard and the Vineyard

Bernard of Clairvaux was one of the strongest personalities and spokesmen of the Western Church in the mid-twelfth century. Over the course of his prestigious career as the abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Clairvaux, he involved himself in a range of political affairs affecting the Church across Europe. As part of his endeavours outside the cloister,

⁹¹ Gilbert Foliot, *The Letters*, letter 157, p. 208: 'Hec namque et huiusmodi ecclesiastice correctionis medicamenta, que nobis exempla sanctorum proponent, cum de salute agitur subiectorum in caritate nos convenit experiri qui in populo patris nomen et pastoris officium obtinemus ne vel perniciem aut periculum fraterne salutis aliquid umquam prepropere statuamus... Utinam votis tuis sanctorum succurratur consilio, quos altius imbuit, quos ampliori gratia spiritus infundit.'

⁹² *L. D. S. H.*, p. 31, ll. 23-28; see above pp. 88-89.

Bernard provided a model for Cistercian anti-heretical activity, in both the production of anti-heretical literature, and the involvement in preaching against heresy.⁹³ As a result of this, he had a fundamental role in influencing the activity of the wider Church according to his interpretation of monastic principles. The legacy which Bernard left for the Cistercian Order would not only leave an impression on European society, it would leave an impression in the minds of Cistercian monks, including Baldwin of Forde, whose various writings, including the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, reflected many of Bernard's teachings.

Throughout the 1130s and 1140s, Bernard was involved in various episodes in which Church authorities engaged with suspected heretics, beginning with the denunciation of several heterodox university masters and leading to a career culmination in 1145 when he led a preaching mission against the followers of the heretic Henry of Lausanne. In explaining the objectives of his mission to Alphonsus, Count of Saint-Gilles, Bernard made reference to the biblical parable of the tares, saying 'I am drawn both by the summons and the plight of the Church, to see if the thorns and evil things of that man can be uprooted from the field of the Lord.'⁹⁴ According to Bernard, Henry had been spending his time in the south of France persuading foolish people to ignore the precepts of the faith on the grounds that the prophets and the apostles were in error, and only those who followed him could be saved from the inevitable demise of the world.⁹⁵ Accompanied by Alberic, the Bishop of Ostia and papal legate, and Geoffrey of Leves, Bishop of Chartres and the former papal legate to Aquitaine, Bernard travelled through Poitiers, Bordeaux, Périgueux, Sarlat, Bergerac, Cahors, Toulouse, Verfeil, St Paul on the Agout and Albi, in search of members of heretical sects.⁹⁶ At age 55, Bernard's role was to act as a model of an apostle who preached and performed numerous miracles to confirm and validate the Holy message.⁹⁷

⁹³ B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), p. 103.

⁹⁴ *Letters*, letter 317, p. 389.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

⁹⁶ C. d'Autremont Angleton, 'Two Cistercian Preaching Missions to the Languedoc in the Twelfth Century, 1148 and 1178' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1984), p. 219.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-136; B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians*, p. 99.

During this time, he enacted a larger plan of his own to extend the presence and influence of Cistercian monasteries across Europe and to increase the order's social and political network, hence cementing an active role in the Church for the contemplative, cenobitic order. In particular, he was keen to secure vital religious weak spots in Western Languedoc with monasteries which would be able to ward off heresy and serve as a source of inspiration to the faithful.⁹⁸ His efforts would have a profound effect, changing the physical composition of the meeting of the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order by adding new members, which would have still been visible when Baldwin attended as abbot of Forde. His efforts during this time would also come to dominate the mentality of the order, in particular his desire to make an impact by constructing a society in which the Cistercian Order could play a structural role in the formation of Church unity.⁹⁹ The crucial question here is how an abbot of the Cistercian Order could have ever come to play such a role at all, given that the foundational principles of that Order mandated strict observance of the Rule of St Benedict and withdrawal from the secular world. The way in which Bernard handled these issues would ultimately come to influence how the Cistercian order viewed their role in society in the years ahead, and would indeed lead to the moment at which Baldwin of Forde would begin work on the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*.

Bernard's understanding of the world rested heavily on the presumption of the existence of a *Rectus Ordo*, a divinely created order which permeated the universe, whereby everything had a proper place and purpose.¹⁰⁰ He took a very positive view of all groups within society, seeing a unity between their diverse roles which was beneficial to the whole order of creation:

It is impossible for all orders to hold one man or for all men to hold one order... Thus it is written: 'In my Father's house there are many mansions.' Just as there are many mansions in one house in that case, so in this case there are many orders within this Church... Further, their

⁹⁸ C. d'Autremont Angleton, pp. 142-144.

⁹⁹ W. Verbaal, 'Cistercians in Dialogue: Bringing the World into the Monastery', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order*, ed. by M. B. Brunn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 233-243 (pp. 239-240).

¹⁰⁰ A. Chapman, *Sacred Authority and Temporal Power in the Writings of Bernard of Clairvaux*, *Medieval Church Studies*, 25 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), p. 56.

unity consists here as there in one charity; their diversity, however, consists in the multifold division of orders and operations.¹⁰¹

Charity, therefore, necessitated the existence of a 'division of orders and operations,' which fulfilled the requirements of their order and strengthened the unity of the Church. In one of his sermons on the Song of Songs, Bernard outlined the basic framework of this structure as he understood it, by commenting on Song of Songs 1:14-16, 'Our bed is covered in flowers, the beams of our houses are cedar, our panelling cypress.'¹⁰² The 'beds' were the monasteries into which one could escape from the world and learn to live in harmony with the 'flowers' which represented the authoritative teachings of the Benedictine Rule and the Church Fathers. The 'beams' were the secular leaders of the Christian faithful who were tasked with ensuring the stability of the house of the Lord, and they were held together by the 'panels' supporting them. These 'panels' were a metaphor for the learned and disciplined clergy. The resulting image was one of mutual support; a symbiotic relationship.

The symbiotic nature of this relationship would be threatened if the various orders within it did not maintain their diverse operations. Bernard's recognition of this can be seen in examples of his letter-writing where he offered advice to monks who found themselves stepping out of their traditional roles. For example, in the late 1140s Bernard was concerned about Abbot Suger of St Denys, who, as abbot, had held influence as a royal advisor, confidant and biographer of King Louis VI, and who had also had to act as regent of France between 1147 and 1149 while the king was away on crusade. Bernard wrote to him to explain that no man should live in both the monastic and secular worlds, since such a dual life would mean the individual would be imprisoned between divided loyalties, which could in turn threaten the *rectus ordo*.¹⁰³

Bernard considered it fundamentally disordered for a single person to live two vocations simultaneously.¹⁰⁴ How then, could he reconcile his own simultaneous careers of abbot of Clairvaux and champion of the Church in various guises? Indeed,

¹⁰¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia*, translated in J. R. Sommerfeldt, 'The Social Theology of Bernard of Clairvaux', in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History*, ed. by J. R. O'Sullivan, Cistercian Studies Series, 13 (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971), pp. 35-48 (p. 38).

¹⁰² *Song*, II, sermon 46, pp. 241-247.

¹⁰³ *Letters*, letter 80, pp. 110-118.

¹⁰⁴ A. Chapman, *Sacred Authority*, p 152.

there are hints that Bernard was wary of this discrepancy between how he spoke and how he lived. In a letter written towards the end of his life to the prior of a Carthusian monastery, Bernard addressed the situation:

It is time for me to remember myself. May my monstrous life, my bitter conscience, move you to pity. I am a sort of modern chimera, neither cleric nor layman. I have kept the habit of a monk, but I have long ago abandoned the life.¹⁰⁵

Various historians have been struck by this use of the word 'chimera.' It has often come to be used to describe his personal misgivings about the contradictions he supposedly saw within his life.¹⁰⁶ However, this reading alone does not do true justice to Bernard's feelings on the matter. Holdsworth has suggested that Bernard's words in this letter should be interpreted more as a cry of despair emitted at a low point in his life, which perhaps borrowed from a traditional literary topos of humility and self-deprecation.¹⁰⁷ From the extract of that letter to the Carthusians, Bernard appears to be pleading for empathy from the prior, not for a condemnation. He appears to be exhausted from his life, but this should not be read as an exhaustion born of regret, but from the bearing of a heavy, yet necessary, duty. Instead, Bernard's confidence in his own righteous cause should be seen to have been binding on the mentality of the Cistercian Order, causing successive generations of monks to feel that they must take an active interest in the ordering of society.

The idea of a necessity to act is pivotal in understanding Bernard's anti-heretical activity. In some of his letters which discuss his involvement with heretics, Bernard repeatedly claimed to be acting in response to calls for his aid, because his aid was necessary. To Pope Innocent II Bernard wrote after the trial of Peter Abelard that he had initially refused the summons to the Council of Sens because it was not his place as a monk to become involved in a situation where the faith was being brought into 'the

¹⁰⁵ *Letters*, letter 326, p. 402.

¹⁰⁶ E. R. Elder and J. R. Sommerfelt, *The Chimaera of his Age: Studies on Bernard of Clairvaux*, Studies in Medieval History, 5 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1980); A. H. Bredero, 'St Bernard and the Historians', in *St Bernard of Clairvaux*, ed. by M. B. Pennington, Cistercian Studies Series, 28 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1977), pp. 27-62.

¹⁰⁷ C. Holdsworth, 'Bernard; A Chimera of his Age?' in *Essays in Honor of Edward B. King*, ed. by R. G. Benson and E. W. Naylor (Sewanee: University of the South, 1991), pp. 147-163 (p. 149, 158).

arena of controversy.’ However, he was eventually swayed by the advice of his friends who had feared that this absence would only serve to increase Abelard’s influence and the scandal of the people.¹⁰⁸ Almost a decade later he wrote to Alphonsus, Count of Saint-Gilles, about the impending preaching missions against Henry of Lausanne, stressing again that he was acting not on his own account, but on the orders of the Church, and that he did not act alone but in the company of two bishops.¹⁰⁹ In the *Vita Prima*, his biographer Geoffrey of Auxerre noted that Bernard was always reluctant to go and preach outside of the monastery, but that sometimes ‘when some necessity drew him out, he sowed the word of God over all the streams publicly and privately,’ and that he did so always at the command of the supreme pontiff or another patron who deemed that he should be present.¹¹⁰

The necessity which Bernard responded to most readily and most fervently was the defence of the Church. In the *Vita Prima* it was written that Bernard’s greatest desire was the salvation of mankind.¹¹¹ In his own words, Bernard could not bear to ‘keep silent about the injuries done to the Church, the misery of the needy, and the grievances of the poor,’ nor could he bear to see the Church suffer any more than he could ignore injury done to the papal see.¹¹² Similarly, Baldwin wrote that it was difficult to remain silent about the damage done to the Church by heretics, even if it was troublesome for sensitive ears to hear.¹¹³ In a letter addressed to all the citizens of Toulouse Bernard expressed a desire to fulfil their need for spiritual direction, claiming that he would not ‘count the costs’ if the opportunity arose for him to return to their city for their instruction and salvation.¹¹⁴

This burning desire to care for the Church was a fundamental aspect of Bernard’s teaching to his brethren about the essence of monastic intervention into the lay world

¹⁰⁸ *Letters*, letter 239, p. 319.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, letter 317, p. 389.

¹¹⁰ *The First Life of Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans by H. Costello, Cistercian Fathers Series, 76 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2015), bk. 3, p. 154.

¹¹¹ *The First Life*, bk. 3, pp. 174-176.

¹¹² *Letters*, letter 244, p. 325; Letter 242, p. 323.

¹¹³ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 40, ll. 15-16: ‘Non sum nescius quam sit grave et absurdum religiosi auribus indigna de deo audire.’

¹¹⁴ *Letters*, letter 318, p. 390.

and ascetical vigilance.¹¹⁵ His sermons on the Song of Songs are of crucial importance in understanding Bernard's teachings on the monastic life. According to patristic and medieval tradition, Solomon wrote three books of scripture: Proverbs for children in the faith, as it dealt with good behaviour, Ecclesiastes for adults as it discussed the created world, and the Song of Songs for those perfected in the faith and concerned with speculative and intellectual truths.¹¹⁶ For Bernard, the Song of Songs held messages within the complexities of its imagery which could enlighten its monastic audience and lead them into the perfection of their vocation. The abbey of Forde had a special relationship to these sermons as one of its sons, John, a protégé of Baldwin's, was commissioned by the abbot of Cîteaux to complete Bernard's unfinished commentary.¹¹⁷

Of particular importance for the study of heresy is Bernard's interpretation of the imagery within Song of Songs 2:15, 'Catch us the little foxes that destroy the vines, for our vine has flowered.' In medieval exegesis, the vineyard was a metaphor for the world, and the foxes which attack it were the heretics who disrupted the faith. Bernard elaborated on this across the course of sermons 63 to 66, in a way which encouraged a fluid interpretation of important imagery and which advocated a greater monastic interest, and perhaps involvement, in the world. Sermons 65 and 66 are the most familiar to historians of heresy, as they are concerned with the rapid rise of the popularity of Catharism in Southern France. The sermons were written in response to a letter sent to him by Eberwin of Steinfeld, who had asked for help in confronting the errors of two groups of heretics found in Cologne. The two sermons, however, have to be understood in the context of the previous two, for they were written to be part of a programme of sermons, originally intended to be delivered to a monastic audience. Read in this way, Bernard's interest in heresy becomes more complex than a response to a friend's letter.

¹¹⁵ M. Smith, 'Contemplation and Action in the Pastoral Theology of St. Bernard', in *The Influence of Saint Bernard: Anglican Essays with an Introduction by Jean Leclercq OSB*, ed. by B. Ward (Oxford: S. L. G. Press, 2011), pp. 11-23 (p. 16).

¹¹⁶ G. R. Evans, *The Mind of St Bernard of Clairvaux* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 111-112.

¹¹⁷ C. J. Holdsworth, 'John of Forde,' pp. 120-121; C. J. Holdsworth, 'Another Stage', pp. 19-21.

In sermon 63, the first dealing with the passage, Bernard explained at length to his monastic audience how the vine, and the setting of the vineyard, was to be understood to refer to the soul of each individual monk. 'To a wise man the vineyard means his life, his soul, his conscience,' and as such, the wise man always has a care to ensure that nothing within it is kept uncultivated.¹¹⁸ As a demonstration of an exemplary life, the wise man's virtues grow with the cultivated vine, his good deeds reach out to others as branches, and the wine he produces is a witness to his good conscience.¹¹⁹ The vineyard of the wise man can thus become an example and source of inspiration for others through the branches and wine it produces. The contrasting image is the vineyard of the not-so-wise man, which is barren and disorderly. The audience is impressed with the sense that they alone possess the knowledge and specialist skills of cultivation; indeed, these are the prerogatives of the monastic vocation. This becomes particularly important once the foxes are introduced, the 'infestations and infiltrations' which the wise man will uncover whilst cultivating the vineyard, or considering his soul.¹²⁰

The foxes were described as the temptations with which a monk might be faced, and more detail was given about them in sermon 64. Bernard stressed that there are different temptations which will occur to a monk at different times during his life.¹²¹ He detailed four main categories of temptation, but what was significant about each example was how the negative impacts of each are said to damage not only the individual monk, but also those around him. Thus, the vineyard became not only a metaphor for the individual soul, but also for the monastery. The fluidity of this interpretation forced the monks to consider how far the consequence of an individual action or oversight might have an impact on a much wider setting. For example, a monk who falls prey to the third kind of fox and becomes lukewarm in his fervour and observance might cause harm to the prosperity of the monastery-vineyard by becoming slack and dissolute in the cultivation of his own soul-vine.¹²² Equally dangerous was the

¹¹⁸ *Songs*, III (1979), sermon 63, p. 162.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, sermon 64, pp. 169-172.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 172.

monk who becomes tempted by excessive and superstitious abstinence, which would cause him to become a burden to himself and to everyone around him.¹²³

The conclusion which can be drawn so far from Bernard's exposition is that foxes, like vines, are a monastic concern. This is further impressed by the repetition of the idea that Bernard's monastic audience are the bearers of specialist skills and knowledge which cause them to be more effective fox-catchers. Bernard explained that the foxes are described as 'little,' not because of their physical size, but on account of their subtlety, and their ability to disguise themselves as virtues. As such, they cannot be easily identified and dealt with,

...except by the perfect and the experienced, and by such as have the eyes of their souls enlightened for the discernment of good and evil spirits, so that they can say with the Apostle Paul; 'We are not ignorant of the designs of Satan,' or of his thoughts.¹²⁴

Once again, the same idea was reflected in Baldwin of Forde's *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. In the preface, Baldwin confidently asserted that as the Apostle was not ignorant of the ways of Satan, and the ideas of the heretics which contradicted the Church are a part of Satan's treachery, then the heirs to the Apostle could not succumb to them.¹²⁵ Furthermore, both Bernard and Baldwin agreed that the special power of discernment set the defenders of the faith apart from other vocations as having a special place within the order of the Church.¹²⁶

At other points throughout his sermons, Bernard highlighted how it is only on his friends and lovers that God confers the special power of discernment.¹²⁷ At the same time, Bernard impressed on his audience that this gift was not meant for the benefit of the monks alone, and that the possessors of discernment had a particular duty to share it appropriately. For example, in commenting on the dangers posed by individuals who begin to impart information to others by faulty and immature teaching, Bernard also

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 172-173.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

¹²⁵ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 30, ll. 9-12: 'Non ignorat apostolus astucias sathane. Et quidem cogitationes hereticorum contra nos de astuciis sunt sathane. Illas ergo denudare oportet quia detectione subdole falsitatis quedam declaration est manifestande veritatis.'

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29, ll. 20-23.

¹²⁷ *Songs*, II, sermons 23, pp. 25-41; sermon 24, pp. 42-49.

mentioned the added danger of ‘a useless or rather blameable silence,’ which can be prompted by fear, sloth or ill-judged humility in men with the gifts of knowledge and eloquence. It would appear that for Bernard, failing to enlighten others when in the possession of truly divine knowledge and discernment could be tantamount to heresy, because ‘there is as much danger of keeping for ourselves what is given to us for others as of giving to others what is meant for ourselves.’¹²⁸ Likewise, in the sermons on the foxes in the vineyard, the monks were given the message that it would be dangerous for the prosperity of the monastery-vineyard as well as their own soul-vines were they not to use their specialist skills as cultivators to capture the temptation-foxes. In this case, the fluidity of Bernard’s interpretation of imagery expands the role of the contemplative life into wider fields of activity, because it is through contemplation that these special skills can be gained.

Towards the end of sermon 64, Bernard chose to develop a third interpretation of the metaphorical vines and foxes, which was that the vine also represented the congregation of the Christian faithful, and the foxes were the heretics who threatened them.¹²⁹ The ease with which this interpretation was introduced suggests that Bernard was confident that this idea was a familiar one to his audience. Following the flow of his earlier argument, it would seem that Bernard hoped his audience would be able to see how the phenomenon of heresy within the world-vineyard could have repercussions for the monastery-vineyard and soul-vines. He achieved this by remaining fluid in his interpretation of the key imagery of the Song of Songs. The concerns of the world were brought legitimately within the remit of monastic concern.

Bernard voiced a connection between the monastic vocation and the world:

And the more I dwell on our domestic matters, the less use I am in matters of concern. I am greatly troubled for that vine when I see the multitude of those who would spoil it, the small number of its defenders, and the difficulty of its defence.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, I. sermon 18, pp. 133-139.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, III, sermon 64, p. 175.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, sermon 65, pp. 179-180.

Echoing his sentiments on wise men who keep for themselves the enlightenment which was meant for others, Bernard felt disturbed to think that the Church should suffer in the struggle against heresy when there were capable minds which should be turned outwards to combat it.

Frequently Bernard questioned his audience to force them to turn their minds from the contemplative world to the outer world: 'What is your opinion brothers? If he remains obdurate, and refuses to obey the Gospel, or to assent to the Church's teaching, how can you hesitate?'¹³¹ 'Does the Gospel not condemn the man who offends someone within the Church? ...Help me friends, to catch him.'¹³² He further reminded them of their duty as friends and lovers of the bridegroom to defend the Church, and in this sense allowed for his monks to view the active life of the world as a part of their contemplative world. Their contemplative vocation was not diminished by being a life of active concern for the welfare of the Church. Their vocation demanded that they honour their special relationship to the Bridegroom, Christ, by watching over the Bride, who has been asked to go into the vineyard to capture the foxes.¹³³ The Bridegroom did not make this order just for his own benefit, but for 'us along with him'; therefore, an active concern for the welfare of the Church had to become a part of the contemplative, monastic vocation.¹³⁴ In a significant section of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* Baldwin can be seen to grapple with these issues. This was where he seemed to be struggling with anticipated criticism that, as a monk, he was probably expected to remain silent, and leave the defence of the Church to others. However, it was his care for the health of the Church, and his joy in seeing it defended and strengthened, that encouraged him to continue writing.¹³⁵

The reconfiguration of the active and contemplative lives was not the only legacy which Bernard would leave for the Cistercian Order that would mould its future interactions with heresy. Over the course of his career he also set precedents for future anti-heretical activity by advocating two responses to heresy.¹³⁶ These responses were

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 184.

¹³³ G. R. Evans, *The Mind*, pp. 222-223.

¹³⁴ *Songs*, III, sermon 65, p. 175.

¹³⁵ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 40, ll. 22-24, p. 41, ll. 13-16.

¹³⁶ M. G. Newman, p. 226.

very much informed by his understanding of the relationship between the monasteries, the Church and the world. The first was that heretics were to be ostracised both politically and religiously, and this argument can be linked to several facets of Bernard's thinking about the nature of society. His anti-heretical writings contained in the sermons on the Song of Songs and his letters demonstrate that he was worried about the historic role of heretics as aggressors within society who have the potential to undermine the *rectus ordo*. At many points, he seemed agitated about the relationship between the heretics of his own times and those of the ancient heretics, which proved that the ancient and diabolical forces which worked to undermine the authority and unity of the Church were still as strong in the modern day as they had been in the past. For example, in sermon 66, Bernard chose to gloss over the differences of the two heretical groups described to him by Eberwin of Steinfeld in his letter, instead focusing more on the danger heretics posed to the faithful.¹³⁷

Connected with this was his preoccupation with the relationships between contemporary heretics, which augmented his portrayal of heresy as an inherited corruption. In a letter to Pope Innocent II concerning the errors of Peter Abelard, Bernard wrote 'Goliath advances tall of body, girt in the noble accoutrements of war and preceded by his armour bearer, Arnold of Brescia.'¹³⁸ The association between Abelard and Arnold is far more than an attempt to demonize both men, and has a long history going back to the time of Arnold's expulsion from Italy in 1139, and the Council of Sens in 1141.¹³⁹ It is further evidence of Bernard's conception of heresy as an eternal, diabolically-inspired aggressor against the unity and stability of the Church and Christian society. It is clear from the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* that Baldwin shared this conception of heresy, as he persistently drew links between the classical heretics, demonstrating how they were all descendants of the diabolically-inspired Simon Magus in a genealogy of diverse heretical depravities.

Bernard's concern with ostracising heretics was also related to his understanding of how quickly heresy could spread within certain circumstances. For

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 220; *Songs*, III, sermon 66, pp. 190-195.

¹³⁸ *Letters*, letter 239, p. 318.

¹³⁹ C. J. Mews, 'The Council of Sens', p. 352.

example, Abelard's writings on the inability of corrupt clergy to administer the sacraments had the potential to fan the flames of political disruption within urban communities, which was characterised by criticism of the clergy. It was inside urban communes that Arnold of Brescia was able to find support for his contempt against what he saw as morally inept clergymen, and the potential for him to unite with Abelard threatened to allow this strand of heresy to attack the traditional structures of the Church across Europe.¹⁴⁰ Even more than this, Bernard feared the connections that heretics could have with important political figures, and what this could mean for the pace and scale of dissemination of heretical ideas.

In many of his letters to members of the papal curia after the Council of Sens, Bernard alleged that copies of Abelard's books were circulating within the curia itself; the threat which this posed to the theological principles of the Church hierarchy must have been terrifying to him.¹⁴¹ In addition to this, there was fear within Bernard's network of immediate friends about how far Abelard's books were travelling outside an organised framework. William of St Thierry wrote to Bernard warning him of how far Abelard's books had been disseminated, and Bernard then relayed some of these concerns to the Pope by claiming that there was widespread debate about traditional doctrines taking place in France, and even that his 'poisonous writings' were being discussed on every crossroad!¹⁴²

Related to the perceived rapidity with which heretical errors were being disseminated into the hearts of the simple faithful was a concern about the heretic's potential to usurp the role of the teacher and defender of the faith. Throughout his dealings with heterodox university masters, Bernard was especially concerned about their students, and the impact of erroneous teaching on them. For example, Bernard travelled to Paris to preach to the students at the University there in order to convert young men away from Abelard towards the monasteries. Bernard's concern for these students was allegedly so great that when he once failed to convert a group, he was moved to great fits of tears. The episode was recorded in Conrad of Eberbach's

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 361-364; A. Chapman, p. 87.

¹⁴¹ *Letters*, letter 241, p. 322; letter 242, p. 323; letter 243, p. 324; letter 248, p. 327; letter 249, p. 329.

¹⁴² William of Saint-Thierry, 'Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei', translated in C. J. Mews, 'The Council of Sens', p. 364; *Letters*, letter 239, p. 318.

Exordium Magnum, where it was explained that Bernard was so moved because he was 'entirely aflame with the fire of love and entirely absorbed in God,' and desired nothing but to 'lead the erring into the way of truth and gain their souls for Christ.'¹⁴³ Bernard cried because he believed that he had failed in his duty to God in failing to convert the students.

As has been demonstrated, Bernard considered it part of his vocation to protect the trust and confidence of ordinary Christians in what they were taught about the Church and their faith. Historians who have studied Bernard's theological works have commented on his prodigious skill for simplifying difficulties and making abstruse matters of the faith plain, which caused him to be an excellent persuader of the doubtful.¹⁴⁴ His awareness of the importance of this role and his experience of preaching to the 'simple faithful' during the 1145 preaching campaign inevitably led him to the conclusion that ostracizing heretics was the best means of protecting these people. He might also have been informed by his understanding of *caritas*, which would have led him to realise that once the heretics had been expelled from the Church, he was no longer duty-bound to be concerned for their spiritual well-being, only for their potential effect on other members of the Church.¹⁴⁵

This conclusion is slightly at odds with Bernard's earlier thinking on the best way to deal with heretics. In his sermons, Bernard wrote, 'Let it not be supposed however, that it is a small and unimportant thing for a man to vanquish a heretic and refute his heresies.'¹⁴⁶ It will be remembered that in writing to Bernard to produce these sermons, Eberwin of Steinfeld asked him for a text that would be able to clearly outline and refute the errors of heretics, and it appears from the form of sermons 65 and 66 that Bernard shared with him a certain conviction that clear reasoning whilst preaching to or debating with heretics was the best method to achieve a heretic's conversion.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Conrad of Eberbach, bk. 2, ch. 13, p. 144.

¹⁴⁴ G. R. Evans, *The Mind*, p. 147; G. R. Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, Great Monastic Thinkers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 113; C. Holdsworth, 'Bernard,' p. 154.

¹⁴⁵ M. G. Newman, p. 228.

¹⁴⁶ *Songs*, III, sermon 64, p. 176.

¹⁴⁷ B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians*, pp. 84-86.

At the same time, however, Bernard also made provision for truly obstinate individuals to be shunned or driven away. Over time, Bernard's view on the issue seems to have been swayed more in favour of the latter option. In his letter to Guy, the papal legate in Bohemia, who had befriended Arnold of Brescia, Bernard asked whether the legate had hoped that by knowing his enemy better, he might be able to more easily convert him back to the faith. However, Bernard quickly revealed that he was wary of this approach. Despite the fact that it would be a boon for the Church to receive such an individual back into the fold, the legate was compelled to remember the warning of the apostles that any heretic who has ignored both a first and second admonition must be avoided, for he has been condemned by his own judgement.¹⁴⁸ Bernard's thinking on this left a palpable impression in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, where Baldwin recommended that for most people shunning heretics, or people who had come into contact with heretics, was the simplest way to defend against the spread of heresy.¹⁴⁹

Bernard's change of heart here might be ascribed to the experience he gained of the world whilst involved in various political and anti-heretical missions in the 1140s, and his omnipresent concern for the faith of simple Christians. One lesson he seems to have learnt from his travails is that in many cases the heretics of his own day could not be readily converted back to the faith; he recognised this with increasing urgency in his letter writing, in which his attacks on the stupidity, arrogance and wilful blindness of the followers of heretics become more vehement.¹⁵⁰ The relative lack of success enjoyed by the participants of the 1145 campaign must have confirmed Bernard's fears in this. His assistant Geoffrey of Auxerre, who was present on the mission, recalled that Bernard's preaching attempts were sometimes shunned; for example, at Verfeil, Bernard was preaching against the nobles' lax attitude towards heretics, until they left in protest, locked themselves into their houses and proceeded to hammer on the insides of their doors to prevent the townsfolk from listening to the abbot.¹⁵¹

Bernard's attitude might have been changed as he came to understand his lay audience more as well. One of his overriding concerns with the writings of Abelard and

¹⁴⁸ *Letters*, letter 251, p. 331.

¹⁴⁹ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 54, ll. 1-8.

¹⁵⁰ *Letters*, letter 317, p. 388.

¹⁵¹ *The First Life*, bk. 3, pp. 158-160.

Gilbert of Poitiers, for example, was that they were too complicated for the minds of the simple faithful, and that this unnecessary complexity was dangerous to those who might, at times, struggle in their faith. What they required instead was firmer examples of virtuous faith, and for their faith to be clarified through demonstrations of what was erroneous.¹⁵² This is evidenced through his concentration upon heretical errors which concerned prominent and notable matters, rather than what might have been technically or philosophically the central issues, because the former were the matters which were most likely to be discussed amongst the faithful.¹⁵³ Bernard's fairly contemptuous assessment of the intellectual capability of these people to recognise erroneous doctrine is made clear in his letter to Alphonsus, Count of Saint-Gilles, concerning Henry of Lausanne, who he claimed was able to use diabolical arts to 'persuade stupid and foolish people to ignore the obvious facts in front of them.'¹⁵⁴

Baldwin too seemed to harbour doubts about the ability of those who were simple in their faith to recognise heresy throughout the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, because they are portrayed as being easily duped by individuals who pretend to be virtuous.¹⁵⁵ The issue of protecting the simple faithful became so great for Bernard that, for their protection, he began to assert the appropriateness of ostracising heretics more eagerly, to the point of advocating forceful, even potentially violent, expulsion. In his letter to the citizens of Toulouse after departing from the city he said: 'so, very dear friends, pursue them and seize them, until they have all gone, fled from your midst, for it is not safe to sleep near serpents.'¹⁵⁶ This sentence certainly opened an opportunity to use physical violence to reject heretics physically from society, and Bernard evidently believed that this solution was preferable to allowing the people of Toulouse to continue to face the danger of 'sleeping near serpents.'

Bernard's second response to heresy was related to this. He advocated that secular and ecclesiastical authorities should cooperate in fighting heresy, and as has been seen, he included the monasteries in this category of ecclesiastical authorities. In

¹⁵² G. R. Evans, *Bernard*, p. 112.

¹⁵³ G. R. Evans, *The Mind*, p. 152.

¹⁵⁴ *Letters*, letter, 312, p. 388.

¹⁵⁵ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 51, ll. 13-19.

¹⁵⁶ *Letters*, letter, 318, p. 390.

many examples of his letter writing, Bernard implored his recipients to unite with the secular or ecclesiastical authorities in order to combat heresy.¹⁵⁷ One particularly interesting example is in a letter sent to Gregory, the Cardinal Deacon of Saints Sergius and Bacchus. In the letter, Gregory was asked to rise to his feet when Bernard entered the papal curia, as a physical demonstration of his recognition of Bernard as the incarnate manifestation of the righteous cause of Christ.¹⁵⁸ Bernard sought to emphasize that the need for the ecclesiastical and secular authorities in the capture of heretics should be a vital concern. He also created a role for the Cistercian monks who followed him to encourage this cooperation.¹⁵⁹

This was significant for the monks in a fundamental way. For all that Bernard was able to instil in them the appropriateness for them to have a care for the faith of the world, to perceive the dangers of heresy for the world-vineyard, and to advocate the ostracising of heretics, mere ideas alone were not enough to get the monks to agree to leave their monasteries for an active life.¹⁶⁰ Instead, the impetus came from the links and networks outside the monasteries which channelled information about heresy back to the Cistercian Order, and provided assistance to the monks as they worked to resolve them. In this way, generations of monks within the Cistercian Order after the death of Bernard of Clairvaux had expectations of themselves in the context of the struggle against heresy. Baldwin certainly seemed to have an expectation that it was right for him to have a care for the world, and to encourage the defenders of the faith to seek information about heresy.¹⁶¹ These expectations were shared by those in positions of authority within the Church and the world, who were inevitably connected to the monasteries by the grace of Bernard's advocacy of a joint approach to the defence of the faith.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, letter 238, pp. 315-316; letter 244, p. 325; letter 251, p. 332; letter 317, p. 389.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, letter 245, pp. 325-326.

¹⁵⁹ M. G. Newman, p. 229.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

¹⁶¹ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 30, ll. 6-12; p. 40, ll. 22-24; p. 41, ll. 13-16.

Expectations of Monastic Involvement

It is probably not possible to exaggerate the importance of Bernard of Clairvaux's teaching and theology for the development of the Cistercian identity in the generations after his death. In the *Exordium Magnum* of Conrad of Eberbach, the house of Clairvaux is immortalised as the perfect offspring of Cîteaux, thrice blessed as a sun for the world due to the merits of its most illustrious abbot. Bernard, in representing the perfection of both Clairvaux and Cîteaux, is said to have fulfilled the hopes of the Cistercian Order.¹⁶² His efforts as a defender of the faith featured heavily in Cistercian literature produced from the 1160s onwards, which was disseminated through the houses of this Order, and into the rest of society as well. Interestingly, due in large part to the hagiographical nature of much of this literature, many of the accounts of Bernard's anti-heretical activities which circulated within the Order were miracle stories. For example, whilst travelling through Sarlat, in the Languedoc, Bernard saved many from the disease of heresy by handing out specially blessed bread, which cured anyone who ate it.¹⁶³ At another town in the region of Gascony which was beleaguered with followers of Henry of Lausanne, the impression of Bernard's footprints, left in a patch of dust on the road, facilitated the miraculous return of a blind man's sight.¹⁶⁴ The miracle allowed the townsfolk to recognise Bernard as God's chosen, and helped them to throw off the dangers of the heretics.

In each story, there is a sense that it was by his virtues as a monk who had perfected his vocation that Bernard was able to perform such miracles. An excellent demonstration of this comes from another story from a town in Gascony, in which Bernard was confronted by a particularly wily heretic whilst preaching to a crowd.¹⁶⁵ The heretic hoped to ridicule Bernard in front of his rapt audience by criticising Bernard for the sleek coat and proud neck of his horse, in comparison to his master, Henry of Lausanne's, beast. Bernard replied simply that the feeding habits of animals were not an offence to God; instead, God was concerned only with the necks of the animals'

¹⁶² Conrad of Eberbach, p. 3.

¹⁶³ *The First Life*, bk. 2, pp. 150-151.

¹⁶⁴ Conrad of Eberbach, bk. 2, ch. 18, p. 152.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, bk. 2, ch. 17, pp. 150-151.

masters. He challenged the heretic to prove that his master's neck was not fatter than his own, and then threw back his hood to reveal a neck which was emaciated, 'yet by the gift of heaven... beautiful and white like the neck of a swan.'¹⁶⁶ At this sight, the heretic was humiliated into silence, and the gathered townsfolk rejoiced in the miracle that God had sent such a perfectly capable servant into their midst to combat the heretics.

Bernard's neck was presumably wasted because of his harsh and austere lifestyle as a Cistercian monk. Therefore, the moral of this story for its monastic audience was that Bernard was able to perform the miracles which vanquished heretics because he was a monk. By extension, the idea persisted that to combat heresy was one aspect of the perfected monastic vocation. This issue was addressed by Geoffrey of Auxerre in writing his section of the *Vita Prima*. He recalled that Bernard had said that he viewed his ability to perform miracles not as a commendation of himself, but as a rebuke to others, as a means of allowing him to demonstrate to others how they ought to live. Geoffrey argued that the only conclusion to draw from this was the Bernard's actions should be imitated rather than held in admiration.¹⁶⁷

Ultimately, this trend produced an idea that in the struggle against heresy, it was the divine authority of the Church's representative that was responsible for vanquishing heretics. A good illustration of this as a facet of Cistercian thought is the importance of the idea of apostolic inheritance within their abbey's foundation histories. The sense of connection to the past provided Christian communities with infinite models of virtuous life drawn from the Bible and from the history of Christianity as well as a strict standard for authenticity and truth as weapons against the corruption of later generations.¹⁶⁸ The lifestyle and accomplishments of the apostles provided a perfect model for the inheritors of their tradition. From the 1170s onwards, the ideology of the Cistercian Order was heavily invested in 'apostolic gestation' as the model of growth for the perfection of their vocation.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

¹⁶⁷ *The First Life*, bk. 3, pp. 166-167.

¹⁶⁸ G. Constable, *The Reformation*, p. 154.

¹⁶⁹ C. Hoffman-Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2000), p. 224.

Baldwin was probably heavily swayed by a popular idea that the Cistercian Order, above all others, represented the most perfected form of apostolic life, and that, as a result, they had a special role to play in the defence of the Church. Conrad of Eberbach, quite likely writing contemporaneously with Baldwin, suggested in the prologue to the *Exordium Magnum* that the devil himself recognised the Cistercians as his most potent enemy:

For while he torments and inordinately taunts
All worshippers of Christ
He assaults most of all those professed in the Cistercian Order.
He yearns to entrap those whom the grace of Christ defends,
For he sees them bewailing his own tyrannical law.
He gnashes his teeth,
And racked with impatience, he weaves a furtive net;
But he will gain nothing,
Nor will he defeat the fear-inspiring host.¹⁷⁰

However, by the time that Baldwin and Conrad were writing, the struggle against heresy had moved on from where it had been during Bernard's lifetime. This was due in large part to the rise of what would become known as the 'popular heresies,' most significantly, the emergence of Catharism. In 1153 there were reports of a new group of heretics discovered in the city of Arras in Northern France, then in 1157 a group of people were condemned as 'Manichaeans,' a term often adopted to describe the Cathar sect, at the Council of Rheims.¹⁷¹ In 1166, the group of German heretics was tried at Oxford, which prompted the production of the first piece of anti-heretical secular legislation in the Assizes of Clarendon.¹⁷² On the continent, in 1163 a group of heretics were burnt in Cologne, in 1165 a group called 'the good men' were interrogated at the Council of Lombers, and between 1167 and 1180 a group were prosecuted for heresy in Rheims; in all of these cases, the descriptions of the accused heretics matched a growing repository of descriptions of the errors of the Cathar

¹⁷⁰ Conrad of Eberbach, p. 2.

¹⁷¹ R. I. Moore, *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp. 80-82.

¹⁷² *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, ed. by W. Stubbs, 9th edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), pp. 170-73.

sect.¹⁷³ Perhaps most alarmingly, in 1167, it was reported that a council of so-called Cathar bishops had been held at St Felix de Caraman, and that sometime between 1165 and 1172 the Dragovistan leader of the Cathar Church in Constantinople, Nicetas, had divided the diocese of Languedoc into the four heretical episcopal sees of Toulouse, Carcassonne, Val d'Aran and the Albigeois.¹⁷⁴ It was becoming clear that a more co-ordinated approach than had existed before would be required to combat this new heresy.

At the same time, and during Baldwin's abbacy of Forde, the Cistercians found themselves very physically on the front lines in the renewed struggle against heresy. This was especially the case for those monasteries which had been founded by Bernard of Clairvaux during his travels with the purpose of providing a buffer against the spread of heresy. This can be seen clearly in a series of letters exchanged between Hugh Francigena, a monk at the Cistercian Abbey of Silvanès, and Gaucelin, Bishop of Lodève, which were the subject of a study conducted by Beverly Kienzle and Susan Shroff. Silvanès Abbey was one of the houses converted to the Cistercian Order by Bernard of Clairvaux in order to both expand the Order and to encourage papal involvement in Cistercian campaigns against heresy in the Midi.¹⁷⁵ The letters revealed an interest amongst the monks at Silvanès in certain matters of doctrine and scriptural passages which were important to Cathar exegesis, without actually mentioning the heretics by name, and a desire to raise some concerns about their interpretation to the bishop.¹⁷⁶ The choice of Gaucelin as the recipient is significant, as he was well-known for his activity against heretics, and it is clear from his reply that he took the monks' involvement seriously, as he raised issues about the interpretation of other scriptural passages which featured prominently in Cathar exegesis that were not included in the original letter from Hugh.¹⁷⁷ This single episode mirrors the Cistercian Order's concern for matters of doctrine and its involvement in combating heresy. It also provides an

¹⁷³ B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians*, pp. 110-111.

¹⁷⁴ M. Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 45-59; C. d'Autremont Angleton, p. 179.

¹⁷⁵ D. Baker, 'Popular Piety in the Lodévois in the Early Twelfth Century: The Case of Pons de Léras', in *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian*, ed. by D. Baker, *Studies in Church History*, 15 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), pp. 39-47.

¹⁷⁶ B. M. Kienzle and S. Shroff, 'Cistercians and Heresy: Doctrinal Consultation in Some Twelfth-Century Correspondence from Southern France', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 41 (1990), 158-166 (p. 159).

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

example of how certain authorities might have come to expect a certain involvement on the Order's part in the struggle against heresy.

In 1178, one of Bernard's successors to the abbacy of Clairvaux, Henry de Marcy, became a part of another preaching campaign to the Midi. As an abbot and attender of the Cistercian General Chapter, Baldwin must have been well-informed about these events. In the summer of that year, a delegation of some 300 men arrived at Toulouse to investigate charges of heresy made by Count Raymond V of Toulouse and Pons d'Arsac. The campaign lasted for between six to eight weeks and would leave an impressive legacy for the future of the Church's interactions with heresy.¹⁷⁸ The scale of this campaign compared to that of 1145 is extraordinary. This is not to deny the importance or severity of the earlier expedition; the status of the papal legates and of Bernard himself was such that the nobility of the Languedoc could not have misunderstood their intentions. However, a letter written by Henry to all the Christian faithful in 1178 demonstrates how the later mission involved the participation of a far larger number of dignitaries. He explained how the campaign came about at the command of not only the Pope, but also of the kings of France and England, and that he was joined by a papal legate, some dignitaries from Poitiers, and the bishop of Bath.¹⁷⁹

The involvement of the Cistercians in the endeavour was secured by Count Raymond, in a letter written to Alexander, the abbot of Cîteaux in 1177, asking the Order to intervene with King Louis VII of France, who was to provide military support to the legates in the Languedoc. The letter was read aloud at the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order in that year, but the only known recording of its actual wording is found in the chronicle of the Englishman Gervase of Canterbury.¹⁸⁰ This survival is testimony to English Cistercian abbots, perhaps even Baldwin of Forde himself, circulating the text of this letter around the Cistercian abbeys in England after its reception at Cîteaux, but it is also evidence of the widespread awareness within the Order of its own involvement with anti-heretical activity in France.

¹⁷⁸ C. d'Autremont Angleton, p. 192.

¹⁷⁹ R. I. Moore, *The Birth*, pp. 117-118.

¹⁸⁰ Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works*, I (1879), pp. 270-271.

The main concerns of the campaign were similar to those of the 1145 mission. The legates were charged with investigating accusations of heresy and the spread of the Cathar sect across the Midi, taking time to preach against the dangers of heresy to the faithful there. The changes made by this campaign to the way that anti-heretical activities were planned and executed show a clear correlation with the earlier concerns of Bernard of Clairvaux, suggesting that Bernard's legacy and teachings were still very much influencing the way that the Cistercians, as well as other ecclesiastical and secular authorities, thought about their roles. This can be seen in concern about the impact a teacher of heresy could have on a people who were simple in their faith, as well as the impact this might have on the dissemination of heretical errors. The new methodology with which the legates approached the investigation within Toulouse is evidence of this. Everyone was asked to write down the names of known and suspected heretics whom they were aware of, and these named individuals were then investigated, alongside anyone known to be in connection with them.¹⁸¹

The interest in the heretics' connections with others in society was linked to a concern about how far they could be disseminating their teachings. Members of the Christian Church who were familiar with the heretics, conversed with them, bought or sold to them, or even played host to them, would be much more likely to be sympathetic to their beliefs. The methodology used here would later inspire pieces of legislation designed to track the exchanges between heretics and Catholics, in order to understand the scale of dissemination of their errors, and to prevent them from teaching to more susceptible audiences. For example, at the Third Lateran Council in 1179, Canon 27 was drafted to forbid anyone from giving shelter to heretics, admitting them to their land, or transacting business with them, on pain of excommunication, with the purpose of defending the simple members of the faithful who were more susceptible to the heretics' point of view.¹⁸² To reinforce this, Pope Alexander, in 1183, issued the papal bull *Ad Abolendam* which ordered bishops to visit any parishes in their diocese which were suspected of harbouring heretics up to twice a year, to initiate proceedings against anyone previously denounced by sworn witnesses, and to judge

¹⁸¹ C. d'Autremont Angleton, p. 193.

¹⁸² Canon 27, translated in B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians*, p. 128.

and punish as heretics anyone who refused to take an oath to denounce suspected heretics.¹⁸³ Baldwin of Forde also expressed a need for the 'defenders of the faith' to be prepared to be vigilant in the pursuit of heresy, and claimed that his purpose in writing the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* was to equip these defenders with the necessary fervour to come forward, purge heretical error and respond to malefactors.¹⁸⁴

The second point to be made about the concerns of the 1178 campaign, and perhaps the mission's greatest legacy, was the renewed focus on cooperation between ecclesiastical and secular forces in the fight against heresy. The mission was, after all, a military expedition called at the command of King Louis VII of France and King Henry II of England, alongside Pope Alexander III, which enlisted the support of various papal legates and bishops from both countries as well as members of the Cistercian Order. Henry of Clairvaux appears to have had a significant role in forming this alliance, as his writings concerning his involvement in the campaign demonstrate a strong personal conviction that the ecclesiastical and secular forces should collaborate to eradicate heresy.¹⁸⁵ A clear example is the letter he wrote to Pope Alexander III in May 1178, before the start of the campaign, in which he wrote:

Truly it is necessary and in accordance with the word of the Gospel that there should be two swords here; we believe it worthy and honourable for you that your strivings for the good be joined to the zeal of the secular princes.¹⁸⁶

Linked to this are new themes which some historians have identified as deviations from Bernard of Clairvaux's teachings on heresy, and as innovations on the part of Henry of Clairvaux. The first innovation was Henry's efforts to equate the persecution of heretics with the waging of 'just war.'¹⁸⁷ He advocated the forceful and violent expulsion of heretics from towns and cities allowed by Bernard of Clairvaux but emphasized the glory for the expellers in their actions. In his letter to all the Christian

¹⁸³ *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, ed. by G. D. Mansi, 53 vols (Paris: H. Welter, 1901-1927), xxii, col. 478.

¹⁸⁴ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 30, ll. 2-5; p. 40, ll. 24-27.

¹⁸⁵ B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians*, p. 113.

¹⁸⁶ Henry de Marcy, 'Epistola 11', translated in B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians*, p. 115.

¹⁸⁷ C. d'Autremont Angleton, p. 194.

faithful he asked, 'Faithful man, why art thou anxious? Take up thy stone and sling,' and exhorts them by exclaiming, 'Glory be to God for [heretics] can be pursued, if not captured. Let it be known that they were destroyed by us, confounded, and that they perished among themselves.'¹⁸⁸ By contrast, the theme of violence is not apparent in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. This might be explained by particular circumstances in England. Since the condemnation of the German heretics at Oxford in 1166, Henry II had promulgated a law that required the cooperation of secular and ecclesiastical authorities in the capture, trial and punishment of heretics.¹⁸⁹ Perhaps Baldwin did not think it was necessary to participate in Henry's innovative campaign of violence bearing in mind this cooperation was theoretically more stable in England.

The second innovation that Henry introduced was the equation of heresy with the crime of treason. In his letters, he phrased his descriptions of heresy to demonstrate that it was a divisive and treasonous offence. For example, using the imagery of Joseph's multi-coloured coat to represent the Church, Henry claimed that the heretics sought to soil and stain it with their impurity, and to rend it apart with the 'Laceration of treachery.'¹⁹⁰ This equation worked to justify the physical punishment of heretics in the eyes of secular authorities, as the accepted treatment for those condemned of treason was, of course, capital punishment. Both ideas, of heresy as treason and prosecution of heretics as an act of just war, would come to have impacts on the future treatment of heresy, both in the procedure used to suppress it, and in its punishment.

In the decades following the 1178 mission, more campaigns were initiated against heretics in Europe with military support. The influence of the Cistercian Order can also be seen in these new initiatives, as Henry, now the Cardinal Bishop of Albano, became the first papal legate to personally raise an army and lead an expedition into a Christian land when he undertook a siege of the castle of Lavour in the spring of 1181 to capture and punish the viscount of Béziers for previously impersonating a bishop

¹⁸⁸ Henry de Marcy, 'Ad Omnes Christi Fideles,' in *P. L.*, cciv (1855), cols. 235-240 (col. 235).

¹⁸⁹ *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, ed. and trans. E. F. Henderson (London: George Bell, 1903), pp. 19-21.

¹⁹⁰ B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians*, p. 116.

and ignoring the admonishment of the Church.¹⁹¹ This set a precedent for a churchman to lead an armed expedition against heretics, but it was later extended by Arnould Amaury, abbot of Cîteaux from 1200, in his involvement in leading troops during the Albigensian Crusade.

However, from the point of view of these Cistercian monks, they could be seen to be fulfilling the role set for their Order by Bernard of Clairvaux. This role was to encourage the cooperation of the other vocations within Christian society, the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, in the struggle against heresy. The use of the terminology of 'just war' and treason made the issue of heresy more understandable and pressing to the secular authorities in particular, and can be seen as attempts to coerce them into the continued support of these powers. Indeed, the Cistercians, in considering the legacy left for them by St Bernard and their on going interactions with the followers of heretics, decided that they should be less concerned with the physical definition of a legal inquisitorial procedure or in distinguishing orthodox from heretical teachings than they were with encouraging the mutual cooperation of ecclesiastical and secular leaders in order to expel the threat to the unity of the Church.¹⁹² There are differences between Henry and Baldwin of Forde's depictions of heresy, but these can be regarded as less important as they were not interested in the specifics of the heretics involved, but rather in the wider phenomenon of heresy as a threat to the Church. Both shared a desire to encourage those who had a responsibility to defend the Church to cooperate with each other.

It is useful to consider the extent to which the influence of the monasteries was able to penetrate into the decisions made by the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. It has been seen that ideas endorsed by monks were incorporated into papal bulls, the canons of Church Councils, and in future encounters with heretics in militarily-supported campaigns. This incorporation of monastic ideas is indicative of a growing expectation of a degree of monastic input into a joint decision-making process. The ideas presented in the writings of men like Baldwin of Forde and Gilbert Foliot were a part of this process. Baldwin's work was written less as an actual manual on heresy,

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹⁹² M. G. Newman, p. 224.

more as an exposition of the role of monastic communities as collaborators with the episcopate which stressed the need for a renewed effort to expel heretics from Christian society. It has already been demonstrated that Baldwin was consciously contributing to a climate in which there was growing respect and acceptance for the usefulness of the monastic example and its efficacy for the world, as evidenced by the letters written by Gilbert Foliot to Roger of Worcester.

In 1178, Henry of Clairvaux found himself in a very interesting position. His usefulness and input were certainly recognised following the 1178 preaching mission, as he was elevated to Cardinal Bishop of Albano at the Third Lateran Council the following year. It is very likely that Henry played a vital role in helping to formulate Canon 27 of the Council statutes. Not only did this canon order for the punishment of associates and potential sympathisers of heretics, it also emphasized the importance of ensuring the support of secular leaders so that the heretics would be aware that they ought to fear that some severe corporal punishment would be imposed on them.¹⁹³ Although the formulators of this canon very likely took inspiration from other Church Councils which had called for secular force to support the spiritual judgement of the ecclesiastical leaders, Henry's presence and influence are still significant in this context, as the rulings of this canon bear many similarities in focus to the rhetoric of his letter writing. It can only be imagined that such recognition could have provided an inspiration to other members of the Cistercian Order seeking to further the cause against heresy and facilitated the granting of permission to those who wanted to write pieces of anti-heretical polemic.

It is also possible that there was a wider exchange of ideas about the dangers and nature of heresy between Henry and the ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries he met, and this is evidenced by a particularly unfortunate phenomenon. Henry was one of the earliest churchmen to make insinuations of homosexuality among heretics, and it is likely that his opinion on this matter played a decisive role in formulating the association at the Third Lateran Council. As a result of this decision, a ruling was made that clerics who were guilty of sodomy were to be deposed from their office and sent

¹⁹³ B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians*, p. 128.

to a monastery to do penance, whilst laymen guilty of the same offence would be excommunicated.¹⁹⁴ The use of the association continued and developed in some circumstances into a new vocabulary to describe heresy. For example, the word *bougre*, from *Bulgar* or Bogomil, often used as a synonym for Cathar, became *bougrerie*, which was used in the courts of Northern France throughout the thirteenth century to mean heresy, as well as sodomy and bestiality.¹⁹⁵ The decision of the Council also led to new connotations of the name Cathar: Alan of Lille continued the connection between heresy, homosexuality and bestiality by claiming that the name Cathar was derived from its followers' practice of licking cats! This idea was immensely popular and came to characterise many descriptions of the errors and depravities of the sect; for example, Walter Map wrote extensively of the rumoured ritual in which Cathars would gather in a darkened room and await the arrival of their master in the guise of a large black cat.¹⁹⁶

In summary, it appears that the monasteries had an increasing influence on the way that the nature of heresy, and the means with which it ought to be combatted, were understood in the wider Church. This ultimately led to a growing expectation that they would provide assistance to their episcopal counterparts, as well as to the secular authorities, and very likely to Baldwin of Forde's decision to write an anti-heretical treatise. This expectation that the monasteries would provide assistance continued to grow over the course of the last decades of the twelfth century, and into the thirteenth. The role now expected of them would become ever more active, and whilst it might not have been the role that Bernard envisaged, it was certainly a part of his legacy, influenced by the image he created of the true apostolic life.

One of the greatest driving forces of this change was the anti-heresy policies of Pope Innocent III, who rose to the papal see in 1198. In facing the many issues of his episcopate, including the reform of the clergy, the hostility between France and England, unsettled relationships with Eastern Christendom, and the perceived threat posed by heresy, Innocent hoped and expected to be able to rely not only on his

¹⁹⁴ J. Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 277.

¹⁹⁵ B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians*, p. 119.

¹⁹⁶ *Map*, dist. 1, ch. 30, pp. 119-121; See below, pp. 224-225.

archbishops and bishops, but also on the Cistercian Order.¹⁹⁷ He was especially interested in finding groups of people whom he could dedicate to combating heresy, and protecting the faithful from its effects. For him, the Cistercian Order had a lot of potential for this cause. He clearly admired their organisation for their filiation system based on mutual supervision, and saw them as ideally suited to act as crusade preachers and as frontier guards of the faith in areas where the Church might have had less authority.¹⁹⁸ Of course, this is very much in line with the position that Bernard of Clairvaux hoped to create for his Order when he planned the expansion of its affiliations along the frontiers of the Midi.

Innocent built upon this foundation in the final decade of the twelfth century by frequently appealing to the Order for their assistance. What he required from them specifically was their participation in an extended preaching campaign; he wanted the Order to place qualified monks at his service for preaching.¹⁹⁹ In 1198, he addressed a letter to the General Chapter of the Order to make this request, and the letter was preserved in the compiled Chapter statutes. In the letter, Innocent made the case that those who work within the Church must be aided at all times by those who are removed from it in the contemplative world. He used a metaphorical interpretation of the biblical characters of Martha and Mary to illustrate his points here. Martha represented the active life of the clergy, who must be occupied with resolving difficult matters of the faith by making obtuse and uncertain matters less ambiguous, and checking the attacks of malicious and wicked men.

The work of Martha was complemented by the lifestyle of Mary, who was taken to represent the life of the contemplative in the medieval world, by sitting at God's feet, listening to and embracing his words.²⁰⁰ According to Matthew 7. 7, those who follow in Mary's footsteps have asked for faith, and been given life, have searched for hope and been shown the way, and have knocked charitably on the door and been

¹⁹⁷ J. Bird, E. Peters and J. M. Powell, *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 28.

¹⁹⁸ B. Bolton, 'For the See of Simon Peter: The Cistercians at Innocent III's Nearest Frontier', in *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition*, ed. by J. Loades (Bangor: Headstart History, 1990), pp. 146-157 (p. 147).

¹⁹⁹ B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians*, p. 135.

²⁰⁰ *Statuta Capitulorum*, ed. by J. M. Canivez, pp. 221-222.

given the truth.²⁰¹ These ideas would have been familiar to readers of Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons on the Song of Songs. Innocent was trying to build on Bernard's themes by speaking of the necessity for them to take on the burdens and service of Martha, because by enduring tribulations and pressure in the active life of the Vineyard they will not only be profitable to others, but also to themselves.²⁰²

The reception of this letter marked a period of tension between the Cistercian Order and the papacy, as many monks were still reluctant to accept the active role which he was proposing. This did not entirely deter Innocent, as he continued to implore the monks for the assistance he sought. In May 1204, he issued the papal bull *Etsi Nostra Navicula*, which praised the Order for the various qualities which he felt made them well-suited to confronting heretics. It was because they possessed not only zeal, but knowledge, strength of deed, the word, speech more penetrating than a sword, and, most importantly, harmony between what they preached and what they practised.²⁰³

Despite the reluctance of some members of the Order, there was still a remarkable number of monks who did eventually respond to these exhortations. Following the examples of Bernard of Clairvaux and Henry de Marcy, Cistercians who were later involved in papally-sponsored preaching campaigns included Guichard, abbot of Pontigny, Ponce, abbot of Clairvaux, Geoffrey of Auxerre, Arnould Amaury, abbot of Cîteaux, Gui, abbot of Vaux-de-Cernay, Pierre of Vaux-de-Cernay, Foulques, the abbot of Le Thoronet and Hélinand of Froidmont.²⁰⁴ Of all of these, it was perhaps Arnould Amaury who was the most vehement supporter of what Innocent was hoping to achieve. He heard the initial reading of Innocent's 1198 letter at the General Chapter whilst he was still abbot of Grandselve, but on becoming abbot of Cîteaux itself he took up Innocent's call and left the abbey to preach in the Midi. He was instrumental in rallying support for Innocent's later attempts to engage the Order, and in 1206,

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 223-224; B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians*, p. 135.

²⁰³ Innocent III, 'Etsi Nostra Navicula,' in *P. L.*, vol. ccxv (1855), col. 360, translated in B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians*, p. 145.

²⁰⁴ B. M. Kienzle, 'Tending the Lord's Vineyard: Cistercians, Rhetoric and Heresy, 1143-1229. Part 1= Bernard of Clairvaux, the 1143 Sermons and the 1145 Preaching Mission', *Heresis: revue d'histoire des dissidences européennes*, 25 (1995), 26-61 (p. 35).

following another papal letter to the General Chapter, he was able to collect together a delegation of some twelve abbots and numerous other monks.²⁰⁵

Ultimately, Innocent's imploring requests and Arnauld's support for him were successful because they appealed to the reputation that the Cistercian Order had built for themselves, and then impressed into the minds of those they worked with as the reputation needed to be able to combat heresy. Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, for example, in his *Historia Albigensis*, as a member of the Cistercian Order himself, and nephew to Gui des Vaux-de-Cernay, who participated in Innocent's preaching campaigns, described the abbots who accompanied Arnauld as men of the highest religious life, accomplished in learning, and incomparable in holiness, modelling in life and number the company of the apostles.²⁰⁶ Pope Innocent III, in writing the letter which initiated the Albigensian crusade, emphasised the monastic virtues of Pierre de Castelnau, a Cistercian monk who was assassinated whilst participating in a preaching campaign, in order to contrast them with the offences of the heretics. Even at the point of death, and as he forgave his assassins, Pierre allegedly continued to discuss what was needed to ensure the welfare of the faith in Toulouse.²⁰⁷ Following this, and following Arnauld's controversial participation in the massacre of Béziers whilst leading troops during the Albigensian crusade, Simon de Montfort wrote to the Pope about Arnauld's activities, praising him as 'more than others, faithful to God's affairs, disposed to action in all matters, steadfast in complete faith, counsel, deed, and speech.'²⁰⁸ In all of these examples, the authors built on the original idea that the monks were in the possession of attributes which were different to other members of the faithful, which enabled them to be more effective champions of the Church against heresy.

The Cistercian world in which Baldwin of Forde wrote the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* in the second half of the twelfth century was one in which the Order was

²⁰⁵ B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians*, p. 147.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

²⁰⁷ C. Chenu, 'Innocent III and the Case for War in Southern France in 1207', *Journal of Religious History*, 35.4 (December 2011), 507-515 (pp. 509-510).

²⁰⁸ Simon de Montfort, 'Epistola,' translated in B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians*, p. 154.

re-evaluating its relationship to the world, and what the world required of them. There were plenty of circumstances in which the wider world was willing to take inspiration from monastic procedure and principles, and from the legacies of charismatic, individual monks. What was left for the Cistercian Order was a self-propagated reputation as possessors of a divine authority. This understanding of themselves rested on their idea of the correct knowledge of truth, given to them by God, which mandated them to be concerned, through their sense of charity, for the plight of the Church, the bride of Christ. They based their sense of duty, and their prerogative to remain influential in the church on this. The *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* is evidence of one school of thought within the wider debate of how the Cistercian Order was expected to take a stance against heresy. Baldwin evidently saw the production of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, a rumination on patristic authorities and a demonstration of the Church's strength, as fulfilling the role which Bernard of Clairvaux's legacy of *caritas* and care for the lay world imposed on the Order. That Baldwin had been granted permission to produce this suggests that the *Liber* represents a perspective into the development of the Cistercian Order's anti-heretical stance in the 1170s, before it took on a more active role through members like Henry of Clairvaux and Arnould Amaury.

The Cistercian Order's involvement with anti-heretical activity in the late twelfth century had drawn them into debates about the threat posed to the unity of the Church by the followers of heretics. It had also drawn them into discussions about the balance of power within the Church, and who had a duty to defend it in times of strife. It would finally draw them into a debate about the nature of divine authority and the attainment of the true faith. All of these issues can be seen to have had a clear influence on the way that Baldwin of Forde approached the composition of his tract on heresy. The monastic orders traditionally maintained that the ability to access the truth behind the word of God was their prerogative, as part of a gift of discernment bestowed upon them by the Holy Spirit. However, it was during this same period of transition that this belief came to be challenged by the development of different ways of learning and teaching. The juxtaposition of these two positions will be the focus of the next chapter, along with the repercussions it had for the anti-heretical tradition in the late twelfth century.

CHAPTER THREE - LEARNING, TEACHING, AND HERESY

A dichotomy was presented in the preface to Baldwin's *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, which produced an insightful perspective on the issue of the nature of knowledge and its acquisition in the second half of the twelfth century. This issue is pivotal to Baldwin's understanding of how heresy was engendered and transmitted. In juxtaposition to the simple *parvuli*, to whom the mysteries of the faith are revealed by God's grace, stand individuals who see themselves as 'wise and prudent':

Those who have knowledge of profound matters, who are prudent in their own opinion and wise in their own eyes, who walk in the vanity of their mind, do not receive those things which are the spirit of God, because they are carnal and proud.¹

The result of their pride is revealed in the next few sentences. First Baldwin reminded his audience that God reveals himself only to whom he wishes, and he chooses to manifest himself to the *parvuli*. The *parvuli* are described as 'content with a moderate degree of simple understanding, who simply and reverently believe those things that the articles of the faith teach should be piously believed and retained in memory.'² This simple belief and faith was the foundation of any deeper understanding of the mysteries of Scripture. Baldwin elaborated this idea through his interpretation of Hebrews 5. 13-14, whereby those granted the word of wisdom, allowing them to experience such a deeper understanding as 'solid food,' had been weaned from the 'milk' of simpler understanding.³ Individuals who do not share this foundation, who are learned in

¹ L. D. S. H., p. 29, ll. 3-6: 'Quia alta sapiunt, qui prudentes sunt apud semetipsos et sapientes in oculis suis, qui ambulant in vanitate sensus sui non percipiunt ea que sunt spiritus dei. Animales enim sunt et superbi.'

² *Ibid.*, p. 29, ll. 9-12; see above, p. 85, no. 182.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 29, ll. 13-15; see above, pp. 88-89.

profound matters yet are proud, are unable to attain the word of wisdom as 'God resists pride and gives grace only to the humble.'⁴

In a sermon given later in his life to an audience of bishops and clerics, Baldwin elaborated on his understanding of the perils of pride in describing how it influenced Eve's actions, and choice to turn away from God, in the Garden of Eden.⁵ In Baldwin's explanation, Eve's inability to humble herself before God, combined with her fear of eventual death, caused her to turn from God and replace his word with a belief of her own choosing: that eating the forbidden fruit was the correct course of action. Her pride in herself and her will caused her to choose to disobey God. That pride will cause an individual to pursue a path of wisdom other than the word of God was a recurrent theme in Baldwin's theological writings, and these views must be seen to have inspired the very brief, but highly condemnatory, statement at the start of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. For example, in a sermon on the beatitudes in the Gospel, Baldwin argued that a person who is proud and 'swollen up with vain hope' is someone who puts his trust in himself, whether for reasons of his reputation, his nobility, his worldly substance, or, significantly, in his own wisdom or his eloquence.⁶ In the case of a person feeling pride for good characteristics attributed to himself, rather than to God, he may be tempted to suppose himself 'greater than he is and able to do more than he can.'⁷

In the case of pride in human wisdom, the individual was ignorant of the limits which govern it, and has thus:

...dared to attempt an examination of things above it, things to which it could never attain if left to itself. It has busied itself with arduous and abstruse investigations into the nature of God, the origin of the world, the condition of the soul, and the quality of righteousness and blessedness, and in so doing has been able neither to find the way of truth, nor to attain to the wisdom of God which is hidden in mystery.⁸

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29, l. 7: 'Deus autem superbis resistit et humilibus dat gratiam.'

⁵ *S. T.*, I, p. 53.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 16-17.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 157.

The fact that this position was contrasted with that of the *parvuli* in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* suggests that it was pride that was the concern. The focus of this chapter will be to explore how this dichotomy relates to Baldwin's perspective on the intellectual pursuits of the developing theological schools. Baldwin had himself participated in the learning and teaching of the universities, and often used his later theological writings as a forum to comment on and criticise what went on there. Therefore, this inference should not be taken to represent a simple equation in Baldwin's mind of heretics and university scholars. Their appearance in the preface and the development of the theme of pride and intellectualism throughout the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* is significant as a means of continually asserting Baldwin's idea of how wisdom could be achieved and how learning should be applied in the defence of the Church. Both ideas are of paramount importance to the development of Baldwin's theology about faith and the means by which knowledge about God and his Word might be gained, or perverted.

Baldwin and the Schools

Reference has already been made to the instances in which Baldwin used his theological works to comment on the proliferation of ideas and lessons within the schools which gave him cause for concern.⁹ In particular, he was especially concerned with the legacy of Peter Abelard's teachings and scholastic methodology. Abelard had taught that the truth could only be acquired through scholastic enquiry, encouraging his students to always question their sources. In his *Sic et Non*, which compared patristic authorities by drawing together instances where they contradicted each other, Abelard wrote 'by doubting we come to inquiry and by inquiring we perceive the truth,' and proposed that through this provocation his students could sharpen their wits.¹⁰ Baldwin, around four decades after Abelard's death, still fearing the repercussions of this methodology, countered Abelard's methods in his *De Commendatione Fidei*, specifically in discussing hesitation in the faith. Baldwin stated that 'hesitation is born of a lack of devotion

⁹ See above, pp. 42-45.

¹⁰ Peter Abelard, *Sic et Non*, p. 103.

because it doubts the truth of faith and distrusts the promise of God.’¹¹ Anyone who vacillated in doubt, and thus did not think as the faithful did, should not be said to believe.¹² The equation of doubt and unfaithfulness here was designed to reject Abelard’s teachings on what faith and knowledge were.

It must be noted that Baldwin’s simplification of the issue did not do Abelard’s actual teachings justice. Abelard himself was always highly conscious of when his lessons were misinterpreted. In his *Confessio Fidei* ‘*Universis*’ he wrote, ‘there is a well-known proverb: nothing is so well said that it cannot be twisted,’ and accused Bernard of Clairvaux in his *Apologia* of being ‘far from both my words and my meaning, and [labouring] over arguments taken from your inventions rather than from my sayings.’¹³ Criticism of Abelard in reality expresses much less about his teachings than it does about the fears of monks like Baldwin and Bernard for the fragility of the faith and the authority of their ascetic lifestyle. Fundamentally, there was a clash in understanding of how knowledge was achieved as a psychological process: was ‘faith’ a conviction brought on by personal experience of ascetic principles, or was it instead a stage in the wider process of learning as Abelard had claimed out of a concern for a mindless faith which believes anything?¹⁴ Indeed, there might have been a fear amongst monks that if they could not continually prove the former interpretation, then they could no longer justify the existence of the monastic schools. If God could be reached through theological speculation, then what was the point of devoting lifetimes to asceticism and austerity. Baldwin sought to confirm the inferiority of any style of teaching or learning which was not stimulated primarily through deep meditation on scriptural and patristic authorities, schooled through the discipline of the ascetic lifestyle.

Baldwin’s suspicion and condemnation of the use of scholastic methodology to inflate pride is nowhere more palpable than in his writings on the sacrament of the Eucharist. As has been seen, Baldwin gave a response to the underlying issues of the Azymitic controversy in his *De Sacramento Altaris*. More significantly, he defended the

¹¹ *C. o. F.*, ch. 10.1, p. 62.

¹² *Ibid.*, ch. 10.2, p. 62.

¹³ D. E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard: The Influence of Abelard’s Thought in the Early Scholastic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 109.

¹⁴ M. T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp. 34-37; D. E. Luscombe, *The School*, pp. 110-111.

use of the term ‘transubstantiation’ in the same work, contributing to a debate on the correct use of terminology to describe the Eucharist which would not achieve a final decision until the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.¹⁵ The persistence of some scholars in continuing to discuss the workings and mysteries of the Eucharist appalled Baldwin. He saw in this sacrament the greatest demand for the unwavering certainty of faith, because this was one of the mysteries, given for mankind’s benefit, but not for its understanding.¹⁶ The implication was that mankind’s salvation was inevitably threatened when so-called human wisdom refused to believe that there was something which it was not given to understand.¹⁷ Mankind would be better served by remembering and holding true to the strength and certainty of faith, which is based on divine authority, and surpasses human reason. Faith ‘transcends every conjecture of human reason; it comprehends most truly and most certainly those things which cannot be explored with the senses nor in any way investigated by human reason.’¹⁸ It was better, in Baldwin’s mind, to cast out the eye of human reason from the person’s self when it offends the eye of pious devotion, as ‘it is better for you to enter life having one eye of sound faith, than to be cast into hell-fire with two eyes, one of faith and one of human reason.’¹⁹ That was why, in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, Baldwin explained that ‘a certain single and true simplicity can be enough for the simple without discussion of questions,’ and so those in charge of the defence of the Church, the pastors of the flock, must stand guard against the ‘artifice of the wolves,’ which threatens the simplicity of the faith.²⁰

There was a complex relationship between the monasteries and the schools which influenced writing and thinking on the nature of truth and knowledge about the mysteries of the faith. Plenty of examples have been found in Baldwin’s writings to show that he was certainly aware of problems in current theological development and acted

¹⁵ D. N. Bell, ‘Baldwin of Forde,’ p. 138.

¹⁶ *S. T.*, I, p. 55.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹⁸ *C. o. F.*, ch. 13.1, p. 79.

¹⁹ *S. T.*, I, p. 50.

²⁰ *L. D. S. H.*, p.41, ll. 5-10: ‘Potest quidem simplicibus simplicitas una et vera sufficere sine disceptatione questionum, sine discretione sectarum, ac pastores ovium qui baculo et latratu canum lupos arcere debent, insidias luporum precavere eque debent et doctores ecclesie fidei defensores prescire convenit que cogitant adversarii contra nos, ne prevaleant verba inimicorum super nos.’

against them. Even in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* it is possible to read in some of Baldwin's commentaries a sense of disquiet about certain scholarly practices. For example, he lamented Basilides as an example of a self-confessed intellectual who overreached himself by extending the meaning and importance of his sources. He was a man who went against the Apostle Paul's warning in his first letter to Timothy to not 'stretch tales and genealogies without bounds which might offer speculations rather than the teaching of God which is in the faith.'²¹ The theme of pride which makes men turn from knowledge of God to the knowledge of their own human wisdom was also present, especially in the case of the followers of Carpocrates. These men, known as the Gnostics, did not know God, but nevertheless 'boast about their knowledge as if theirs were the only knowledge, when all their doctrine may be called falsely named knowledge and unworthy of the name of knowledge.'²² Baldwin, in writing about these men, expressed concern that the defence of this form of 'knowledge' was heresy and attracted the type of man who was infatuated with his own abilities.²³ Similarly, he raised the point that the Encratites were inflated with their teacher Tatian's pride in his own eloquence, which caused their heretical sect to grow and diversify into other groups, including the Severians.²⁴ This insistence is significant as it illustrates a mechanism by which the pride of individual heretics might propagate new heresies, whereby the prideful leaders of heretical sects were distinguished from the rank and file of their followers. In this way, their role as pseudo-spiritual leaders and teachers of their peers was emphasised.

Of particular interest is Baldwin's outrage at the use of the writings of ancient Greek philosophers and writers by various classical heretics described by Irenaeus, in the light of the increasing predominance of philosophical studies in the second half of the twelfth century following the production of Latin translations of many Greek and Arabic texts. Baldwin accused them of using these works as a means of proudly demonstrating

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44, ll. 10-12: 'Apostolus in prima epistola ad Thimotheum scribens, monet non intendere fabulis et genealogiis interminatis que questiones prestant magis quam edificationem dei que est in fide (I Timothy, 1. 4).'

²² *Ibid.*, p. 45, ll. 11-14: '...se gnosticos appellant, de sciencia sua gloriantes quasi soli ipsi sint scientes, cum omnis doctrina eorum falsi nominis sciencia sit et sciencie nomine indigna.'

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 45, ll. 15-17: 'Ieremias vero dicit: "Omnis homo infatuatus est ab sciencia (Jeremiah, 10. 14)." Sciencia autem que infatuata qualis est doctrina hereticorum, falsi nominis sciencia est que vere sciencie se imprudenter opponit.'

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 50, ll. 20-22: "'Postea inflatus eloquencie tumore, novam condit heresim que encratitarum dicitur quam postea Severus auxit, a quo heretici severiani appellantur.'"

their own eloquence and inflating the impact of their heretical ideas, ‘by pulling together the sayings of the philosophers just as if sewing together a patchwork quilt from many little scraps of cloth.’²⁵ Elsewhere, Baldwin lamented that if the heretics had only ‘learned the Scriptures, had been taught from the truth, they might have understood without doubt that God is not as men are, and his thoughts are not like the thoughts of men,’ for God is ‘simple and uncompounded, totally alike and equal to himself, wholly understanding, wholly spirit, wholly reason, wholly hearing, wholly seeing, wholly light, wholly the source of all Good.’²⁶ This passage reflects some contemporary criticism of the predominance of the dialectic methodology of some school masters in the twelfth century. The study of grammar and dialectics was starting to be combined with that of theology in order to produce studies of the exact meanings of biblical passages, and the invention of new means of expressing knowledge about God in a way which would be more accessible in simpler language. It was thought that by creating new ways of discussing God it would be possible for humanity to come to understand Him and the mysteries of the faith more thoroughly. This viewpoint would come under heavy criticism as it failed to acknowledge the commonly assumed belief that there must be limits to humanity’s knowledge and capacity for learning as God was not like man and did not intend man to know him in his entirety.²⁷

It is important at this point to comment on Baldwin’s own experience of the scholastic world, and to note that any understanding of his criticism must be viewed within the context of his own educated past. Baldwin himself was very much a product of the cathedral schools of Southern England and the continent, having studied and taught at both Exeter and Bologna. As a result, whilst he was a monk at Forde, his

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59, ll. 3-6: ‘Heretici immutantes nomina que apud comicos posita sunt quasi propria protulerunt et de dictis philosophorum congregantes et quasi centonem ex multis panniculis consarcientes, finctum superficium subtili eloquio preparaverunt.’

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 63, ll. 3-9: ‘Si scripturas, inquit, cognovissent et a veritate docti essent, scirent utique quoniam non sic deus quemadmodum homines et non sic cogitationes eius quomodo cogitationes hominum. Multo enim distat omnium pater ab his que proveniunt hominibus affectionibus et passionibus. Simplex et non compositus totus ipse sibimetipsi similis et equalis est, totus senses, totus spiritus, totus ratio, totus auditus, totus oculus, totus lumen, totus fons omnium bonorum.’

²⁷ R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, 2 vols; B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952); I. P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c. 1100-1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); C. Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse: Peter Lombard’s Sentences and the Development of Theology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

reputation for learning had spread far throughout the Cistercian Order. His reputation had even began to spread further than this as in 1178, Pope Alexander III received a letter from Cardinal Peter which recommended Baldwin on the grounds of his learning, despite the fact that Peter had not actually met Baldwin personally.²⁸ The grounds for this reputation were set at an early age, through the patronage of Robert Warelwast, bishop of Exeter, and his time spent studying in Bologna.²⁹ In order to have been eligible for such a venture, and the opportunities it afforded, Baldwin must have received a substantial education prior to travelling to the continent, most likely in the cathedral school at Exeter, where he would have come to the attention of the Bishop and other school masters there.

Exeter had a long-standing tradition of education which made it a distinguished centre of learning, beginning when the first bishop, Leofric, bequeathed his famously large library to the cathedral chapter.³⁰ Eventually, the school would attract some notable masters. One such master was Robert Pullen, who is believed to have taught at Exeter between 1133 and 1138 before becoming archdeacon of Rochester, and then a master of theology in Paris.³¹ His students at Exeter included John of Salisbury, Gilbert Foliot, Bartholomew of Exeter and Baldwin himself.³² On his return to England in the 1160s, Baldwin continued this tradition by becoming a teacher in his own right at Exeter. Within the episcopal acts of the diocese of Exeter, Baldwin sometimes appears as 'Master Baldwin,' and whilst '*magister*' can be used to refer to a bishop's advisor, it is more likely that 'schoolmaster' was intended here.³³ This was further corroborated by Gerald of Wales, writing in his *Speculum Ecclesiae* on monks who went on to become clerics. Gerald wrote that Baldwin had rendered himself both admirable and commendable through his many gifts and talents, which he had perfected through a long time spent studying efficaciously at the schools, during which time he had become

²⁸ A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 106, no. 4.

²⁹ See above, p. 38.

³⁰ A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 105.

³¹ R. L. Poole, 'The Early Lives,' pp. 61-63.

³² A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 105; D. E. Luscombe, 'Pullen, Robert of (d. in or after 1146),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view.article.22877>> [accessed 16 January 2017].

³³ *English Episcopal Acta XI – Exeter*, no. 87, p. 77.

scholarum magister egregius, a distinguished master of students.³⁴ It has been noted that around this time, the letters of John of Salisbury to his friends in the schools paint an image of Exeter as a place of intense studious activity.³⁵ Baldwin must surely have found himself as a participant in intellectual and scholastic debate alongside students with as broad a range of experiences of education on the continent as him.

Alongside its diverse population of masters and students, Exeter also had a reputation for the diversity of its library, which continued to grow impressively throughout the twelfth century. In particular, the cathedral acquired substantial holdings of patristic works and other texts necessary for understanding biblical truth and orthodox doctrine, presumably out of an interest in the practical application of the Cathedral's pastoral ministry and ecclesiastical administration.³⁶ It is likely that, as with the majority of communal book collections compiled during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Exeter collection was intended to meet needs outside of the formal liturgy of the divine office, and aimed instead to deepen understanding of divine truth with the provision of authoritative writings.³⁷ It is also likely that, like so many other religious and cathedral communities, Exeter cathedral took advantage of new resources for biblical study emanating from the continental schools to build up this collection.³⁸ The growth of the collection was directed by an interest in fulfilling the spiritual and pastoral needs of the Christian community. The books produced at the Cathedral suggest a broad degree of homogeneity in formatting style. Of the 53 books which survive from the period between 1072 to the end of the twelfth century, all were so large that they were unwieldy, spaciously laid out and copied to very high standards.³⁹ Taking all of this into consideration, it appears that the community at Exeter

³⁴ Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. by J. S. Brewer and others, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, Rolls Series, 21, 8 vols (London: Longman, 1861-1891), iv: *Speculum Ecclesiae* ed. by J. S. Brewer (1973), dist. 2, cap. 25, pp. 80-81.

³⁵ R. L. Poole, 'The Early Lives,' p. 62.

³⁶ T. Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1075-c.1125* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 129-139.

³⁷ T. Webber, 'Monastic and Cathedral Book Collections in the Late Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,' in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, volume 1 = to 1640*, ed. by E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 109-120 (p. 119).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

³⁹ R. M. Thomas, *Books and Learning in Twelfth-Century England: The Ending of 'Alter Orbis'* (Walkern: The Red Gull Press, 2006), p. 50.

had the motivation to expand its collection of theological works on a grand and organised scale.

As a result, it is very likely that Baldwin was able to take advantage of his time in Exeter and avail himself of a broad range of literature. For example, Baldwin must have had the opportunity at some point to study Greek texts and to master the Greek language, and it is possible that he achieved this whilst studying and teaching at Exeter. Without this connection, he might not have had the chance to read Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses*, a work which was not available to him through the library at Forde or any other Cistercian library in England.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Baldwin might have read other works in Latin which would be considered rather radical. Bell has noted influences in Baldwin's theological writings which suggest that he had read the works of pseudo-Dionysius, which might have seemed surprising in a Cistercian library.⁴¹ Baldwin read texts written by twelfth-century scholars, including Hugh of Saint-Victor, Richard of Saint-Victor, Anselm of Laon and Peter of Blois.⁴² Furthermore, the familiarity of his handling of the heresies attributed to Berengar of Tours and Peter Abelard in his *De Sacramento Altaris* and *De Commendatione Fidei* would suggest that he had also read their works, or at least summaries of them, and it does not seem unreasonable to conjecture that he might have done so during his time at Exeter, or that he had brought back his knowledge of them to the school there from his time in Italy.

It also appears that his retreat to the Cistercian abbey of Forde in the 1170s did not bring with it an escape from studious and dynamically intellectual environments. The abbey of Forde has a significant place in the history of the Cistercian Order in England, as no other house, except perhaps for Rievaulx under Ailred, was so rich in writers. Significantly, there is no trace of a literary tradition or even a circle of writers before Baldwin's arrival at Forde, suggesting that he personally encouraged the beginning of intellectual pursuits at the abbey, and contributed to the establishment of a library, which grew considerably during his time there.⁴³ The *Registrum Anglie* recorded that Forde once possessed 240 titles, making it a substantially sized library of patristic and

⁴⁰ D. N. Bell, *The Libraries of the Cistercians*.

⁴¹ D. N. Bell, 'Baldwin of Forde,' p. 141.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁴³ C. J. Holdsworth, 'John of Forde,' p. 132.

medieval theological writings.⁴⁴ Within this community of Baldwin's fellow monks, some were renowned for collecting books, in particular Alexander of Meaux.⁴⁵ Forde gained a particularly interesting collection of texts which reflected the developing scholastic methodologies of the twelfth century. This was a collection of theological texts and manuals by Cistercian writers, but also by Hugh and Richard of St. Victor.⁴⁶

One particularly important contribution made by Forde to the intellectual world of the twelfth century was its interest in the Virgin Mary. This is significant within the growth of the Cistercian Order during the twelfth century, as the Cistercians produced their own distinctive contribution to the development of Christocentric and Marian spirituality across Western Europe.⁴⁷ It is also significant as the study of the Assumption of the Virgin was a major interest amongst the scholars at Exeter.⁴⁸ Baldwin provided a link between these two intellectual milieus which inspired and encouraged various writers at Forde to take up their pens. Roger of Forde was so driven that his reputation has become more scholastic than monastic. He left Forde for the continent and produced a record of the visions of Elizabeth of Schönau dedicated to the Virgin Mary.⁴⁹ Although he would not return to his monastery afterwards, Roger sent a copy of his treatise to his mentor Baldwin to mark his election as abbot.⁵⁰

Baldwin spent his life within intellectual environments which encouraged and stimulated debate amongst a range of erudite individuals on topics related to spirituality, theological interpretations, and the application of Church doctrine in the lay world. His opportunities to access generously stocked libraries and acquire important ancient and contemporary texts afforded him an extensive education. Whilst he might have withdrawn to the cloister, Baldwin would remain always on the periphery of the scholastic world, watching as an interested bystander through the connections he had

⁴⁴ D. N. Bell, *The Libraries of the Cistercians*, pp. 143-144; R. H. Rouse, M. A. Rouse and R. A. B. Mynors, *Registrum Anglie*, pp. 282-284.

⁴⁵ C. J. Holdsworth, 'John of Forde,' p. 124.

⁴⁶ N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn. (London: Butler & Tanner, 1964), p. 48.

⁴⁷ E. Jamrozik, p. 208.

⁴⁸ C. J. Holdsworth, 'Another Stage,' p. 12.

⁴⁹ D. Baker, 'Forde, Roger of (fl. c. 1182),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23958>> [accessed 14 January 2017].

⁵⁰ C. J. Holdsworth, 'John of Forde,' p. 126.

made to the schools of continental Europe and the community surrounding the cathedral and chapter of Exeter.

That this experience was possible is testament to a context of mutual collaboration between the schools of theology, the Church and the monasteries in the late twelfth century which had been born from a century of communication and social mobility. This context will be the interest of the present chapter in determining how the acquisition of religious knowledge was understood, and how it was felt that this should, or should not, be experienced by the wider community of the Christian faithful. As a result, it will be possible to relate Baldwin's work on heresy, with its initial concern with the way in which religious knowledge legitimized the authority to act against heresy, to the broader world of scholasticism, learning and teaching on the nature of the Christian faith. The first thing to be considered will be the positive and negative communication between the monasteries and the schools across Europe, and the second, what the result of criticism was for the development of pastoral theology in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The Monasteries and the Schools

Rupert of Deutz was an influential Benedictine abbot of the abbey of Deutz in Cologne in the eleventh century. He was a prolific writer; his works fill four entire volumes of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, and consider theology, exegesis, music and the liturgy.⁵¹ His works demonstrate his conviction that the monastic life provided the most suitable environment for those who aimed at understanding the mysteries of God, but that this way of life was in a permanent state of siege from the growth of scholastic theology in the northern European schools of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁵² His biographer has commented that Rupert can provide a clearer insight into the rapid changes which were taking hold of twelfth-century spiritual and intellectual life than other, better-known writers.⁵³ However, Rupert's life has often been read as an early

⁵¹ Rupert of Deutz, *P. L.*, CLXVII-CLXX.

⁵² R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, Vol 2, pp. 7-10.

⁵³ J. H. Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 7-10.

alternative, or monastic, reaction against scholasticism, targeting the innovative methodologies and teaching practices which arose within the schools of Northern Europe.

This is due in large part to his famous clashes with Anselm of Laon and William of Champeaux. In his biography, Rupert wrote about the time in 1117 when he went to Francia to engage in a disputation against 'those masters whose authority was set so much above and against me.'⁵⁴ He set out towards the cities, riding on a humble donkey, to attack men whom he knew to be brilliant, and endowed with the great dignity of office. When he arrived in Laon he discovered that Anselm had already died. Undeterred, Rupert moved onto Châlons-sur-Marne, where he had a tense, yet disappointingly unsuccessful, clash with the bishop William of Champeaux. Rupert did not consider either of these events to be indicative of failure on his part. Indeed, he claimed that God had aided him in arranging for Anselm's premature death. In 1122 William also died, and Rupert argued that this too was caused by God's intervention on behalf of his servant, as Rupert must have mortally wounded the bishop in his confrontation with him.⁵⁵ For Southern, this episode, as well as Rupert's collected writings, represented on the one hand 'a cloud of verbiage issuing from a word-drunk writer multiplying allegorical interpretations of Scripture which were already too numerous, and rashly engaging in dialectical arguments for which he had no competence.' On the other hand, to his fellow monks his efforts signified 'a writer giving new life to the symbolic thought in which they had been brought up, and which the argumentative spirit of the new age was threatening with slow strangulation.'⁵⁶

This juxtaposition characterises a school of historiographical thought on education and learning about religion in the twelfth century. Smalley produced her seminal work on the study of the Bible in the Middle Ages in the 1950s; in it she argued that by the eleventh century, the cathedral schools had become more important as centres for theologians and scriptural exegeses than the traditional Benedictine monasteries.⁵⁷ Smalley's specific interest in *The Study of the Bible* was the design and

⁵⁴ Rupert of Deutz, 'Apologia,' *P. L.*, CLXX (1854), cols. 477-498 (col. 482).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, cols. 482-483.

⁵⁶ R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, Vol 2, p. 11.

⁵⁷ B. Smalley, p. 46.

production of standardised textbooks and literature, which she argued set precedents for the learning of the early modern and modern worlds. These texts were produced to reconcile the ever-persistent problem of the inconsistencies and contradictions which were easy to find in the writings of the patristic fathers as well as in the scriptures. The result of the creation of these new modes of writing and thinking about the Bible and the mysteries it contained was that more scholars were led away from old-fashioned Bible studies as the twelfth century progressed. They changed their thinking in favour of a method which offered a way of determining a single certain truth from the multiple interpretations offered by their source material. As the teaching of scripture and the methods by which it was represented in these secular schools came increasingly under the influence of the liberal arts, the monks, in reaction, withdrew into obscurity, clinging to nearly obsolete methods of spiritual exposition, which, although never rejected by the schools, were nevertheless crowded out by more important, more practical sorts of pursuit.⁵⁸

Southern attempted to explore what these pursuits were in greater depth, complementing Smalley's work. He maintained that the general aim of the twelfth-century secular scholars was to produce a complete and systematic body of knowledge, 'clarified by the refinements of criticism, and presented as the consensus of competent judges,' which would be expanded through the application of the skills gained through an extended programme of liberal arts to scriptural and patristic sources.⁵⁹ Linked to this was a desire to make sure that this body of knowledge could be made accessible to the wider world, so that it could provide a means of defence for orthodox doctrine against any potential threat of heretical error. Southern also argued there was a growing conviction amongst school masters that human intellect had been created capable of understanding the divine purpose, structure and order of the created universe.⁶⁰ As a result of the growing popularity of these aims and convictions, the monasteries were becoming increasingly incapable of meeting the needs of a growing population, or of even providing answers to the problems of an ordered, Christian society and its

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁵⁹ R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, Vol 1, p. 4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

individual members.⁶¹ After the initial period of innovation between the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, successive generations of scholastics sought to pursue elaboration of every possible field of enquiry, seeking to establish and maintain for themselves an exclusive profession which participated actively in not just the transmission of ancient learning, but also the proliferation of an 'integrated, many-sided body of knowledge rapidly reaching its peak.'⁶²

It would be dangerous to exaggerate the different concepts of exclusivity proposed by Smalley and Southern, as that would risk simplifying the context of collaboration which existed between the monasteries and the schools throughout the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries. Despite his fervent disapproval of the teachings of Anselm of Laon and William of Champeaux, Rupert of Deutz was a prolific writer, and sought recognition and approval from men whom he saw as his intellectual peers.⁶³ In this respect, Rupert was every bit as much of a participant in the intellectual life of the eleventh century outside the monastery, as Baldwin of Forde was in the twelfth. To speak only of monastic criticism of, and withdrawal from, the urban world of the schools would be a misrepresentation. Mutual respect and intellectual exchange between exponents of the two worlds were frequent, with many scholars eventually becoming monks and even continuing to teach once they became cloistered.⁶⁴ The monasteries, and the disciplined way of religious life they represented, held great attractions for scholars, and it is not hard to find examples of this in the lives of the abbots of many religious houses. In England, Warin, Abbot of St. Albans between 1183 and 1195, had studied at Salerno, whilst his successor John de Cella had been a master in Paris. Thomas of Marlborough, an abbot of Evesham, had been in turn a student at Paris, and a master at Exeter and Oxford.⁶⁵ Baldwin of Forde is another perfect example.

Once they had entered the monastery, there were a few individuals who chose to turn away from their academic learning and scholastic backgrounds. In a letter

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁶² R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, Vol 2, p. 3; R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, Vol 1, p. 190.

⁶³ J. H. Van Engen, p.194-200.

⁶⁴ I. P. Wei, 'From Twelfth-Century Schools to Thirteenth Century Universities – The Disappearance of Biographical and Autobiographical Representations of Scholars,' *Speculum*, 86.1 (2011), 42-78 (p. 50).

⁶⁵ R. W. Hunt, 'English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 19 (1936), 19-42 (p. 28).

written to an unnamed abbot, Alexander of Ashby, an Augustinian canon of Canons Ashby, lamented that his recipient had apparently shunned his learning on entering a monastery:

I have not forgotten your excellence in the schools, how quick you were in learning and teaching, your diligent labour, your eager study, your acute thinking and your moving eloquence. But after you had fled from the schools to the cloisters, you became as it were an unlearned man and a despiser of letters.⁶⁶

He urged the man to continue teaching by undertaking some preaching at the very least. According to Alexander, the monastery was seen as a place where scholars would continue to pursue their interests.

There were even some members of religious orders who believed that the new scholastic learning could benefit the monastic life of contemplation. Leclercq once argued that the scholars of the early Middle Ages engaged in theology because it was essential to the life of the Church and to their own lives, and that the theology they devised was commensurate with their powers and their sense of dedication.⁶⁷ It follows then that for some monks, the theology of the schools might be useful in the development of their own lives and discipline. Some saw positive value in the study of the liberal arts as an aid to personal devotion and understanding of the Bible.⁶⁸ In the 1170s, Matthew of Rievaulx wrote of the liberal arts as his 'way to knowledge,' whilst Gilbert of Hoyland praised them as a means of reaching 'those higher and more holy, more inward mysteries of wisdom.'⁶⁹ Similarly, in the 1150s, Otto of Freising, a Cistercian monk at Morimond, a former student of philosophy at Paris, saw no incompatibility between commitment to the study of Plato and Aristotle and reformed monasticism, going as far as to say that Bernard of Clairvaux was 'naïve', and too zealous,

⁶⁶ Cambridge University Library 2, 1, fol. 116^v, translated in R. W. Hunt, 'English Learning,' p. 28.

⁶⁷ J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. by C. Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982), p. 192.

⁶⁸ C. J. Holdsworth, 'John of Forde,' p. 134.

⁶⁹ Matthew of Rievaulx, 'De Liberalibus Artibus,' in A. Wilmart, 'Les Mélanges de Mathieu, Prêcheur de Rievaulx au début du XIII^e siècle,' *Revue Bénédictine*, 52 (1940), 15-84 (p. 62); Gilbert of Hoyland, 'Epistola 2.2,' *P. L.*, vol. CLXXXIV (1859), cols. 291-293 (col. 291).

in his suspicion of masters of worldly wisdom.⁷⁰ In the writings of Senatus of Worcester there is a very un-monastic pride in his own learning, which he saw as a valuable asset to himself and to his monastery. Writing in response to a petition from Clement, the prior of Osney, he marvelled that his correspondent did not apply to the scholars in Oxford for the information he sought, and had instead chose to consult, and thus flatter, Senatus.⁷¹ Baldwin too must have witnessed a similar state of affairs at Forde which, as has been demonstrated, was populated during his time by men who had received training in the schools, and who had collected texts produced in these contexts for the abbey's library.

Another noteworthy phenomenon was the collection in some monastic libraries of texts which were produced in the schools. It has generally been thought that the Cistercians in England restricted their libraries to a much narrower range of topics than some of their Benedictine counterparts, and that they did not often respond to the new currents of philosophical thought or new ways of teaching promulgated by the Parisian masters.⁷² The substantial collection of works by Hugh and Richard of Saint-Victor at Forde might challenge this opinion.⁷³ However, on the continent, the collections of some of the larger Cistercian houses complicate the issue. Since the later decades of the twelfth century the Cistercians had started to acquire works of scholastic theology and pastoral works for their libraries.⁷⁴ The trend must have inspired some new need for such texts in England, as there is evidence to suggest that both Flaxley and Rievaulx Abbeys began to supplement their already impressive libraries by embarking on active campaigns of manuscript collection by commissioning texts from workshops associated with the continental schools.⁷⁵ In addition, Buildwas Abbey produced its own glossed version of Leviticus in 1176 and chose to employ the latest format from the ateliers

⁷⁰ C. J. Mews, 'Accusations of Heresy and Error in the Twelfth-Century Schools: The Witness of Gerhoh of Reichersberg and Otto of Freising,' in *Heresy in Transition: Transforming Ideals of Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by I. Hunter, J. C. Laursen and C. J. Nederman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 43-57 (pp. 51-54).

⁷¹ T. E. Holland, 'The University of Oxford in the Twelfth Century,' in *Collectanea: second series*, ed. by M. Burrows, Oxford Historical Society, 16 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), pp. 137-192 (p. 180).

⁷² C. R. Cheney, 'English Cistercian Libraries: The First Century,' in *Medieval Texts and Studies*, ed. by C. R. Cheney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 328-345 (p. 344).

⁷³ N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 48.

⁷⁴ E. Jamrozak, p. 229; B. Noell, 'Scholarship and Activism at Cîteaux in the Age of Innocent III,' *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 38.2 (2007), 21-54 (pp. 21-23).

⁷⁵ B. Noell, pp. 34-35.

appearing around Paris.⁷⁶ The production of glossed Bible books might provide a valuable insight into the extent of the communication between the monasteries and the schools, and the diverse monastic and scholastic readership which Southern's study of the production of a distinctive scholastic style did not necessarily account for. As Bouchard has shown in studying the proliferation of the *Glossa Ordinaria* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the continental scholars were acknowledging the variations of glosses being put together at Cistercian houses, where the copying of glosses had become a replacement for manual labour.⁷⁷ In this respect, the Cistercian Order was an influential centre of innovation in the intellectual environment of the twelfth century.⁷⁸

The degree of acceptance for the value of scholastic methodologies within the monasteries was complemented by the conception of the monastery as the real centre of learning, a place where learning could be perfected. Alexander Nequam, a former student of the schools who became an Augustinian canon at Cirencester, expressed this in a letter written to a monk named Letardus:

I do not advise you to seek a school or a master elsewhere than in the cloister. For if the [divine] law is learnt in quiet and silence, what place is better suited to the study of it than the cloister, where a discreet silence and a disciplined quietness is especially observed? You have many masters among you, most skilled in divine and secular learning, who will be able to expound theological questions all the better as they know them more truly, not only by their knowledge, but by their experience. I think that only they purely and rightly understand the holy writing, who by the purity of their life keep close to that spirit, by which the scripture was composed and expounded.⁷⁹

The monastery was a far greater school of theology, for the masters there, regardless of the state of their earthly education, were able to understand the divine mysteries of the faith because of their experience of the disciplined life of monastic orders.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁷⁷ C. B. Bouchard, 'The Cistercians and the "Glossa Ordinaria,"' *The Catholic Historical Review*, 86.2 (2002), 183-192 (pp. 188-190).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 192; E. Jamroziak, p. 208.

⁷⁹ York Cathedral, MS. 16. Q. 14, S. XXIII, translated in R. W. Hunt, 'English Learning,' p. 29.

It was this experience of life which was the most important element on the path to truly knowing God. Similar ideas were taught by Anselm of Canterbury during his years at the abbey of Le Bec. Reason, the systemisation of thought and the liberal arts of the schools, could be valuable tools, but were ultimately limited in the understanding they could provide, unless viewed as tools with which to explore belief alongside prayer, introspection and charitable work.⁸⁰ In his *Proslogion*, Anselm encouraged his students to put aside their worldly concerns, enter the 'inner chamber of the soul,' and shut out everything but God and prayer which can seek him.⁸¹ Anselm's writings, in the eyes of one historian, represented a perfect unity between his theological research and his spiritual experience, as he was illuminated by the knowledge that God was not a problem to be solved, but a reality to love and to pray to.⁸² Everywhere in his works, Anselm strove for precision of language, of argument and of definition when writing and teaching about the faith, but he would only put pen to paper once 'his prolonged meditation had already brought him to see a truth with instantaneous clarity.'⁸³ Similar ideas were very important to Baldwin of Forde, especially in his *De Commendatione Fidei*, where he considered how human reason might be used to clarify a point of doctrine, knowable through meditation, to a simple layman.⁸⁴ For both men, the pursuit of scholarship could be valuable if it was used with the aim of furthering the individual's desire for God. Far from withdrawing from the world of scholastic theology, monastic learning flourished in a context that was changing just as quickly as the schools.⁸⁵

This view of the monasteries also inspired schoolmen, to the extent that some agreed that the faithful needed to do more to know God. A useful example of this is a letter written in 1065 written by Goswin of Mainz to his students, Walcherus. The letter discussed the virtues of leisure once it was turned in the direction of contemplation. If times of leisure are used to indulge worldly desires, then it negates that which works

⁸⁰ I. P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture*, pp. 58-59.

⁸¹ Anselm of Canterbury, *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm, with the Proslogion*, trans. by B. Ward, foreword by R. W. Southern (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), ch. 11, p. 253.

⁸² J. T. Gollnick, 'The Monastic-Devotional Context of Anselm of Canterbury's Theology,' *Monastic Studies*, 12 (1976), 239-248.

⁸³ R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 114.

⁸⁴ C. o. F., ch. 13, pp. 80-81; ch. 79, pp. 215-216.

⁸⁵ I. P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture*, p. 52; J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, pp. 193-197.

for the soul's salvation and protection. However, when man uses his time to transcend his worldly affairs, he could achieve a state of contemplation, where the soul is 'not lost but rather saved, or rather far more important, it seems at long last to come to life.'⁸⁶ At a later point in his letter, Goswin wrote that he was envious of their patristic predecessors, for whilst he believed himself to be blessed with 'the good things of life,' he was unlike those who came before him, impoverished in the best virtues which are genuine faith and impartial truth, the advocacy of justice and equity, and the insistence on discipline and religion.⁸⁷ He was worried that these morals would disappear completely. He urged Walcherus to strive for this 'plenitude of growth in which you need never fear diminution,' which he could only do by regulating his life according to the ideals of humility and religious virtues.⁸⁸

Perhaps the most significant synthesis of the scholastic and monastic ideals lies in the success and fame of the school of Saint-Victor in Paris, especially under the influence of one of its most prolific intellects, Hugh of Saint-Victor. Smalley argued that his great contribution lay in his advocacy of the idea that the student of scripture must welcome the study of contemporary sciences.⁸⁹ It would be equally fair to also say that Hugh argued that the student of contemporary science must welcome the pursuit of the religious life. As a regular canon Hugh would come to contrast the feverish manner of learning pursued in the schools with the traditional style of study maintained in the cloister, which can be characterised as slow, wide and deep.⁹⁰ Despite having taken religious orders, Hugh remained in many respects a man of the schools, elaborating a detailed theory of human knowledge, which he believed would give the student perfection.⁹¹ This perfection would ultimately 'restore the divine likeness in man,' so the acquisition of self-knowledge was the most important requirement for any student:

⁸⁶ Goswin of Mainz, 'Letter to Walcherus,' trans. in J. C. Stephen, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 349-376 (p. 360).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 368-369.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

⁸⁹ B. Smalley, p. 86.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁹¹ I. P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture*, pp. 79-80.

‘we are restored through instruction, so that we may recognize our nature and learn not to seek outside ourselves what we can find within.’⁹²

For those seeking this eventuality, three things were necessary. First, natural endowment of intelligence, secondly, practice in the assiduous cultivation of their natural endowment, and finally discipline in the leading of a praiseworthy life.⁹³ The starting point of discipline was the virtue of humility, a fundamental principle of monastic lifestyles. A good student, in Hugh’s eyes, was humble, docile, free from vain cares and worldly indulgence, unpresumptuous, willing to learn from all good examples, and always seeking self-improvement. Moreover, the good student did not think that nothing was good but what he himself could understand.⁹⁴ Like Anselm of Canterbury and Alexander Nequam, Hugh believed that nothing could be gained in assuming that human intelligence could fully comprehend all the divine mysteries of the faith. It was the antithesis of faith to assume that man could know God’s mysteries against God’s own will. To become angry about this was detrimental to one’s chances of salvation; it was far better instead to humble oneself before God and pray for his guidance and grace.

Despite this environment of collaboration, criticism of scholastic methods by monastic proponents did occur, and was widespread. In the context of this study, the very brief condemnation of those proud and conceited intellects of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* is very significant. Baldwin did not allow any room for these individuals to potentially know God; their existence in this tract was intended to legitimise the divine inspiration of those who were gifted with the word of wisdom. It seems that Baldwin subscribed to an idea of divine revelation being a prerogative of the monastic orders which can be read in the works of some other twelfth-century writers. For example, the Benedictine abbess Hildegard of Bingen wrote that divine inspiration rather than learning, was the main way in which wisdom and knowledge about God had been revealed to her:

⁹² Hugh of Saint Victor, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, trans. by J. Taylor, Records of Civilization Sources and Studies, 64 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), ch. 1, p. 54; ch. 1, p. 47.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, ch. 6, p. 90.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. 13, p. 97.

And immediately I knew the meaning of the exposition of the Scriptures, namely the Psalter, the Gospel and the other Catholic volumes of both the Old and the New Testaments, though I did not have the interpretation of the words of their texts or the division of the syllables or the knowledge of cases or tense... But the visions I saw I did not perceive in dreams, or sleep or delirium, or by the eyes of the body, or by the ears of the outer self, or in hidden places; but I received them while awake and seeing with a pure mind and the eyes and ears of the inner self, in open places, as God willed it. How this might be is hard for mortal flesh to understand.⁹⁵

In this passage, Hildegard betrayed a familiarity with some of the terminology of the dialectical methodology of the schools, despite repeatedly asserting elsewhere that she was unlearned. It was important to her that she stressed the reception of divine enlightenment over the scholastic processes of knowing. Whilst this would undoubtedly appeal to the prophetic nature of her visions and work, it must also be remembered that her view here was shared by other monastic writers.⁹⁶

Despite the strong statement in the opening of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, Baldwin's thinking on the issue, as is ever the case, is not straightforward. The *De Commendatione Fidei* is an excellent case in point. In this, Baldwin elaborated a more complex process for the acquisition and bolstering of the faith which allowed for the use of human reasoning in order to come to terms with more complicated thought on the nature of faith and God. As a learned man Baldwin personally esteemed the use of reason wherever it was appropriate. He believed that reason must be used to demonstrate that faith was not merely a matter of human opinion.⁹⁷ The aim of his *De Commendatione Fidei* was to prove that faith is the foundation of mankind's relationship with God, and that reason was ultimately a gift from God, without which mankind was doomed.⁹⁸ Similar ideas were expounded by other influential monastic writers. Anselm of Canterbury was keen to employ reason to expound the centrality of faith in the

⁹⁵ Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias*, trans. by C. Hart and J. Bishop, *The Classics of Western Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), pp. 59-60.

⁹⁶ I. P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture*, p. 71.

⁹⁷ D. N. Bell, 'Introduction' (2000), p. 18.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

accomplishment of human wisdom. This was not because Anselm himself required a rational proof of God's existence, but because he believed that reason could be a useful tool, alongside prayer, which could help to enlighten others.⁹⁹ Evidently, the implications of how scholastic methodologies might be employed were complicated.

To come more to terms with the context of Cistercian thinking in which Baldwin was working and writing, it would be useful to turn once again to the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux. In some instances, Bernard sought to withdraw and distance himself from the schools. His conflicts with the high-profile heterodox school masters clearly demonstrate that Bernard harboured concerns about the possible harm which might be caused to the Church through the pursuit and teaching of the dialectical methodologies of the Parisian schools. His unsuccessful attempts to reach a public condemnation of Gilbert of Poitiers at the Council of Rheims in 1148 provides a view of a situation in which distance was being placed between monastic authority, which Bernard represented, and the networks built up between the masters and students of the theological schools. A particularly poignant portrait of this is the image of Bernard attempting, and failing, to confute Gilbert, who had come well prepared for disputation with the style of argument which was commonly used in the day-to-day teaching of the schools.¹⁰⁰

Bernard's belief in the authority of those graced with self-knowledge and divine wisdom was continually reasserted in his writing. In his *Vita Sancti Malachi*, he recounted an incident where Malachy confronted a scholar who did not believe that the true body of Christ was present in the sacrament of the altar. The man was described as a *sciolus*, a late Latin word for someone who is learned in their own estimation, but who actually has very little organised knowledge.¹⁰¹ Malachy sought to approach the man in secret but his attempts failed, and he was drawn into a public confrontation in which the scholar defended his errors with 'every power of ingenuity.'¹⁰² The man would leave the assembly confuted by the bishop's authority, but not corrected. This story matches

⁹⁹ I. P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁰⁰ John of Salisbury, pp. 15-27; C. Monagle, 'John of Salisbury and the Writing of History,' in *A Companion to John of Salisbury*, ed. by C. Grellard and F. Lachaud (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp.215-233 (pp. 226-228).

¹⁰¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Life and Death of Saint Malachy the Irishman*, trans. by R. T. Meyer, Cistercian Fathers Series, 10 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1978), p. 143.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

the histories of the trials of various heterodox schoolmasters in the early twelfth century, notably Gilbert of Poitiers. Although Bernard was not a bishop like Malachy, he couched Malachy's actions in terms which seem similar to his own experiences in confronting a *sciolus*, suggesting that Bernard identified a spiritual connection between his own monastic authority and Malachy's episcopal authority. Their ability to stand up to heresy rested on the superiority of their saintly lifestyles over the worldly learning of their adversaries.

In this respect both men, despite their divergent vocations, represented the role of the apostle, or perhaps a prophet, harking back to the idea that knowledge of the truth about the Christian faith was a facet of the apostolic inheritance, given to mankind by God, and not the intellectual property of any particular group within this congregation. As has been demonstrated, the influence of the apostolic succession and inheritance was of paramount importance to Baldwin of Forde's understanding of the Church's development and authority.¹⁰³ In the story of Malachy, the scholar would go on to repent, and return to the Church, following a miraculous confrontation with a mad old vagabond, through whom the scholar heard the word of God.¹⁰⁴ Bernard ascribed this miracle to Malachy, and this stands as a firm reminder of Bernard's confidence in the ultimate supremacy of ecclesiastical authority based on a saintly, virtuous lifestyle, or the *vita apostolica*, over the innovations and corruptions of the worldly schools, even in the case that corruption might not be refuted immediately!

Bernard's theological and spiritual writings also cultivated ways of knowing which could only work within a monastic context.¹⁰⁵ Bernard stressed above all the rejection of the world as the crucial factor in the development of wisdom and knowledge of God. For him, any form of literary study had to be preceded by an awareness of God and of one's true self.¹⁰⁶ This awareness could only be brought about by endeavouring to live a life of charity, removed from the world, and disciplining oneself to do so for love of God. It was a basic medieval axiom that only souls which had

¹⁰³ See above pp. 51-52, 61-62, 66-68.

¹⁰⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Saint Malachy*, para 57, pp. 71-72.

¹⁰⁵ I. P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁶ J. R. Sommerfeldt, *Bernard of Clairvaux: On the Life of the Mind* (New York: Newman Press, 2004), p. 39.

been 'likened' to God, by embracing his nature of love and *caritas*, could truly know and be one with Him. This understanding had its roots in the writings of St Augustine, who argued that to have true knowledge one had to retreat into the eternal world within oneself, and cease to concentrate on the sensory world outside.¹⁰⁷ Baldwin explored this idea in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* where he discussed the heretics called the 'continents'.¹⁰⁸ These heretics pretended to live according to an apostolic lifestyle, by stressing their abstinence from worldly pleasures like food and drink. Baldwin argued that concern for food and drink was not a concern for the kingdom of God, which was 'justice and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit.'¹⁰⁹

The love or fear of God thus experienced was the only means of preparing oneself to receive wisdom. Bernard wrote that receiving instruction about God could make a man learned, but it could not make him wise, as many who receive the word of God are not necessarily inspired to act upon it. He continued that, 'likewise, knowledge of God is one thing and fear of God, another; what confers wisdom is not knowledge, but fear that touches the heart.'¹¹⁰ This thought carried with it the idea that true wisdom was ultimately conferred upon individuals by God even if they needed to prepare themselves with faith and careful learning. Thus, what for scholars like Hugh of Saint-Victor was achieved as the result of long and careful training in letters and in discipline, for Bernard was an act of grace.¹¹¹ Baldwin's portrayal of wisdom in the preface to the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* combines elements of both of these views.¹¹²

It would be wrong to assume that Bernard meant to suggest that the liberal arts were useless. After all, Bernard himself studied rhetoric and dialectic as a youth under the tutelage of the canons of Saint Vorles at Châtillon.¹¹³ What appeared to be important was the use to which learning was put, and the priority given to it by the

¹⁰⁷ S. Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 46.

¹⁰⁸ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 51, ll. 1-19.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 52, ll. 19-20: 'Non est enim regnum dei esca et potus, sed iusticia et pax et gaudium in spiritu sancto.'

¹¹⁰ *Songs*, II, sermon 23, pp. 37-38.

¹¹¹ J. C. Stephen, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 269.

¹¹² *L. D. S. H.*, p. 29, see above, pp. 85-87.

¹¹³ J. R. Sommerfeldt, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. 36.

learner; the same idea lies at the heart of Baldwin of Forde's *De Commendatione Fidei*. Bernard's concern to ensure that learning was pursued for the correct reasons and applied in a manner which was beneficial to the unity of the Church can help to explain his persistent interest in the conduct and business of the schools. A useful illustration of this would be his personal relationship with Robert Pullen, the Exeter schoolmaster and one of Baldwin's earliest tutors. After his time at Exeter, Robert was promoted to the archdeaconry of Rochester, and as archdeacon he travelled to teach and learn at the school in Paris, where he came to Bernard's attention. His absence caused conflict with the bishop of Rochester; however, Bernard sought to resolve this to keep Robert in the city. In a letter to the bishop, Ascelin, Bernard wrote 'If I have advised Master Robert Pullen to spend some time at Paris, for the sake of the sound teaching which is known to be imparted there, it was because I thought it necessary – and I still do.'¹¹⁴ This letter betrays a sense of just how solicitously Bernard kept an eye over the theological teaching of Paris, in that he sought to encourage the continued teaching of certain masters over others, despite obstacles which might stand in the way of doing this.

From 1140 onwards, Bernard had a great influence on the choices made for the occupant of the chair of theology in the cathedral school of Paris. As a result, the individuals chosen, like Robert Pullen and Bernard's good friend William of Champeaux, were all either directly or indirectly connected with the teaching of Anselm of Laon.¹¹⁵ Also connected was the school of Saint Victor, where Anselm of Canterbury's style of theology was still taught, and with which Bernard maintained a close relationship. In 1141, the abbot, Hugh of Saint Victor, died, and it is possible that Bernard sought to find a suitable replacement to continue the style of teaching that Hugh had favoured, and that Robert fitted this requirement.¹¹⁶ Bernard's faith in Robert was so great that eventually he encouraged the schoolmaster to become papal chancellor, and to act as a consoler and counsellor to Pope Eugenius III, a former Cistercian monk. In a letter to Robert, Bernard suggested that God had sent him to Eugenius to 'prepare a lamp for his anointed,' and asked him to watch carefully over Eugenius, according to the wisdom

¹¹⁴ *Letters*, letter 271, pp. 344-345.

¹¹⁵ F. Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen: An English Theologian of the Twelfth Century*, Analecta Gregoriana Cura Pontificiae Universitatis Gregoriana Editae, 64 (Rome: Aedes Universitatis Gregoriana, 1954), p. 19.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

given to him, so that he did not become consumed by wicked, worldly affairs.¹¹⁷ Bernard's confidence in Robert came from his view of him as a faithful man, who would be able to guide Eugenius because of the wisdom which had been granted to him.

In Robert Pullen can be seen an example of learning pursued correctly in the schools, according to Bernard's theology. This view was that learning undertaken for the discovery of the truth was virtuous but learning which was undertaken for any other reason could be dangerous. For example, Bernard wrote that a person who sought to obtain empty glory, or any sort of temporal favour, rather than the truth for its own sake, should be seen as 'partially deformed... disfigured by a shameful motive.'¹¹⁸ Baldwin was equally condemnatory of such individuals, highlighting their canal natures in the preface of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*.¹¹⁹ Leclercq has argued that the reason for the continued uneasiness of the monks about the schools, despite recognising their usefulness on the whole, stemmed from the basic incompatibility of the life of the schools with the spiritual orientation of the monasteries. The monks were orientated towards traditional patristic exposition, rather than the pursuit of new problems and solutions, as they conceived of this attachment to the Church Fathers as a form of humility.¹²⁰

Whilst the schools sought to systematize this patristic inheritance, the monasteries sought to synthesise it, providing themselves with a 'personal, subjective element which served as a point of departure for reflection.'¹²¹ This was because they saw theology as a source of immediate practical wisdom which expounded a way of life to be realised in contemplation. In contrast, the scholars who tried to write systematic theology would always differ, as they sought not to stimulate contemplation but to create a professional discipline regulated by proficiency in the application of dialectical, grammatical or logical methodologies.¹²² The scholastic theologians appear to have had a collective awareness of themselves as participants in a new stage of doctrinal

¹¹⁷ *Letters*, letter 316, pp. 386-387.

¹¹⁸ *Songs*, II, sermon 40, p. 200.

¹¹⁹ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 29, II. 5-6: 'Animales enim sunt et superbi.'

¹²⁰ J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, pp. 199-201.

¹²¹ J. Leclercq, 'The Renewal of Theology,' in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by G. Constable and R. Benson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 68-87 (p. 77); S. Ozment, p. 89.

¹²² M. L. Colish, 'Systematic Theology and Theological Renewal in the Twelfth Century,' *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 18 (1988), 135-156 (p. 141).

methodology through the use of these chosen techniques, and they taught their students that the theological multiplicity was the normal working condition of Christian orthodoxy.¹²³

Despite an appreciation for the usefulness of the study of the liberal arts which was shared amongst scholars and monks alike in the twelfth century, all of these individual groups held differing opinions as to the appropriate use of literary skills.¹²⁴ This would eventually lead both monks and scholars alike to define who they were by emphasizing the differences between themselves and others who were actually very similar to them, but who advocated different, non-traditional approaches to the pursuit of learning.¹²⁵ This was the context for the writing of many twelfth-century commentators on the schools, who, like Baldwin of Forde, were representatives of a vast network of communication between different schools of monastic and scholastic theology. As a result, their writings display a series of 'routinely aired polemical discourses overstating the differences in aims and methods between the various educational worlds.'¹²⁶ The existence of communication networks between schools and monasteries and the prevailing attractiveness of the monastic ideal offered contemporary commentators from both educational backgrounds a framework of criticism of scholastic innovation. This framework revolved around the concepts of humility and simplicity in the faith. Two important topoi which can be readily identified within this commentary are pride and over-complication, which will now be considered in terms of how they were represented and why they were feared.

Pride and Over-complication

The moral dangers of the pride harboured by erudite individuals were an important part of the framework of criticism employed against some schoolmasters. Criticism of proud

¹²³ M. L. Colish, 'Authority and Interpretation in Scholastic Theology,' in *Religious Identity and the Problem of Historical Foundation: The Foundational Character of Authoritative Sources in the History of Christianity and Judaism*, ed. by J. Frischman, W. Otten and R. Rouwhurst (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 369-386 (pp. 385-386).

¹²⁴ C. Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy*, p. 3.

¹²⁵ M. G. Newman, p. 37.

¹²⁶ C. Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy*, p. 3.

individuals occurred frequently in Baldwin's theological treatises and sermons, as well as in the *Liber De Sectis Hereticorum*. Pride is born of an inability to humble oneself before God, which leads the individual to doubt the word of God in favour of his own opinion: 'The pride of human reason which rejects pious devotion and knows not how to humble itself to faith is a culpable blindness of the heart and hateful to God, since it refuses to believe that which is beyond its understanding.'¹²⁷ In matters of faith and belief, such pride encourages human reason to push the boundaries of humanity's understanding. This inevitably leads to the production of perversions of the truth, as the only true way to know God is through fear of God. When these perversions were taught and defended, they become heresies.

Lack of pride was a defining feature of Baldwin's characterisation of those who had been granted the 'word of wisdom' in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, as the only individuals with the power of discernment necessary to determine what is good and bad in matters of the faith. Pride was very much the antithesis of the monastic ideal. The Rule of St Benedict warned monks against the exaltation of pride, cautioning them to maintain a state of personal humility which fulfilled the requirements of Psalm 130. 1: 'Lord, my heart has no lofty ambitions, my eyes do not look too high; I am not concerned with great affairs, or marvels beyond my scope.' In order to achieve such a state, the Rule mandated a twelve-stage progression, not unlike the rungs of a ladder, made up of the basic precepts of the daily life within the monasteries, including maintaining silence, avoiding laughter, speaking with care and seriousness and generally maintaining a humble disposition.¹²⁸

Given this shared experience of the physical practice of humility, it is unsurprising that monastic commentators would use it as a point of departure for their opinions on the schools. For example, John of Forde wrote on the differences he perceived between his own school in the monastery, and the worldly schools. His perspective is illuminating as it offers a view of how the intellectual scene at Forde,

¹²⁷ *S. T.*, p. 54.

¹²⁸ *Rule*, ch. 7, pp. 39-49.

which had developed around Baldwin during his abbacy, was understood by the abbey's members:

When you come together in one body to deal with your Father's business, may you always consider something about the good pleasure of that Father, or about the glory of his kingdom; something which builds up models, rouses love and has love's savour. May the questioning about the things of God be put with piety, the reply with gentleness, and both be flavoured with pleasant tasting salt, the salt of grace, as the apostle called it. Finally, may the whole disputation be ended with peaceful and humble words, lest it may happen, which God forbid, that from talking about love, wrath and even indignation may be inflamed.¹²⁹

This was the method of learning within the cloister, in John's perspective, which took as its model the image of Christ in the Temple at Jerusalem, who had hidden his wisdom behind his reverent behaviour until he was asked his opinion. From this passage, it can be seen that John considered the main differences between the two kinds of schools to be the lack of envy present in the cloister and the mode of the discussions conducted there. The absence of envy was afforded by the stripping away of pride from the individual monks, for one who understood his humble position and had learnt to love his neighbour as he loved God could not, in theory, feel jealousy. The mode of discussion within the cloister was seemingly of equal importance, as John was very specific that temperance and mildness should be maintained when talking about God. This can be seen to be in direct contrast to the behaviour of certain schoolmen and offered a stance from which to criticise them.

In the *Life of St Goswin*, Abelard was likened to Proteus, a Homeric sea-god who changed shape in order to avoid answering questions posed to him by his students. One of these shapes was that of a rhinoceros, which was often allegorised during the Middle Ages as a representation of pride, a creature too proud to stand with the humble ass and oxen at the Christmas crib. Clanchy demonstrated that this insult had multiple layers, as the image of the rhinoceros was most familiar to medieval readers in the

¹²⁹ Balliol College, MS. 24, fol. 102^r, translated in C. J. Holdsworth, 'John of Forde,' p. 135.

bestiaries as a unicorn, whose wit was described as being so sharp that none of the ranks of angels, or even devils, could understand him.¹³⁰ This builds up a very unflattering picture of Abelard's flamboyant teaching style, depicting him as someone who was too proud to appear uncertain before his pupils, encouraging a fractious environment in which nearly incomprehensible teachings were expounded. A similar image was portrayed in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* for the heretic Appolinarius, Bishop of Laodicea in Syria. According to Baldwin, Appolinarius was a man who was sanely educated, but who was driven by an excessive vice of controversy. The bishop took great delight in arguing against everything which anyone said to him, and ended up promulgating a vicious heresy, that Jesus only assumed a body and not a soul in the Incarnation. When pressed on this issue, and faced with scriptural evidence, Appolinarius would change his stance, altering his arguments in order to save face.¹³¹ He was too proud to admit his errors, and thus put his own ego above the needs of his pupils, thus disrupting the harmony of the classroom as later envisaged by John of Forde.

The school of Laon under Anselm demonstrates how a concern with the external signs of pride might have been acted upon. Anselm was strongly interested in the practical problems of everyday religious life of both the clergy and the laity, and he was also concerned with the influence that pride could have over the simple believer. In order to educate his students, Anselm organised his school around the recital of a morning lecture, followed by a period of contemplation which ended with an afternoon or evening session when questions might be asked or larger issues raised.¹³² This organisation had a long tradition of monastic origin which focused on the centrality of communal living in the individual's pursuit of salvation. People could only learn to control their own will by living in a community in which they learned obedience, and humility by responding to the needs of those around them. In the context of this central monastic assumption, the actions of strong-willed, proud schoolmen like Henry of Lausanne and Peter Abelard were particularly abhorrent because they acted

¹³⁰ M. Clanchy, 'Abelard – Knight (Miles), Courtier (Palatinus) and Man of War (Vir Bellator),' in *Medieval Knighthood V: Papers from the Sixth Strawberry Hill Conference, 1994*, ed. by S. Church and R. Harvey (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), pp. 101-119 (pp. 112-113).

¹³¹ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 72, ll. 17-26, p. 73, l. 1.

¹³² R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, Vol 2, p. 45.

independently of any good, God-fearing communities which could persuade them to behave with greater reservation, and so avoid offending God.¹³³

The ability to control one's own will stemmed from knowledge of the self. Lack of self-knowledge caused by pride in one's own ambitions was a common feature of criticism of the schools. Bernard of Clairvaux, whose confidence in his own self-knowledge was founded upon his spiritual relationship to Christ's Passion and Redemption, castigated Abelard, targeting him in what he perceived to be his weakest spot: 'There is nothing in heaven and on earth which he does not know but himself.'¹³⁴ Connected to the idea of a lack of self-knowledge was the existence of ambition – a man who was proud of his abilities would always seek to expand his ambitions, reaching to matters which were beyond him. As a result, many of the figures criticised for being proud were portrayed as unstable, insecure individuals, who might seem fickle, and who might wander about. This image is again opposed to the stability of life within a monastic community.

The theme was predominant in Goswin of Mainz's letter of 1065 to his student, Walcherus. Goswin respected the pursuit of a disciplined life in the search for knowledge. He wrote that some men, made 'pseudo-masters' by their minimal instruction, choose to wander through towns and cities in a way that was similar to some heretics, passing along their novel teachings because they have no fixed lodging of their own.¹³⁵ The result for many of these men, in Goswin's view, was that they found themselves begging through taverns 'given over to mimes and actors,' and holding forth in philosophical debate for money in order to receive some degree of gratification according to their pride and their perceived abilities.¹³⁶ This, for Goswin, was the direct opposite of the motive which ought to inspire pursuit of learning, which was the pursuit of a return to humanity's glory in the securing of its salvation. Instead, pride and worldly

¹³³ M. G. Newman, p. 225.

¹³⁴ W. Otten, 'Authority and Identity in the Transition from Monastic to Scholastic Theology: Peter Abelard and Bernard of Clairvaux,' in *Religious Identity and the Problem of Historical Foundation: the Foundational Character of Authoritative Sources in the History of Christianity and Judaism*, ed. by J. Frischman and W. Otten (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 349-368 (p. 365); *Letters*, letter 241, p. 321.

¹³⁵ Goswin of Mainz, 'Letter to Walcherus,' p. 366.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

ambition corrupt intelligence: 'In the end beastly avarice holds sway over all the rewards of virtue and ambition takes inventory of its merchandise in the kingdom of money.'¹³⁷

There is a similar image in a letter written by Jerome to Theodora of Hispania included in Baldwin's *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. Jerome wrote to warn Theodora about wandering scholars, much in the same way as Goswin wrote to Walcherus, by describing the actions of a man who had troubled the continent during Irenaeus of Lyons' lifetime. Baldwin transcribed his letter, recounting how this man, Marcus, had wandered from Gaul to 'those parts through which the rivers Rhone and Garonne flow,' and then across the Pyrenees to Spain. Whilst he wandered, he spread his heresies. His motivation was worldly ambition and greed, seen particularly in the way that he targeted rich noblewomen, deceiving them with magical tricks and sexual favours, but rendering them 'never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.'¹³⁸

Another common criticism found amongst contemporary commentators was that pride made men irreverent. Common tropes used to illustrate this involved describing the scholars as they argued against their teachers, whether classical or contemporary, and inflated their own egos. In reports from many monastic and cathedral communities certain schools can be seen to be home to 'cavillers' who dispute, cast doubt, violate the rules of *reverentia* and *pietas*, redefine old usage and finally contradict their own teachers.¹³⁹ As the study of theology was beginning to found itself as a new profession, the culture of the schools seems to have encouraged a degree of competitiveness. To succeed within the schools, it was very important to build up a reputation in order to attract students, as each student decided where they wanted to travel to, and under whom they wished to study.¹⁴⁰ One way of attracting such attention during the second half of the twelfth century was the large-scale production of translation of works by classical Greek and Arabic philosophers, and there was concern that the writings of these pagan scholars were often superseding the study of the Christian patristic fathers. Such methodology and reasoning, when applied against

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

¹³⁸ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 58, ll. 8-11: 'Inde Pireneum transiens Hispanias occupavit et hoc studii habuerit, ut divitum et in ipsis feminas maxime sibi appeteret que ducuntur variis desideriis semper discentes et nunquam ad scienciam veritatis pervenientes.'

¹³⁹ J. C. Stephen, p. 217.

¹⁴⁰ I. P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture*, p. 12.

venerable authorities were regarded by critics as ‘pernicious instruments of pride,’ which deserved to be discredited and condemned.¹⁴¹ To critics of the schools, this was symptomatic of knowledge being pursued and disputation aggressively undertaken in order to further worldly ambition and pride.

Schoolmen were also criticised for persistently seeking to engage with the secret mysteries of wisdom which were not given for them to understand. This was the primary cause of concern for Baldwin in the preface to the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* and provided the basis for his most condemnatory statements regarding the proud and carnal intellectuals. Masters might have sought to demonstrate their skills, and thus attract more students, by tackling theological issues which were seen as more cutting-edge. Peter the Chanter noted that some theological subjects were more susceptible to rash and heretical conclusions, because they tended to be the favourite subjects for theologians who were inclined to abstract speculation.¹⁴² These topics included the sacraments, the humanity of Christ and the fatherhood and names of God. Anselm of Canterbury in his *De Incarnatione Verbi* likened such scholars to owls and bats who presume to dispute about the sun with the eagle, despite being creatures of the night.¹⁴³

Goswin of Mainz also complained that the scholars of Tours did not acknowledge that ‘the things of God defy the speech of man and the world,’ and that their work only focused on attempting to encompass God within the boundaries of nature, thus confining to human reason something which ‘surpassed the reason of any rational creature.’¹⁴⁴ At issue here was the use of human language and examples to try and describe or redefine the mysteries of the faith. The *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* was filled with ancient heretics such as Valentinus who invented genealogies of Aeons in order to render divine mysteries more understandable to human imaginations, exploiting mankind’s fascination with defining and naming the nature and qualities of divine entities with mortal concepts and phraseology. It was not just literary studies which

¹⁴¹ J. C. Stephen, p. 218.

¹⁴² J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), I, p. 101.

¹⁴³ Anselm of Canterbury, *Complete Philosophies and Theological Treatises of Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. by J. Hopkins and H. W. Richardson (Minneapolis: A. J. Banning Press, 2000), p. 267.

¹⁴⁴ Goswin of Mainz, ‘Letter to Walcherus,’ pp. 367-368.

these heretics employed against the faith, as Baldwin included an attempt made by Basilides to explain the mysteries of heaven mathematically.

One element of Basilides' complicated theology was that there were 365 heavens in the sky, because there were 365 days in the year, a sign of mathematical symbolism built into the universe as a means of revealing divine mysteries to mankind. A further sign was the value of names. Basilides gave each letter of the alphabet a value – so 'a' was 'one,' 'b' was 'two' and so on – then took the individual values of the letters used to make the name 'Ambraxes,' performed an illogical equation, and produced the number 365. According to Baldwin's explanation, this result constituted further proof in Basilides' mind that there were 365 heavens, that divine secrets could be explained mathematically, and that 'Ambraxes' was God's true name.¹⁴⁵ This section of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* reads like nonsense, but the theme of intellectuals stretching the boundaries of human science and knowledge is clearly evident and significant.

Although arguably less ridiculous than the alleged calculations created by Basilides, Goswin's concern about the scholars of Tours is significant as it was prompted by the teachings of Berengar of Tours. For many centuries after his trial, Berengar's reputation for perverting divine truths by attempting to explain them within the limitations of human language caused the phrase 'another Berengar' to be used often to cast doubts upon the orthodoxy of a medieval thinker.¹⁴⁶ Similar criticism would be levelled later at Roscelin of Compiègne and Peter Abelard in the early twelfth century. Roscelin had claimed that it was right to separate the quiddity of the Trinitarian persons, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, because the conventions of human speech demanded so, and he wrote on this in a letter to Abelard. Abelard wrote in a similar way, while emphasising the fundamental likeness between human reason and absolute truth.¹⁴⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux claimed that Abelard was attempting to leave nothing to faith, by prying into mysterious matters, and thus profaning rather than revealing what was holy.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ L. D. S. H., p. 44, ll. 5-8.

¹⁴⁶ G. Mary, 'Berengar's Legacy as a Heresiarch,' in *Auctoritas und Ratio: Studien zu Berengar von Tours*, ed. by P. Ganz, R. B. C. Huygens and F. Niewöhner (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1990), pp. 46-67.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-32.

¹⁴⁸ *Letters*, letter 238, p. 316.

During the late twelfth century, there was increasing scepticism along similar lines within some monastic and cathedral communities about the writings of Peter Lombard. In the third book of his *Sentences*, Lombard attempted to bring together the different ways in which scholars had previously described the relationship between Christ's humanity and his divinity, with the purpose of reconciling recent innovations in theological reasoning to conciliar orthodoxy.¹⁴⁹ Controversy arose when he attempted to explain how Christ could have been a person with two separate natures, mortal and divine, when logical reason told the scholar to question the quiddity of Christ's humanity.¹⁵⁰ After Lombard's ideas were discussed at the Council of Tours in 1163, Gerhoh of Reichersberg, an Augustinian canon, wrote to Alexander III, arguing that it was abhorrent that such matters should be under dispute in front of an assembled clergy, let alone in the schools, as it gave rise to a situation in which God the Son was not glorified in the Church equally with the glory of God the Father.¹⁵¹

Robert of Cricklade, an English Augustinian canon, also took up the pen against Peter Lombard's Christological theology. In his *Speculum Fidei*, he recalled an occasion when he encountered a student of Lombard's in a pub. The student had engaged Robert in a disputation after hearing Robert remark to a friend that Lombard was a heretic. The student attempted to explain to Robert the true meaning of Lombard's teaching with examples. Robert replied readily, 'You will not explain this to me with examples in this way. I speak about the two natures, clearly divine and human, and you introduce examples from nature, and from accident, which is not even reckoned among nature,' to which the student could not reply.¹⁵² Robert's fundamental criticism of proponents of Lombard's school was that they attempted to explain the mysteries of the faith by confining them within the limitations of human language and examples drawn from nature, rather than by contemplating traditional patristic authorities and orthodox doctrine. By thus reducing their subject matter, Lombard's school were guilty of diminishing the glory of God, as a result of their pride in their own human wisdom.

¹⁴⁹ C. Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy*, pp. 74-86.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹⁵¹ Gerhoh of Reichersberg, 'Epistola XVIII ad Alexandram III Papa,' *P. L.*, CXIII (1834), cols. 565-566.

¹⁵² Robert of Cricklade, 'Rodberti Krikeladensis, Speculum Fidei, III, 5,' in R. W. Hunt, 'English Learning,' pp. 37-38.

Related to this was the idea that scholars placed obstacles in the way of reaching God through overcomplicating their theology. Ailred of Rievaulx allegedly had strong opinions on this, which inspired Walter Daniel, another monk at Rievaulx, to write about Ailred's intellectual qualities in his *Vita Ailredi*. Walter wrote that although he was a genius in every figure of speech, Ailred was not proud and so never sought to involve his speech in extra complications which could burden rather than enhance the sense of his ideas, because 'verbal artifice' would rob the truth of its meaning by digressing from it and making false additions to it which it disdained.¹⁵³ He concluded that 'verbiage can be meaningless, in no way different from the barking of a dog.'¹⁵⁴

In the schools themselves, Peter the Chanter would turn to the question of whether the debate promulgated through the contemporary climate of disputation and *quaestio* produced useful material, or if it was worthless verbiage. He identified three broad categories of *quaestiones*. Firstly, he saw that there were *quaestiones* which were useless because they treated neither faith nor morals and were thus to be eliminated. Secondly, there were those which were focused on useful matters which had already been made clear by orthodox theology and so were thus superfluous and could be easily omitted. Finally, there were *quaestiones* which were useful but difficult, and so needed to be discussed with modesty and without 'wrangling.'¹⁵⁵ The reason why this distinction was so important to Peter the Chanter was because his intellectual interests were very different from those of the scholastic theologians. He was a member of the group of scholars interested in what Leclercq styled the 'Pastoral Theology of the schools,' as separate from the 'Speculative Theology of the schools.'¹⁵⁶ This pastoral theology focused on moral and practical ethics related to the day-to-day living of Christian people and how this should be transmitted to the faithful, whether this was the student population of the theological schools, or the wider European populace.

As a prolific orator himself, Bernard of Clairvaux was sensitive to this issue, and the relationships he maintained with the schools, and particularly with the students

¹⁵³ Walter Daniel, *The Life of Aelred of Rievaulx by Walter Daniel*, trans. by F. M. Powicke (London: Nelson, 1950), p. 26

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁵⁵ J. W. Baldwin, p. 98.

¹⁵⁶ J. Leclercq, 'The Renewal,' pp. 79-80.

there can be explained by his concern that the example set by proud and loquacious teachers could lead younger academics astray. Bernard preached on numerous occasions to congregations of students in Paris, urging them to maintain lives of stricter discipline and warning them to be wary of certain masters. On one occasion Bernard was reduced to tears when his attempts to convert one group of students failed, and he believed that God was angry with him for this outcome.¹⁵⁷ Not fully disheartened by this, Bernard returned to the school the next day and tried a second sermon which succeeded in converting some of the students. In order to secure their redemption, Bernard immediately had carriages ordered so as not to delay in bringing them into the safety of Clairvaux.¹⁵⁸ Bernard's sense of urgency was driven by his fear of the consequences of these students continuing to listen to the types of irreverent teaching already discussed. In a letter to Cardinal Stephen, the Bishop of Palestrina, he expressed fear that Abelard's style of teaching was especially dangerous to 'raw and inexperienced listeners hardly finished with their dialectics,' because these students are unwittingly introduced to the devil, 'to him who is "shrouded with darkness."' ¹⁵⁹

Abelard's failure to consider the abilities of his audience, and his prideful expectation that beginners in the liberal arts should cope with advanced theology were amongst Bernard's main objections. This was combined with Bernard's distrust of Abelard's intellectual methods, his overestimation of human intellectual capacity, his willingness to be inventive in his use of language in referring to indefinable mysteries, and his deplorable lifestyle as a monk who failed to reject the world.¹⁶⁰ The idea that the students of the schools could be led so easily astray by such masters seems to have been accepted more widely. Goswin of Mainz described the students of Tours as 'servitors of levity,' who were eager for novelty, irreverent to discipline and religion, yet also incautious and simple-minded.¹⁶¹ Goswin and Bernard both saw that the students were being purposefully led astray by these irreverent masters; evidently, pride could turn a master into a heretic who would wish to increase the size of his following through deception. Robert of Cricklade also levelled this criticism at Peter of Lombard, claiming

¹⁵⁷ See above, p. 128; Conrad of Eberbach, bk. 2, ch. 13, pp. 143-144.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

¹⁵⁹ *Letters*, letter 243, p. 324.

¹⁶⁰ I. P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture*, p. 75.

¹⁶¹ Goswin of Mainz, 'Letter to Walcherus,' pp. 366-367.

that he was glad that Lombard had not succeeded in ensnaring Robert of Melun in his net, '*ne te teneret in viscatum hereticus ille*.'¹⁶² '*In viscatum*' is an interesting choice of phrase; meaning 'ensnared,' it literally translated to 'trap with birdlime,' a sticky substance put onto trees to trap birds.¹⁶³ The implication was that Lombard used his learning in order to mislead his students, removing them from the safety of the Church because of his pride.

Baldwin too shared this fear, which he expressed in his discussion of Simon Magus, who, enraged by the apostle's refusal to accept him into their company, sought to seduce their followers away from them. He wrote:

So everything which he said was said imprudently, and impudently, and irreverently, so that he might excite horror and tremblings of fear, inducing alarm and wonder and confusion. Oh the madness of that impudent man! Oh the impudence of that mad man! Oh the pride of that arrogant man! We listened to his pride: 'he is very proud.'¹⁶⁴

Baldwin's indignation here was representative of criticisms of eloquence and proud teachers who sought to mislead their students, fuelled by generations of both monks and scholars alike who were wary of different styles of teaching and learning.

Baldwin was part of group of scholars and Cistercians who viewed academic and popular heresies as related problems.¹⁶⁵ They believed that the rise of popular heretics was influenced by the activities of heterodox school masters and learned men. Like inexperienced students, the common faithful were considered susceptible to the irreverent teachings of loquacious but irreverent teachers, but to an even greater degree. It was this reason that John of Salisbury was wary of Arnold of Brescia's learning as the source of his ability to prevent the citizens of both France and Italy from being at peace with the clergy, and Otto of Freising too condemned him as a man who was 'not... dull of intellect, yet abounding rather in profusion of words than in the weight of his

¹⁶² Robert of Cricklade, '*Speculum Fidei*,' p. 37.

¹⁶³ C. Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy*, p. 91.

¹⁶⁴ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 36, ll. 16-21: 'Tam imprudenter et impudenter et irreverenter, omnia dicuntur, ut horrorem et horripilationem et timorem incutiant, stuporem et ammirationem et confusionem adducunt. O demencia hominis impudentis! O impudencia hominis dementis! O superbia hominis arrogantis! Audivimus superbiam eius: "Superbus est valde." (Isaiah 16. 6; Jeremiah 48. 29).'

¹⁶⁵ J. Bird, '*The Construction of Orthodoxy*,' p. 45.

ideas.’¹⁶⁶ Similarly, Caesarius of Heisterbach included an *exemplum* concerning the Waldensians in his *Dialogus Miraculorum* at the end of the century. He reported that the bishop of Metz, Bertrand, had confronted a couple of Waldensians on a feast day in front of his congregation, claiming that they were demons. These two men responded boldly, for they were accompanied by a scholar who barked like a dog, heaping insults on the bishop and drawing away his lay congregation by preaching false doctrine to them.¹⁶⁷ Whilst Baldwin was not writing about contemporary heresies like these commentators, the ancient examples he chose to elaborate in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* demonstrate that he was concerned with the subversive actions of erudite heretics, like Simon Magus, who sought to attack the traditional mechanisms of learning and teaching about the faith for their own ends.

The common concern was for the proliferation of vices within individuals who had teaching roles over others. This could be in the case of a schoolmaster teaching recklessly to an itinerant student population, or a wandering learned man who could influence the reception of ideas about the Christian faith amongst the laity. Fears about this were especially potent in the case of schoolmasters and students wandering almost nomadically across Europe at this time. In addition, there was the extra issue that the teachings of heterodox academics could reach wider lay audiences along the way. This was certainly a concern for Lanfranc of Bec when considering the spread of Berengar of Tours’ teachings in the late eleventh century. After Berengar’s surrender to church authorities, Lanfranc wrote to him, expressing his gladness for Berengar’s conversion, and explaining that Pope Nicholas had sent report of Berengar’s orthodox oath throughout the towns of Italy, France and Germany, ‘and indeed any place where the story of your depravity could reach.’¹⁶⁸ Even after Berengar himself had submitted to correction, there were fears for the wider influence his teachings might have had, and it was Lanfranc and Nicholas’ hope that by reporting Berengar’s surrender so publicly,

¹⁶⁶ *Heresies*, p. 147; 149.

¹⁶⁷ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi Ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. by J. Strange, 2 vols (Cologne: H. Lempertz & Comp., 1851), I, dist. 5, ch. 20, pp. 299-300.

¹⁶⁸ Lanfranc of Bec, ‘*Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Domini*,’ translated in C. Monagle *Orthodoxy and Controversy*, p. 14.

they could defame him in the eyes of his admirers and lessen his influence over his supporters.

The root of all of these issues was the influence of pride and ambition, which led to the over-complication and perversion of simple orthodox doctrine. Whether the twelfth-century critics can be considered to have been fair, or even accurate, in their representations of the activities of school masters is relatively unimportant. For example, Baldwin of Forde's arguments about hesitation in the faith in his *De Commendatione Fidei* cannot be said to have been a fair representation of Peter Abelard's beliefs about the psychological process of knowing; indeed, 'hesitant' would probably not be a word many modern commentators would associate with Abelard. Nevertheless, Baldwin's comments did accord with the general language and mentality of criticism which existed within the Cistercian Order and in the wider world. As Monagle has argued, the critics of the schools were not concerned with 'getting it right' as such; in reality they were more concerned to expose the methods and results of the schoolmen to the light, in order to cast them as the product of hubris and folly that threatened the faith.¹⁶⁹ The need to do this was exacerbated by fears of what damage could be done to the faith, given that these individuals were in positions of responsibility and respect within the Church as teachers.

The role of the teacher of religion had a special significance in medieval society. The point is made very usefully in another *exemplum* found in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*. The passage begins with a discussion of the heresies rife in the Albigeois. After this, Caesarius had his narrators, the novice and the monk, discuss the heretics in this region of France, with the novice asking: 'if there had been learned men amongst these heretics, perhaps they would not have strayed so far?' Evidently, the young man had an expectation of a duty to teach, to enlighten others, shared by learned individuals who had received divine training. However, the monk's response was more reserved: 'When learned men begin to fall into error, they are driven by the devil to display even greater and more grievous folly than the illiterate.'¹⁷⁰ Given what has been revealed throughout the course of this discussion, it seems fair to suggest that this is

¹⁶⁹ C. Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy*, p. 109.

¹⁷⁰ Caesarius of Heisterbach, I, dist. 5, ch. 21, p. 303.

due to the idea that learned men are more easily and more greatly corrupted by pride, and that once corrupted are more likely to reach a greater number of people, because of the reputations accorded by their learning.

Many scholars of the twelfth century shared an interest in ensuring that learned individuals who were in responsible positions of trust within the Church did not fall into error, or succumb to the vices of an irreverent, unstable, prideful life. This was a part of the movement for wider pastoral reform in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which achieved formal expression in the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Moralists within the schools, members of the episcopacy and the papacy were increasingly becoming interested in the spiritual lives of individual Christians and reforming their relationship with the Church and their faith. Efforts for reform were always motivated in part by the growing awareness and concern for the growth of popular heresy across the continent, which was seen as being connected to academic heresies. Papal efforts in this regard were made increasingly urgent as numerous groups of people began to present themselves to the pope in order to be granted recognition of their ability to preach and to administer the sacraments. Some of these groups, such as the Waldensians, were condemned as heretical.¹⁷¹ The Cistercian Order also played a significant role in this reform movement. However, they were not concerned with paying much attention to the spiritual development of the laity; rather, they worked to ensure that those who held positions of authority, especially church officials, had the virtues which were deemed necessary to administer their offices properly.¹⁷² In a sense, this seems to have influenced Baldwin of Forde's conception of role allocation in the close of the preface to the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. His explanation of the role entrusted to those with the 'word of wisdom' betrays an interest in the performance of the teacher's role, both in bolstering the faith, and defending it.

¹⁷¹ M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 70-85.

¹⁷² M. G. Newman, p. 119.

Teaching and Leading by Example

After writing the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* Baldwin, in the capacity of bishop of Worcester, and archbishop of Canterbury, wrote a number of sermons intended for clerical audiences. These sermons offer a perspective on Baldwin's understanding of the spiritual leadership provided by the clergy to the laity. He reminded the clergy of their position as governors appointed by God to direct and correct the Christian faithful in righteousness and judgement. They stood as a 'mirror of holiness, an example of honesty, a seal of righteousness,' whose virtues provided the means of salvation for those in their charge.¹⁷³ In this position, spiritual leaders involved in the salvation of others must have a care for their own salvation, and ought to live their lives correctly according to the ideals of moral discipline. When these individuals did not live in this manner, the results were catastrophic. Prelates who were ignorant and in error, blind to the truth of God, were no longer a light of inspiration for others, but a corrupting force.¹⁷⁴

There was nothing more expedient than for the clergy to be called back to a life of order and discipline, so that they could become examples of penitence. In concluding his sermon on the corruption of the clergy, Baldwin drew a significant comparison:

What is more fitting for those who have entered Holy Orders to live an Ordered Life? What an abuse it would be, both factually and verbally, if those who are spoken of as being in Orders were found to be in disorder... But if order and discipline are demanded in the life of those in their charge, how much more so in the life of the Prelates? The latter, clearly, should do everything in an ordered manner and, by their judgements, order the conduct of others.¹⁷⁵

In this passage, Baldwin presented the view that those who had entered Holy Orders, and who had attained positions of leadership, must live a life of order and discipline, which was a popular view in the works of many monastic writers. As it is fitting for those who have taken holy vows and entered the religious life of the monastery to live an

¹⁷³ *S. T.*, II, pp. 127-128.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p. 70.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

ordered, disciplined life, so too must those who enter the life of the prelate, for they must provide an example of such a virtuous life personified in the wider world of the Church. Baldwin implicitly drew a link between the behaviour typified by the monastic orders and the functioning of the clergy, judging prelates by monastic standards.

The link drawn here was by no means original. Patristic writers considered what made a prelate suitable to assume spiritual directorship over a body of the faithful. The most important contribution were the writings of Gregory the Great. His *Liber Regulae Pastoralis* would become the most widely circulating and influential treatise on spiritual leadership in Christian history. Alongside this, his other homiletic, exegetical and theological writings, and even his correspondence all touched upon issues of spiritual direction for diverse audiences, demonstrating how broad a range of figures Gregory deemed as those who might be entrusted with ecclesiastical authority.¹⁷⁶ Christopher Egger, for example, has demonstrated that Gregory's writings were an important influence on the pastoral theology of Pope Innocent III.¹⁷⁷ The shared theme across all of these endeavours was that successful spiritual leadership was reinforced by the demands of the ascetic life. Gregory, more than anyone else in the classical period, brought the practices and theory of spiritual leadership from the ascetic, monastic world into the wider world of the lay faithful.¹⁷⁸ Within the monastery, it was the master-disciple relationship which served as the mechanism for spiritual instruction. According to the Rule of St Benedict, the abbot of a monastery was the *magister* of his monks, and it was his duty in his school to provide discipline and guidance to his pupils.¹⁷⁹ The Rule offered a framework by which the abbot ought to teach his monks, emphasizing that he should govern his disciples by a twofold teaching, namely that 'he should show them all that is good and holy by his deeds more than his words.'¹⁸⁰ The moderation of the abbot's behaviour was crucial, as whilst he could explain divine commandments with

¹⁷⁶ G. E. Demacopoulos, *Gregory the Great: Ascetic, Pastor and First Man of Rome* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015), pp. 53-56.

¹⁷⁷ C. Egger, 'The Growling of the Lion and the Humming of the Fly: Gregory the Great and Innocent III,' in *Pope, Church and City: Essays in Honour of Brenda M. Bolton*, ed. by F. Andrews, C. Egger and C. M. Rousseau (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 13-46.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁷⁹ *Rule*, ch. 6, pp. 35-37.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, ch. 2, pp. 17-23.

his tongue, he could demonstrate them to the dull and simple in a stronger example of action.

For Gregory, the qualities represented by the abbot provided a perfect model for spiritual governance. He understood the outcome of successful ministry to be the ascetic and moral reform of the director's community. It was imperative that the leader embody the ascetic virtues of humility and self-discipline in order for him to be successful in his pursuit of reform in his community. Pride was a particularly dangerous impediment to effective spiritual leadership, and it was important that those individuals selected for pastoral ministry were able to demonstrate the ascetic ideal of humility, for 'no-one is able to acquire humility in a position of authority if he did not refrain from pride when in a position of subjection.'¹⁸¹ These men, the embodiment of ascetic values, represented an example of incredible virtue, who were exalted by great talents for training others, who had proven themselves 'spotless in the pursuit of chastity, stout in the vigour of fasting, satiated in the feasts of doctrine, humble in the long-suffering of patience, erect in the fortitude of authority, tender in the grace of kindness, and strict in the severity of judgement.'¹⁸²

In the twelfth century, Gregory's ideas about ministry strongly resonated with the Cistercian conception of *caritas*.¹⁸³ Gregory's contention that the most perfect form of ascetic morality was to be found in sacrificing oneself for others inspired the focus on charity and love of one's neighbour as an extension of the love of God which was coming to characterise Cistercian spirituality in the second half of the twelfth century, and which inspired the Order to take interest in the affairs of the world. As has been demonstrated, this interest at times took the form of an active concern with the proliferation of heresy across Europe.¹⁸⁴ The Order also believed that if it could convince those with authority to develop the necessary virtues, then each order within Christian society would be able to fulfil its own distinct social function without usurping the function of others.

¹⁸¹ Gregory the Great, *Règle Pastorale*, trans. by C. Morel, notes by B. Judric and F. Rommel, Sources Chrétiennes, 381-382, 2 vols (Paris: Cerf, 1992), I, ch. 9, p. 158, translated in G. Demacopoulos, p. 79.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, ch. 5, p. 144, translated in G. Demacopoulos, p. 66.

¹⁸³ M. G. Newman, p. 120.

¹⁸⁴ See above, pp. 116-117, 135-136, 138-140.

As was demonstrated in a previous chapter, the idea of the society functioning according to the correct dispensation of all of its roles was of vital importance to the Cistercian concept of *caritas*, particularly in the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux.¹⁸⁵ Baldwin of Forde was no exception; in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, he followed St Paul by describing Christian society as a body, whose various limbs were connected and united by the sinews which represented the bonds of mutual love, mutual prevention and assistance, mutual giving and supporting. These bonds supply the needs of the limbs, or orders of society, according to each one's need and ability. Significantly, Baldwin understood this system to be guided by the Holy Spirit, as a means by which God increases, by which was meant the Church increases, and the strength of the faith was augmented.¹⁸⁶

One way in which the Cistercians focused this idea was to concentrate their attention on the reform of the upper echelons of the Church hierarchy by encouraging the spiritual reform of the episcopate.¹⁸⁷ A significant proponent of this reform was Bernard of Clairvaux. In his hagiographical writings he prepared models of behaviour for bishops. Just as texts produced within the Cistercian Order were designed to provide virtuous examples to be interpreted and imitated by novices and monks, such as Conrad of Eberbach's *Exordium Magnum*, so too was Bernard's *Vita Malachi* designed in part to provide a model of the ideal bishop governed by a life of virtue. His firm belief in the efficacy of maintaining a balance between the active and contemplative lifestyles in the episcopal office can be seen in his correspondence with certain bishops. In a letter to Henry of Sens, Bernard claimed that 'reason demands this order,' as a way of remedying the potential vice of ambition harboured amongst the clergy.¹⁸⁸

The Order provided a more tangible model for reform as well. This was the growing body of Cistercian monks who become bishops, archbishops and cardinals. Conrad of Eberbach, who included in his *Exordium Magnum* a biography of Abbot Pons of Grandselve, who was elected bishop of Clermont in his *Exordium Magnum*, rejoiced that Pons was able to 'restore to the rank of the higher priesthood the purity of monastic

¹⁸⁵ See above, pp. 123-125.

¹⁸⁶ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 53, ll. 10-23.

¹⁸⁷ M. G. Newman, p. 120.

¹⁸⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera Omnia*, VII, p. 110.

humility.¹⁸⁹ Conrad reported that Pons was viewed as remarkable amongst the priests of his own time, for he taught the people to whom he was given as bishop through both his words and his example. The Order was keen to ensure that only those members which it deemed worthy according to their spiritual standards would accept episcopal office, to ensure the protection of the office's divine function. Thus, the statutes of the 1134 General Chapter included the order that no Cistercian monk or abbot could consent to their election as bishop or abbot without the permission of their own abbot and the General Chapter.¹⁹⁰

To an extent, these bishops continued to identify as members of the Cistercian Order and maintained Cistercian customs.¹⁹¹ Over time, the General Chapter also legislated on this, by mandating that bishop-monks keep to the customs of the Order in the quality of their food, in the fashion of their dress – with the exception of an additional cloak made of cheap materials and sheep skin, and a close-fitting cap of wool – in the observance of fasts, and in the maintenance of regular divine offices.¹⁹² The same statute also made provision modelled on Benedictine practices for an entourage of up to two monks and three lay brothers to accompany each and every Cistercian bishop, so that they could benefit from the aid and comfort provided by a cenobitic community which would ensure that they were not overburdened by worldly affairs. This entourage would accompany the bishop at all times, except for meal times. The purpose of all of these regulations was to ensure the continued balance of the contemplative and active lives within the life of the bishop, which would provide the foundation of his ability to provide spiritual ministry. These bishops served as a physical representation of the monastic ascetic ideal within the wider community of the faithful and emphasized the primacy of this perfected spirituality as a model to be emulated.

Whilst much can be said on the Cistercians' relationship to the episcopate, it is important to remember that their interest in reform also spread into the lower echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, it is not clear that it

¹⁸⁹ Conrad of Eberbach, bk. 2, ch. 26, p. 176.

¹⁹⁰ *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter: Latin Text with English Notes and Commentary*, ed. by C. Waddell, Cîteaux: Comentarîi Cisterciensis, Studia et Documenta, 12 (Brecht: Cîteaux, Comentarîi Cisterciensis, 2002), Inst. xxxviii, p. 548.

¹⁹¹ N. G. Newman, p. 148.

¹⁹² *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, Inst. lxi, p. 554.

was only the bishops that Baldwin was referring to when he spoke of the ‘defenders of the faith,’ within the Church. These were the people to whom the ‘word of wisdom’ was given, so that they could teach what is true, in order to build up the strength of the faithful, as well as defeating the critics of the Church.¹⁹³ Baldwin recalled how the Apostle advised Titus the bishop to ‘embrace that faithful word which is according to doctrine, that he might be able to exhort in sound doctrine, and to convince the gainsayers [Titus 1. 9].’¹⁹⁴

However, as has already been seen, those who had been perfected by the ‘word of wisdom,’ who had embraced the faithful word and correctly pursued a deeper understanding of sound doctrine, had a duty to act as a model for other, less capable defenders of the faith. Therefore, Baldwin’s inclusion of the Apostle’s exhortation to the bishop highlights that Baldwin was thinking ultimately of a broader group of people within the Church who should be charged with the defence of the faith. When Baldwin later remarked that he had prepared this tract on heresy for their benefit, he meant that it was prepared for a wider class of individuals involved in pastoral ministry than just the bishops. This would be consistent with the activities of other Cistercian abbots who, throughout the mid-twelfth century, were interested in communicating their message of spiritual reform directly to the clergy in the parishes.

Sermons were used to improve and train the clergy by emphasising the importance of setting good examples to their flock.¹⁹⁵ Ailred of Rievaulx preached to his local clergy whilst he was abbot of Rievaulx, warning them to guard themselves against worldly temptation, and cautioning them to beware not only for themselves, but also for those for whom they were responsible.¹⁹⁶ Geoffrey of Auxerre used Ezechiel’s vision of the four-faced beast, bearing the features of lion, man, bull and eagle, as a metaphor for the prelacy. He explained that each of the four faces represented a separate

¹⁹³ See above, p. 86.

¹⁹⁴ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 29, ll. 27-30: ‘Unde apostolus ad Titum scribens monet episcopum “amplecti eum qui secundum doctrinam est fidelem sermonem, ut potens sit, et exhortari in doctrina sana et eos qui contradicunt arguer.”’

¹⁹⁵ H. M. Thomas, *The Secular Clergy in England, 1066-1216* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 325.

¹⁹⁶ Ailred of Rievaulx, *Sermones Inediti B. Aelredi Abbatis Rievallensis*, ed. by C. H. Talbot, 2 vols, Series Scriptorum S. Ordinis Costerciensis, 1 (Rome: [n. pub], 1952), I, ‘Sermo in Synodo de Pastore et Mercenario,’ p. 155.

characteristic of human nature which must be held in balance within the prelate for the successful administration of pastoral ministry. Thus, the prelate needed to temper lion-like zeal with human compassion, and the bull's concern for matters of the earth with the eagle's soaring contemplation. Geoffrey was criticising the clergy for its perceived corruption, which, as he saw, was caused by prelates who embodied too much of the lion and the bull, and not enough of the human and the eagle. Thus, these prelates could not balance their own spiritual condition, and could not then care for the condition of their parishioners.¹⁹⁷

The interest in clerical reform extended beyond the Cistercian Order. The Benedictine visionary nun Hildegard of Bingen was equally moved to action in the face of what she identified as moral corruption within the clergy. In a letter to Wemer of Kirchheim Hildegard detailed dramatic visions of the Church suffering from the clergy's corruption, and prophesied that a 'bold people' would rise up against the Church, denouncing the clergy's wayward living, reckoning their office as nothing, and demanding their expulsion from the Church.¹⁹⁸ Here a direct link was drawn between the clergy's inability to regulate and balance its own life and the rise of popular heresy. In another letter dated to 1163 and addressed to the 'shepherds of the Church,' Hildegard charged the clergy to be like the 'sun and other luminaries so that you might bring light to people through the fire of doctrine, shining in good reputation and setting hearts ablaze with zeal.'¹⁹⁹ Their role was to combine meditation upon God's justice and the duty to make this known to the people with holy discretion, by crying out to the people, performing good works before them and exhorting them to embrace discipline.²⁰⁰ This followed a common motif within monastic criticism of the clergy: they must embody the ideals of both the contemplative and active lives by embracing discipline in themselves and in their followers, and by providing an example for imitation through their actions. Hildegard emphasized that both natures, the 'spiritual and the

¹⁹⁷ Geoffrey of Auxerre, 'Sermo ad Praelatos,' in *P. L.*, CLXXXIV (1862), cols. 1095-1102 (col. 1100).

¹⁹⁸ B. M. Kienzle, 'Defending the Lord's Vineyard: Hildegard of Bingen's Preaching Against the Cathars,' in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. by C. Muessig, Brill's studies in Intellectual History, 90 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 163-182 (p. 173).

¹⁹⁹ Hildegard of Bingen, *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen*, trans. by J. L. Baird and R. K. Ehrman, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), I, letter 15r, p. 55.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

carnal,' or the contemplative and the active, must be exercised righteously. Those who are not able to do so are troubled and are unable to chastise their flock correctly.²⁰¹ Again the criticism revolved around the idea that prelates who cannot care for their own faith and spirituality cannot care for the salvation of others and are not suitable for spiritual ministry.

Hildegard linked this state of affairs to the livelihood of prelates who have been instructed in the schools, couching this connection in the language of the contemplative who is concerned about the vices of pride and ambition. She claimed that too often the prelates who sought to find wisdom ardently in Scripture and instruction are swallowed up in their own wills, since they learned 'by touching and tasting merely to fulfil [their] own desires in the fatness of [their] flesh.'²⁰² Ultimately, these prelates are susceptible to the attacks of heretics, in contrast to a group of 'mighty knights for God's justice,' who may not be confounded by heretical opposition. These knights are described as standing alongside a 'certain congregation of saints, whose way of life is upright,' in a way which seems similar to Baldwin of Forde's later description of the duty conferred to those who had received the 'word of wisdom' to stand as examples to others charged with the defence of the faith.²⁰³

Hildegard's 'congregation of the saints' played a special role in her plan for reform as they 'advise princes and wealthy men to coerce teachers, wise men, and clerics with club and staff so that they may be made "just."'²⁰⁴ Hildegard evidently saw that members of monastic communities, herself included, had a duty to redress the gap left in the spiritual ministry of the Church by clerical corruption and negligence. Assurance of this came to Hildegard, as always, in the form of a vision, in which the voice of God lamented that his children had not taken advantage of the time that he had given them for overseeing and teaching their subordinates. God had given these prelates 'breasts to feed my little ones,' and because they had failed to perform their task

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 59; *L. D. S. H.*, p. 31, ll. 23-27.

²⁰⁴ Hildegard of Bingen, *The Letters*, I, letter 15r, p. 59.

fittingly and at the proper time, many of his faithful, 'like children far from their homes, have died from hunger, because they were not refreshed with correct doctrine.'²⁰⁵

The place of the monastery within the Church as a provider of spiritual inspiration and pastoral ministry has always been an important issue which must be understood as being part of a wider debate in the Medieval Church concerning how the faithful were to learn the faith. Laymen as well as ecclesiasts desired the provision of excellent pastoral care, and many sought inspiration in the Bible and the life of Jesus and his disciples. During Baldwin's lifetime, this debate was still ongoing, following generations of ecclesiasts and lay patrons who turned to the example of the *vita apostolica* of the monasteries for inspiration to improve the spiritual life of the wider Church. This was especially the case for England, as there was an historic tradition of reception of ascetic ideals amongst all ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and is worth exploring further. Between the seventh and eighth centuries, monasteries, or 'minsters,' were inclusive communities which could contain contemplatives as well as pastorally active clergymen.²⁰⁶ By 750, it is likely that there were hundreds of these minsters, supporting the work of priests travelling amongst rural settlements, and in the eighth century there was clearly an assumption that all priests would live in and operate from religious communities under the authority of an abbot-figure.²⁰⁷ As the ninth century continued, these clergymen began to predominate in the minsters, in order to fulfil the need for pastoral care amongst the laity, but in the tenth century there was a concerted effort amongst the highest ranks of the ecclesiastical as well as the secular hierarchies to re-establish the monastic, and specifically Benedictine, identity of the communities.²⁰⁸

King Edgar, along with Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, and other bishops including Oswald of Worcester, worked to expel communities of clerks serving churches

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

²⁰⁶ J. Barrow, 'The Ideology of the Tenth-Century English Benedictine "Reform,"' in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. by P. Skinner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 141-154 (p. 143); J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

²⁰⁷ J. Blair, pp. 149-162.

²⁰⁸ J. Barrow, 'The Ideology,' pp. 143-144; F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066* (London: Longman, 1979); F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154* (London: Longman, 1979), p. 177; J. Wollasch, 'Monasticism: The First Wave of Reform,' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 3: c. 900-c. 1024*, ed. by J. Wollasch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 163-185.

replacing them with monks in the cases of Canterbury, Worcester and Winchester, and later Bath, Coventry and Norwich.²⁰⁹ Others followed the plan advocated by Archbishop Wulfred in the early ninth century, which compelled canons and clerics in their cathedral and collegiate churches to live according to a rule mandating communal living under the Benedictine Rule, clerical celibacy, and the celebration of a more elaborate liturgy.²¹⁰ This in turn followed a law-code of King Æthelred which urged canons to build common dormitories and refectories for themselves.²¹¹ Not the least amongst these bishops was Wulfstan of York, whose writings indicate a monastic education. In a homily on the duties of the clergy, Wulfstan reiterated the Gregorian ideal of the prelate's life, and of teaching divine commandments through exemplification of ascetic virtues.²¹² From the mid-eleventh century onwards the English clergy faced pressure to conform to the ascetic lifestyle, and therefore the development of the clergy was shaped from without.

This movement had wider consequences stemming from the rhetorical language which had been used to justify it. Julia Barrow has noted that the figurative language used to describe this monasticising process was the imagery of cleansing, or even exorcism, followed by repairing and redemption, rather than straightforward 'reform.'²¹³ The changes in opinion fuelled by such ideology inspired changes in the patterns of religious patronage in England, as well as on the continent, between the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²¹⁴ In the first place, the social status of lay patrons of religious houses changed, as not only great magnates but also their humbler sub-tenants chose to erect new foundations, suggesting that a wider array of individuals

²⁰⁹ J. Barrow, 'The Ideology,' pp. 145-146; R. R. Darlington, 'Ecclesiastical Reform in the Late Old English Period,' *The English Historical Review*, 51.203 (July 1936), 385-428 (pp. 387-388); J. Wollasch, p. 173; E. U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the Mensa Episcopalis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 35.

²¹⁰ R. R. Darlington, p. 404; J. Barrow, 'Ideas and Applications of Reform,' in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 3: c.600 – c.1100*, ed. by T. F. X. Noble and J. M. H. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 345-362 (p. 357).

²¹¹ *The Laws*, 5 Æthelred 7, p. 81.

²¹² Wulfstan of York, *The Political Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan of York*, ed. and trans. by A. Rabin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), p. 139.

²¹³ J. Barrow, 'The Ideology,' pp. 147-154.

²¹⁴ E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1135* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), p. 169.

were seeking spiritual services, inspired by the ascetic model.²¹⁵ The second important change was the patronage of different religious orders, suggesting that patrons saw value in a variety of religious expressions of the ascetic ideal.²¹⁶

One such order was that of the regular canons following the Rule of St Augustine which combined aspects of the life of communal, ascetic contemplation with active pastoral ministry. In Britain there were many more priories and houses who followed some form of life based on the Rule of St Augustine than there were for any other religious order, and between 1135 and 1215 nearly 200 new houses were added to its foundations across the country.²¹⁷ Augustinian priories were typically smaller and less expensive, requiring less extensive endowments than their Benedictine counterparts to set up. This made them a more affordable and attractive option to some prospective benefactors. It has been argued that all donations to found a house of Augustinian canons in the twelfth century were established from a desire to provide for the laity's spiritual wants.²¹⁸ However, the evidence for this assertion is inconclusive, and it must also be remembered that the Augustinian canons were not the only religious communities to experience a boom in lay patronage in the twelfth century. Indeed, since the time of the Norman conquest, an increasing number of Norman magnates had chosen to give priories as daughter-houses to various foundations in Normandy, whilst their descendants continued to endow more priories, chapels and churches to English institutions. Donations of chapels and churches to religious houses are generally interpreted as expressions for a desire to secure access to a type of spiritual ministry which was more fervent than what could be offered by the clergy.²¹⁹

Emma Cownie has pointed to an important relationship between a landed lord and his honorial community which impacted on patterns of patronage. Lordship

²¹⁵ M. Heale, *The Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), pp. 20-39; C. B. Bouchard, *Sword, Mitre and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 132.

²¹⁶ E. Cownie, pp. 169-170.

²¹⁷ J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 45; J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London: S. P. C. K., 1950), pp. 59, 138.

²¹⁸ T. Scott Holmes, 'Austin Canons in England in the Twelfth Century,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, 5 (1904), 343-356 (pp. 343-356).

²¹⁹ D. Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 28-64; M. Heale, pp. 20-39.

functioned as a channel for lay piety, and the number of potential tenant-benefactors for the lord's religious foundations could affect his motivation to make donations.²²⁰ Therefore, amongst all the reasons why an individual might choose to endow a priory onto a particular religious institution, or found a new house altogether, the spiritual needs of his dependants were of significant importance. Just what a religious benefactor might have expected from patronizing any religious order in terms of spiritual and pastoral care is unclear. Marjorie Chibnall has convincingly argued that at this time, there was very little in the way of a concrete definition of the priests' tasks, but this might have meant that there was actually scope for monks to have performed a wide variety of pastoral functions, serving in priories, chapels and altars which were open to lay audiences.²²¹

Another important consideration was that these orders were expected to provide the means and direction of pastoral care, rather than to actually perform the tasks themselves, by providing for the selection, appointment and education of better parish clergy.²²² The study of such issues is still a pressing issue, and the discussion here is intended to be only the briefest of overviews. Nevertheless, an important point arises in that the movements which sparked the conversion of minsters and secular colleges into monasteries and which brought the monks of numerous orders so many parish churches make clear a widely held assumption that monasteries represented a powerful force in the pastoral movements of this period.²²³ During Baldwin's lifetime in the twelfth century, the place and function of the monastery within society was not only being discussed within the religious orders, but amongst the wider world of the Church and laity.

It has been argued that the Cistercian Order during Baldwin's lifetime, with its network of communication including contacts with various theological schools, anticipated the position of late twelfth-century moral theologians, and played a greater

²²⁰ E. Cownie, p. 174.

²²¹ M. Chibnall, 'Monks and Pastoral Work: A Problem in Anglo-Norman History,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 18.2 (October 1967), 165-172.

²²² J. Blair, p. 164; See below, p. 280.

²²³ C. N. L. Brooke, 'The Churches of Medieval Cambridge,' in *History and Society and the Churches: Essays in Honour of Owen Chadwick*, ed. by D. Beales and G. Best (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 49-76 (p. 57).

role in spreading Gregorian ideas amongst the clergy than has often been realised.²²⁴ The movement was certainly granted representation within the schools as some groups of scholars sought to readdress discipline amongst the masters and students. Efforts were being made by some scholars to direct sermons and moral teachings towards students in the late twelfth century in the hopes of training them to become an elite clergy who could go on to be effective spiritual ministers. Ferruolo referred to these scholars as 'moral theologians,' who were engaging with conditions which they considered to be harmful in the development of spiritual directors, by lecturing to students and clerics in an attempt to reach as broad an audience as possible.²²⁵

Between 1160 and 1210 ideals about the social responsibilities of the learned, the suitability of the curriculum and the conduct of students and masters were converted into plans of action and reform.²²⁶ Peter the Chanter's circle in Paris discussed the use of a variety of methods to ensure good spiritual standards, from verbal exhortation and spiritual remedies to physical coercion by secular authorities.²²⁷ This even included turning students guilty of certain moral infringements over to secular authorities for birchings for petty offences, or more severe mutilations or capital punishment for serious infractions.²²⁸ The concern was that if prospective pastors were not fit models of moral virtue, then their future flock would imitate their corruption. Imitation was seen as the most basic mode of learning for the development of virtues and the learning of morals. Hugh of Saint-Victor's *De Institutione Novitiorum* argued that it was through imitation of good men that mankind could restore its likeness to God.²²⁹ It also had the benefit of promoting humility within its subordinates by softening obdurate minds and making them more receptive to the lessons of others.²³⁰ It was therefore imperative for these moralists that they impress upon all schoolmen and their students their responsibility to their subordinates, whether academic or lay, and to

²²⁴ M. G. Newman, p. 156.

²²⁵ S. C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and their Critics, 1100-1215* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 185.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-198.

²²⁷ J. W. Baldwin, p. 138.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

²²⁹ Hugh of Saint Victor, 'De Institutione Novitiorum,' in *P. L.*, CLXXVI, cols. 925-952 (col. 932).

²³⁰ J. C. Stephen, p. 258.

address their spirituality and ethical practice accordingly, in order to provide exemplary models for imitation and successful pastoral ministry in future careers.

Connected to this came a realisation that the scholastic method would have to be amended in order to make it more useful for spiritual ministry. This can be seen clearly in the case of the development of preaching theory and technique within the schools throughout the late twelfth century. Preaching needed to be moderated to make it suitable for more diverse audiences, particularly in the light of how frequently it was employed, like many other teaching techniques, in the schools as a means of gaining fame for oneself.²³¹ Alan of Lille's *Summa de Arte Praedicandi* perhaps serves as one of the best summaries of preaching theory as developed in the late twelfth century. In it, Alan emphasised that all preachers must remember that the art of preaching is a public activity, with the purpose of teaching moral lessons to a general audience.²³² Others emphasised that, in anticipation of unlearned, unlettered audience members, sermons ought to be kept brief, with minimal rhetorical flourishes and classical illusions. Alexander Nequam exhorted his students to simplify their preaching style. He vehemently attacked the use of ornament in sermons, arguing that too many would-be-teachers paid too much attention to style, and tickled the ears without speaking to the heart.²³³ He argued that there was no point to preaching if it did not 'encourage the hearers to flee vice or to fight against the world, the flesh and the powers of the air.'²³⁴

Furthermore, it was recognised that the theological curriculum of the schools, expanded through the problems posed by the practice of *quaestio*, would not be appropriate for a lay audience, as the purpose of a sermon was to present doctrine and adduce the scriptural and patristic authorities for it, not to formulate new and complex problems.²³⁵ Peter the Chanter sought to curtail the impact of 'human traditions' of scriptural interpretation and *quaestio*, in order to divert the scholars and scholasticism to the study of a purer form of Scripture. He identified three broad categories of

²³¹ S. C. Ferruolo, p. 205.

²³² I. P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture*, pp. 231-233.

²³³ R. W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam, (1157-1217)*, ed. and rev. by M. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 84.

²³⁴ Alexander Nequam, 'Commentary on Ecclesiastes,' translated in R. W. Hunt, *The Schools*, p. 85.

²³⁵ D. L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 170.

scholastic traditions which were dangerous to the scholar. Firstly, there were those which were speculative traditions of 'diabolical origin,' which were contrary to the law; secondly, those licit and useful scholastic methodologies which nevertheless placed obstacles in the way of the purity of divine commandments; and finally respectable traditions which could impede understanding of the law of God because of their great number.²³⁶ Evidently, scholars were to strive to engage with the simplest, and therefore 'purest,' forms of scriptural writings and the divine commandments; anything more was deemed by Peter to be unnecessary and dangerous. In converting this learning into sermons to be preached to lay audiences, it was thought better for both preacher and his audience for the sermon to be watered down intellectually, as befitting general conceptions of the laity's spiritual needs and capabilities.

The Christian laity was traditionally bound to a surprisingly minimal understanding of their own religion; active participation in liturgical rites and festivities was arguably often more important than intellectual engagement with the divine commandments, or precepts of the faith.²³⁷ Peter Lombard summarised this school of thought with the most unflattering observation that the book of Job pictured asses pasturing alongside the plough oxen [Job 1. 14], demonstrating that simple Christians without clear knowledge of the articles of the faith might be saved through the faith and sanctity of their ecclesiastical superiors.²³⁸ Bonaventure would contribute to this school of thought in the early thirteenth century by arguing that it was too cruel to expect full theological knowledge from the laity, because too few would be saved, and presumably too many would risk becoming confused and falling into heretical error.²³⁹ Instead, it was better to emphasize the need to live a good, moral life by imitating the examples provided by a reformed clergy.

Conversely, some moralists viewed an informed and devout laity as the best defence against heresy, and this should be seen as important contextually for the

²³⁶ J. W. Baldwin, p. 315.

²³⁷ J. Arnold, p. 40; R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215-c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 26-27.

²³⁸ N. Tanner and S. Watson, 'Least of the Laity: The Minimum Requirements for a Medieval Christian,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 32.4 (2006), 395-423 (p. 401).

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

composition of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*.²⁴⁰ There is evidence to suggest that expectations of the lay populace in terms of their knowledge of doctrine and theology were increasing. Catherine Rider, for example, has found in some shorter confessional manuals produced in the early thirteenth century evidence of a trend of including contemporary scholastic discoveries alongside older schemes of Christian knowledge within the expectation of lay understanding. The *Sciendum Est Autem Sacerdotibus* asked confessors to check their parishioners' knowledge of the remission of sins through the sacraments of the Church and the communion of the saints, which is significant as the number of the sacraments had only been set in the twelfth century.²⁴¹ Throughout this period moralists produced *summae*, confessors' manuals, and sermon collections, to enable parish priests to disseminate the most up-to-date theology of the schools alongside their roles as examples of virtue. Some texts seem to have been designed to target specific doubts in the faith which might be exploited by particular heresies. Bird found that in some of these texts, the authors attempted to foster devotion to and imitation of the human suffering of Christ to oppose Cathar dualism.²⁴²

Such texts began to find themselves with a wider audience in the later twelfth century, and significantly amongst some members of the Cistercian Order. Library catalogues for the libraries of Cistercian monasteries across Northern Europe testify to the acquisition and copying of scholastic *pastoralia* at this time. Many examples of instructional texts existing within Cistercian monasteries appear to have only ever been intended for monastic audiences.²⁴³ Newman has suggested that the purpose of reading such texts was to remind the monks not to remain spiritually isolated within the cloister, but instead to be aware in the condition of the wider Church, and to have a part in its protection and reformation. Thus, the Cistercian belief in a duty to aid in the restoration of the unity and order of the Church by encouraging and working towards the reformation of an ascetically-inclined clergy was reinforced.²⁴⁴ Over the course of the last decades of the twelfth century this led to the Order pursuing a policy of actively

²⁴⁰ J. Bird, p. 53.

²⁴¹ C. Rider, 'Lay Religion and Pastoral Care in Thirteenth-Century England: The Evidence of a Group of Short Confession Manuals,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 64.2 (2010), 327-340 (pp. 333-334).

²⁴² J. Bird, p. 50.

²⁴³ M. G. Newman, pp. 169-170.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170.

acquiring and copying schoolbooks dealing with heresy, pastoral care and other topics such as Judaism which were subjects of concern for papal and church reformers, which created a precedent for the continued collection of such materials throughout the thirteenth century.

Noell has conducted a study of the texts surviving at the abbeys of Cîteaux and Clairvaux and found them all to encode a social vision that conformed to Cistercian self-understanding in the early thirteenth century. For example, the works of Alan of Lille, originally written in the final three decades of the twelfth century, were well represented. This is unsurprising as he became a Cistercian monk in later life, but still significant given Alan's firm advocacy of the importance for spiritual ministers to maintain a contemplative mind, and belief that those who have been gifted with wisdom by the grace of God have a duty to proclaim loudly what they know to the rest of the world. In his *Distinctiones Dictionum Theologicalium*, originally written between 1179 and 1195, Alan used his definition of the word '*excludere*' to demonstrate that sound teaching was urgently needed in the present day; he explained that 'to exclude' meant 'to manifest,' 'from whence David: May you make prominent those who are proven with silver [Psalms 67. 31]' meaning men of learning who were proven by their eloquence in sacred scripture. These men were brought forward during the time of the heretics, in order to confute their heresies and to defend the faith.²⁴⁵ Alan's argument reflects St Augustine's interpretation in his commentaries on the psalms. It also matches and amplifies the interpretation of the same passage included in the preface to the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*.²⁴⁶

Other works which were well-represented in Cistercian libraries included those by the Victorines. In one manuscript stored at Clairvaux during this period, which had likely been copied at Saint-Victor in the lead-up to the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, there was a version of Richard of Saint-Victor's *Liber Exceptionum*, a digest of Christian knowledge designed for the instruction of the clergy. The overriding theme of this work was that it was the responsibility of those who knew correct doctrine, especially those

²⁴⁵ Alan of Lille, '*Distinctiones Dictionum Theologicalium*,' in *P. L.*, CCX (1855), cols. 687-1012 (cols. 787-788).

²⁴⁶ See above, pp. 88-89.

who went about with nothing of their own, to give all their attention to the defence of Christendom from heretical attack.²⁴⁷ Noell saw great significance in the presence of Richard's theory of active ministry at Clairvaux, arguing that it allowed the Cistercian monks to justify their change in self-direction from contemplative isolation to active ministry within the world.²⁴⁸ He saw the collection of pastoral materials at Cîteaux and Clairvaux as evidence of a dialogue between the monasteries and the schools of mutual support in the struggle against heresy, and as evidence for experimentation with academic knowledge as the foundation for a more active monastic vocation.²⁴⁹ Therefore, at some point between the time of Bernard of Clairvaux and the early thirteenth century, Cistercian interest in pursuing active engagement with the spiritual ministry of the Church as a means of defending it against heresy had rapidly increased.

Baldwin's work in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* reveals an intense interest in the way in which knowledge of the faith could be obtained, and how it ought to be taught. As a man with a past of further education and responsibility for young students, perhaps this interest is not overly surprising. Nevertheless, this work must be viewed in the context of a religious order undergoing a period of transitioning self-identity. The Cistercian Order throughout the twelfth century harboured a steady tradition of communication and mutual collaboration within the continental schools of theology, which at times allowed its members to act as interested observers and critics of the new developments being made in scholastic theology. Baldwin was amongst this group. His *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, along with his other theological works, reveals a deep-set wariness of the consequences of the pride displayed by individuals who were loquacious, ambitious and engaged in unreserved theological speculation. His presentation of this criticism often echoes that of his contemporaries who highlighted the dangers of pride and over-complication for the sake of personal ambition within the academic world represented to the laity. Again, both Baldwin and these commentators shared a belief in the importance of spiritual leadership emanating from the living of a good life. Baldwin's defenders of the faith had achieved the 'word of wisdom' by combining faithful devotion with the pursuit of learning. Their learning was virtuous because it

²⁴⁷ B. Noell, pp. 38-42.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

focused on the righteous purpose of discussing the distinctions between different sorts of error. At the same time, Baldwin emphasised that faithful devotion was the necessary foundation for any gift of deeper understanding from God. He demonstrated this through the juxtaposition of the *parvuli*, who were simple yet lived faithfully, with those with keen intellects who were proud. Pride was a sin and it displeased God, thus it was through humility in all walks of life that an individual could receive the gifts of grace.

Humility and the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*

Following the strict prescriptions of the Rule of St Benedict must have given Baldwin an appreciation of how fragile the virtue of humility was, and how difficult it was to maintain. As was seen earlier, the Rule depicted the perfection of humility as a twelve-runged ladder, with each step upwards adding increasing expectations of discipline onto the individual climbing.²⁵⁰ The implication with this metaphor is that whilst each step upwards is progressively harder than the last, falling downwards and lapsing into the vice of pride is far easier. In the light of this, Baldwin's handling of the 'mysteries of the faith' in the preface to the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* becomes interesting. In this, the humble *parvuli* are described as not understanding the mysteries of the Scriptures. In contrast, the proud have knowledge of profound matters. The defenders of the faith who have been granted the word of wisdom, however, must balance the pursuit of deeper understandings of the mysteries of the faith with a life of humility.

Baldwin is clear that the pursuit of higher learning should not stop, but care must be taken that this is done correctly. This might have been an important consideration in the context of Baldwin's immediate circle of intellectual and inquisitive monks at Forde, with their connections to the theological schools at Exeter as well as on the continent. Baldwin kept a close eye on the theological speculations of his monks, as is shown by the occasion on which he spoke to Roger of Forde, advising caution and care, when Roger had begun to have unconventional views on the bodily assumption of the

²⁵⁰ See above, p. 175.

Virgin.²⁵¹ What Baldwin wanted to achieve more than anything was to ‘demonstrate how reason may properly be applied and reestablish the authority of God and his scriptural revelation as the unshakeable rock on which the Church was built.’²⁵²

His purpose can be seen very clearly in the final section of the first distinction on heresy entitled: ‘Demonstrating that heretics seek protection of their errors in Holy Scripture from Irenaeus’ First Book.’ Here, Baldwin discussed heretics who reinterpreted scripture according to their own whims, and then used these to contest the interpretation backed by the traditional scriptural and patristic authorities of the Catholic Church. They incited a ‘contest for scripture,’ challenging the Church for ownership of the authority to interpret the meaning of the faith. Significantly, Baldwin exclaimed ‘this is what we seek, this is what we wish for!’ He called for the scriptures to be brought to the centre of attention, to prove that they confirm the doctrine of the Church, which sought scriptural truth according to the ‘piety of faith.’ Through piety alone the Church:

...teaches the ignorant, educates the simple, banishes the darkness, pours in light, deceives no one, uncovers treacherous deceit, stands up against the proud, guards the faith, defends the truth, protects and defends the friends of truth. In this is the rampart of truth, the defence of faith, the guard of piety.²⁵³

This recalls the messages of Baldwin’s main patristic sources, Irenaeus of Lyons and Eusebius of Caesarea. Irenaeus had introduced the idea that the doctrine of the Church was governed by a ‘Rule of Faith,’ a simple statement of faith which unified the faithful. Baldwin had incorporated this thought into his *De Commendatione Fidei*, claiming that this unifying principle was also a gift of the Holy Spirit, the same spirit which also united the Church in the obligation of *caritas*.²⁵⁴ He had also followed Eusebius in understanding that it was this unity which provided for the strength, growth, and

²⁵¹ C. H. Talbot, ‘The Verses of Roger of Ford on our Lady,’ *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum*, 6 (1939), 44-54.

²⁵² D. N. Bell, ‘Introduction’ (2000), p. 19.

²⁵³ *L. D. S. H.* p. 65, ll. 22-26: ‘Hec ignoranciam instruit, simplicitatem erudit, tenebras pellit, lucem infundit, neminem fallit, fraudem perfidie detegit, superbis resistit, fidem custodit, veritatem defendit, veritatis amicos protegit et munit. Sunt in ea propugnacula veritatis, munitiones fidei, presidia pietatis, mille clipei pendent ex ea, omnis armatura fortium.’

²⁵⁴ *C. o. F.*, ch. 69, pp. 196-198.

defence of the Church. The extract quoted above from the first distinction on heresy is a perfect demonstration of this.

With this argument in mind, it is possible to see the reverse: without this unity in the faith, the Church would not have the strength it needed to defend itself, and the congregation of the faithful would be vulnerable to the advances of heretics. The combination of the activities of the schoolmasters, the competitiveness which existed between different individuals to attract students, and the perceived pride of those with teaching roles caused Baldwin to fear that some sought to claim the correct interpretation of the truth as a separate intellectual property. This matched the description of the Gnostics, the followers of the ancient heretic Carpocrates, in Irenaeus of Lyons' *Adversus Haereses*, who boasted to have knowledge of God which belonged only to them, even though this 'so-called knowledge' was actually falsely and unworthily named.²⁵⁵ The Gnostics claimed that only members of their following would have access to this knowledge, and, by extension, access to salvation.

A similar claim was made during Baldwin's lifetime by the Cathar 'Perfecti,' the elite members of the Cathar church who could only pass on the knowledge of their faith to members of this hierarchy through the *consolamentum*, a sort of laying on of hands, reserved for their number. According to the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, it was the divisiveness and conflict amongst the various sects of heretics, who all claimed a monopoly on the truth, which meant that they would always fail against the unity of the Catholic Church. Therefore, Baldwin's main purpose in writing the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* was to re-emphasise what was most important in the defence of the Church: the unity of belief which was threatened by the contemporary climate of intellectual pride, endeavour and innovation. As a microcosm of the Church, the monastery offered a perfected example of such unity, *caritas* and steadfastness in spiritual learning and experience.

This is not to say that Baldwin spurned the learning offered in the schools of the late twelfth century altogether; to claim this would be incongruous in the context of his own educated past and in his other theological writings, especially the *De*

²⁵⁵ L. D. S. H., p. 45, ll. 11-14; see above p. 152, no. 22.

Commendatione Fidei. Baldwin followed in the steps of influential teachers such as Anselm of Canterbury and Hugh of Saint-Victor in seeing that the insights afforded through scholastic endeavour were always a complement to the wisdom gained through a life lived correctly. An example from the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* can clarify this idea in relation to the treatment of heresy. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, had sought to write books against the heretics of his own day in the mid-third century. Eusebius recorded his endeavours in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, transcribing some of his letters, which were excerpted in the *Liber*. Baldwin wrote about how Dionysius had decided to start reading treatises written by heretics, so that he could denounce them with their own words. However, there were concerns amongst some of Dionysius' companions that he was succumbing to the arguments of the heretics whose works he had read. On one occasion he was confronted by a friend, who was head of the presbyters and who was angry with his choices and fearful that Dionysius was being led into error by the heretical texts. At the same time he received a vision from God, which told him: 'Read everything which comes into your hand because you are able to prove and discern everything, and this was made to you from the beginning on account of your faith.'²⁵⁶ Dionysius embraced this vision because it agreed with the words of the apostles: 'Read all, grasp that which is good.'²⁵⁷ Dionysius' intellect is thus entirely attributed to God, given as an act of grace in recognition of his faith.

The message of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* was less that the faithful should concern themselves with the arguments with which to refute the doctrines of specific heretics, and more that they should learn a lesson from the history of heresy. This lesson was that the Church would always remain firm against the incursions of its enemies if those who had been granted the word of wisdom followed the example of the apostles and extolled the virtue of humility. Mankind must not succumb to the temptations of individual pride, especially in the case of those who have been given, or have taken upon themselves, responsibility for teaching others who were simpler in their faith. Humility and *caritas* were fundamental virtues provided by the Holy Spirit to maintain the correct

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 70, l. 29, p. 71, ll. 1-2: 'Et sermo ad me factus est, hec mihi evidenter proloquens: "Lege omnia quecumque in manus venerint tuas quia probare singulari quaque et discernere potes quando quidem et ex initio hec tibi fuit causa credenda."'

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 71, ll. 3-4: 'Amplexus sum visionem que et apostolice sentencie concordabat dicenti: "Omnia legite, quae bona sunt tenete," (I Thessalonians 5. 21).'

ordering of God's creation in the universal Church. In this unity, the Church would always be able to defend against heretics, who were fractious and diverse. At this level, the existence of heretics at all was a proof of the truth of faith:

Heretics unknowingly and unwittingly serve the salvation of the believers, they do a disservice to themselves. By their stratagems they destroy their own stratagems and construct an argument for the faith. Their swords penetrate their own hearts and their tongues are disabled against them. There is one foundation that no man can change. There is a single, very solid rock upon which the Church is founded. Let the winds blow, let the rivers flow, that house will not be moved. Let the wrath of lions roar, let the insolence of bulls roar amongst the cows of the people. Let the cunning of serpents hiss. What is this against us?²⁵⁸

It was imperative that this foundation was understood historically as the inheritance granted humanity through the example of the apostles. This was visible in Baldwin's world in the perfection of the *vita apostolica* sought by the developing religious orders as well as their ecclesiastical and lay patrons.

A final example will help to further elaborate this. In the second distinction on heresy, Baldwin wrote about a heretic named Acesius who sought to confront the Emperor, claiming that the Emperor did not have the power to proclaim those who sinned after baptism to be worthy of salvation because they had received the sacraments. The Emperor replied to him, saying: 'O Acesius, set up a ladder, and if you can, climb alone into heaven.'²⁵⁹ The implication was that it was only through achieving this fate that Acesius could claim to understand the truth of the scriptures. The significance of this ladder would have been familiar to medieval audiences in the form of a ladder of perfection which monks sought to climb towards heaven. This was the ladder which appeared in a dream to Jacob in Genesis 28. 12, upon which angels were

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31: 'Heretici nescientes et nolentes saluti credentium serviunt, contra semetipsos serviunt. Suis molitionibus sua molimina destruunt, fidei rationem component. Gladius eorum intrat in corda ipsorum et infirmate sunt contra eos lingue eorum. Unum est fundamentum quod nemo mutare potest. Una est petra firmissima super quam ecclesia fundata est. Ruant venti, fluant flumina, non movebitur domus ista. Rugiat ira leonum. Rugiat lascivia taurorum in vaccis populorum. Sibilet astucia draconum. Quid hoc contra nos?'

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73, ll. 20-21: 'Cui imperator ait: "O Acesi, pone scalam, et si potes, ascende solus in celum."'

seen to ascend and descend. The Rule of St Benedict taught monks that these ascending and descending angels represented how mankind ascended to the presence of God through humility, but descended from such wisdom through pride.²⁶⁰ Baldwin used the rhetoric of pride in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* both to condemn heresy, dangerous theological speculation and irreverent teaching about the faith, and to extol the authority of the *vita apostolica* as the model through which the Church could grow. In this respect, the *Liber* can be read as a text which balances some of the most predominant and controversial discussions of the twelfth century, covering questions of religious experience, authority, pastoral care, and heresy in a form which was unique.

²⁶⁰ *Rule*, ch. 7, p. 39.

PART TWO - ENGLAND AND THE FEAR OF HERESY

CHAPTER FOUR - REPORTING AND CHRONICLING HERESY

It is the aim of the second part of this thesis to turn to the wider legacy of attitudes towards heresy in England before the rise of Wycliffe and Lollardy. In composing the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, Baldwin of Forde was not working in a vacuum in England. Several influential studies focusing on England have highlighted that throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was a quickening of interest in heresy amongst some English writers and scholars, as well as an increase in the number of texts dealing with it.¹ However, on the whole, little work has been done on this material other than to draw it together in references. Taken altogether, documentary evidence from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries offers invaluable perspectives into the transmission of knowledge about heresy, the beginnings of attempts at inquiring about it, and the start of a gradual move to turn the mechanisms of English legal jurisdiction to the treatment of heretics. The issue of how English authorities turned to the creation of a system through which the detection, investigation, reporting and prosecution of heresy were carried out during the later medieval period has been the subject of a few studies, most notably Ian Forrest's *The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England*. His approach examined the relationships between the different sections of society who had a role to play in the detection of heresy, from the formulation of legislation to its communication and finally its transmission.² This perspective is very useful in the present context of understanding how information about heresy was circulated and received in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Forrest made two observations which are of particular importance here. The first was that the reporting of heresy required a choice to be made by the spiritual authorities, which might sometimes be influenced by ideas of social responsibility, or sometimes by more self-interested motivations born of insoluble disputes. Secondly, he

¹ I. Forrest; P. Biller, 'William of Newburgh'; M. Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 320-325.

² I. Forrest, p. 1.

suggested that occasions of anti-heresy propaganda could provide opportunities for the reiteration of deeper messages than the simple warning that a heretic was a danger to a community of the faithful.³ Continuing that train of thought, it becomes possible to question modern understandings of how far the conceptualisation of heresy impacted on the development of relationships between the secular and ecclesiastical worlds, and indeed between members of the faithful and their religion. Texts written during this pre-Wycliffe period must therefore be read more closely as offering perspectives into the medieval understanding and portrayal of the role of the faithful.

The focus of the following two chapters will largely be the relationships visible in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which facilitated the dissemination of knowledge about heresy and the beginnings of determined action taken by some individuals, albeit on a seemingly limited scale, to defend against heretical threats. In the first place, the reporting of heresy in historical chronicles and annals produced during these centuries will be examined, questioning how these writers sourced their information and what their interest in heresy was. Historical writing was influenced by literary traditions and writing the history of contemporary heresy could come to be seen as part of a Christian duty to continue a tradition of recording the development and growth of the Church. At the same time, the surviving mentions of heresy in wider narratives, however brief or sporadic, gave voice to concerns about the nature and identification of heresy, and created a now nearly invisible, but nonetheless widespread and formidable, forum in which these concerns were discussed amongst peers in both the ecclesiastical and secular worlds.

One such account of an encounter with a heretic has been referred to several times throughout the course of this thesis. The account in the second book of William of Newburgh's *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* of the German heretics discovered by English authorities and examined and tried in Oxford in 1166 should be read as an example of a much broader trend within the developing tradition of historical writing and chronicling within England.⁴ William's description of their trial at Oxford, their surrender to secular authority, and their subsequent punishment, is not an isolated example of

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 231-232.

⁴ *Newburgh*, II, ch. 13, pp. 57-61.

interest in heresy within his work on English history. In the first book, he recounted an incident during the papacy of Eugenius III, concerning the heresy of Eon de l'Etoile.⁵ Whilst in attendance at the Council of Rheims in 1148, Eugenius was presented with a man who had been detained by the archbishop of Rheims, whom William described as being 'filled with the spirit of the devil,' who had gathered around himself a substantial group of followers. This group had drawn attention to themselves by travelling throughout France, having originated in Brittany, and sporadically falling upon and attacking numerous churches and monasteries.

The basis of Eon's doctrinal errors was allegedly a misunderstanding of an ecclesiastical exorcism: 'Through him, who will come to judge the living and the dead, and the world by fire.' Eon had interpreted the statement in Latin, 'per eum,' as a reference to himself, and took upon himself the mantle of Lord and judge of the living and dead, assuming the role of the returning redeemer.⁶ His proof of his exalted position allegedly lay in his possession of an oddly shaped stick – a branch that was forked at the top. In William's account Eon explained to the congregation of Rheims that the stick was an object of great mystery, whose three points represented the balance of power over the world. Whilst the forked end was held aloft, God in heaven possessed two thirds of the earth and Eon the other third, but Eon could reverse this balance of influence by simply flipping the stick so that the forked end pointed towards the ground! Such lunacy was reportedly a source of great amusement to the whole synod.⁷ In finishing his story, William described how Eon had given his chief disciples new and imposing names, for example 'Wisdom,' 'Knowledge,' and 'Judgement.' William was told by a certain man who was worthy of his respect, and who had been present at the proceedings described in the account, that the man called 'Judgement' was seen being led to his execution at the stake commanding the earth to split open, as though under the impression that the elements would obey him and rescue him from his fate; such was the power of delusion supposedly implanted in them by the wickedness and treachery of Eon.⁸

⁵ *Ibid.*, I (1988), ch. 19, pp. 87-93.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-89.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

This latter part is important. William himself was not present at the Council of Rheims and had never met Eon de l'Etoile in person. Instead, he relied on the testimony of eyewitness accounts in order to find material to document this episode in his chronicle. Similarly, it is not certain that William himself was ever present at the council of Oxford to witness the trial and punishment of the German heretics. In fact, both accounts were reported retrospectively, and through the testimony of living witnesses. The *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* was not composed until the 1190s, after it was commissioned by Ernald, abbot of Rievaulx between 1189 and 1199, and thus William was dealing with events which had taken place many decades previously.⁹ William was not alone in doing this; he was part of a group of individuals engaged in the composition of historical works and chronicles who dealt with heresy in their treatment of English history. Very few English writers had first-hand experience of encounters with heresy at this time. This chapter will focus on the historical works of writers who chose to comment on the growth of popular heresy on the continent, how they were able to source their information, and what their interest in it was.

Twelfth-Century Histories.

In the late twelfth century, there was a significant shift in the interests of individuals who chose to write works of history in England. There was a new generation of individuals who concentrated on the recording of contemporary events, and not the individuals and deeds of past centuries.¹⁰ Heresy was a significant theme in this new interest. Peter Biller identified a group of writers interested in heresy in the late twelfth century in his work on knowledge about the Cathars, and posited that there was a concentrated attention being paid to heresy by Yorkshiremen, to the extent that their mentions of heresy were so numerous that they constitute a historical phenomenon worthy of analysis in itself.¹¹ Aside from William of Newburgh, one such chronicler was Roger of Howden, parson of the town of that name in Yorkshire, who had had an active

⁹ P. Biller, 'William of Newburgh,' p. 11.

¹⁰ M. Staunton, *The Historians*, pp. 19-50.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 26, 12.

career in royal service until the 1190s, when he entered the retinue of Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham, and undertook various significant diplomatic missions and administrative responsibilities for him.¹² Throughout his time in royal service, he compiled the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, reporting events which occurred within the royal court contemporaneously between 1169 and 1192, and then, having retired to Yorkshire, composed his *Chronica* between 1192 and 1193. The *Chronica* was produced from collated extracts from a number of works, including the *Historia post Bedam*, which in turn was made up from Symeon of Durham's *Historia Rerum* and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglicarum* and existed at Durham in a twelfth-century copy, the chronicles of the Cistercian abbey of Melrose in Scotland, and his own *Gesta*.¹³

Another significant historian was Walter Map. His *De Nugis Curialium* is a challenging yet entertaining read, and has been described as a 'kind of inventory or florilegium of the mental furniture of a learned and witty twelfth-century clerk.'¹⁴ The work reads as a collection of humorous, serious and satirical stories, alongside some histories, gathered during a career under the patronage of Gilbert Foliot, then bishop of Hereford, and in royal service throughout the 1170s. Christopher Brooke suggested that the initial drafting of the work took place in late 1180s or early 1190s, on the grounds that the *De Nugis Curialium* was probably intended to be an imitation of the 'mirror of princes' genre, along the same lines as John of Salisbury's earlier *Policratus*, written in the 1160s.¹⁵ Other writers whose works of history included mention of contemporary heresy include Adam of Eynsham and Gerald of Wales. Whilst not strictly a history in a modern sense of the term, Adam of Eynsham's *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis* was written at the end of the twelfth century and included a report of Hugh of Lincoln's travels through France and encounter with Albigensian heretics.¹⁶ Gerald of Wales, like Roger of Howden and Walter Map, undertook a period of service in the royal court during the

¹² D. Corner, 'Howden, Roger of (d. 1210.2),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13880>> [accessed 4 May 2017].

¹³ D. Corner, 'The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica* of Roger, Parson of Howden,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 56 (1983), 126-144 (p. 216).

¹⁴ C. N. L. Brooke, 'Map, Walter of, (d. 1209/10),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18015>> [accessed 7 May 2017].

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis: the life of St. Hugh of Lincoln*, ed. and trans. by D. L. Douie and D. H. Farmer, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), II, pp. 65-66.

1180s, and in the 1190s retired to Lincolnshire, where he added to his already impressive literary output of ethnographic books inspired by his work in ecclesiastical and secular service.¹⁷

It would be useful to consider what, if any, common interests these English chroniclers and historians held in the reporting of heresy, to understand the extent of knowledge their works could represent. In the first place, each chronicler noted the geographical location and spread of heresy. Both Adam of Eynsham and Roger of Howden included reports of heretics wandering throughout the regions of the Albigeois in France throughout the 1160s and 1170s, with Roger focusing specifically on the extent of the problem in Toulouse.¹⁸ William of Newburgh, as has been seen, described heretics originating from Brittany and Germany. Gerald of Wales was able to push the boundaries of this geographical knowledge to the borders of Flanders and to southern Italy.¹⁹ Finally, Walter Map's few stories of heresy conveyed a broad perspective of Western Europe. Walter's special interest was to record the events which intrigued the royal court of Henry II, and thus he began his exposition on heresy with the claim that the king had banished the new 'mischievous' sect of heresy from 'all his lands.'²⁰

That Henry's lands obviously extended far beyond the shores of the British Isles was a basis for Walter's interest in reporting incidents of heresy occurring in Brabant, Aquitaine, Burgundy and Lyons.²¹ Writers who were working in the royal court received information from magnates and dignitaries engaged with the business of the crown, and because these individuals had an interest in the diplomacy of the king's continental territories they could relate information about heresy encountered there. Therefore, despite the fact that before the late fourteenth century England had not seen widespread heresy on the scale of Catharism in Languedoc or Waldensianism in the Alps, Germany and Bohemia, it would be unfair to say that the English had not taken a view of the impact of heresy on the continent.²² In this sense, England was very much a

¹⁷ R. Bartlett, 'Gerald of Wales, (c. 1146-1220x23),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10769>> [accessed 11 May 2017].

¹⁸ Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, II, p. 65; *Howden*, I, pp. 423-434, 471-489.

¹⁹ Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, II, 'Gemma Ecclesiastica,' ed. by J. S. Brewer (1862), pp. 40-41; Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, VIII, 'De Principis Instructione,' ed. by G. F. Warner (1891), p. 70.

²⁰ *Map*, dist. 1, ch. 29, p. 119.

²¹ *Ibid.*, ch. 29, p. 119, ch. 30, pp. 119-121, ch. 31, p. 125.

²² I. Forrest, pp. 19-22.

European nation. English courtiers, ecclesiasts and merchants had frequent opportunities to travel to the continent, or to meet with their European counterparts and exchange information and gossip. Diplomatic missions, ecclesiastical missions, the business of the papal court, contact with mendicant friars and other religious orders, and commerce all provided chances for the English to hear news from the continent, and to participate in shared European culture.²³

A further influence from the continent which informed the English perspective of heresy was provided by conciliar decrees from Tours or the Lateran synods. These gave the expectation that heresy was affecting the countries of Western Europe greatly, or 'very much,' and had expanded across many provinces.²⁴ For example, Roger of Howden, William of Newburgh and Gervase of Canterbury all cited the canons of the Third Lateran Council of 1179 condemning heresy in full.²⁵ These decrees claimed that 'in Gascony, the Albigeois and the Toulouse and other places... this damnable perversity grew so strong, that now they carry out their secret in public.'²⁶ However, English chroniclers were aware of the developments of the Church's confrontation with heresy which were not referenced directly in the Tours and Lateran decrees. The sense of urgency displayed in these decrees is very much evident in the English reporting of heresy, especially the idea that heresy had expanded so much, and had gained so greatly in strength, that the Church was in serious danger. Gerald of Wales for example, in repeating a report about Cathars in Italy, claimed that if it had not have been for the Cathars' internal divisions and squabbings, the Church would have succumbed to them in Italy as well as in Provence, so greatly had their influence expanded.²⁷ Similarly, Roger of Howden, in copying the words of Henry of Clairvaux, recorded that had the preaching mission of Peter of Saint Chrysogonus in 1178 been delayed for just three years, 'there would have been hardly found one person in [the south of France] who called upon the

²³ B. Weiler, 'Historical Writing and the Experience of Europeanisation – the View from St Albans,' in *The Making of Europe: Essays in Honour of Robert Bartlett*, ed. by J. Hudson and S. Crumplin (Brill: Leiden, 2016), pp. 205-243 (pp. 212-225).

²⁴ P. Biller, 'William of Newburgh,' p. 20.

²⁵ *Newburgh*, I, p. 2; *Howden*, I, pp. 502-504; Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works*, I, pp. 278-292.

²⁶ P. Biller, 'William of Newburgh,' p. 20.

²⁷ Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, VIII, 'De Principis Instructione,' p. 70.

name of Christ,' as the heresy rife in the regions around Toulouse had so greatly been augmented.²⁸

A further source of interest for English chroniclers in reporting heresy was the involvement of the Angevin royal court in foreign affairs. This interest is obvious in Adam of Eynsham's hagiographical biography of Hugh of Lincoln. Ever keen to portray the bishop in the light of a protector and defender of the faith, Adam recounted that on one occasion, whilst in France, he took the time to speak to some Albigensian heretics and to listen to their blasphemies against the sacraments. Predictably, Hugh was scandalised by their assertions, and sought at once the Catholic magnates and knights of the local region in order to command them to take up arms against the heretics and to slaughter vast numbers of them.²⁹ No more detail was given on who these magnates were or, indeed, what happened next, other than that the result was that 'no preacher of that horrible heresy appears again in that district.'

The conclusion of this account raises some questions as it is not true that the Cathar heresy was fully eradicated from this area and would continue to plague the Church throughout the thirteenth century. However, the brief report evidently served to satisfy Adam of Eynsham's interest and demonstrates his awareness of some elements of heretical activity in parts of France. He wished to report that 'perverted and pestilential people were by the vigorous efforts of the faithful and the mercy of God crushed and destroyed,' and that these 'faithful' people were occasionally related in some capacity to the British Isles was all the better reason to record them. Indeed, Adam expressed the wish that by making Hugh's actions known in this instance, they might be better imitated to the detriment of 'perverted and pestilential people' everywhere.³⁰ In the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, Roger of Howden was keen to copy out in full certain documents which testified to the involvement of Reginald, the bishop of Bath, in the 1178 preaching mission to the Languedoc, which, he claimed, was instigated through the collaboration of the king of France, and Henry II, king of England.³¹

²⁸ Howden, I, p. 489.

²⁹ Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, II, p. 65-66.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

³¹ Howden, I, p. 471.

Mentions of these individuals can reveal something about the transference of source material within the Angevin royal court. In the last decades of the twelfth century, the composition of royal government had changed dramatically, producing new types of administrators, documents and business. This environment also produced new kinds of historians, who had access to a widening sphere of interest, influence, and information.³² Many of these new royal administrators had been trained in the liberal arts and in theology at the schools in France, and some of them may have taken it upon themselves to write histories out of frustration at a lack of a creative or intellectual output.³³ In recording reports of heretics who had come into contact with the business of the royal court, these members of the Angevin administration were engaging actively with the continental issue of heresy. The court in England acted as a repository of this information to be discussed and stored. For some of these historians related to the work of the royal court, heresy was a present problem which posed an immediate danger.

It might be supposed that these accounts might attempt to report on the nature of contemporary heretical error, as a means of recording the character of the Church's enemy. This was certainly the case with Roger of Howden, who, in his accounts of the 1176 and 1178 preaching campaigns to the Languedoc, included detailed information on the Albigensians heretics' views on the canonical scriptural texts, the clergy, the sacraments, penance, marriage, infant baptism and oath-taking. This was seen most clearly in his transcription of the letter written by Gilbert, Archbishop of Lyons, describing the results of the heretics' examination, in which Gilbert outlined the key doctrinal errors and offered extensive point-by-point biblical refutation.³⁴ However, Roger's detail here is unique amongst the late twelfth-century writers. Compared to the brevity with which Adam of Eynsham dismisses the Albigensian doctrines as merely 'shameless blasphemies' with no more elaboration, Roger's account seems even more unusual.

There are multiple possible explanations for the brevity of Adam's description. In the first place, it is possible that Adam did not think that detail of these blasphemies

³² M. Staunton, *The Historians*, p. 56; A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550- c. 1307* (London: Routledge, 1974), p. 219.

³³ M. Staunton, *The Historians*, p. 57.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 425-433.

was of intrinsic importance or interest to his story, or that perhaps he did not know the details himself. What seems more likely is that Adam anticipated that his potential audience of clerics, churchmen and fellow monks were already aware of the details of this heresy, and so to explain them once again would be an unnecessary distraction from his focus on the miracle of Hugh of Lincoln's life. Similarly, there is evidence that Walter Map expected a reasonably high level of prior knowledge about the nature of heresy when he wrote simply that 'there is also another *old* heresy newly sprouted forth to a great extent.'³⁵ Therefore, it seems possible that these late twelfth-century historians felt reasonably secure in the understanding that their prospective audiences had at least a rudimentary understanding of contemporary and classical heresy. This would make sense within the context of the Angevin royal court.

What always made it into these accounts, or so it would seem, were reports of the sensational, or even supernatural, activities of heretics. Walter Map's in-depth description of the nocturnal meetings of the heretics known as Publicans, or Patarines, is an excellent case in point. According to a knowledgeable source, whole extended families of heretics would congregate behind closed doors under the shelter of darkness to await the arrival of their 'master,' who appeared in the form of a monstrously large black cat climbing in through their roof on a suspended rope. Once the cat had arrived, an odd rite began in which the heretics descended upon it, humming through closed teeth, and moving to kiss its hind quarters and nether regions. After this contact, or perhaps as a result of this, these heretics were released to 'unleash their appetites' and participate in a large, incestuous orgy amongst themselves.³⁶ Striking comparisons can be drawn between this story and other reports of night-time rituals which appeared in French chronicles. For example, the chronicler of Paul de Saint-Père de Chartres in 1072 reported an instance of heretics assembling in a house after dark to chant the names of the devil until a demon appeared in the form of a small animal before them. When this happened, they extinguished the lights and fornicated with the person next to them.³⁷ Later, Guibert of Nogent described a group of heretics from Soissons, who gathered at night with the lights off. At some point during the evening, they would cry out 'Chaos!'

³⁵ *Map*, dist. 1, ch. 30, p. 119.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-121.

³⁷ *Heresies*, pp. 78-79.

and they would fall upon each other with lust.³⁸ Alan of Lille in the thirteenth century accused the Cathars of bestiality and claimed that the name 'Cathar' derived from the sect's practice of kissing the hind-quarters of a cat.³⁹ For Walter to have reported this story suggests that the connection between Cathars, sexual rites and cat-licking was already a common source of rumour in continental stories. If this is the case, then it should be seen that there was a degree of commonality with themes popularised in the reporting of heretical error, and that English commentators sometimes played a significant role in the propagation of such ideas.

There are other examples of commonality. One such theme is the mention of food, or the consumption of food corrupted with a heretical taint. Both William of Newburgh and Walter Map included this motif in their reports of heresy in the late 1170s. William reported a conversation with members of Eon de l'Etoile's sect, who remembered being provided with an abundance of bread, meat, fish and other elegant dishes by other members of the heretical sect wherever they went. Having abandoned their heretical errors and returned to the Catholic Church, they learned that the foods given to them had not been substantial, but ghostly, created by 'spirits of the lower air,' to ensnare rather than nourish souls. Any person who happened to take even a mouthful of their food would experience a sudden change of heart, in that instant becoming a heretic.⁴⁰

Walter Map also reflected this fear that heresy could be transmitted via the ingestion of tainted food with his tale of a knight who had heard rumours that there were heretics in his native region of Vienne who entrapped their victims by means of certain dishes which they prepared for them. In order to combat this wickedness, the knight took to carrying around with him a pouch of consecrated salt, which, once sprinkled on food, would cause heretically-tainted dishes to disappear in an instant and leave in its place a small pile of hare dung!⁴¹ This was the result of an encounter with his nephew who was suspected of joining the ranks of the heretics – the fish the young man

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-104.

³⁹ B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians*, p. 119.

⁴⁰ *Newburgh*, I, ch. 19, p. 89.

⁴¹ *Map*, dist. 1, ch. 30, p. 121.

had had prepared for his uncle disappeared on contact with the salt, and the knight then ordered his nephew to be carried away in chains to be burned in a hut.

What happened next gave evidence of the heretics' trickery and danger. Walter speculated that the group of heretics taken to the stake with the knight's nephew had cast some sort of wicked magic, because the building had not burned down by the morning, and the heretics inside were unscathed, despite the fact that the diligent knight had tied up the heretics in the hut and set the fire. The confused local people accused the knight of heresy for having sinned against 'righteous men, against the faith, which is approved by real works of power.'⁴² In order to resolve the situation, the knight consulted the archbishop of Vienne, who bound the heretics in a larger building and sprinkled holy water on the walls to ward away charms. The following morning, the local people once again found the building unburned, but on entering it discovered the bones and flesh of the heretics turned into charcoal and ashes. What was even more remarkable was that the bonds used to tie the heretics to the stake, as well as the stake itself, were undamaged, because the righteous fire has punished only those who had been guilty. The fire did not punish the owners of the rope and the stake for the criminality of the heretics! This, taken together with the tainted food motif, demonstrates fear about the way in which heresy might be transmitted. The stories discussed above highlight the heretics' treachery and deviancy in contriving means of ensnaring not only simple people, but the higher social classes as well.

Karen Sullivan's study of how feelings of pity were manipulated in accounts of heresy might also lend a perspective on this idea.⁴³ One example Sullivan considered has already been discussed in a previous chapter, an account in Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*, in which a group of heretics were burned in France, except for their leader, who was rescued by Simon Magus.⁴⁴ Ralph was told about these events by Gervase of Tilbury, a cleric who claimed to have discovered this heretical sect along with William of Compiègne, the archbishop of Rheims. They came across a young woman working alone in a vineyard. Gervase attempted to seduce her, but she rebuffed him,

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁴³ K. Sullivan, 'The Judge and the Maiden: Justice and Pity at the Pyre,' *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes*, 25 (2013), 165-178.

⁴⁴ See above, p. 50; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 123-124.

claiming that she would be eternally damned if she were to ever lose her virginity. The Archbishop recognised this statement as heretical and had her arrested. The young woman resisted all attempts made by the local clergy to bring her back to the true faith, and so she was consigned to the flames with the others. However, Ralph reported that as she burned, it was:

...not without the astonishment of many, for she emitted no sigh, no tears, and no laments, but bore the torment of the conflagration with constancy and eagerness, like the martyrs of Christ... who, in the past, were slaughtered by pagans for the Christian religion.⁴⁵

The local people were astounded that someone so allegedly deviant could simultaneously extol such good virtues, to the extent that she appeared to them as a martyr, not unlike those found in the stories of saints' lives. Sullivan showed how this astonishment was compounded by pity, as Ralph frequently referred to her beauty, virginity and noble bearing.⁴⁶ It was such a shame that even the most apparently 'pure' individuals could be so corrupted that they could not be saved. The thought that the heretics could corrupt entirely unsuspecting victims through something as innocuous as their meals, could appear so righteous, and could perform magic to complement this appearance of righteousness, must have engendered a fear of the ease with which heresy might spread through an unsuspecting and unprepared populace. That this would especially affect English readers in reading these accounts seems likely as England had seen no endemic heretical uprisings, just an isolated incident of a continental heretical incursion.

Another example of a common theme appearing across multiple writers' histories was the involvement of a concerned family member. In the story about the knight from Vienne in Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*, the knight had been concerned about rumours he had heard suggesting that his nephew had succumbed to the heretics, and this motivated him to invite himself to dine with the young man. Before having him executed, the knight did briefly preach repentance to his nephew, but to no avail.⁴⁷ The

⁴⁵ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 124, translated in K. Sullivan, p. 175.

⁴⁶ K. Sullivan, pp. 173-174.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-123.

motif of concerned family members occurred again in William of Newburgh's story about Eon de l'Etoile. Eon's acquaintances and relatives would approach him to ask what he had been doing and then rebuke him frankly. However, Eon was seemingly surrounded by an 'aura of boundless glory,' with the trappings and disdain of a king, which unfortunately meant that even those who sought to rebuke him were seduced by his illusory splendour and joined the ranks of his followers.⁴⁸

One particular kinsman of Eon, who was a knight, did not succumb to Eon's glamour when he approached him and admonished him to abjure his wicked sect and be restored to the faith by receiving communion. The knight refused Eon's advances and promises of abundant riches because he was prudent. As he turned to leave, the knight's squire caught sight of a particularly handsome hawk amongst Eon's riches and asked to have it for his own. The squire ignored the warning of his knight to leave the bird which was a demon in disguise, and as a result was kidnapped as it lifted him into the sky, never to be seen again.⁴⁹ The significance of this motif betrays an interest in the writings of both William of Newburgh and Walter Map in the lives of those good Christians most affected by the spread of heresy. Of greater importance is that the commonality of theme could be symptomatic of a wider trend of storytelling. It is possible that a single story about a heretical plate or food, or a concerned knightly uncle, became associated with and added into other reports of heresy as the stories were transmitted and shared orally. In this way, themes shared with the regularity of the examples discussed above can be read as evidence of a great deal of discussion about heresy taking place in certain networks, as part of a wider oral tradition reflected concerns and gossip about heretics within English society.

Perhaps linked to an awareness of this oral tradition is the tendency of the late twelfth-century writers to attempt to accredit their sources during the narration of their story, in a way that established and emphasised their trustworthiness. In some cases, the author of the history may have been an eyewitness. It has been suggested that Roger of Howden had personally been present in Toulouse between 1176 and 1178. This is supported by his inclusion of important letters relating to the events of those

⁴⁸ *Newburgh*, I, ch. 19, p. 89.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

years, but also by the relative lack of detail about the king's movements he gave at that time.⁵⁰ Walter Map was present at the Third Lateran Council held in 1179 under Pope Alexander III, and, according to his testimony, he was asked to participate in the examination of a group of Waldensians.

The account given in the *De Nugis Curialium* gave a summary of the proceedings of the examination, but concentrated mostly on Walter's own experience and actions, the questions he put to the congregated heretics, and his personal nervousness at being the centre of attention. The account offers a unique perspective into an aspect of heresy trials that might not always be revealed in more official reports, by reporting an atmosphere of joviality and confidence amongst the congregated bishops. This was in stark contrast to Walter's own alleged doubts, as he wrote that he took his place in the gathering in fear, 'lest my sins might require that, before so great an assembly, the grace of speech should be denied me.' But when the heretics had failed to understand the significance of Walter's questions and answered incorrectly 'they were hooted down with universal clamour.'⁵¹ This report of the confidence of the Lateran bishops in approaching the examination of the Waldensians demonstrates Walter's interest in the Church's ability to handle the defence of the faith.

However, first-hand experience of heresy was very rare amongst English writers. It was more likely that the late twelfth-century writers were recording events second-hand at best, and so had to make use of the testimony of witnesses. William of Newburgh claimed to have been told by 'a certain man' about the execution of Eon's followers, with the man named 'Judgement' amongst them. 'Judgement' was seen calling to the earth to split open and devour him so that he would be rescued from the stake. Collecting trustworthy evidence was a source of deep concern for chroniclers, in a world in which both national and international communications were slow and often

⁵⁰ M. Staunton, *The Historians*, p. 320; J. Gillingham, 'The Travels of Roger of Howden and his Views of the Irish, Scots and Welsh,' in *Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, ed. by C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 151-169 (p. 167); J. Gillingham, 'Events and Opinions: Norman and English Views of Aquitaine, c. 1152- c. 1204,' in *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France Between the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, ed. by M. Bull and C. L  gu (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 57-81 (pp. 71-72).

⁵¹ *Map*, dist. 1, ch. 31, p. 127.

unverifiable.⁵² Writers could testify to the trustworthiness of their witnesses by mentioning their experience, their holiness, their educational or social status, or their personal connection to the author, but a key qualification was that the witness was an eye-witness to the event recorded.⁵³ William described the man who told him about 'Judgement's' execution as 'a man worthy of respect,' who was present at these proceedings, and he must have deemed this sufficient proof of the account's veracity.⁵⁴ Presumably, he expected his prospective audience to assume that the man was worthy of respect for the customary reasons - perhaps he was of decent social standing, or held a clerical office of some dignity, or had received a respectable education.

Walter Map was able on one occasion to be more specific in the attribution of his source. The incident involving the knight from Vienne and his consecrated salt was told to Walter by Lord William, archbishop of Rheims, the brother of the queen of France.⁵⁵ In this case, it is unlikely that the archbishop of Rheims himself was an immediate witness to the events in Vienne, but Walter added that his testimony was confirmed by many eyewitnesses. It was the weight of the Archbishop's assent to these testimonies which proved the trustworthiness of the story to the Walter. In another case, Walter's source was a reformed heretic. Walter's audience would have presumed that these eye-witnesses had been involved in sexual rituals which were similar to the one described in the *De Nugis Curialium* in which the giant, demoniacal cat descended from the ceiling.⁵⁶ A final example was given in Gerald of Wales' writings. His source for the extent of the spread of heresy throughout Italy was an associate of his, who was working as a cleric in an Italian city.⁵⁷

It is also important to note that at this time some writers were benefiting from a greater abundance of written materials and were becoming more willing to employ them as sources within their historical texts. The administration of the Angevin court was propagating many new types of document, including royal writs and charters,

⁵² C. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon, 2004), p. 6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

⁵⁴ *Newburgh*, I, ch. 19, p. 93.

⁵⁵ *Map*, dist. 1, ch. 30, p. 121.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-121.

⁵⁷ Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, II, 'De Principis Instructione,' p. 70.

treatises, letters from ambassadors and foreign princes, statutes and other legal documents, and newsletters.⁵⁸ An excellent example in this instance is Roger of Howden, who was unique amongst late twelfth-century writers for making use of all kinds of written sources within his chronicles, not just those which were associated with law and government.⁵⁹ In his account of the 1176 trial of a group of heretics in Toulouse, Roger included a full transcription of a letter by Gilbert the bishop of Lyons, written on the order of the presiding officer Gerard the bishop of Albi, which included a full refutation, in seven parts, of the main doctrines of the Albigensian heretics, as the ecclesiasts present understood them.⁶⁰ The result of this trial was that the heretics refused to make an oath in order to be reconciled with the Church. Roger attached to this another letter, this time by Jocelyn, bishop of Lodeve, pronouncing a judgement and refutation of their refusal to take oaths. At the bottom of this letter was a long list of witnesses gathered from the bishops, clergymen, monks and secular dignitaries present at the trial demonstrating their assent, which Roger of Howden transcribed fully into his *Chronica*.⁶¹

Roger then continued this pattern in his entry for 1178 concerning the preaching campaign in the Languedoc led by Peter of Saint Chrysogonus, the archbishops of Bourges and Narbonne, Reginald the bishop of Bath, the bishop of Poitou and Henry of Clairvaux, which had been commissioned by the kings of England and France. He appended two letters concerning the campaign. The first was written by Peter of Saint Chrysogonus and covered the procedures which the preachers followed in their efforts to identify the Albigensian heretics and a summary of the subsequent trials.⁶² It is interesting to note that in his preceding summary of events, Roger imitated Peter's language, paralleling the structure of the legate's letter perfectly. Perhaps Roger felt that the authenticity of this report of events could be better demonstrated by repetition. The second letter included under this year was a letter written by Henry, the abbot of Clairvaux, offering his interpretation of the danger posed by heretical incursions in the

⁵⁸ M. Staunton, *The Historians*, p. 57.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁶⁰ *Howden*, I, pp. 425-433.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 435-437.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 467-481.

region around Toulouse, and lamenting the difficulty churchmen faced when confronting them.⁶³

In summary, there was a community of information-sharing developing which recorded stories and gossip about the nature, transmission and refutation of heresy on the continent in the late twelfth-century. Writers such as William of Newburgh, Roger of Howden, Walter Map, Gerald of Wales, Gervase of Canterbury, Ralph of Coggeshall and Adam of Eynsham thought fit to communicate these stories and pieces of gossip to a broader audience through the medium of their histories. The communication within this community must not be seen as limited just to those involved in the work of the royal court. Interest in heresy influenced a wider spectrum of literate individuals within late twelfth-century England. A good illustration of this is provided by the letter-writing and friendship network of Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London. Two letters of Gilbert's have already been discussed in an earlier chapter, which contained his advice concerning the treatment of the German heretics prior to their trial at Oxford, sent in response to the request of Roger of Worcester.⁶⁴

It is also known that Gilbert was a close friend of Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx, and they exchanged many letters, some of which discussed heresy. The evidence for this comes from Ailred's *De Anima*, in which he included an exchange about the captured heretics. The character John remarked that he had heard that many of the heretics were being held in chains, and it will be remembered that the subject of Gilbert's letter to John was on the subject of precisely how the German heretics were to be held prisoner in chains and beaten.⁶⁵ Therefore, before the Oxford council's final deliberations in 1166, the abbey of Rievaulx had obtained up-to-date information about the capture and beliefs of the German heretics, and the debate amongst English churchmen about what to do with them.⁶⁶ Evidently, the monasteries were an integral part of the community of information-sharing by both word of mouth and the dissemination of letters. The next

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 481-489.

⁶⁴ See above, pp. 104-105.

⁶⁵ Ailred of Rievaulx, *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia*, ed. by A. Hoste and C. H. Talbot, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis*, 1-2, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), I, 'De Anima,' ch. 59-60, pp. 703-704.

⁶⁶ P. Biller, 'William of Newburgh,' p. 16.

section will consider how far information about heresy came to be recorded within works of history produced in the thirteenth century in various monasteries.

Monastic Annals

The forms of historical texts which were produced by English monasteries in the Middle Ages have been a subject of great debate amongst historians from the early twentieth century onwards. Their origins have been ascribed both to classical inspiration and to administrative practices in organising the dating of Easter, whereby calendars were produced in the form of tables with scribes sometimes making notes in the margins of significant events occurring throughout that year.⁶⁷ From these humble origins they underwent a series of developments to become a distinctive style of chronological, annalistic reporting. This form was characterised by its minimalist expression, the conjunction of outwardly unrelated observations into a paratactic style, and its strict framework of chronological progression since biblical times.⁶⁸ There seems to be a consensus that this sort of writing gained a fresh lease of life following the Norman Conquest, and that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries these collections of notes had 'gained a currency that they had not enjoyed earlier.'⁶⁹ The monasteries certainly profited from being able to draw upon their abbey's archives and libraries, and from hearing news brought by visitors in their guesthouses. In addition, almost every house benefited from some kind of established historiographical tradition which trained the monks in the handling of historical material.⁷⁰

Many monasteries began producing annalistic chronicles for their institutions at this time and began to record contemporary events. At their narrowest, these works

⁶⁷ R. L. Poole, *Chronicles and Annals: A Brief Outline of their Origins and Growth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), pp. 10-45; D. Hay, *Annalists and Historians: Western Historiography from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1977), pp. 40-42.

⁶⁸ S. Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form: Narrative in Annals and Chronicles,' in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. by N. Partner (London: Hodder Education, 2005), pp. 88-108 (p. 89); A. Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 29.

⁶⁹ G. Martin and R. M. Thomson, 'History and History Books,' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol. II 1100-1400*, ed. by N. Morgan and R. M. Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 397-415 (p. 398).

⁷⁰ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 248.

dealt with the fortunes of a single community, and can be seen as a part of a wider bureaucratic movement to organise an institution's archival material.⁷¹ However, at its widest, this genre of historical writing came to encompass the history of the whole kingdom, and cannot always be clearly distinguished from hagiography, cartularies, interpretative commentaries, and even romances.⁷² This tradition included the documenting of heresy and its punishment from the continent, as evidenced by the numerous instances in which these types of story appeared in monastic annals produced in the thirteenth century. Many of these English sources are richer in detail about European popular heresies than in writings elsewhere, and occasionally they are unique.⁷³

All of the monastic texts presented here were begun during the first half of the thirteenth century, and note incidents of heresy which predate this. For example, the Dunstable, Tewkesbury and Worcester annals all include mentions of the Oxford council and the heretics tried there in the 1160s. The Tewkesbury and Worcester annalists noted that the 'weaver' heretics had been condemned, but the Dunstable author added the extra detail that they had been branded on the forehead and expelled from England.⁷⁴ The Margam annals included an earlier incident of heresy which is unique amongst these chronicles. In 1163 a common rumour had spread that 'certain pseudo-prophets' had risen up and spread out from the region of Périgord. The annalist demonstrated a surprisingly detailed knowledge of the doctrine of these heretics; he reported that they pretended to lead the apostolic life by preaching, walking barefoot, prostrating themselves frequently, not eating meat or drinking alcohol, and refusing to take alms, but at the same time denied the sacrament of the altar. It was also noted that these individuals were the cultivators of a sect, and that they sought to deceive simple and illiterate people into following them by performing false miracles. Some of the heretics appeared to transform water into wine, but it was later discovered that they

⁷¹ J. Harrison, 'Cistercian Chronicling in the British Isles,' in *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey: A Stratigraphic Edition*, ed. by D. Brown and J. Harrison, Scottish History Society (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 13-29 (pp. 18-22).

⁷² G. Martin and R. M. Thomson, p. 397.

⁷³ P. Biller, 'William of Newburgh,' p. 12.

⁷⁴ *Ann. Mon.*, I (1864), p. 49; IV (1869), p. 381; III (1866), p. 19.

had only been able to do this by coating their empty glasses with wine beforehand.⁷⁵ Finally, the annalist concluded that the heretics were eventually subdued but only because the local authorities, who were not named, were able to take out the leader of the sect.

The entries for the 1170s continued the interest in heresy. In 1178, the Winchester chronicler, Richard of Devizes, announced the emergence of the heresy of the Publicani in France.⁷⁶ Although not factually correct in this instance this entry was perhaps made as an interpretation, or misunderstanding, of the events leading up to the 1178 preaching campaign to the Languedoc which earlier English historians like Roger of Howden had recorded so carefully. In 1179 Roger of Wendover wrote from St Alban's Abbey that statutes had been promulgated against the 'heretical Albigenses, and their indifferent appellations,' by Pope Alexander III at a Council at Rome.⁷⁷ He included the text of a letter sent by Pope Alexander to Archbishop William of Sens, commanding him to convoke his bishops at Paris to abrogate the erroneous doctrines of Peter Lombard, who had been arguing in the schools of theology that Christ, in so far as he is a man, is nothing.⁷⁸ Also included was a discussion of a book written by Abbot Joachim of Fiore, which was designed to combat Peter's teachings, but which was, in turn, also condemned by the Pope as heretical.⁷⁹

That these authors could collect such material is evidence of a degree of collective information-sharing within the monasteries. Where annals were not written contemporaneously, it was standard practice that the monk composing the history would extract annals from older histories. Often these sources were borrowed and donated between houses. Martin Brett has been able to show how the monasteries of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton shared a common, but now lost, ancestor, from which each annalist adapted their earlier annal entries, up to the year 1240.⁸⁰ These

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p. 15.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 61.

⁷⁷ D. Corner, 'Wendover, Roger of, (d. 1236), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article.229040>> [accessed 17 May 2017]; *Wendover*, I, pp. 118-119.

⁷⁸ *Wendover*, I (1886), p. 120-121.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 122-123.

⁸⁰ M. Brett, 'The Annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton,' in *Church and City, 1000-1500, Essays in Honour of C. Brooke*, ed. by D. Abulafia, M. Franklin and M. Rubin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 279-310.

common sources provided both a literary model and a source of context to be plundered by later chroniclers. The wording of the Tewkesbury and Worcester annals for 1166 for the Council of Oxford is so similar that a shared source between them seems likely. Different forms of written communications could also be accessed and referenced later by other monks. Roger of Wendover's inclusion of old letters written by Pope Alexander III and Council statutes concerning the Albigensian heretics is a case in point. Unfortunately, information dissemination was not always accurate or completely reliable. A good example is the dating of the Council of Oxford. Whilst the annalists of Tewkesbury and Worcester dated the council to 1166, the Dunstable annalist dated it to 1165. Also of significance are seemingly unique entries such as the record of the Périgord heresy in the Margam annals. The entry should perhaps be seen as information which was known in Margam, or known to one of the monks there through former connections, experiences or conversations.

All of these accounts, with the exception of that for Margam, were very brief. As the thirteenth century went on the detail and length of reports of heresy increased, and interest in the subject became more widespread as the incidents recorded by the annalists happened contemporaneously.⁸¹ The events leading up to and during the course of the Albigensian crusade were particularly well represented. Two annalists under the year for 1208 wrote that Peter of Castelnau had been assassinated by heretics on the order of the Count of Toulouse.⁸² Once the crusade had begun, reports began to appear from a wider range of monasteries. Between the years 1209 and 1212, the annals of St Edmunds, Worcester, Waverley, Osney and Margam recorded the commencement of hostilities against Albigensian heretics by French armies.⁸³

The tone of these early entries is distinctively optimistic. The Waverley author recorded that the combined forces of the Pope, the entire Christian people, Arnould Amaury, and Simon de Montfort were able to 'manfully' subdue the heretics in many

⁸¹ A. Gransden, 'The Chroniclers of Medieval England and Scotland, Part II – The Composition of the "Contemporaneous" Annals of Chronicles, with special reference to the Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 17.3 (1991), 217-243 (pp. 219-220).

⁸² *Ann. Mon.*, I, p. 58; IV, p. 396.

⁸³ 'Annales S. Edmundi,' in *Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen*, ed. by F. Liebermann (Strassburg: Karl Trübner, 1879), p. 148; *Ann. Mon.*, IV, p. 397; II, p. 266; IV, pp. 54-56; I, pp. 31-32.

parts.⁸⁴ In the Margam annals a connection was drawn in 1212 between the Pope's campaigns against Islam in Spain and the crusade, as the 'plentiful' army sent by him and a council of archbishops and bishops met a group of Albigensian heretics whilst walking through Gascony, and were able to make light work of them. Also on their route was the city of Toulouse, which they helped to capture, on finding it under siege by Christian forces!⁸⁵ This brief summary raises some issues of chronology, and circumstance. The issues are emphasised when Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* is considered; Roger's account of the events leading up to the siege of Toulouse is set in the year 1214, and does not mention anything about an army being sent to Spain, but becoming distracted by heretics.⁸⁶ Moreover, the Osney annalist seems to have dated the siege and capture of Toulouse to 1211.⁸⁷

The focus of this study is not to juxtapose all of these discrepancies of dating and comment on the relative accuracy or reliability of each historical work, but to emphasise how these irregularities should be seen as evidence of an ongoing network of gossip and communication about heresy between English monasteries at a time when the means of gossiping and communicating were inaccurate, unreliable and time-consuming. These discrepancies testify to the deterioration of reported fact in a given account when disseminated between various places by word of mouth, much in the same way that a game of Chinese whispers in a modern schoolroom can produce variations on a single statement. The nature of oral communication, or even of written communication in a disposable medium, engenders the fostering of divergent story arcs from an original telling. What is important, given this possibility for divergence, is that across all the entries between 1209 and 1219, the tone adopted by each author remained optimistic and triumphant. Thus, the annals give an insight into the tone of relative excitement with which it can be imagined that English monks and churchmen received such news and discussed it.

Indications of this optimistic and triumphant tone include an ubiquitous interest in and praise for Simon de Montfort, the earl of Leicester. The Osney annalist for 1212

⁸⁴ *Ann. Mon.*, II, p. 266.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 31-32.

⁸⁶ *Wendover*, II (1887), p. 252.

⁸⁷ *Ann. Mon.*, IV, pp. 54-55.

ascribes the success in reducing the Albigensians 'to nothing' entirely to Simon, adding that he then subjugated their lands to his own dominion.⁸⁸ A further indication of optimism can be seen in mentions of how the armies of crusaders were united under the leadership of both ecclesiastical and secular forces, showing magnates from both powers united in the defence of the Church. Often, success by the crusading armies was attributed to this collaboration. For example, the Worcester author in 1215 noted how the combined efforts of the French prince and the papacy had facilitated the capture of Toulouse. In 1219 the Waverley annalist described how the heretical Count of Saint-Gilles was absolved at a council held in France which was attended by papal legates.⁸⁹ Roger of Wendover gave descriptions of the hierarchy of command involved in the organisation of campaigns against Beziers, Cermaine, Carcassonne and Toulouse in 1214 and 1219, noting in particular how the decision to grant Simon de Montfort the governance of the country of the Albigeois was made by a council of barons and churchmen.⁹⁰ Presumably due to this excellent organisation, the crusaders' successes bordered on the miraculous, as they allegedly sustained hardly any injuries during the siege of Beziers whilst immense numbers of their enemies were slaughtered.⁹¹

The tone of the annals began to change around the year 1220, as cracks were beginning to show in the annalists' confidence in the crusade. The first such entry comes for the year 1220. It recorded the death of Guido, brother of Simon de Montfort, the retreat of Louis, the prince of France, the death of Simon de Montfort, and the indignation of the Pope at the incompetence of Louis.⁹² The following year, the writer reported that 'the Church of God in the Albigeois is greatly harmed by serious torments.'⁹³ Finally, the entry for 1223 spoke of Bartholomew, a man sent from Bulgaria in the capacity of anti-pope to ordain new presbyters and clergy, to pass judgement on matters of the faith and of the church, and to otherwise malign the articles of the faith. The entry also recounted a disagreement at the Council of Bourges between the Count of Toulouse and Amalric de Montfort, Simon's heir, concerning landownership in the

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 55-56.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 404; II, p. 307.

⁹⁰ *Wendover*, I, pp. 87-93, esp. p. 90.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁹² *Ann. Mon.*, III, p. 61.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, III, p. 74.

region surrounding Toulouse, which suggests that the Albigensian crusaders were no longer united behind the Church in its time of need.⁹⁴

The other main source for this time comes from the work of the St Albans chroniclers. Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* recorded the defeat of Louis' army, the death of Simon de Montfort, and the election of a Bulgarian anti-pope.⁹⁵ To this brief explanation, Roger added a copy of a letter concerning Bartholomew written by the papal legate in the Albigeois. The letter gave details on the anti-pope's origins, and commanded the archbishop to convoke his bishops at Sens to take precautions against this heresy.⁹⁶ Roger also wrote about the dispute at the Council of Bourges, and the Count of Toulouse's refusal to surrender his lands to the earl of Leicester on account of his father's heretical legacy.⁹⁷ In the same year, he claimed that another crusade was being preached against the Albigensians and the Count of Toulouse throughout Europe.⁹⁸

This renewed instigation of hostilities might have been the cause for the entry of 1228 in the chronicle of Bury of St Edmunds that the French had begun to attack the Albigensians.⁹⁹ No more detail was given on the progress of this crusade in the *Flores Historiarum*, but it did mention that those prelates and laymen who had assumed the cross were not comfortable with the motivation of the king of France. The king had ordered an attack against a man whom they regarded as a true Christian; therefore the crusading force were motivated not from a zeal for justice, but out of fear of their king.¹⁰⁰ Instead, Roger next turned his attention to reports of heresy in 1234 from Spain; he identified the heretics as another branch of the Albigensian sect, who were defeated by an army of the faithful gathered by Pope Gregory.¹⁰¹ In copying this account in his *Chronica Maiora*, Matthew Paris included an extra note on the slaughter of a similar group of heretics which occurred in the provinces adjoining Germany, and this was

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80, 100-101.

⁹⁵ *Wendover*, I, p. 252, 271-273.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 271-273.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 299-300.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 305-306.

⁹⁹ *Bury*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁰ *Wendover*, II, p. 305.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

echoed by the Tewkesbury annalist, claiming that 5,000 of the German heretics were killed on an island called Stadinger.¹⁰²

The next significant encounter occurred in the 1250s. This came to be known as the 'Crusade of the Shepherds,' or the Pastoreaux, and reference was made to it in at least 34 different chronicles, annals and letters of the thirteenth century across Europe.¹⁰³ The annalists were concerned with how the heresy was spread, and how it was combated. The chronicles of Bury St Edmunds, Osney, Waverley, Burton, Thomas Wykes and Matthew Paris all claimed that the shepherds had gathered to form a crusading party.¹⁰⁴ However, many implied that this virtuous beginning was a deceptive cover which hid something sinister.¹⁰⁵ In some cases their actions were portrayed as a sort of deceitful anti-crusade. For example, the Burton annalist reported that the leader of the Pastoreaux was cooperating with the Saracens.¹⁰⁶ Matthew Paris elaborated on this theme by suggesting that the heresy's Hungarian leader had promised the sultan of Cairo that he would deliver to him a host of Christian victims and thus leave the kingdom of France open for a Saracen invasion.¹⁰⁷ Other annalists testified that this anonymous leader had revealed his allegiance to Islam by invoking the name of Muhammed at the point of death.¹⁰⁸

In other chronicles the heretics were portrayed instead as antagonists of the French clergy, theologians and monks. The Osney annalist wrote that the Pastoreaux had been popular amongst the laity until they revealed themselves to be heretics by killing some Parisian and Orleans clerics.¹⁰⁹ The annalists of Winchester and Bury St Edmunds recorded that the sect's leaders had 'suspicions against the clergy,' leading them to clash frequently with members of the clergy.¹¹⁰ The Burton annalist added the morbid extra detail that the shepherds killed their victims by throwing them into the

¹⁰² *Paris*, III (1876), pp. 267-268; *Ann. Mon.*, I, p. 93.

¹⁰³ M. Barker, 'The Crusade of the Shepherds in 1251,' *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, ed. by J. F. Sweets (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1982), pp. 1-23 (p. 1).

¹⁰⁴ *Bury*, pp. 17-18; *Ann. Mon.*, IV, pp. 100-101; I, pp. 290-293; *Paris*, V (1880), pp. 246-247.

¹⁰⁵ M. Barker, p. 7.

¹⁰⁶ *Ann. Mon.*, I, p. 290.

¹⁰⁷ *Paris*, V, p. 246.

¹⁰⁸ *Ann. Mon.*, I, p. 145, p. 292.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 100-101.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, p. 92; *Bury*, pp. 17-18.

rivers, or cleaving them in two with an axe. Finally, a completely unique perspective was given by the Waverley annalist, who wrote that the Pastoreaux had no leader, but had been seduced somehow by magical arts, and enticed to commit common pillage, banditry and homicide.¹¹¹ All of the accounts, except for that of Winchester, concluded that on being discovered, the shepherds were either hanged or exiled. The Burton annalist suggested that the appearance of certain knights dressed in white in Germany represented a continuation of the sect, but this reference seems to have been unique.¹¹²

On top of the two major crises of the Albigensian Crusade and the rise of the Pastoreaux, the annals made mention of numerous other confrontations with heresy, many of which were unique in the English histories. Matthew Paris in particular demonstrated a keen interest in Italian heresies in the period between these two crises, and is the only English writer to record this information. He reported the increasing wickedness of the people called Patarines and Burgundians, who dwelt in the transalpine provinces, and the Holy Roman Emperor's desire in 1236 to invade Milan to subdue heresy there, which was subsequently forbidden by the pope.¹¹³ The following year he noted the burning of large numbers of heretics in Milan, but his interest in Italian heresy was not finished here.¹¹⁴ In 1243 Matthew included the text of a letter sent by Yvo of Narbonne, who had previously been accused of heresy for his association with the Italian Patarines, to Gerald, archbishop of Bordeaux.¹¹⁵ This letter argued that Yvo had only sought to join the heretics' ranks in order to aid the Church in its struggles against them. He gave details on the spread of the sect throughout multiple Italian cities, and the means by which they sought to spread their heresy further. These included sending scholars into the theological schools at Paris to corrupt the students there, sending merchants to the markets to pervert rich laymen, and, most importantly, using extravagant hospitality to bind guests to their network.

Finally, a number of the annals record isolated incidents of confrontation between Church officials and heretics which occurred in England. The *Chronica*

¹¹¹ *Ann. Mon.*, II, p. 344.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, I, p. 292.

¹¹³ *Paris*, III, p. 361, 374-375.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IV (1877), p. 63.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 270-277.

Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londonarium recorded in 1210 that an Albigensian was burned in London.¹¹⁶ In 1222, Thomas Wykes included a report of a man who was brought to trial in a state of 'great insanity,' having attempted to have himself crucified. The man's assertions that he was the son of God and redeemer of mankind were deemed to be an insult to the sanctity of Christ's Passion, and the man was imprisoned until he died later that year.¹¹⁷ Matthew Paris' *Chronica Maiora* also included a reference in 1240 to a Carthusian monk who was seized in Cambridge and imprisoned in the Tower of London, for having claimed, allegedly, that the pope was a heretic, and that the Church had been profaned by his failing.¹¹⁸

In summary, there was a great deal of variety in the stories about heresy recorded by monastic historians. In many cases individual annals recorded unique instances of heretical discovery, which can pose problems for the historian in terms of proving their veracity. Additionally, even in the reporting of major events, there were many variations in the annal entries in all aspects including date, events, motivations and sometimes outcome. However, this throws some light onto the means by which such information was gathered by the monks who had, ostensibly, withdrawn from the affairs and concerns of the world. Crucially, it must be realised that the production of medieval annalistic chroniclers was invariably a collaborative enterprise, whose upkeep was dependent on the contacts and goodwill of the monastery's informants, and the perseverance of its authors and scribes.¹¹⁹ This combination of variety and the reliance on informants indicates that there must have been long chains of transmission in the circulation and dissemination of information regarding heresy amongst the English monasteries.

Communication in the Middle Ages was notoriously difficult, expensive, time-consuming, and sometimes fraught with dangers for the messengers, but clearly it was not impossible. Far from being meagre pickings, the examples drawn together in this study are actually representative of a very broad and complex pattern of transmission.

¹¹⁶ *De Antiquis Legibus Liber. Chronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londonarium*, ed. by T. Stapleton, Camden Society: first series, 34 (London: Camden Society, 1864), p. 3.

¹¹⁷ *Ann. Mon.*, IV, p. 62.

¹¹⁸ *Paris*, IV, pp. 32-34.

¹¹⁹ J. Harrison, p. 27.

Michael Staunton offered a very useful metaphor to bear in mind when looking at this issue, by suggesting that historical chronicles were really only the 'tip of the iceberg' of a plethora of different sources which altogether represent the true transmission of information about current events in the Angevin world.¹²⁰ These sources could be oral communication or debate, or written, in the form of open newsletters, or personal correspondence between monks and their friends, patrons, and associates. What can be read in the chronicles produced by monastic institutions, or by any medieval historian, is representative of only what the man with the pen chose to extract and preserve from a potential wealth of information. This is interesting on two main levels: firstly for, the questions it raises concerning the motivation behind the authors' choices; secondly, as an opportunity for appreciating the processes by which these historical records came into being.

Very little is actually known about how annalistic chronicles were produced. There is a description in the Winchester chronicle given by one of its earliest authors of the procedure he wished his successors to follow:

Let it be your responsibility that a sheaf of loose leaves be added to the end of the book, on which should be noted in pencil the death of illustrious men and anything memorable you hear concerning the state of the kingdom.¹²¹

It is unknown whether this prescription was generally followed, but some specific cases can shed more light. For example, close examination of the extant manuscripts of the Melrose Chronicle has revealed that it must have remained unbound throughout its active life at the abbey, so that it was possible for scribes to insert extra pages or even annotations in the deepest reaches of the margins.¹²² Furthermore, the editors of the manuscript have been able to identify the individual hands of at least 66 scribes who worked on it in the first century after its creation in around 1143.¹²³ This is testimony that the annals were a collaborative work, involving different degrees of input from

¹²⁰ M. Staunton, 'Historical Writing and Public Debate in Angevin England,' paper given July 2017, The International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds.

¹²¹ *Ann. Mon.*, IV, p. 355.

¹²² D. Brown, 'The Physical Development of the Manuscripts,' in *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, ed. by D. Brown and J. Harrison, pp. 68-86.

¹²³ D. Brown, 'Scribes,' in *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, ed. by D. Brown and J. Harrison, pp. 87-124.

multiple members of the community. Antonia Gransden was able to demonstrate through detailed study of individual manuscripts that some monastic authors did indeed leave spaces throughout their annals, whether in the form of a few spare lines under each year's entry or a full extra leaf of parchment at the end of the book, for the purpose of adding further details, or appending relevant documents.¹²⁴ This suggests that the authors were aware that they had little control over what or when news of current affairs would reach them, but that they certainly had confidence that it would eventually.

An interesting example arose in the Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, where the annalist was able to continue an entry from one year into the following year. In 1284, the chronicler reported that an impostor had appeared in Germany, pretending to be Frederick II, who had died 34 years earlier, and had gathered together a considerable army of followers.¹²⁵ The following year, the chronicler was able to confirm that this man was convicted of heresy and executed.¹²⁶ It was not always possible for chroniclers to continue annal entries in this way; therefore, their work became an act of imposing chronological order and narrative coherence on a miscellaneous collection of items, rumours and gossip which arrived sporadically.¹²⁷ This sporadic information network goes a long way to explaining how there was such diversity in storytelling.

The monks might have expected news would arrive from a number of places. Patrons and connections to the royal court might have provided a good source for news and gossip. An important case study here is the abbey at St Albans, home to Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris. The abbey was situated about a day's ride away from London on the main route to the North and played host to numerous important ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries. Between 1220 and 1259, the abbey's visitor book recorded nine visits by the king and the royal court, and sometimes they stayed for as long as a week.¹²⁸ It would appear that the abbey was very well equipped and prepared at all times to provide hospitality for large numbers of guests; Matthew Paris himself revealed that the abbey's stables could hold up to 300 horses!¹²⁹ Therefore, in many

¹²⁴ A. Gransden, 'The Chronicles,' pp. 221-225.

¹²⁵ *Bury*, p. 81.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹²⁷ A. Gransden, 'The Chronicles,' p. 218.

¹²⁸ R. Vaughn, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), p. 11.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

ways, 'the outside world' with its news of current affairs passed frequently through the gates of St Albans on a fairly regular basis. Matthew Paris' own reputation as a recorder of events appears to have preceded him, and he was on occasion summoned to the royal court to pay witness to events. For example, Matthew reported how, in 1251, he was present at the king's court in Winchester, to hear the testimony of Thomas, a monk of Sherborne, concerning the Pastoreaux in France. Thomas had been sent on business by the king to France, but had been captured and tortured by the heretics for eight days before escaping back to England.¹³⁰

Other abbeys might have benefited from contact with the royal court. Dunstable Priory was situated about thirteen miles north-west of St Albans on Watling Street, and, as its prior was a man of some consequence, it was well-placed to get news of political and ecclesiastical affairs.¹³¹ There is evidence that as well as sharing a link to the royal court, St Albans Abbey and Dunstable Priory sometimes shared information by borrowing and loaning manuscripts to each other, and thus shared their interpretations of events.¹³² Historians of monastic annalistic chronicles have always been keen to note the relationships between monasteries which inculcated the borrowing and lending of manuscripts for the purpose of expanding annal entries.¹³³ Reginald Poole in his very early study of medieval annals wrote that between 800 and 1200 'one cannot but be struck by the constant way in which manuscripts were passed from one to another, whether by gift or loan, no matter how long the journey,' giving as an example the earlier transmission of the Northumbrian annals between Worcester, Peterborough, Lincoln, Lothian, Newburgh and Howden.¹³⁴ Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Bernard Meehan have demonstrated that there was a multitude of complex, single-volume compilations of historical, theological and geographical material being produced and circulated throughout the twelfth century by Durham Cathedral and the northern Cistercian and Augustinian houses.¹³⁵ Such frequency of intercourse between

¹³⁰ Paris, IV, p. 130.

¹³¹ C. R. Cheney, 'The Making of the Dunstable Annals, A. D. 33 to 1242,' in *Medieval Texts and Studies*, ed. by C. R. Cheney (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 209-230 (p. 230).

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 218.

¹³³ M. Brett; A. Gransden, 'The Chronicles'; C. R. Cheney, 'Dunstable Annals.'

¹³⁴ R. L. Poole, *Chronicles*, p. 56.

¹³⁵ A. Lawrence-Mathers, 'William of Newburgh and the Northumbrian Construction of English History,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (2007), 339-357 (pp. 348-353); B. Meehan, 'Durham Twelfth-Century

monasteries could be viewed as part of an expression of fraternal relations, whereby the communal identity of a monastic order was inculcated by the sharing of information, interpretations and ideals. For example, the strong connections between houses of Augustinian canons in the north of England and houses in the rest of the country meant that Yorkshire was not a remote place in the Middle Ages. The Augustinian house of Newburgh very likely had connections to the Augustinian priories of Holy Trinity in London, and Thetford in Norfolk, which was also only fifteen miles from Bury St Edmunds.¹³⁶

An important example to be considered in this case is provided by the filiation networks of the Cistercian Order, which would certainly have facilitated the detailed records of events written in the Waverley and Margam annals. The Cistercians' systems of General Chapters, publication of Chapter statutes, filiation networks and visitations created a broad scope for information about both ecclesiastical and political affairs to be broadcast across a very wide range of institutions.¹³⁷ Some influential abbots added to this newsletters to be circulated around the Order. For example, an account given by Arnaud, archbishop of Narbonne, who was formerly the abbot of Cîteaux, of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in June 1212 was entered into the Waverley Chronicle.¹³⁸ News of Arnaud's efforts during the Albigensian crusade, or the participation of Bernard and Henry of Clairvaux in earlier anti-heretical preaching campaigns, might have been disseminated by similar means. In addition to the communication networks harboured by the General Chapter, strong relationships were fostered between Cistercian abbeys and their affiliated daughter houses, which began with the preparation of key texts for the foundation of a new house by the mother-house.¹³⁹ Evidence that annalistic materials were shared between houses within a regional or filiation network can be provided by the manuscript tradition of the Margam annals. There is evidence of transmission of source-materials between Margam, Grace Dieu, Neath, Dore and Hailes,

Manuscripts in Cistercian Houses,' in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, ed. by D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 439-450.

¹³⁶ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 267.

¹³⁷ B. Weiler, 'Historical Writing,' pp. 217-218.

¹³⁸ J. Harrison, p. 25.

¹³⁹ *Narrative and Legislative Texts*, Summae Cartae Caritatis, cap. IX, p. 408, ll. 7-10.

all of which are located within a forty-mile radius in Glamorgan, Gwent and Western England, and share filial ties within the Cistercian Order.¹⁴⁰

Whilst the sharing of manuscripts was a major source of information for cloistered monks, the circulation of other documents, especially letters, was becoming increasingly important. Monastic chronicles in particular benefited greatly from the new abundance of written sources available during the thirteenth century, given their authors' relative inability to travel.¹⁴¹ As has been seen, it was not unusual for monastic annalists to include the text of relevant letters when they had the opportunity to. This had the added advantage of enabling the author to verify his source, much in the same way that Roger of Howden made use of letters written by ecclesiastical officials to describe the progress of the preaching campaigns to the Languedoc in 1176 and 1178. Both of the St Albans chroniclers copied the texts of various letters concerning heresy written by Pope Alexander III, Yvo of Narbonne, and Cardinal Reimer.¹⁴² Copies of letters may have come into the possession of St Albans Abbey via its connections to important ecclesiastical and secular authorities.

It is not often the case that the circulation of a particular letter regarding heresy was commented on, but it can be seen for one instance in the case of the Burton annals. Under the entry for 1251, the annalist copied the text of a letter sent by the custodian of the Franciscan Order in Paris to Adam Marsh, an English Franciscan who lectured at Oxford. The letter explained how the leader of the Pastoreaux corrupted crowds of people, how he began to incite violence against the clergy in Paris and Orleans, and how he defiled the sacraments on the altar at Tours and desecrated an image of the Virgin Mary. The letter also included attacks on a Franciscan school, and finally it noted the demise of the sect's leader at the hands of a virtuous layman in Bourges.¹⁴³ On receipt of the letter, Adam sent a copy to Robert Grosseteste, the bishop of Lincoln. Adam expressed a concern at the end of his letter to Robert, asking what the bishop thought might be the outcome of the efforts of 'deviant and prevaricating humanity, 'to combat the heretics, as Adam supposed that God had sent the heretics in His anger as a

¹⁴⁰ J. Harrison, p. 25.

¹⁴¹ C. Given-Wilson, p. 16.

¹⁴² *Wendover*, I, pp. 120-121; *Paris*, IV, pp. 270-277, V, pp. 61-67.

¹⁴³ *Ann. Mon.*, I, pp. 290-293.

punishment for mankind's sinfulness.¹⁴⁴ This followed another letter which Adam had sent to Robert earlier the same year, in which he concluded a note of anxiety about a group of shepherds rumoured to have been attacking the clergy. Adam finished by saying: 'I am not writing about them expressly, as I suppose the frightful report has reached your ears.'¹⁴⁵

The implications of these two letters are that the subject of the Pastoreaux had been of interest to both Adam and Robert, and possibly that they had agreed to share information about the issue between them. They seem to have been concerned to circulate this news further, as at some point, the text of this letter was circulated further and found its way into the hands of the Burton annalist, who chose to record it in his abbey's chronicle. Why he should have chosen to do this, and indeed why any monastic annalist chose to record reports of heresy from any source, is an important question related to the character and purpose of historical writing in the Middle Ages.

Writing History

Chris Given-Wilson has shown that despite the fact that annals and chronicles were works whose existence were largely unknown to the overwhelming majority of people whose lives and times they described, they nonetheless throw light on the ways in which people in the Middle Ages conceived of their place in history.¹⁴⁶ Since the classical period, history had been written to perform a function. Whilst identifying and recording historical fact was important, what was more significant was the discovery of the didactic meaning of events, the universal truths which can be deduced from a specific episode.¹⁴⁷ On the occasions when medieval historians provided explanations of their motivation for writing history they almost always repeated the classical tradition that

¹⁴⁴ Adam Marsh, *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. by H. Lawrence, Oxford Medieval Texts, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), I, letter 24, p. 57.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, letter 28, p. 77.

¹⁴⁶ C. Given-Wilson, p. xxiii.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

history is a 'preparation for life,' because it could show its audience what good deeds to admire, and bad deeds which ought to be avoided.¹⁴⁸

In the prefatory letter to his *Flores Historiarum*, Roger of Wendover claimed that his work would treat of the various events that have befallen on mankind so that 'being admonished by past evils, men may betake themselves to humiliation and repentance, taking an example for imitation from the good, and shunning the ways of the perverse.'¹⁴⁹ John of Salisbury expressed a similar theme in his *Historia Pontificalis*, explaining that his aim, like that of all chroniclers before him, was to profit his audience by relating noteworthy matters, 'so that the invisible things of God may be clearly seen by the things that are done.'¹⁵⁰ Gervase of Canterbury as well, so often quoted by modern historians as an authority on the medieval historical tradition, wrote that he had 'no desire to note down all those things which are memorable, but only those things which ought to be remembered, that is, those things which are clearly worthy of remembrance.'¹⁵¹

At times it has been argued that works of history which followed the annalistic form were not complex enough to express these sorts of ideas – they have not always been read as literary works.¹⁵² However, despite being brief, and thus limited in scope, the composition of a book of annals required the author to choose carefully what to include in each entry, and, as has been seen extensively, this could often include notices of heresy. Sarah Foot has argued that if collections of annal entries are read as unitary and coherent wholes, rather than as discrete statements located only in time, they can be seen to constitute a more sophisticated analysis of the past which conveys a larger meaning than has previously been recognised.¹⁵³ She suggested that the medieval writer and readers would have understood the linear, chronological development as a line tracing the natural, divinely ordained progression of historical time from the birth of Christ to an infinite future. In this framework the record produced by an annalist served to locate the past of the people or community whose lives it recorded within the

¹⁴⁸ D. Hay, p. 51.

¹⁴⁹ *Wendover*, I, pp. 1-3.

¹⁵⁰ John of Salisbury, p. 3.

¹⁵¹ Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works*, I pp. 89-90.

¹⁵² R. L. Poole, *Chronicles*; A. Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 29.

¹⁵³ S. Foot, p. 92.

divine temporal framework and God's plan for redeemed mankind.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, all types of historical writing aimed to convey a particular message for the benefit of their audiences, concerning the historical development of the Christian faith, the Church, and the salvation of mankind, in which the threat posed by heresy was a necessary component. In continuing these works throughout the generations, subsequent writers felt themselves to be participants of a tradition of historical writing.¹⁵⁵

As a source of inspiration in the tradition of historical writing, English writers could turn to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. In this, Bede incorporated various descriptions of heretical sects in the country's early history, giving details of the heresy's impact on England and on the continent. For example, he explained how, in the early fourth century, the 'Arian madness' corrupted the whole world and had even infected Britain. As a result the way was quickly opened 'for every foul heresy from across the ocean to pour into an island which always delights in hearing something new and holds firmly to no sure belief.'¹⁵⁶ He also recorded the rise of the sect of Pelagius, but gave no details as to their erroneous doctrine other than to say that they denied mankind's need for heavenly grace. He explained that Pelagius' teachings had been solidly refuted in the late fourth century by St Augustine and the 'rest of the orthodox fathers,' who quoted thousands of Catholic authorities against them, but that this refutation was not enough to correct them nor stop the augmentation of the sect.¹⁵⁷

For Bede, writing in the eighth century, these popular heresies were comfortably not a pressing issue in his life and times. His interest in heresy might then be explained by his own adherence to a tradition of historical writing which was established by works which inspired him, and in particular the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea. There are times when Bede's approach to heresy seems to echo Eusebius' in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* with almost mechanical precision.¹⁵⁸ For example, Bede's description of the refutation of a sect of Pelagius' followers by an assembly of European, evangelising bishops in the late fifth century echoed Eusebius' unwavering belief in the strength of

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9; J. Harrison, p. 23.

¹⁵⁶ Bede, bk. 1, ch. 8, p. 20.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, ch. 9, p. 21.

¹⁵⁸ P. A. Hayward, p. 11.

the Church united in council in the Holy Spirit as incapable of being defeated. In weighing up the opposing sides of the disputation, Bede wrote:

...the contestants differed widely one from the other; on the one side was divine faith, on the other side, human presumption; on one side piety, on the other pride; on the one side Pelagius the founder of their faith, on the other Christ.... Falsehood was overcome, deceit was unmasked...¹⁵⁹

Eusebius had written that 'divine and celestial grace worked with its ministers, by their advent and presence speedily extinguishing the flames of the Evil One,' and the tone of his writing on heresy throughout confidently emphasised that the divided sects of heresy would always fall with embarrassing speed and ease to the united strength of the Catholic Church.¹⁶⁰

This spirit can be seen to have inspired the writings of other English writers as well, for example the homilies and letters of Ælfric of Eynsham. In his letter to Wulfsgie, he wrote about the Council of Nicaea, presided over by Emperor Constantine in 318 for the examination and excommunication of Arius. During the synod, a miracle, of sorts, was witnessed due to the communion of so great a number of the faithful, whereby Arius was only convinced to yield to the authority of the synod once 'his bowels entirely fell out when he went to the privy.'¹⁶¹ Paul Hayward identified in these letters as well as in Bede's histories a strong emphasis on the role of episcopal and synodal authority in defence of orthodoxy, in mimicry of Eusebius, with the purpose of instilling into their English audiences the lesson that their continued freedom from heresy depended on the full and proper exercise of episcopal authority by competent bishops.¹⁶² However, Hayward has argued further that this theme was lacking in eleventh- and twelfth-century histories because of an array of political and institutional changes following the Norman Conquest which culminated in a divorce between English historians, and the bishops who would have benefitted from the deployment of such a rhetoric of heresy.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Bede, bk. 1, ch. 17, pp. 30-31.

¹⁶⁰ *H. E.*, bk. 2, ch. 14.2, p. 48.

¹⁶¹ *C. S. 1.*, pp. 196-226.

¹⁶² P. A. Hayward, p. 13.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-27.

He dismissed what little evidence there was of mentions of the events of 1166 as not massively sophisticated.¹⁶⁴ However, the reading of both historical and anti-heretical works produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries given over the course of the current study would suggest that Hayward's argument needs to be revised, and his understanding of the medieval rhetoric of heresy reapplied to new evidence.

It is now clear that writers in the twelfth century did indeed continue to draw inspiration from Eusebius' rhetoric of heresy, and this is nowhere clearer than in Baldwin of Forde's *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, and the annotated manuscript of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* which was at Forde during Baldwin's time there.¹⁶⁵ The marginal annotations found in this manuscript suggest that this manuscript was being used as the basis for wider discussions about Eusebius' historiographical approach amongst the monks of Forde in the late twelfth century. The key themes which permeated Eusebius' concern with heresy and informed his approach to writing history were the mechanisms and institutions which allowed the Church to face adversity and grow in strength and unity. The unified Catholic Church could do nothing but prevail against heretical attack.¹⁶⁶ This rhetoric of heresy was reflected in many of the accounts analysed here.

An important feature shared by all the histories and annalistic chronicles was the awareness of heresy across a very broad geographical span. There were reports of heresy in England, but also in France, Italy, Germany, Spain and the Low Countries, handled by these English sources. It is significant that works intended to deal with the history of England, or even of a particular monastic community, felt the need to incorporate instances of popular heresy from such far-flung places, especially as it was not an endemic phenomenon in Britain. The notion of simultaneity of events portrayed through annalistic histories should be seen as important to the central purpose of these works read as a whole.¹⁶⁷ It engendered a view of the strength of the English Church as a part of the wider European Church, as events happening in one part of a unified Church had an impact on and significance for the whole.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-22.

¹⁶⁵ See above, pp. 76-80.

¹⁶⁶ See above, pp. 63-66.

¹⁶⁷ S. Foot, p. 95.

An important link can also be made here to the opening sections of the Waverley annals. The annalist chose to start his chronicle with the birth of Christ, and added a timeline of significant events in the Church's earliest history, drawn from classical histories like Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Several records of classical heresy were included in this collection, including the condemnation of Valentinus in 147, the acceptance of the heretic Taurus into the Platonic sect of philosophers in 149, the acknowledgement of Basilides in 151, and the efforts of the bishop Polycarpus against heretics in Rome in 156.¹⁶⁸ In including this in a chronicle written for a specific abbey, the annalist was identifying the history of Waverley Abbey within the larger historical tradition of the growth of the Catholic Church in the face of adversity. In presenting an image of a unified whole by recording incidents of heresy alongside the workings of the Church in England, or at a local level, these annalists could promote an identity of spiritual and institutional unity, which could engender pride in the foundations and strength of the Catholic Church. This ideal is even more important in the context of the monastic perspective on heresy, as it emphasized the internal view of the monastery as one part of the wider whole of the Church and Gods' plan for mankind's salvation. Significantly, as Waverley was a Cistercian house, it seems clear that this historiographical approach was of great importance to the development of historical writing in the Cistercian Order.¹⁶⁹

The theme of unity and strength is emphasized further in a number of ways by the authors of historical works. For example, Walter Map's report of his confrontation with the Waldensians seems to reflect the confidence of some of Eusebius' reports of early Church councils, in particular the council attended by Origen.¹⁷⁰ In Walter's account, the collected confidence of the bishops of the Third Lateran Council, expressed most clearly in their ability to laugh at the heretics, presented an image of a Church that would not be intimidated.¹⁷¹ William of Newburgh also claimed that incursions of heresy had been unknown in England, and that no heresy had grown there on account of the

¹⁶⁸ *Ann. Mon.*, II, p. 135.

¹⁶⁹ E. Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150-1220*, Medieval Church Studies, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 91-121, 215-220.

¹⁷⁰ *H. E.*, bk. 6, ch. 37, pp. 207-208.

¹⁷¹ *Map*, dist. 1, ch. 31, p. 127.

vigilance and strength of the English Church since the times of Bede.¹⁷² Finally, the various examples given from the thirteenth-century monastic annals for the early years of the Albigensian crusade demonstrate that within that milieu, there was a sense that heresy was being subdued with ease by the combined and unified authority of Christian secular and ecclesiastical powers. A particularly important theme in this context was the emphasis on the successes produced by the cooperation of the French nobility and the papacy, demonstrating the Church's strength through the unified action of its ecclesiastical and secular offices. Also of especial interest and importance for English writers was the involvement of English authorities, like Simon de Montfort, who demonstrated how even England was contributing to the unity of the Catholic Church against its enemies.

A related theme was the emphasis on the differences between the Church and the heretical sects. In direct contrast to the unity of the Church, successive generations of heretics could be characterised by their variety and diversity. Also inherent in this idea was that whilst the Church was righteously unified, the heretics had to advance their own cause through deceit and trickery. Chroniclers were at pains to describe the deceptiveness of the heretics. The theme of heresy being transmitted through corrupted food which was seen in the late twelfth-century histories is a good example of this. Walter Map and William of Newburgh used this theme as a means to voice concern about the means by which the Christian faithful might be tricked and corrupted.¹⁷³ The theme appeared again in the letter of Yvo of Narbonne which was included in Matthew Paris' *Chronica Maiora*. Food and hospitality were, according to Yvo, vital components of the Italian Patarines' plan to corrupt key members of the laity. He recalled that he had been entertained by them for more than three months in one city, 'in splendour and voluptuousness,' thus binding him to them with their kindness so that he would be forced to join them in persuading all Christians that no one could be saved by the Catholic faith.¹⁷⁴ He gave details on the nature of this corrupting hospitality in his stay at Frioli: he 'drunk the noblest wines of the Patarines, ate their

¹⁷² *Newburgh*, II, ch. 13, p. 57.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, I, ch. 19, p. 89; *Map*, dist. 1, ch. 30, p. 121.

¹⁷⁴ *Paris*, IV, p. 270.

preserved raisins, cherries, and other exciting meats.’¹⁷⁵ Luxurious food had always been associated with the corrupting vice of gluttony in Christian, and especially monastic, thought, but in this case the luxurious food was especially dangerous!

Another useful example here is the portrayal of the Pastoreaux and their deceptive origins. Numerous chronicles included assertions that the Pastoreaux had presented themselves as a virtuous crusading force, but had actually revealed that they were antagonists and persecutors of the clergy.¹⁷⁶ This turn of events was exacerbated by the rumour that the leaders of the sect were in the employ of the Islamic sultans who wished to weaken the strength of the kingdom of France, and thus undermine the unity of the Church. The Burton annals recorded greater detail on how the leader of this anti-crusade was able to easily turn any crowd surrounding him with his corrupting venom, and thus:

...an unexpected evil arose; a heretic or pagan came along, remarkable for his conduct and teaching and fraudulent miracles. Hypocritically, like a wolf ‘not entering the sheepfold by the gate’ [John 10. 1] but clothing himself in a sheepskin [Matthew 7. 15] under the pretext of going on crusade and the appearance of piety, he made himself the leader of the shepherds.¹⁷⁷

A direct comparison might be drawn here with the recurring representation of heresy found in Baldwin of Forde’s *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* as a hidden evil, which disguised itself with trappings of virtue so well that it could not be identified by anyone who had not been gifted the special power of discernment by divine grace.¹⁷⁸

The reverse of Eusebius’ rhetoric of heresy and related ideas can also be seen in some of these histories. This was the idea that if the Church was not united it would inevitably fall to heretical attacks. The change of tone in descriptions of the Albigensian crusade noted after 1220 is a clear example of this. The foundation of relationships

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

¹⁷⁶ *Bury*, pp. 17-18; *Ann. Mon.*, iv, pp. 100-101; i, pp. 290-293; *Paris*, v, pp. 246-247.

¹⁷⁷ *Ann. Mon.*, i, p. 290: ‘...surrexit malum inopinatum, venit quidam haereticus vel paganus, moribus et doctrina insignis et prodigiis mendacibus, in hypocrisi velut lupus ‘non intrans per ostium in ovile,’ inductus tamen pelle ovina, sub cruce signationis praetextu et specie pietatis, se principem fecit pastorum.’

¹⁷⁸ See above, pp. 83-87.

between the crusading forces and successes won by the heretics were portrayed as synonymous. In the reporting of the Crusade of the Pastoreaux, some comments were made to the effect that the heresy was able to make such headway in France due to the apathy of the French. The Burton annalist reported that there was no concern amongst the French for the violation of altars and Church decorations by the Pastoreaux. His source blamed the blasphemies of these evil-doers and the injuries done to monks and clerics on the contempt of the common people for the divine word of God.¹⁷⁹

Matthew Paris suggested that it was the leader of the sect's ability to appeal to the endemic hatred and contempt of the common people for the clergy which allowed him to corrupt others with his dangerous doctrines.¹⁸⁰ He also suggested that the ruin of the French Church by the Pastoreaux heresy was facilitated by the activity of an erroneous friar. He blamed Robert Bugre, a 'false brother of the Order of Preachers' for inciting hatred of the clergy amongst the French people by previously urging the French king to consign countless innocent people to the flames.¹⁸¹ Matthew had previously written about Robert Bugre under the year 1236, explaining that Robert's zeal for burning any and all heretics under the common appellation of '*Bugares*' in Flanders was due to his own past as a member of the Bugare, or Cathar, heresy. However, this zeal constituted an abuse of the power entrusted to him as a Dominican friar in the prosecution of heresy, and at length he 'passed the bounds of moderation and justice, became elated, powerful and formidable, involved the good with the bad and punished the innocent and simple-minded.'¹⁸²

The theme of the Church becoming weaker in dealing with the advances of heresy because of the disunity of its members resonated especially for Matthew Paris. This was certainly the case when he reported the involvement of the Emperor Frederick II in the crusade to the Holy Land in 1234. The Pope had had to forbid Frederick to invade Italy instead of travelling east. This was despite the fact that, according to Matthew, the Emperor had been motivated by a desire to attack the insolent Italian heretics in Milan, as it felt ill-advised to him to assist in the Holy Land and leave behind false Christians,

¹⁷⁹ *Ann. Mon.*, I, p. 292.

¹⁸⁰ *Paris*, v, pp. 246-247.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, III, p. 361.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 520.

who were worse than any Saracen.¹⁸³ Throughout the narrative of the *Chronica Maiora*, Matthew demonstrated that this oversight, caused by the disharmony of papal and secular authorities, resulted in loss and tragedy for the Christian Church.

A good example of this was the inclusion of the text of a letter written by Cardinal Reimer which attacked the Emperor Frederick II for having become a heretic rather than eradicating Italian heresy. The letter lamented how the fear of God had gone to sleep in Christian princes, that their love of the saviour had become entirely lukewarm and that these lapses had caused blasphemy to be protected at home while the Christian armies attacked the infidelity of the Saracens abroad. The Cardinal argued vehemently that the heretics must first be expelled from Italy, 'lest the serpent should be cherished in the bosom, the mouse in the sack, and fire in the womb,' before turning to far-flung places.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, in copying Yvo of Narbonne's letter about the Patarines, Matthew was able to express the view that God had been greatly angered by the Church's failure to destroy this heresy, as well as other undisclosed 'sinful things' arising amongst the Christian faithful, to the extent that he had become a 'fearful avenger,' and had sent the barbarous Tartars to punish the Church by exterminating people by fire and by sword.¹⁸⁵

In light of this, it is easy to be struck by the idea that some monastic chroniclers saw themselves as having a duty to continue a tradition of historical writing which recorded the development and growth of the Church. This study also involved the recording of events which were detrimental to this progress out of concern for the welfare of the institution. Added to this is the evidence brought together here that annalists and chroniclers could also use their works as a means of voicing concerns about heresy, such as how it could be spread. This desire to offer moral interpretations on current affairs and to search for meanings in the unfolding of events could affect the way that information was handled and presented; whilst some of the stories appear made up to modern readers, their appearance in these histories was necessitated by the information they imparted to their medieval audience.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 374-375.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, v, p. 66.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 272-273.

¹⁸⁶ B. Weiler, 'Matthew Paris on the Writing of History,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 35.5 (2009), 254-278 (p. 275).

There is evidence that these manuscripts reached a wider audience in some instances, as they were referred to by various authorities. Chronicles were regarded as competent and credit-worthy records, which were consulted on matters of the highest significance in the political life of the nation.¹⁸⁷ Indications can sometimes be seen in the annalistic chronicles that the authors anticipated that their works might have a more practical purpose. A clear example was given in the annals of Winchester. In 1201, the annalist included a lengthy story about two ‘impostors’ who had been seen roaming around nearby villages pretending to be saints. One of these ‘pseudo-saints’ claimed to be St Nicholas and attempted to persuade a rich man into giving him money by pretending to perform a miraculous form of the Eucharist.¹⁸⁸

Another impostor disguised himself as St Andrew, and similarly performed a fake miracle in order to trick an honest man who suspected him of malicious intent. The fake saint asked for a live rooster for dinner, which he then carried into the woods and swapped for a bird he had roasted earlier, leaving the live rooster tied to a tree. He ate the cooked bird in sight of the honest man and buried the leftover bones in front of his village. That night, while the household slept, the impostor removed the bones then crept into the woods to collect the live rooster and brought it back to the village. In the morning, the local people were amazed, and decided that the impostor must be a saint, as he had performed a miracle by bringing the rooster back to life!¹⁸⁹ The annalist added an unusual personalised comment after recounting these stories, saying:

And so I have written this so that you might be warned, and might beware of those who come to you in sheep’s clothing, and are rapacious wolves within; and so that you may not believe in all the spirits, but may test them to see if they are from God.¹⁹⁰

It was evidently envisaged that these historical works would be used to provide a model for its audience, to help warn the Church and to build a stronger defence of the faith.

¹⁸⁷ C. Given-Wilson, p. 73.

¹⁸⁸ *Ann. Mon.*, II, pp. 74-76.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77: ‘Haec ideo scripsi ut cautiores sitis, et attendatis ab his qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, et sunt intrinsecus lupi rapaces. Et ne credatis omni spiritui, sed probetis si ex Deo fuerint.’

Despite its distance, the threat of popular heresy was seen as posing an imminent danger to the Church in England as part of the wider Catholic Church as a whole. The inclusion of reports about heresy in English historical chronicles demonstrates a single facet of an active concern for the unity of the Church across Latin Christendom, and an impetus towards preparation in case England itself should face a similar incursion by popular heresies. Baldwin of Forde's *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, as a work concerned with the history of heresy, should be read as a part of this broader historiographical tradition. This tradition, in turn, must be placed within the broader perspective of individual movements to prepare for the need to defend the faith against the threat of heresy.

PURSUING HERETICS

The evidence of the historical works of the previous chapter demonstrated that there was an extensive network of individuals engaged in discussing heresy in late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century England. They produced reports in annals and chronicles which represent the very tip of a mass of debate, rumour, gossip and speculation about heresy. At the same time these sources represent forums for discussing concerns about the spread of heresy, and understandings of heresy as an historical phenomenon which was linked intrinsically to the growth of the Church since the time of its foundation. Pivotal to this was the acknowledgement that during times of strife, when the Church was not in harmony, heresy might be able to finally overcome the faithful, risking the salvation of the entirety of mankind. Therefore, it would seem logical that any attempt to preserve the Church against the advances of heresy would have to be two-fold. In the first place, the heretics themselves would have to be directly pursued, confronted, and dealt with. The second effort would have to be in reforming and maintaining the spiritual life of the Christian faithful and putting the affairs of the Church in order. Both proposals would necessitate a careful renegotiation of important social relationships.

These relationships would include that between the laity and the clergy, principally the responsibility of the clergy to protect their congregations, to correct their faults, and to bolster their faith through careful instruction, whilst simultaneously searching for signs of deviancy and obstinate disobedience which might engender heresy. Also important were the relationships between the different levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, especially between the bishops and their diocesan clergy. The bishops had a duty to provide for the pastoral care of the faithful within their diocese, and they did this through the work of their parish clergy, organised by their episcopal households.¹ In order to ensure that the spiritual needs of the flock were met, the bishop had to have a care for the ability of his clergy, monitoring their ministrations and ensuring they were instructed in the faith and in moral philosophy. Finally, the

¹ E. U. Crosby.

relationship between the authority of the Church and that of the English state was of importance in the organisation of a cooperative effort to pursue and punish heretics. When a person was suspected of heresy, the relevant local Church authority would have to alert the local royal representative to have the individual arrested, isolated, and brought to a tribunal at an ecclesiastical court to be assessed and tried. If that person was then convicted of heresy, the Church had to hand jurisdiction over them back to the royal authorities so that they could be duly punished, as the clergy were prohibited from the shedding of blood.

In order to alter any of the existing relationships between these groups to accommodate the rising fear of the encroachments of heresy amongst certain ecclesiasts, the mechanisms by which the authority and responsibility of these institutions were regularly exercised had to be adapted. For example, in considering the ability of his parish clergy to identify heresy and alert him to its presence, the bishop had to educate them about its nature by including this within a programme of instruction arranged by the preparation and dissemination of ecclesiastical statutes and *summulae*. In addition to this, the normal mechanisms of royal jurisdiction and administration which had been so greatly developed throughout the twelfth century by the Angevin kings, would have to be appropriated for the royal courts to be able to accommodate the Church's need for their cooperation.

A final significant element is a catalyst for change, a driving force which transformed the rising fear and paranoia held by a reasonably small collective of ecclesiasts and royal administrators into a plan of action. To find this, it would be expedient to turn in the first place to the individual initiative of two men who lived in England during the final decades of the twelfth century. Both of these individuals were personal, life-long friends of Baldwin of Forde, and, as will be demonstrated, were influenced in some way by the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, and Baldwin's theology on heresy. Peter of Blois, like Baldwin, wrote extensively, and also wrote about heresy in both his theological works and in various letters and sermons designed to motivate members of the Church hierarchy to be more actively concerned about heresy. Bartholomew of Exeter shared many things with Baldwin, not least a deep seated passion for spiritual ministry, and the means by which the faith ought to be taught. Their

portrayal of the perceived threat of heresy, their fear for the spiritual life of the Church, and their thinking on how the Church should work to combat heretics not only echo some of Baldwin's concerns, they anticipate the concerns and activities of other ecclesiastical and secular authorities in England during their lifetimes and after.

Friends of Baldwin.

Peter of Blois, like so many clerics of the twelfth century, lived an eventful life through a dynamic career. Born to a family of minor Breton nobles in around 1130, Peter had to rely on his personal training, skills and contacts, as well as his reputation as a writer, for his livelihood and advancement.² Over the course of a lifetime which lasted almost nine decades, Peter had the opportunity to assume all the roles which a member of the secular clergy could undertake, with the exception of a bishopric.³ The foundation of this career was an extensive period of study on the continent in his early years; Peter received a literary education at Tours, studied Roman canon law in Bologna, and read Theology in Paris until 1166, when he left France for Sicily and the court of the widowed Queen Margaret in the role of keeper of the royal seal and tutor to the young Prince William.

After leaving Sicily following a rebellion amongst Margaret's rascals, Peter returned to France in the capacity of a letter-writer, and through this became embroiled in Angevin affairs, by writing letters to disputants on both sides of the Becket affair. Following this, Peter was able to secure employment in England, and by 1182 he had become archdeacon of Bath and served as a letter-writer in the household of the archbishop of Canterbury. After the archbishop's death in 1184, Peter passed into the service of his successor Baldwin, hitherto bishop of Worcester, formerly abbot of Forde. This was not, however, the first time that these two individuals had met, as Peter had

² J. D. Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009), p. 96.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 3, pp. 17-48; R. W. Southern, 'Blois, Peter of (1125x30-1212),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22012>> [accessed 15 June 2017].

been a student of Baldwin's in Bologna, and they had attended lectures together there given by Umberto Crivelli, the later Pope Urban III.⁴

Throughout his career as an archdeacon, Peter was a prolific writer. He compiled an extensive letter collection, which he dedicated to King Henry II, and which he continued to add to until around 1202.⁵ In addition to this, he produced a series of treatises on matters relating to the faith, penance, confession, the sacraments and the duties of the clergy. Through these treatises, Peter sought to map out the proper place for the cleric within Christian society, using the medium to tackle the anxieties which troubled him during the course of his own life.⁶ Many of these works also reflected ideas and sentiments of monastic provenance; in particular, his *De Amicitia Christiana et de Dilectione Dei et Proximi* incorporated Cistercian ideals of spiritual friendship and charity which had previously been expounded by Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx.

It is also certainly the case that Baldwin personally inspired Peter to broaden his cultural horizons, as around the time that Peter came into his service, Peter began to include letters in praise of monastic orders which reflected the ideals of the Cistercian Order in his collection.⁷ Many of Peter's works are highly derivative at best, or plagiaristic at worst, according to modern standards. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized how interesting and unconventional it is to find an urban archdeacon who attempted to imitate figures such as Aelred of Rievaulx and Baldwin of Forde.⁸ Evidently, his conception of the role and livelihood of a secular cleric drew upon a very broad spectrum of religious and literary experience. As a result, Peter produced an image of the role of the cleric as someone who was at once a minister of the sacrament, a confessor, and a preacher, but evidence of this breadth of experience is especially visible in his conception of the cleric as a source of wisdom to be used against heretics.⁹ This latter point is very illuminating given his relationship to Baldwin and his authorship of a tract entitled *Tractatus de Fide*.

⁴ Peter of Blois, *The Later Letters*, letter 10.3, p. 53; R. W. Southern, 'Blois, Peter of.'

⁵ J. D. Cotts, pp. 49-96; Peter of Blois, *The Later Letters*.

⁶ J. D. Cotts, p. 241.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

In the late twelfth century, Peter sent a copy of his *Tractatus de Fide* to an unknown correspondent. Two copies of this treatise have survived, one in the archive of San Daniele del Friuli, the second at Jesus College, Oxford. The Oxford manuscript has survived in full in twenty folios. The pages are large and neatly arranged, with minimal marginal notation. The hand can be dated to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Altogether the manuscript appears to have been kept as a display text in a monastery. The text forms part of the collection of manuscripts at Jesus College Oxford which was created from the library of Sir John Prise. Prise was one of the men appointed by Thomas Cromwell to visit monasteries between 1535 and 1539. By November 1542 he held the grant in fee of the dissolved priory of St Guthlac in Herefordshire. From 1539, he began to collect manuscripts from the monasteries he visited and administered along the Welsh borders, taking an interest in works on Welsh history and on theology.¹⁰ Prise kept a good record of his acquisitions, and noted that the manuscript containing Peter of Blois' *Tractatus de Fide* was one of the manuscripts originally requisitioned from Pershore Abbey in Worcestershire.¹¹ The manuscript itself is a collation of three tracts, firstly a commentary on Pseudo-Dionysius' *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* by Hugh of St Victor, secondly another tract by Peter of Blois against the Jews, and finally the tract on the testimony of the faith.¹²

The final tract can be divided roughly into three parts. The first is a work dealing with practical aspects of the faith and is based on Baldwin's *De Commendatione Fidei*, at times copying directly. The second and third sections share a concern about the treatment of heresy and include a discussion of the history of classical heresy and the persecution of it by the early Church councils. The tract seems to have been seldom studied, and except for Revell's note that the opening section of the *Tractatus de Fide* closely resembles the *De Commendatione Fidei*, no other comparisons have been made to other works of Baldwin's authorship.¹³ However, the treatise's reliance on Baldwin's *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* is remarkable. In the prefatory letter accompanying the

¹⁰ N. R. Ker, 'Sir John Prise,' in *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. by A. G. Watson (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), pp. 133-160 (p. 473).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 485.

¹² H. O. Coxe, ed., *Catalogus Codicum MSS qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus Hodie Adservantur*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1852), II, p. 14.

¹³ Peter of Blois, *The Later Letters*, letter 77, p. 323, n. 1.

manuscript, Peter named Baldwin as a source of inspiration for him, as one amongst a corpus of Church Fathers who wrote against heresy:

In this work I follow, or rather revere, the footsteps of the venerable fathers who wrote about the faith and who set up triumphal eagles against heresy. Among these who shone with great fame are Eusebius of Caesarea, Athanasius, Rufinus, Irenaeus, Hilary, Jerome, Augustine, Epiphanius, and Baldwin, the primate of England, who, although born in a later time, does not stand far below them in terms of his life, his knowledge, and his sanctity.¹⁴

Peter must have been referring to the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* here, and it can also be presumed that he had had the opportunity to discuss the issues raised within the text with Baldwin himself during their time together in England.

In the same letter, Peter set forth to his recipient his intention to draw together the ‘flowers of teaching’ from the works of these venerable fathers, ‘as if in a garden of sown flowers,’ and to assemble them in such a way as to produce a text which was a little ‘sweeter’ to suit the needs of an audience who were still young in their faith. This intention can go some way to explain his use of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. In the first place, Peter structured his section on heresy along the same genealogical framework as Baldwin. He began with Simon the Magician and then continued to discuss the sects of Valentinus, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Saturninus, Cerinthus, the Ebionites, the Nicholites, Cerdon and Marcion, Tatian, the Cainites, Montanus, Archemonis, Novatus, and also Arius and Appolinarius in turn. These final two were not discussed in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* as it survives in the Narvaja edition, and it must be asked whether Peter’s work perhaps represents an earlier iteration of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* or whether Peter modified and added to Baldwin’s original.

¹⁴ Oxford, Jesus College, MS. 38, fol. 84^v: ‘In hoc autem opera sequor immo adoro vestigia venerabilium patrum qui tractaverunt de fide et contra hereses victrices aquilas erexerunt. Inter quos celebrioris fame titulis efulsere, Eusebius Cesariensis, Athanasius, Ruffinus, Yreneus, Hylarius, Jeronimus, Augustinus, Epiphanius et primas anglie Baldewinus qui licet sit posterior tempore, non multum tamen ab eius degenerat vita, sciencia, sanctitate.’

Evidence that Peter in fact edited the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, rather than followed it closely, can be seen in his treatment of the individual heretics. A useful illustration here is Peter's treatment of Simon the Magician. This section constitutes the lengthiest discussion of any heretic in Peter's *Tractatus*, and whilst it relied heavily on the treatment of the same figure in Baldwin's *Liber*, there are some notable stylistic and editorial changes. Peter retained quotations from Justin Martyr, Jerome, Irenaeus and Eusebius which can be found in Baldwin's version, in a different order. Whilst the *Liber* preserved in the Narvaja edition was divided into two distinctions, grouped around Irenaeus' writings in the first distinction and those of Eusebius in the second, in the *Tractatus* both distinctions were brought together, drawing all information about Simon the Magician into one place in a way which is both more concise and easier to access.

Peter began with an extract from Eusebius of Caesarea's *Historia Ecclesiastica* which included the text of a letter sent by Justin Martyr to the Emperor concerning Simon's origins, and the erection of a statue to him in Rome bearing a sign in Latin: 'To Simon the Holy God.'¹⁵ Peter then quickly covered Simon's paramour, Helen, and how she had been a prostitute. This was a significant change from Baldwin's version as preserved in the Narvaja edition, where Baldwin provided this information at the beginning of the second distinction of heresy, covering the information which Eusebius provided.¹⁶ Peter's next extract was taken from the beginning of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, in which was included a short biography of Irenaeus of Lyons taken from a letter written by St Jerome.¹⁷ Peter included this biography in order to introduce the next short quotation extracted from Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses*, dealing with Simon's followers amongst the Samaritans, and his attempt to buy the powers of the Holy Spirit, whereas Baldwin had given a more extensive consideration of Irenaeus' career as a preamble to his anti-heretical writings as a whole.¹⁸ Peter concluded by summarising Baldwin's description of how Simon would change his appearance in order to appeal to different audiences to greater effect; thus amongst the Jews he pretended to be the Son

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 92^r.

¹⁶ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 66, ll. 18-28, p. 67, ll. 1-4.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32, ll. 6-13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32, ll. 3-13.

of God, but he was the Father amongst the Samaritans, and the Holy Spirit amongst the rest.¹⁹

Many things were omitted altogether from Peter's summary. For example, he did not include any part of Baldwin's somewhat haphazard explanation of Helen's life, reincarnation, and sufferings at the hands of the wicked angels.²⁰ The fact that Simon had claimed to be the son of God sent to Earth to liberate mankind from the tyranny of the wicked angels whom he had created was also excluded, along with Simon's moral philosophy and teachings.²¹ Most significantly, Peter did not follow Baldwin in emphasising that Simon was the first heretic, and progenitor of the entire heretical succession, like a corrupt tree bearing corrupt fruits.²² Instead, Peter built his image of a genealogy implicitly through the ordering of his narrative, and without constant recourse to the idea. In summary, Peter's new and more concise rendering of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* was greatly streamlined and lacking much of Baldwin's wider exposition and vitriolic language. These changes reflect the intention expressed in the prefatory letter to the *Tractatus*. Indeed, Peter seems to have been so concerned to ensure that his new treatise was as accessible as possible that he asked his anonymous recipient at the end of the letter for feedback.²³ He hoped that his correspondent's corrections might anticipate potential criticism and point out what had been made obscure through conciseness.

Given this, it seems as though Peter expected the recipient of this tract to have a very in-depth knowledge of the subject matter, which he could employ in offering a critique of Peter's work. In all, Peter seemed to expect a working familiarity with the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* and the anti-heretical writings of Irenaeus of Lyons, Eusebius of Caesarea and Ruffinus of Aquileia, as well as the *De Commendatione Fidei*. A strong case might therefore be made that the original recipient of Peter's letter and tract was none other than Baldwin himself. The dating of the letter is therefore problematic. Revell dated it to the early 1190s on the basis that Peter would have just returned to

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34, ll. 10-14.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35, ll. 10-28.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36, ll. 26-29, p. 37, ll. 1-13.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 33, ll. 2-14.

²³ Jesus College MS. 38, fol. 85^v.

England from the crusade, and would thus have had more time to dedicate to theological pursuits.²⁴ This assumption about Peter's career is valid, but in light of a closer reading of his *Tractatus* an earlier date would be more appropriate. The copy of the letter which Revell edited and dated was likely a later copy which had been attached to the manuscript at Pershore abbey, which later became part of the Jesus College archive.²⁵ After its initial use as correspondence, the letter might have been used as an introduction to, explanation of, and justification for Peter's version of the text. Given Peter's obvious respect for his recipient, whom he styles as 'Eminence,' and the knowledge and insight he expected from him, an identification of the correspondent as Baldwin seems more than plausible. This identification would then date the *Tractatus de Fide* to the 1180s, and the beginning of Baldwin's tenure as Archbishop of Canterbury. It would also suggest that by this time, Baldwin and Peter had conversed together about the content and purpose of Baldwin's *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, and Peter's plan to produce a more concise version, at which point it must be assumed that Baldwin approved of the proposed work enough for Peter to be confident of a positive reception, rather than an accusation of plagiarism!

Peter's interest in conciseness and simplicity might be connected with his intended audience for the tract. John Cotts argued that Peter's treatises were adapted to be texts written for the secular clergy, reflecting Peter's conceptualisation of the cleric's place in society, especially as a consistent defender of the faith.²⁶ Peter's concern with heresy was fuelled by a sense that action was urgently required within the clerical hierarchy, as they faced the incursion of new heretical attacks. At the beginning of his section on heresy in the *Tractatus de Fide*, Peter began with a discussion of the assault of the heretics. He started in a way which expressed the present urgency of the situation:

The detestable presumption of the heretics has finally dared to erect a siege engine of impiety against the aforementioned tower of David, to

²⁴ Peter of Blois, *The Later Letters*, letter 77, p. 323, n. 1.

²⁵ N. R. Ker, 'Sir John Prise,' p. 485.

²⁶ J. Cotts, pp. 240-241.

pervert the propositions of truth and attack the integrity of victorious faith with the lies of perverse dogmas.²⁷

He gave more detail about these perverse doctrines, saying that heretics have arisen who stir the 'sleeping ashes' of the classical heretics. He lists those known as 'the Publicans, the Patarines, the Humiliati, the Cruciati, and by other names,' who all allegedly did not believe in infant baptism, clerical grace, the Eucharist, and marriage.²⁸

It has been suggested that Peter's knowledge of these heretics came from the condemnation of various Italian heresies promulgated in the papal bull *Ad Abolendam* produced by Pope Lucius III at the Council of Verona in November 1184, which named 'Cathars and Patarines as well as Humiliati, the Poor of Lyons, Passagines, Josephines and Arnaldists as subject to perpetual anathema.'²⁹ Obvious difficulties arise with this argument given the differences between the two lists. Whilst it was probable that Peter, in the household of the Archbishop of Canterbury and as archdeacon of Bath, would have been familiar with papal promulgations, it must be assumed that his sources for knowledge about heresy were wider than this. In particular, his connections made with clerics and students whilst living and working in Tours, Bologna, Paris, Sicily and northern France could have easily given him access to information about the development of heresies on the continent.³⁰ His knowledge included an understanding of both popular and academic heresies which were prevalent in Italy, southern France, and even Spain, including the Cathar dualistic belief that the devil was the creator of the material world, and the alleged Lombardian theory that Christ, as far as he was a man, was not anything.³¹

Despite this interest in contemporary heresy, Peter took no steps in the *Tractatus* to refute the heretical ideas of his own day. He followed Baldwin in this respect; the tract was only concerned with classical heresy. Furthermore, the tract did

²⁷ Jesus College, MS. 38, fol. 92^r: 'Ausa est tandem detestanda hereticorum praesumptio contra praefatam turrim Davidi, machinam impietatis erigere, pervertere titulos veritatis atque victoriose fidei sinceritatem perversorum dogmatum fictionibus impugnare.'

²⁸ Ibid., fol. 85^r: 'Ista sunt quod publicanos, paterinos, humiliatos, cruciatos sive aliis nominibus censent qui nec in parvulis baptismum credunt nec in sacerdotibus gratiam spiritus sancti, nec in sacrificio altaris corporis et sanguinis dominici veritatem; in laicis vero fidelibus detestantur consortium copule coniugalis.'

²⁹ F. Andrews, *The Early Humiliati* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 39-41.

³⁰ R. W. Southern, 'Blois, Peter of.'

³¹ Jesus College, MS. 38, fol. 85^r.

not offer refutations of classical heresies, again mimicking the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. In the third and final section of the treatise, Peter included a history of the refutation of heresy by the canons of the ancient Church councils. However, this did not amount to a point-by-point refutation of doctrinal error, which was becoming a prevailing trend in late twelfth-century anti-heretical literature, and which had been an important aspect of the structural framework of the patristic treatises named in Peter's prefatory letter. Nevertheless, like Baldwin, Peter obviously still thought his treatise was worth writing, as is shown by the lengths that he went to ensure its conciseness and usability. He might have felt that his audience of secular clergymen would not necessarily need current information, as they could have it at their disposal through other means. The purpose of the tract appears to have been to galvanise his peers and to instil in them, in no uncertain terms, the centrality of the defence of the faith in their role as secular clerics, especially in the light of the growth of popular heresy in Europe.

This would not be the only time that Peter attempted to convey this message. He addressed the issue of heresy further in his career, once in a letter to the Archbishop of York, and again in a sermon written for an anonymous audience of clerics and priests. The letter to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Archbishop of York was sent after Peter returned from the Third Crusade and postdates Geoffrey's elevation to the archiepiscopal see in 1191.³² Having first congratulated Geoffrey on his election, Peter reminded him of the scale of his new position and responsibility, likening it to a vine shoot through which the vine of the Lord is enlarged. Geoffrey had been placed as guardian over this section of the vine, to join the host of defenders engaged in the active protection and augmentation of the Church.³³ Using the language of the shoot and the vine is directly reminiscent of the vineyard in the Song of Songs and would have alerted the archbishop to the threat of foxes, or heretics, through association.

Peter went on to write that 'there have arisen in your time preachers of false doctrine, teachers of lies, enemies of truth and people who subvert the faith.'³⁴ The purpose of Peter's letter was to exhort Geoffrey to act against these heretics; as a

³² P. Biller, 'William of Newburgh,' p. 25.

³³ Peter of Blois, 'Epistola cxiii: ad Eboracensem Archiepiscopum,' in *P. L.*, ccvii (1855), cols. 340-341

³⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 341.

successor and deputy of St Peter, it was the office of the archbishop to 'look out for your own, and guard against the cunning of those who secretly violate the Lord's law.'³⁵ In order to do this, Geoffrey was to summon his clergy together, so that through their deliberation, a course of action could be arranged. Peter advised that his action must include the constitution of a punishment so terrible that it might provide a deterrent to the rest of the faithful.

Peter's final discussion of heresy comes from a sermon on I Corinthians 4. 1, 'Let a man so account of us, as the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.' It is not known whether Peter himself ever preached this sermon. Despite working for great periods of time in England, Peter never managed to achieve fluency in the English language, which would have made a career in preaching difficult for him in the long term.³⁶ Moreover, Peter was not ordained, by his own will, until the turn of the century, despite having worked as an archdeacon since the 1180s. However, he did leave behind a collection of forty-six sermons, which complemented his other writings on the priestly duties of preaching and defending the faith.³⁷ The message of this sermon on Corinthians was to exhort the clergy to consider their vocation and the eminence and dignity of their order, especially when preparing and administering the sacraments. Throughout the sermon, Peter admonished the clergy for giving in to the temptations of the flesh and the world, to the detriment of their office and to the love of God amongst the faithful. Because they do not cry out and admonish this behaviour, the priests are likened to 'mute dogs, not vigorous, not wishing to bark,' and thus they facilitate the corruption of the faith.³⁸ Peter held priests who remained silent about abuses of the faith as personally responsible for the 'new and recent heretics subverting the whole world: those who are called Publicani, or Patarines.'³⁹ Unworthy priest who failed to do their job and set bad examples for their flocks, brought their vocation into disrepute, and thus exposed the simple faithful to heretics.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, col. 341: 'Quia igitur estis successor et vicarius Petri, qui oves Domini custodiendas et pascendas accept; plurimum vestra interest praevidere, et praecavere illorum versutias, qui legem Domini praevaricantur...'

³⁶ J. Cotts, p. 235.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 233-234.

³⁸ Peter of Blois, 'Sermo lxi,' in *P. L.*, ccvii (1855), cols. 739-740.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 740: 'Ideo novi Amorrhaei, et novie Philisthaei nos oppugnant; novi recentesque haeretici totum subvertunt orbem: quos publicanos aut patinuos nominant.'

He gave minimal detail about these heretics, only that they denied the eucharist and did not allow, nor the bond of matrimony amongst lay peoples. Presumably, Peter had expected his prospective audience to have already been aware of their heresies, and thus it was Peter's purpose to prompt them to act against an existing and apparent problem. Again, as in the case of the letter to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Peter was motivated by his argument that the followers of these heresies were multiplying beyond count. Despite having been extinguished in some places, it had returned and increased in other places, springing forth like the heads of the hydra.⁴⁰ The remainder of the sermon was dedicated to an exhortation to the priests to 'return to the weapons of innocence' by abandoning the work of the flesh and renouncing their own sins.⁴¹ This reform of the priest's behaviour was the only solution offered by Peter to the threat of heretical incursion; indeed he claimed that 'whatever is attempted against us will come entirely to nothing, "like water running down" [Psalm 57. 8].'⁴²

This is a theme which was also present in the *Tractatus de Fide*, as it was in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. Heresy could be defeated only through the correct administration of the various ecclesiastical vocations, working together according to God's social plans. In maintaining this stance, Peter, along with Baldwin before him, would have seen little call to produce a piece of anti-heretical literature which detailed the refutation of individual errors, when the skills, wisdom and discernment to do so existed naturally in the proper ordering of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Peter's interest would remain in the exhortation of his peers to the fulfilment of what he saw to be their clerical duties, and heresy was the consequence and evidence of historic failure of the clergy to do so.

Another companion of Baldwin who concerned with both pastoral responsibility and heresy was Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter. Bartholomew and Baldwin had been friends for the best part of their lives, having spent their youth together in Exeter; John of Salisbury's letters place the two of them together under the tutelage of Robert Pullen

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, col. 740.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, col. 740: 'Si velletis recurrere ad innocentiae arma.'

⁴² *Ibid.*, col. 741: 'Et quidquid attentatue contra vos, totum ad nihilum deveniet, 'tanquam aqua decurrens.'

in the 1130s.⁴³ Both Bartholomew and Baldwin were members of the *familia* of Bishop Robert II of Exeter, and once Bartholomew himself had succeeded to the bishopric, he promoted his friend to the archdeaconry of Totnes.⁴⁴ Throughout the rest of their lives, the two of them would work together as papal judge-delegates on numerous occasions, and would dedicate various written works to each other.⁴⁵

One such work was Bartholomew's *Penitential*, a highly influential work for the Middle Ages which circulated in many copies. This was the earliest of all of Bartholomew's writings, which he began when he was archdeacon of Totnes, and continued throughout the earliest years of his episcopate, probably between 1155 and 1163.⁴⁶ If so, this work was begun at a time when both Bartholomew and Baldwin were colleagues in the household of the bishop of Exeter, and it is very likely that they at least discussed Bartholomew's plans for a proposed pastoral manual. One thirteenth-century copy of the manuscript held at Lambeth Palace actually attributed the treatise to both Bartholomew and Baldwin, suggesting joint authorship.⁴⁷ Given the evidence of their extremely close personal relationship, such a degree of collaboration might not have been surprising, but even if this cannot be verified it might be assumed as a result of Bartholomew's claim that the *Penitential* owed much to their discussions during the 1160s.

Significantly, the *Penitential* included a section dealing with heresy. Bartholomew began by providing a definition of heresy, which he drew together from statements quoted from the anti-heretical writings of the early Church Fathers. First was an extract from Jerome's commentary on Paul's letter to the Galatians, defining the difference between heresy and schism, where heresy was the holding of perverse doctrine and schism the division of the Church. Secondly, he included part of a text written by St Augustine which briefly outlined that a heretic is someone who either begets or follows false and novel opinions whilst endowed with the temporal

⁴³ A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 105.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁴⁶ D. N. Bell, 'Introduction,' in Bartholomew of Exeter, *Bartholomaei Exoniensis Contra Fatalitatis Errorem*, ed. by D. N. Bell, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievals*, 157 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), pp. i-xxxv (p. xvii); A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 68.

⁴⁷ London, Lambeth Palace, Lambeth MS 235, fol. 63^v.

governance or leadership of members of the faithful. The third item was a decretal of Pope Urban declaring that anyone caught defending the errors of others is as worthy of damnation as those who erred, because they have prepared and confirmed the 'stumbling blocks of error' for others.⁴⁸ It is interesting to note the differences between the authorities employed here and in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, as it is likely that Bartholomew and Baldwin, in discussing the *Penitential* had considered the relevant patristic authorities together. Perhaps Baldwin's decision to focus on the works of Irenaeus of Lyons and Eusebius of Caesarea in the *Liber* was in part inspired by a recognition that these works were less familiar as they were often less quoted in works dealing with heresy, and Baldwin felt that they conveyed an important message for his brethren in the Church.⁴⁹ Bartholomew's choice of authority would have also been influenced by the message he wished to convey, and this becomes apparent in his fourth and final authority.

Bartholomew transcribed a lengthy extract from a decretal of Pope Julian which set out a hierarchy of penances to be ascribed for a variety of offences related to heresy. These ranged from imposing a one-year penance on someone who did not know that by receiving communion from a heretic they had denied the Catholic Church, to five, seven or ten years for someone who was aware of, but indifferent to, the same offence.⁵⁰ Also included was the penance to be imposed on someone who entered into the congregation of heretics and persuaded others to do likewise, but then repented. This person was to perform penance for three years outside a church as an excommunicate, for seven years within hearing of a church, and then a further two whilst still outside the communion.⁵¹

Altogether, the extracts collected by Bartholomew represent an attempt to educate a member of the parish clergy engaged in the administration of confession and penance on the nature and treatment of heretics, albeit in a way which seems disjointed and of limited usefulness. Unlike Baldwin in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*,

⁴⁸ Bartholomew of Exeter, 'Penitential,' in A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter: Bishop and Canonist, a Study in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), pp. 175-300 (p. 260).

⁴⁹ See above, pp. 58-59.

⁵⁰ Bartholomew of Exeter, 'Penitential,' pp. 260-261.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

Bartholomew in the *Penitential* was concerned with the practical logistics of arranging for the treatment of heretics and heresy at the level of the parish, and providing for the correct administration of their offices in regard to this by the parish clergy. However, what both works, and therefore both authors, shared was a greater concern for the protection of the faithful than for heretics. Ultimately the *Penitential*, by its very nature, was only concerned with repentant former heretics, not potential aggressors. These concerns would continue to influence Bartholomew's other works and acts as bishop of Exeter.

A fundamental consideration to be taken into account in the preparation of such a work as the *Penitential* is Bartholomew's interest in the proficient performance of the clerical office by the parish clergy. This could be facilitated by ensuring that these priests had access to all the correct information about spiritual leadership at their disposal. Bartholomew also demonstrated an interest in the higher education of the clergy in his *Contra Fatalitatis Errorem*, a work written in the later years of his life dealing with the issue of divination. The tract was once again dedicated to Baldwin, who, by the time, was bishop of Worcester, thus dating the piece to between Baldwin's consecration in 1180, and Bartholomew's death in 1184. It was written to deal with the learning of the upper echelons of ecclesiastical and scholastic hierarchies, specifically in the widespread belief in the accuracy and efficacy of astrology, divination and other methods of prognostication.⁵² He gave his opinion about the issue very strongly in the opening of his dedicatory letter:

Amongst the weeds that an enemy is said to have sowed on top of the good seed of the head of the household while men slept, nothing, I think, has rooted itself more firmly in the earth, nothing has flourished more harmfully, than the error of fatalism.⁵³

Bartholomew's use of the weed metaphor here is reminiscent of the parable of the tares, which was undoubtedly intended to suggest the presence of heresy as the agency of the

⁵² D. N. Bell, 'Introduction' (1996), p. xxviii.

⁵³ Bartholomew of Exeter, *Bartholomaei Exoniensis Contra Fatalitatis Errorem*, ed. by D. N. Bell, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 157 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), p. 11: 'Inter zizania que post patris familias semen bonum inimicus homo cum dormirent homines superseminasse perhibet, nichil, arbitror, terre firmius choaluisse, nichil perniciosius exuberasse, quam fatalitatis errorem.'

enemy of the Church. Also in this letter, Bartholomew explained that the issue had been a long-standing interest to him, since the time when he first took up the governance of souls, and that he had discussed his concerns with Baldwin. It would appear that Baldwin had encouraged Bartholomew in his endeavour to preach against the aforementioned error, as they worked together to collect relevant authorities and arguments. Bartholomew intended to deal with the issue in light of controversy surrounding it, whereby not only members of the laity, but also the majority of the learned, were labouring in error concerning it.

It is significant that Bartholomew showed concern about how the teaching of prognostication was an issue amongst the learned, over and above the simple clergy. The *Contra Fatalitatis Errorem* was a work divided into two parts. In the first part he followed a promise which he had made to Baldwin to not insert anything which could not be substantiated by the *sententiae* of the catholic Fathers.⁵⁴ In the middle passage, Bartholomew wrote that these authorities ought to be sufficient for all faithful Christians. However, there were some he called '*moderni*', or '*scioli*', for whom they were not enough. Conversely, these scholars would not accept the writings of authority unless they could be demonstrated 'through examples, or through proof of agreement and refutation of inferences, or through the identification of underlying fallacy, or through the bringing together of their similar objections.'⁵⁵

Bartholomew went on to demonstrate how all the faculties of human logic, applied correctly, only served to affirm the truth of faith and venerable authority. A striking similarity can be seen here with the thinking of Baldwin of Forde in his *De Commendatione Fidei*. In this, Baldwin conjectured that the correct response to give to a man who asked for proof that the word of faith was the word of God was to present a reason for the faith in a way which demonstrated that faith was not merely a matter of human opinion.⁵⁶ Arguably the purpose of the *De Commendatione Fidei*, like that of the second half of the *Contra Fatalitatis Errorem*, was to demonstrate how 'reason,' and

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, ch. 41, p. 49: '[Verumtamen, quoniam secundum modernorum disputandi consuetudinem, his qui sibi scioli videntur, nec doctrine veritas, nec doctentium auctoritas satisfacere solet, nisi] per instantiam, aut per concessorum probationem et illati improbationem, aut per latentis fallacie assignationem, vel per conveniens simile eorum objectionibus occurratur...'

⁵⁶ *C. o. F.*, ch. 13, pp. 79-82, ch. 79, pp. 215-216.

scholastic methodologies, could be correctly applied to strengthen the authority of God.⁵⁷ Although he did not express the idea explicitly, Bartholomew was concerned about how some of the actions undertaken by learned men could distract them and others from the wisdom and truth of faith, and lead them into doctrinal error and potential heresy if they persisted obstinately in their pursuits.

As a bishop, Bartholomew was engaged in the cure of souls and the teaching of the faith and took an active interest in his pastoral responsibilities. This is shown by his production of various sermons as well as his *Penitential*, but also in his support of pastoral initiatives, particularly in the case of his support of the Augustinian canons. As 'a hybrid order of clerical monks,' the Augustinian canons lived within both the secular and the cloistered worlds under the Rule of St Augustine.⁵⁸ Their assumption of parochial responsibility in England is shown by the frequency with which canons were installed into secular colleges, and their reception of numerous parish churches from lay benefactors.⁵⁹ The foundation charters of some Augustinian priories demonstrate that senior churchmen often played a crucial role in promoting their cause by converting secular colleges and ministers and by persuading members of the laity to invest in them both financially and spiritually.⁶⁰ Some reforming bishops were more active in this respect than others. Anselm of Canterbury, in particular, was a proponent of the regular canons, and wrote:

Clerks are chosen for preaching and teaching, but monks for prayer: for clerks because of the distractions of their office and business are not able to give themselves to unbroken prayer. Yet when necessity arises, by order of the bishops, monks often take on the work of preaching and teaching.⁶¹

⁵⁷ D. N. Bell, 'Introduction' (2000), pp. 18-19.

⁵⁸ C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1984), p. 163.

⁵⁹ J. C. Dickinson, pp. 224-241; D. M. Robinson, *The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 80, 2 vols (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1980), I, pp. 79-84; B. M. Kemp, 'Monastic Possession of Parish Churches in England in the Twelfth Century,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (April 1980), 133-160.

⁶⁰ J. Burton and K. Stöber, 'Introduction,' in *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*, ed. by J. Burton and K. Stöber (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 1-16 (p. 4).

⁶¹ Anselm of Canterbury, 'Clerici electi Sunt... Praedicandi et docendi,' in *P. L.*, CLXII, col. 1590 translated in J. C. Dickinson, p. 214.

This statement implies a special relationship between the canons and the episcopacy in organising pastoral ministry, and also conveys a sense of approval of the canons' lifestyle and temperaments which make them suitable for spiritual leadership. In addition, the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, London, York, Coventry, Lichfield, and, significantly, Exeter after the episcopacy of William Warelwast all identified themselves with the Augustinians.⁶²

The surviving Episcopal Acta for the diocese of Exeter suggest that Bartholomew continued William's interest and was active in organising and defending the rights of Augustinian priories in his see. In many cases, he decided to confirm the possession of churches and chapels to the local Augustinian priories.⁶³ In one case, he threatened to impose ecclesiastical penalties on one Juhel of Vautortes should he continue to injure the canons of Plympton Priory in respect of the church of St Andrew in Plymouth, despite having already been prohibited by the royal justices in Northampton.⁶⁴ In some cases, the possession of a particular church or chapel was not ultimately held by the local priory, but, instead, certain concessions were made to the Augustinians. For example, between 1173 and 1178 Bartholomew settled a dispute between the canons of Missenden Abbey and Ingelram of the Lee concerning the church of the Lee. It was decided that whilst Ingelram remained a secular clerk he should hold the Lee from the canons, and owe them no service other than to provide for the food and lodging of two canons who were to reside there, as well as ensuring that his wife did not intrude on them!⁶⁵ The interest in supporting Augustinian priories in the diocese of Exeter may very well have been something else which Bartholomew and Baldwin shared. This is shown by a charter of Baldwin's when he was archbishop of Canterbury confirming grants for Plympton Priory in late 1189, after Bartholomew's death. The charter confirmed the words of one of Bartholomew's earlier grants and was made in his memory.⁶⁶

⁶² J. Burton, 'The Regular Canons and Diocesan Reform in Northern England,' in *The Regular Canons*, ed. by J. Burton and K. Stöber, pp. 41-57 (p. 41); J. C. Dickinson, p. 253.

⁶³ *English Episcopal Acta, XI: Exeter*, ed. by F. Barlow, no. 81, pp. 69-70; no. 83, p. 72; no. 104, p. 92; no. 108, pp. 96-97; no. 109, pp. 97-98; no. 110B, p. 101; no. 111, p. 102; no. 115, pp. 104-105; no. 118, p. 107; no. 120, pp. 109-110; no. 124, pp. 112-114; no. 127, pp. 116-117; no. 141, pp. 128-130.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 120, pp. 109-110.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 15, pp. 104-105.

⁶⁶ *Facsimilies of English Episcopal Acta, 1085-11305*, ed. by M. Brett, P. Hoskin and D. Smith, *English Episcopal Acta, Supplementary Volume 1* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), plate XXXIX.

This result implies that Bartholomew was interested in ensuring that the spiritual business of the church of the Lee was performed by Augustinian canons, even if they were not the possessors. Presumably, Bartholomew wanted these canons to perform the regular pastoral functions expected from a parish church, including the administration of the sacraments and teaching on the articles of the faith. However, it cannot be clearly ascertained that the Augustinian canons in the possession of parish churches would have undertaken pastoral care in the sense that modern commentators would understand.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the possession, exploitation and protection of parish churches was central to the identity of Augustinian canons, and they often went to remarkable lengths to gain and maintain them.⁶⁸

It is possible that patronage of these churches was of considerable importance to the canons in that it gave them the responsibility to choose the parish priests who fulfilled the spiritual service which they would not fulfil directly.⁶⁹ Hence, even if they only provided spiritual oversight of diocesan pastoral care, Bartholomew was expecting an important duty from the canons. His record in supporting the rights of Augustinian priories in the diocese of Exeter suggests that he was keen to reform the spiritual management of his flock along monastic standards. It might even have been the case that there was a body of canons who formed a special collective in the bishop's council.⁷⁰ Bartholomew, and likewise Peter of Blois, were engaged in the reform of the pastoral care provided by the church in the late twelfth century, and this seems to have been motivated in large part by their concerns about the treatment of heresy.

The Church in England

Peter of Blois and Bartholomew of Exeter were not the only senior members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy who linked their sense of clerical duty and pastoral responsibility to an active concern for heresy. Ecclesiasts throughout the thirteenth century in England

⁶⁷ J. C. Dickinson, p. 231.

⁶⁸ N. Nichols, 'The Augustinian Canons and their Parish Churches: A Key to their Identity,' in *The Regular Canons*, ed. by J. Burton and K. Stöber, pp. 313-338.

⁶⁹ J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 49.

⁷⁰ D. A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 87.

considered the issue and turned to the question of how the mechanisms of ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction could be employed to deal with instances of heresy. A good source of evidence for this is the body of statutes promulgated as a result of decisions made at Church Councils. In some of these can be found attempts to appropriate the procedures of church administration for the purpose of combatting heresy. For example, after the Coventry synod held sometime between 1224 and 1237, a tract on confession was disseminated along with copies of the council statutes which prescribed that penitents who sinned against innocents should have imposed as appropriate penance the order to do battle against the wicked, 'namely the Saracens and the heretics.'⁷¹ Given the date of this council, it seems likely that this order to do battle against the heretics was a reference to a form of penance involving participation in the crusade against the Albigensian heresy.

The statutes promulgated for the diocese of Salisbury by Bishop Robert Bingham between 1238 and 1244 demonstrate an attempt to tackle the issue of identifying and reporting suspected heretics. In these statutes Robert expressed a concern that certain heresies were rumoured to be spreading in the area. Robert commanded all of his clergy not to delay in passing on to him any information they should gather during the course of their pastoral responsibilities, particularly during confession.⁷² The implication here was that Robert was willing to adapt the mechanisms of communication and visitation between bishop and clergy, and potentially to violate the confidentiality of confessions, in the protection of the Church from heretics who would not fear to violate the law of the Church. Key to this canon was Robert's belief that heresy was an endemic problem in the diocese of Salisbury, which echoes the concern raised by Peter of Blois decades earlier that heresy was rife in Yorkshire in the late twelfth century.⁷³ Historians in the past have tended to pass over this letter without comment.⁷⁴

However, in light of the weight of evidence being drawn together throughout this present study, a case must be made for taking the fears of these senior churchmen more seriously. Peter Biller offered an important perspective on this issue by pointing

⁷¹ C. S. 2.1, p. 225.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 371.

⁷³ Peter of Blois, 'Epistola cxiii,' col. 341.

⁷⁴ J. A. Robinson, *Somerset Historical Essays* (London: British Academy, 1921), pp. 130-131.

out William of Newburgh's use of the word *coetus* in his description of the German heretics who came to England in the 1160s. In this context, the word seems to mean 'ecclesial company,' or 'assembly,' and as it is applied to an English woman who was gathered into the company of the heretics.⁷⁵ These heretics have been identified as Cathars, who had a hierarchical church composed of *credentes*, simple believers, who were outside the formal church structure, and the *perfecti*, who had become members of an ascetic community through receiving the Cathar sacrament of the *consolamentum*. William's words therefore suggest that the Englishwoman connected to the German heretics had become a Cathar *perfecta* in her own right, and might have thus formed an English, missionizing Cathar community before her subsequent trial.⁷⁶

An important issue was raised by Robert Bingham's statutes for Salisbury. This was the question of how the parish clergy were expected to be able to recognise heresy. If one thing has been made apparent throughout the course of the current study, it is that the ability to define heresy and to identify individual heretics was a difficult process requiring a special kind of authority and discernment. It was actually a principle of medieval canon law that a too precise definition of a specific ecclesiastical offence might be dangerous, and that for those who deal with administering the law of the Church a degree of freedom in interpretation might yield fairer results.⁷⁷ However, it would have been entirely impractical to rely on the parish clergy to identify suspicious persons without some kind of instruction. There was great concern at this time with the ability of the parish clergy to fulfil their pastoral responsibilities, let alone uncover heretical deception. As heresy had not been a prevalent problem in England compared to the scale of popular heresy on the continent, it could not be supposed that the common parish clergy had much, if any, experience of heresy. They needed clearer signposting in order to be effective in identifying and reporting suspicious individuals. Evidence of how this was constructed can be seen in the statutes of ecclesiastical synods held in the thirteenth century as well. Provincial and diocesan legislation provided a means of

⁷⁵ Newburgh, II, ch. 13, pp. 57-61.

⁷⁶ P. Biller, 'William of Newburgh,' pp. 29-30; P. Biller, 'The Earliest Heretical Englishwomen,' in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain, Essays for Felicity Riddy*, ed. by J. Wogan-Browne and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 363-376.

⁷⁷ R. H. Helmholz, *The Spirit of Classical Canon Law* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2010), pp. 263-264.

delivering coherent religious education at a time when opportunities to study for the vast majority of the population were few.⁷⁸ Little of the content of these statutes was new or revolutionary, but much attention was given to how they could be practically implemented.⁷⁹

In the statutes which dealt with heresy, attempts were made to define it by its association with more familiar offences, emphasising its dangerous and subversive nature. For example, in the early 1240s, William Raleigh, during the very short space of time that he was bishop of Norwich, discussed heresy under a list of offences in the statutes for that diocese for which the penalty was instant excommunication. These included sorcerers, usurers, false moneyers, deprivers of Church liberties, disturbers of the law, peace and tranquillity of the Church, king and kingdom, presenters of false testimony at assizes or matrimonial claims, forgers of apostolic letters, charters or signatures and anyone who consented to this.⁸⁰ The overriding theme of these offences is their shared deceptive character. Each crime in some way sought to deceive another member of the faithful, to pervert the truth of valid witness or to otherwise disrupt the due process of justice. Heresy, therefore, was a crime that was associated with deceptive acts, and this association demonstrates how William wished his clergy to understand and to identify heresy, whilst also highlighting his belief that they ought to be able to do so.

Two further examples come from the 1280s. In 1281, Archbishop of Canterbury, John Peckham held a council at Lambeth, where he laid down a detailed programme for improving the observances of the sacraments and pastoral ministry by the parish clergy.⁸¹ One of the statutes, *De Informatione Simplicium Sacerdotum*, also known as *De Ignorantia Sacerdotum*, provided for a quarterly recitation of an account of the

⁷⁸ J. R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945), pp. 197-198; H. G. Richardson, 'The Parish Clergy of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd ser., 6 (1912), 89-128 (pp. 118-119, 124-125); R. M. Haines, 'Education in English Ecclesiastical Legislation of the Later Middle Ages,' in *Churches and Assemblies*, ed. by G. J. Cuming and D. Baker, *Studies in Church History*, 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 161-176.

⁷⁹ R. M. Haines, p. 165.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 355-357.

⁸¹ B. Thompson, 'Peckham, John, (c.1230-1292),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article.21745>> [accessed 7 June 2017].

essentials of the faith, designed to give parish priests the rudiments of religious instruction which they would need for themselves and for the needs of their flock. His syllabus included fourteen articles of the faith, the Ten Commandments, two additional precepts of the Evangelist, the seven works of mercy, the seven capital sins, the seven principal virtues, and the seven sacraments.⁸² In the section on the Ten Commandments, Peckham explained how each one was to be interpreted in the present day and in the capacity of active parish ministry. The second commandment, 'Do not take the name of your God in vain,' was interpreted to mean explicitly, 'all heresies are prohibited principally, and secondly all blasphemies and all irreverent namings of God, especially in false oaths.'⁸³

The final example comes from the statutes of the 1287 synod for the diocese of Exeter called by Bishop Peter Quinel. Copies of these statutes were required to be kept by all vicars and rectors in Exeter so that they and other parish priests could look over them frequently and consider the text until they had memorised it.⁸⁴ Alongside some copies of the statutes a *Summula* written by Peter was circulated, which included a section concerning the cases in which penitents were to be given to the bishop, or, in the case of extreme obstinacy or unrepresentative behaviour, to the papal court. A long list of such offences were enumerated, including, but not limited to, the murder of clerics or members of religious orders, arson, violation of churches and the liberties of the Church, sorcery, imitation of the devil, clandestine communication with excommunicates, schism, usury, and the lending of assistance in arms or through other means to Saracens.⁸⁵ Also included amongst these many offences was that of heresy, that is, heretics, the followers of heretics, or those who shelter heretics.⁸⁶

In all three cases illustrated here, the writers of the synodal literature attempted to provide a working definition of heresy for their parish clergy to help prepare them for a potential encounter with heresy. Each example offers a snapshot of an attempt to deal with what heresy was in a very limited way and emphasises the difficulty with which

⁸² C. S. 2.2., pp. 900-905; R. M. Haines, p. 170.

⁸³ C. S. 2.2., p. 902.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1059.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 1072-1073.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1073.

heresy was defined. Fundamentally, each example given here, except perhaps for the statutes of John Peckham, represents the efforts of individual ecclesiasts in their localities, even if some of the statutes circulated more widely after their composition. However, these isolated cases might be seen as examples of a wider trend of reforming bishops considering the needs of their parish clergy and parishioners. In each example the statute drew comparisons in preparing lists of offences, describing the nature of heresy through its associations to other ecclesiastical offences. In this way, heresy's perceived deceptive nature was emphasised.

This reflects the theme of deception which was visible in other genres of literature which dealt with heresy; for example, the historians writing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries discussed in chapter four unanimously described how heretics sought to wilfully deceive unwitting members of the faithful.⁸⁷ Of course, the theme was also prevalent in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, as part of Baldwin of Forde's concern that heretics would deceive individuals who were less certain in their faith by disguising themselves as evangelists by temporarily donning the trappings of the *Vita Apostolica* to hide their serious faults.⁸⁸ These were, according to his description, the bulls amongst the gullible cows of the nations, and also the ubiquitous wolves in sheep's clothing.⁸⁹ In all of these instances, the usefulness of the descriptions, in terms of being a useful indicator by which to recognise heresy, has to be questioned. The significance of the statute associations is as a tentative early step to evaluate the capacity of the parish clergy, and to gently open up their understanding of heresy, so that the more certain procedures of presentation at visitation could be brought to complement the work of the parish in defending the faith.

Great care was taken in the preparation of these statutes, so that the terms presented to the parish clergy would seem both reasonable and manageable. This was an idea explored by Forrest in his *The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England*; he posited that the communication of decisions about, and in particular the definition of, heresy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had to be carefully managed so that

⁸⁷ See above, p. 255.

⁸⁸ See above, pp. 80-84.

⁸⁹ *L. D. S. H.*, p. 31

false and indiscriminate accusations, especially allegations which might be politically motivated, could be avoided.⁹⁰ An important tool used in this respect was the description of heresy through analogy with other, more familiar crimes, including defamation, treason and lechery.⁹¹ John Peckham's inclusion of this analogy in his *De Informatione Simplicium Sacerdotum* in the thirteenth century constitutes an important early instance of the concept. Analogy to the crime of treason relied on the idea of harm done to the 'majesty' of authority, and by extension could be understood as words or actions which created an impediment to the proper execution of an office.⁹² This can help to explain the comparison of heresy to crimes such as the forging of papal signatures or the provision of false testimony, found in the statutes promulgated by William Raleigh and Peter Quinel. Comparison with treason also provided an important link in ensuring the cooperation between the ecclesiastical and secular powers in combating heresy.

Royal Courts and cooperation

It was not just in the realm of ecclesiastical authority that innovations were being made to accommodate the rising fear about heresy in England. The English secular authority was also involved in the development of procedures by which heresy could be prosecuted. This involved the locating of the crime of heresy within the boundaries of secular jurisdiction. It also involved the development of new procedures whereby the regular mechanisms of royal justice in the territories of the king of England could be adapted to cooperate with ecclesiastical authorities in the shared capture, prosecution and punishment of heretics. Furthermore, it involved the promulgation of new sanctions which reflected the methods of treating heresy being used on the continent. England in the twelfth century played a significant role in the development of anti-heretical legislation, as it produced the first piece of secular legislation against heresy in

⁹⁰ I. Forrest, p. 232.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-158.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 151.

Europe. The Assize of Clarendon included a clause providing for the punishment of heretics found by English authorities in England:

The Lord King forbids, moreover, that anyone in all England receive in his land or his soc or his home under him any one of that sect of renegades who were excommunicated and branded at Oxford. And if anyone receive them, he himself shall be at the mercy of the Lord King; and the house in which they have been shall be carried without the town and burned. And each sheriff shall swear that he will observe this, and shall cause all his servitors to swear this, and the stewards of the barons, and all of the knights and free tenants of the counties.⁹³

The renegades mentioned here were those German heretics brought to Oxford to be tried and punished at the hearing recorded by William of Newburgh in his *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*.

The statute included in the Assize of Clarendon is significant for a number of reasons. In the first place, the decree did not consider the treatment of condemned heretics alone but was concerned with the potential spread of heresy. By legislating against people who extended hospitality to any member of the sect of Oxford heretics, the decree's authors demonstrated their concern with the means by which this heresy might be spread. By tracing the relationships and connections between condemned heretics and members of the faithful they might come into contact with, the Assizes were prefiguring later inquisitional practice on the continent. By punishing those who seemed willing to harbour heretics, the decree also provided a deterrent to the spread of heresy amongst the English people. In another respect, the decree represented an attempt by the king to utilise the existing machinery of English law to deal with the arising threat of heresy. The Assize prescribed a duty of detection of heresy to the royal servants with jurisdictional responsibilities under the English Common Law. The king could employ his own servants and their agents amongst the sheriffs and the barony in order to enact these new prescriptions against heresy.

Other texts on English law included attempts to place the treatment of heresy within the boundaries of secular jurisdiction. These were texts designed in the late

⁹³ *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 19-21.

twelfth and early thirteenth centuries which aimed to impose a degree of coherence and order on all the provisions of the common law and to be usable by a burgeoning class of professional lawyers engaged in the work of the King's courts.⁹⁴ The first of these works to mention the punishment of heresy as part of the remit of the royal courts was the treatise attributed to *Bracton*. Significantly, it has been argued that this treatise was not written by Henry of Bratton, as the name would suggest, but rather that the bulk of the work was composed by William Raleigh along with a circle of companions in the late 1220s and early 1230s, before he became bishop of Norwich in 1239.⁹⁵ It has already been seen how William Raleigh included a discussion of heresy in the statutes for the diocese of Norwich, where he compared it to other ecclesiastical offences. It follows that this entry was a continuation of the interest William had developed in heresy whilst working in the royal court when he was younger. In the first place, the treatise *Bracton* provided the first, and almost only, support for the statement that English common law could and would burn a heretic.⁹⁶ This was in a passage where the author praised Archbishop Stephen Langton's decision at the Council of Oxford in 1222 to hand an apostasy deacon over to the secular authority to be burned. The entry stipulated that in the case of a criminal cleric, degradation alone was punishment enough unless the crime was apostasy, at which point he became a heretic and the lay arm was to be mandated to receive the degraded individual and burn him.⁹⁷

The other supporting statements come from legal texts which followed, and added to, the foundation laid by this monumental treatise. A tract known by the name *Britton*, which was a summary of *Bracton*, included an entry under the procedures relating to the trial of arsonists, for whom the common law punishment is burning. The writer was then drawn, presumably through association, to add that a similar fate awaits all sorcerers, renegades, sodomites, and heretics.⁹⁸ The same eventuality was included

⁹⁴ T. F. T. Plucknett, *Early English Legal Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

⁹⁵ *Bracton: On the Laws and Customs of England*, ed. by G. E. Woodbine, trans. by S. E. Thome, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), III, pp. xiii-liv; P. Brand, 'Ireland and the Literature of the Early Common Law,' in *The Making of the Common Law*, ed. by P. Brand (London: Hambledon Press, 1992), pp. 445-464 (p. 447).

⁹⁶ F. W. Maitland, 'The Deacon and the Jewess,' in *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England: Six Essays*, ed. by F. W. Maitland (London: Methuen, 1898), pp. 158-179 (p. 158).

⁹⁷ *Bracton*, I, p. 349.

⁹⁸ *Britton, an English Translation with Notes*, ed. by F. M. Nichols (Washington D. C.: John Byrne, 1901), ch. 10, p. 35.

in the tract entitled *Fleta*, in a clause specifying that apostate Christians, sorcerers and 'the like' must be drawn and burnt.⁹⁹ This consistent prescription of burning for heresy across a series of texts in the second half of the thirteenth century demonstrates that the justice of the idea had permeated deeply into the understanding of a wide class of legal practitioners. Equally, the association of heresy with other secular crimes which were characterised in the medieval mindset as deceptive, such as treason and arson, demonstrates that this perception of heresy as a crime of deception was also widely accepted. This is especially the case for the treatise *Fleta*, as, being written in French rather than Latin, it was intended to reach a broader social class of lawyer who would not have been as confident in Latin as their clerical counterparts.¹⁰⁰ Finally, *Britton* also included a duty to seek out information about apostates and heretics in the list of enquiries for the sheriff's tourn of the county, demonstrating that the use of the sheriff's office for the detection of heresy was similarly being confirmed by a broadening class of legal practitioners.¹⁰¹

Throughout the thirteenth century, more evidence can be found which demonstrates how a succession of English kings were turning the mechanisms of royal administration and justice to the treatment of heretics.¹⁰² It was often the case that these dealings reflected broader continental trends and practices. As was seen in the previous chapter, the royal government of England was very much involved in a communication network about heresy across Europe, and the king of England saw his English territories as just one dominion in many which came under the governance of the Catholic Church, and which needed to be protected from its enemies of the faith.¹⁰³ The royal government of England had a degree of experience of dealing with popular heresy during the twelfth century, seen clearly in the efforts of Henry II to unite with his adversary the king of France to combat heresy in the Albigeois. Henry's successors also demonstrated an interest in the treatment of heresy in their lands in France. For

⁹⁹ *Fleta*, ed. and trans. by H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, Selden Society Publications, 2 vols (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1955, 1983), II (1955), bk. 1, ch. 35, p. 90.

¹⁰⁰ T. F. T. Plucknett, p. 79.

¹⁰¹ *Britton*, ch. 30, p. 147.

¹⁰² F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *History of the English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2nd edn., 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), II, pp. 547-550; H. G. Richardson, 'Heresy and the Lay Power under Richard II,' *The English Historical Review*, 51.201 (Jan. 1936), 1-28.

¹⁰³ See above, pp. 222-223.

example, King John in November 1214 sent a letter to his seneschal in Gascony which gave strict orders for the suppression of heresy in his French dominions. He began by explaining that he had recently been informed of a fresh appearance of detestable and heretical falsehoods in Gascony, which was hateful to all members of the faithful. By his understanding, it remained his duty to assist in the extirpation of heretics from his lands in case their presence should encourage the arrival of more.

John showed great concern in his letter that he should not appear to be weak in this endeavour, as it would have made him appear to be a sympathiser to the heretics. This is significant as it links to the ideas expressed in earlier papal mandates against heresy. The papal bull promulgated by Pope Lucius III in 1184, *Ad abolendam*, decreed that secular lords must promise on oath to assist the Church against heretics and their accomplices, on pain of excommunication.¹⁰⁴ At the time of John's letter in November 1214, England had only been reconciled with the Church following the Papal Interdict for four months, so presumably John would have been particularly keen to avoid further ecclesiastical sanction!¹⁰⁵ John's orders to his seneschal were to inquire diligently into who was in command of these particular heretics, and who was a part of their following, as well as to work alongside the cardinal, Roger of Benevento, who would direct and assist the seneschal as a representative of ecclesiastical authority.¹⁰⁶ Thus, John's letter demonstrated an interest in the pursuit of heresy as both a royal duty and a responsibility expected and enforced by the Church, and a recognition that secular authority must complement ecclesiastical jurisdiction over heresy.

In a number of instances, evidence can also be seen of the machinery of English law being used to enforce sentences of confiscation in England which had been pronounced in the south of France. A well-documented example of this can be seen in the confiscation of the goods of Ernald of Perigord, a Burgundian vineyard owner. The first notice of Ernald's plight occurred in a patent roll entry during the reign of Henry III. On the 6th June 1236, a notification was made of the receipt of goods belonging to Ernald,

¹⁰⁴ *Corpus Iuris Canonici. Pars Secunda: Decretalium Collectiones*, ed. by A. Friedberg (Leipzig: Bernhardt Tauchnitz, 1959), bk 5, tit. 7, cap. 9, pp. 780-789.

¹⁰⁵ C. R. Cheney, 'King John and the Papal Interdict,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 31.2 (1984), 295-317.

¹⁰⁶ *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, ed. by T. D. Hardy, Publications of the Record Commissioners, 17 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1835), part 1, p. 124.

who had been convicted of heresy in Burgundy, from one Barnabas, who had brought nineteen tuns of wine to Southampton at the king's order.¹⁰⁷ Five days later, the custodian of a market in St Botolph's, London, was commissioned with providing a valuation of more of Ernald's wine which was in the hands of John de Colemere for royal benefit.¹⁰⁸ The following month, the same John de Colemere was commissioned with collecting the value of even more wine confiscated from Ernald on the king's behalf by Geoffrey and Simon of Winchelsea, which had been transported to St. Botolph's in London.¹⁰⁹ As a result of this transaction, John de Colemere become responsible for 90 tuns of Burgundian wine, or, as a modern equivalent, approximately 114,912 bottles, evidence that this endeavour constituted no small feat of organisation!

The following year, there arose evidence that Henry's organisation still required improvement, as a letter was sent in February to the mayor and commune of Bordeaux concerning the repayment of chattels belonging to Bonetus del Bose, whose goods had been confiscated under the mistaken assumption that they had belonged to Ernald!¹¹⁰ However, the king's efforts were curtailed in August of 1237, as the ecclesiastical authorities of southern France had concluded their investigation of Ernald of Perigord and decided that he was not a heretic after all; therefore, Henry had to provide for the restoration of Ernald's chattels, or, at any rate, the value of them.¹¹¹ A similar situation arose in 1241, as Henry had to return the chattels of one Stephen Pelicer who had sent letters written by the Bishop and Franciscan Prior of Agen to the king clearing him of his previous charge of heresy. An order was sent to the King's bailiff in Bristol to arrange for the return of the value of goods held by Simon the cleric, Henry the Lombard, Ernald of Agen, and Bernard Elye for the King's benefit.¹¹²

A further way in which the machinery of royal justice was used to cooperate with ecclesiastical persecution of heresy was the logistical arrangement of the arrest,

¹⁰⁷ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry III, vol. 3: A. D. 1232-1247* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1971), p. 149.

¹⁰⁸ *Calendar of Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, vol. 3: A. D. 1234-1237* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902), p. 359.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

¹¹⁰ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry III, vol. 3*, p. 175.

¹¹¹ *Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry III, vol. 3*, p. 485; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry III, vol. 3*, p. 193.

¹¹² *Calendar of Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, vol. 4: A. D. 1237-1242* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), p. 368.

imprisonment and punishment of convicted heretics. The secular authority was to arrest suspected heretics identified by church authorities for trial in the ecclesiastical courts, and should the suspect be convicted the ecclesiastical authorities were to relinquish the individual back to the secular power for punishment. This was the procedure followed for the trial of the heretics at the Council of Oxford in 1167, but it was reinforced by successive ecclesiastical authorities, most recently in the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, which stipulated this procedure in the trial of heretics. Canon three ordained that every heretic, once excommunicated and anathematized by the Catholic Church, would be handed over to the secular rulers or their bailiffs in the relevant county.¹¹³ This was a statement that at this point no further effort would be made to convert the heretic back to the true faith, and they were abandoned to secular jurisdiction and punishment.

Mention should also be made of an incident of 1222 at the provincial Council at Oxford called by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. This event caught the attention of numerous chroniclers in the early thirteenth century and produced various accounts of the trial and burning of an apostate deacon who had renounced his faith, converted to Judaism and violated the sacraments, out of love of a Jewish woman.¹¹⁴ The incident raised a number of issues. In the first place, it appears surprising that in this case the deacon was punished in a way that would be expected for a heretic, but not necessarily for a Jew. This should perhaps be understood to demonstrate how, at this relatively early time, the English ecclesiastical authorities were unsure of how to confront dissidence, especially in the case of someone who had pastoral responsibility, and were still negotiating a working definition of heresy. Secondly, the incident highlighted that the English royal authorities were similarly exploring the development of a procedure for dealing with heretics. From the annal evidence, it would appear that the royal power's handling of the incident lacked the formality of later provisions.

Frederick Maitland studied these accounts with the aim of teasing out details of the procedure undertaken to try this deacon. All of the reports concur that there was

¹¹³ *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary*, ed. by H. J. Schroeder (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937), p. 242.

¹¹⁴ *Ann. Mon.*, II, p. 296; III, p. 76; IV, p. 62; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicorum*, pp. 190-191; *Paris*, III, p. 71.

no formal pronouncement of a death sentence for the deacon; he was seemingly burned summarily 'on the spot.'¹¹⁵ From the contemporary accounts, it appears that a representative of the king, Fawkes de Breauté, Sheriff of Cambridge, Oxford, Buckingham, Northampton and Bedford, was on hand at the Council of Oxford in 1222 with a group of servants, to perform the burning of the deacon at the point of his degrading from clerical office. This in itself is suggestive of negotiation between ecclesiastical and lay powers ahead of the trial to make plans for the deacon's fate, with relatively little precedent to inform their decision.

A retrospective account of the burning at the end of the century actually added that the deacon was condemned by the lay court, but Maitland convincingly argued that this addition represents an assumption by the later commentator that there must have been some sort of writ from the King or precept from a lay tribunal involved.¹¹⁶ This is evidenced particularly by more formal arrangements recorded in the mid-thirteenth century. Accordingly, in April 1233, Henry III ordered the sheriff of Northampton to arrange for the imprisonment of the convicted heretic John de Hamslap in Northampton, and the subsequent removal of the same man to Newgate gaol in London the following Easter to face secular punishment.¹¹⁷ Similarly, a writ of liberate was sent to the sheriff of Cambridge in August of 1240 to provide for the transportation of a heretic caught by the Dominican friars at Cambridge to the king at Westminster.¹¹⁸ Evidently, the thirteenth century was a period of negotiation and experimentation in the arrangement of a standard procedure with which to treat heresy, at a time when incidents of heresy were still fairly small-scale and sporadic.

At the same time, the thirteenth century was a time when new forms of cooperation between the royal and ecclesiastical courts were being formalised, and the boundaries of their respective jurisdictions were being negotiated. In conjunction with the growth and consolidation of the diocesan consistory courts, which began to appear in England as established bodies around 1250, new standardised legal forms were being

¹¹⁵ F. W. Maitland, pp. 158-179.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹¹⁷ *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III, vol. 1: A. D. 1226-1240* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1916), p. 207.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 485; *Paris*, IV, pp. 32-34.

developed to enact legal proceedings in the sphere of royal jurisdiction, requesting the assistance of royal authority into ecclesiastical matters.¹¹⁹ For example, writs *de curso* might be issued to request royal assistance into an ecclesiastical case without royal inquiry into the specifics, such as the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, requesting the imprisonment of an individual who remained obdurately excommunicate for more than forty days, or the writ *de apostate capiendo* for the arrest and return of an apostate member of a religious house. All of these forms of writ emphasised and enforced the idea of the secular authority having a duty to protect the liberties and unity of the Church, under the direction of Church officials. Philippa Hoskin has demonstrated that over the course of the thirteenth century the composition and production of such writs became increasingly standardised, demonstrating the acceptance and consolidation of the procedures they governed into both the ecclesiastical and secular legal systems in England.¹²⁰ Similar agreements were being established in the case of heresy. Over time, the system of signification and capture of heretics through the cooperation of secular and ecclesiastical authorities was embraced in England. At a much later time, this process was supplemented by the creation of the writ *de heretico comburendo* between 1400 and 1401 by King Henry IV, which formalised a procedure for having a convicted heretic burned at the stake.¹²¹

However, the thirteenth century was still very much a period of negotiation and experimentation. Church authorities wanted to emphasise the importance of collaboration between secular and ecclesiastical authorities in the pursuit, prosecution and punishment of heresy. The papal bull *Ad abolendam* required secular authorities to defend the Church through following the Church's commands to deal with heretics. This would be supplemented during the thirteenth century at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and in subsequent canon law texts and decretal collections. These stated that should a temporal lord disregard a request for action against a condemned heretic made

¹¹⁹ P. Hoskin, 'De vi laica amovenda: Testing the Bounds of Secular and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the Reign of Henry III,' *Fine Rolls of Henry III: Fine Roll of the Month* (2011) <<http://www.frh3.org.uk/content/month/fm-01-2011.html>> [accessed 31 July 2017].

¹²⁰ P. Hoskin, 'Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries through the Signification of Excommunication,' *Tabularia: Sources écrites de la Normandie Médiévale*, 11 (2011), 35-47.

¹²¹ F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, II, pp. 551-552; *The Statutes of the Realm [1101-1713]*, ed. by A. Luders and others, Record Commission Publications, 8, 11 vols (London: Record Commission, 1810-1825), II (1811), 2 Henry 4, pp. 125-128.

by a bishop, his failure was to be reported to the pope so that his vassals could be freed from any obedience they owed him and so that his lands could be made available to another lord who would 'preserve the faith in its purity.'¹²² The requirement for assistance from the lay authority and the need for the two powers to cooperate could not have been any clearer.

However, evidence can be found that in the thirteenth century incidents arose where the logistical means of doing this were under negotiation. For example, in June 1236, the prior of the Dominican house in York had discovered a potential heretic and attempted to arrest and imprison the man under his own authority before reporting the discovery to the King. Henry III rebuked this prior for having attempted to arrest and imprison one of his subjects without having the jurisdiction to exercise secular judgement. The King subsequently had the Sheriff of York commanded to make an arrest of the same unfaithful person because he had heard that there were many who could be convicted of heretical depravity in those parts.¹²³ This case is interesting for the irritation the prior's presumptuousness provoked in the King, as it seems that despite his understanding of the need to act against the potential multitude of Yorkshire heretics, Henry was jealous of his jurisdictional authority. The incident suggests that the cooperation between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities had to be carefully regulated and had to abide by due process to be practical in the pursuit of heresy. A similar conclusion can be drawn from a further example, when in May 1284 there was a group of suspected heretics being held as the King's prisoners in London who were likely to receive the opportunity to purge themselves in the royal courts. Having been consulted on this matter, John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote a strongly-worded letter insisting that the suspects must be tried before an ecclesiastical tribunal.¹²⁴

In conclusion, in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, there was a lot of negotiation about the relationships between members of the faithful, whether this was between the higher levels of the church hierarchy and the parish clergy, between

¹²² R. H. Helmholz, p. 363.

¹²³ *Calender of Close Rolls, Henry III, vol. 3*, p. 358.

¹²⁴ *Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. by C. Trice Martin, Rolls Series, 77, 3 vols (London: Longman, 1882-1885), II (1884) p. 705; H. G. Richardson, 'Heresy,' p. 3.

royal and ecclesiastical officials, or between the administrators of royal justice in England, interested in the organisation of procedures in preparation for encounters with heresy. The involvement of individuals like Peter of Blois and Bartholomew of Exeter, who were intimates of Baldwin, as a part of this negotiation suggests that Baldwin himself was a part of a group of twelfth-century ecclesiasts who left a legacy of proactive fear about heresy for future generations of English authorities, which would affect the way that heresy would continue to be understood and treated up until the Reformation.

CONCLUSION

Baldwin's *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* is a unique tract on many levels. Firstly, it is unique as an example of anti-heretical polemical literature produced in England during the late twelfth century. Until the discovery of this text, it was believed that there had been no substantial work on heresy produced in England prior to the late fourteenth century. The *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* thus draws attention to a much earlier fear of heresy within England. Secondly, the tract is unique as it does not conform to expectations of anti-heretical polemic being produced in the twelfth century, because it was not designed to refute the popular heresies which existed across Europe during Baldwin's lifetime. The tract is startling in its appearance at first glance, for it relates some frankly bizarre descriptions of a genealogy of classical heretics, in order to explore the idea of heresy as an historical phenomenon, whose existence was intrinsically linked to the history of the Church.

To do this Baldwin drew heavily on some unusual patristic sources. He chose to include numerous extracts from the anti-heretical writings of Irenaeus of Lyons and Eusebius of Caesarea, ignoring the numerous writings of St Augustine of Hippo on the same subjects which would have been available to him through the library at Forde, and which had inspired the *Adversus Haereses* style of polemic customarily adopted by European writers who were contemporaries of Baldwin. It is clear that Baldwin thought critically about his sources and made his decisions with great consideration. He followed his patristic sources in describing successions of heretical leaders who had been sent to antagonise the Church since its foundations. His interest was with the nature of heresy, its dissemination and development, and the means by which the Church had prevailed against their constant onslaughts, not with the circumstances of individual heretics. For this reason, his treatment of various doctrinal errors was often highly reductive, and, on occasion, rather chaotic. Baldwin's interest can best be seen through the adoption and repetition of the tree metaphor, whereby each heretic in the heretical succession represented the growth of a new branch, connected to the root of

the tree which was Simon Magus, the first heretic. These branches were diverse, unified only in their connection to the root from which they sprang.

Baldwin was keen to explore this image, thus presenting the ranks of classical heretics as factious and internally divided, which he contrasted with a Catholic Church defined by its unity. Again, in this respect Baldwin was drawing inspiration from his patristic sources. Both Irenaeus of Lyons and Eusebius of Caesarea explored the idea of unity in their writings on heresy and ecclesiastical history. For both of them, and for Baldwin afterwards, the unity of the Church was guaranteed by a Rule of Faith, which built the resolve of the faithful, and ensured that whilst it was maintained, the Church would continue to grow in strength and defeat heresy. In the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, Baldwin demonstrated that the concurrent proliferation of heresies and the Church's growth were fundamentally linked phenomena by referring to the pattern of papal succession. The message he wished to convey was that the Church's defence against heresy rested in this history; thus, identifying continuity within the rule of faith in the contemporary world as of greater interest to him than the exposition of classical heretical doctrines in detail.

Of equal importance is the evidence of collaboration and discourse between significant groups of people in twelfth-century England and Europe which the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* represents. The evidence which has been drawn together during the course of this thesis has demonstrated that Baldwin discussed his work with his fellow monks at Forde Abbey, and that this discourse produced a legacy of concern amongst those monks about heresy. Baldwin's successor to the abbacy, John of Forde, was evidently highly aware of the struggle against heresy in 1206 when he lamented that 'now we find this heresy sending its roots deep and wide into the towns, castles and surrounding countryside of France, even into Italy, and spreading out its branches.'¹ He wrote this in one of the sermons on the Song of Songs which he had been commissioned to write by the abbot of Cîteaux in order to complete the original sermons on the same subject by Bernard of Clairvaux.² Further evidence that heresy was being discussed at

¹ John of Forde, *Sermons of the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, trans. by W. M. Beckett, Cistercian Fathers Series, 46, 11 vols (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984), vi, sermon 85, p. 29.

² C. J. Holdsworth, 'John of Forde,' pp. 120-121; C. J. Holdsworth, 'Another Stage', pp. 19-21.

Forde during Baldwin's time there is provided by the rare survival of Forde's copy of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. The annotations made in a twelfth-century hand throughout this manuscript strongly suggest that it was a much-used work that also inspired debate about patristic historiography.

Furthermore, there are indications that Baldwin involved other people in the production of his work on heresy and the development of his ideas. It is highly unlikely, for example, that he did not discuss the creation of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* with his close, life-long friend, Bartholomew of Exeter. Indeed, Bartholomew's own writings, including his well-known *Penitential* and the *Contra Fatalitatis Errorem*, betray persistent similarities of interest in heresy, infidelity and irreverence with Baldwin's theological works. It is also likely that Baldwin engaged in discussion of his patristic inspiration in the cathedral school at Exeter, which was a vital source of information and reading material for him during his early years. The most significant evidence of the collaborative work involved in the composition and dissemination of Baldwin's work comes in the works of Baldwin's student and letter-writer, Peter of Blois. Peter's version of the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* is a very important document, representing the result of discussion between Peter and Baldwin about the future form and transmission of the tract. That Peter wished to recreate the text in a more concise format, and that he sought and gained approval for this from Baldwin after he had left Forde, is evidence that Baldwin was still keen to discuss the defence of the Church with a wide range of individuals. It is also evidence that Baldwin found people with similar interests in heresy to talk to during his later life as bishop of Worcester and archbishop of Canterbury.

Cistercians and Scholars

The themes and issues raised and explored in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* also represent Baldwin's engagement with the attitude of the Cistercian Order towards heresy during the twelfth century. The Cistercian Order had been involved with the struggle against heresy for most of its history, and this involvement would continue to characterise the Cistercian monks throughout the late twelfth and early thirteenth

centuries. Their involvement would also leave a legacy for the papacy and for secular leaders engaging in the anti-heretical preaching campaigns of the second half of the twelfth century, in which they would expect Cistercian monks to play a leading role. The greatest contribution to this situation was the career of Bernard of Clairvaux, whose activities and anti-heretical writings would leave a significant impact on the order as it continued to search for its role within the wider Church.

In his sermons on the Song of Songs, Bernard described heresy as something which carried large devotional implications that had to be brought to the attention of all Cistercian monks whilst they engaged with their reading and meditation. The fluidity of his interpretations of the allegorical vineyard and its threatening foxes expressed to Bernard's monastic audience that they had a duty to be as concerned for the health of the Church as they were for the health of their own souls. This represented a conscious realignment of the Cistercians' understanding of *caritas*, and the correct ordering of Christian society, whereby each social class had a duty to have a care for the others. Bernard's reputation as a defender of the Church, as depicted in the *exempla* circulated amongst Cistercian houses after his death, created an image of the Cistercian monk as having a special role to play in the continuing struggle against heresy. Such ideas resonated strongly in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. Although Baldwin expressed a concern that he ought to remain silent, and that his critics would expect this from him as a monk, he was nevertheless compelled instead to cry out against the heretics and saw his act of writing the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* as an effort to help increase the strength of the Church.³

However, Baldwin's approach does not anticipate the activities of other leading Cistercian abbots, such as Henry of Clairvaux and Arnald Amaury, who, similarly inspired by Bernard, came to advocate a more aggressive stance towards heresy which culminated in the atrocities of the Albigensian crusade. Baldwin's focus on providing models and examples of virtue, and on the phenomenon of heresy as something which should be engaged only by those learned enough, focusing on the conversion of intellectual heretics, demonstrates that even within the Cistercian Order, there was a

³ L. D. S. H., p. 40, ll. 15-29; p. 53, ll. 22-23.

degree of uncertainty about various important questions, including how heresy could be defined and identified, and how it ought to be treated. As anti-heretical sentiments were such a significant part of the developing self-identification of the Cistercian Order during Baldwin's lifetime, the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* therefore stands as an important manifestation of a part of this debate within the Order.

This interpretation is bolstered by the fact that, in accordance with Cistercian legislation during the late twelfth century, no Cistercian monk could write any work without the permission of the abbot of Cîteaux. Baldwin's *Liber* fulfilled a perceived need within the order for a wider discussion of the nature of heresy and authority. It also offers a useful counterpoint to bear in mind when considering the development of persecuting mentalities. Moore saw the late twelfth century as a 'persecuting society,' a time when persecution had become habitual, and was directed through established governmental, judicial and social institutions.⁴ Moore's hypothesis assumed that in the Christian world of the Middle Ages 'authority' was clearly defined and unified by a sense of purpose. Baldwin's *Liber* proves that this was only ever an aspiration, and that there was instead a great deal of uncertainty and discussion amongst diverse groups of people involved in the treatment of heresy concerning how they conceived of their roles and justified their activities.

In the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, the debate about the authority to judge heresy and where it comes from was related to the crucial ability of discernment. Baldwin understood this concept primarily in terms which reflected Cistercian spirituality, combining his experiences of learning and teaching in the schools in Bologna and Exeter with the Cistercians' internalisation of the virtues of *caritas* and humility. In the preface to the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, Baldwin outlined in no uncertain terms how the gift of discernment was a gift bestowed upon the worthy defenders of the faith who combined learning with humility. They were distinguished from the merely faithful by their learning and deeper understanding of the mysteries of Scripture. What united these two groups was the fulfilment of a life of humility, and the performance of the responsibility to bolster the faith amongst all members of the Church. Thus, those

⁴ R. I. Moore, *The Formation*, p. 5.

outside of the Church, irregardless of their learning or perceived understanding of profound matters, were distinguished by their pride. In expounding the dangers of pride as a vice which was characteristic of the ancient heretics, Baldwin was engaging with a wider debate amongst learned members of medieval society in the twelfth century about how the faith should be learned and taught.

This was a favourite concern for Baldwin, which he developed across all of his theological writings. He used his *De Commendatione Fidei* and the *De Sacramento Altaris* as forums to discuss the unorthodox beliefs and approaches to learning and teaching which had been proposed by certain school masters who had been condemned for heresy in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Closer reading of the *De Commendatione Fidei*, however, demonstrates that Baldwin, like many other Cistercians, did not eschew learning entirely, but was concerned with how it should be employed. Baldwin was concerned by the precedent set by the heretical succession detailed in the *Liber De Sectis Hereticorum*, which demonstrated that the pride of heretics had always led them to deceive the simpler and more gullible members of the faithful. He used his anti-heretical tract as a platform to address other learned monks and ecclesiasts, to warn them to recognise the dangers of pride, and to extol the virtue of humility as the basis for all of their teaching and anti-heretical endeavours.

As has been demonstrated, Baldwin's aim here has many similarities with the writings and warnings of monks, nuns and canons from diverse religious orders who were concerned with what they saw as irreverent and unorthodox teachings which were related to the new methods of scholastic theology being explored in the theological schools across Europe. Similar concerns were also expressed by some school masters. All of their arguments were united in the shared theme of pride which caused some teachers to overcomplicate and thus pervert the faith. In including this concern in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, Baldwin was engaging with a theme which had a much broader and long-lived application. From this time onwards, criticism would be directed at individuals who claimed the authority to preach the faith that they made their sermons too intellectual or too theological, and that because their lay audiences were

not perceived as being capable of understanding these messages, the unity of the faith would be disturbed.⁵

This idea was expressed, for example, in Archbishop John Thoresby of York's 'Lay Folk's Catechism,' produced and translated into English in 1357. John's purpose in producing this was for the education of the clergy in the archdiocese of York, much in the same way that Archbishop John Peckham had produced his statute *De Informatione Simplicium Sacerdotum* in 1281. In the prefatory letter to the 'Catechism' in which he explained his reasoning for having the tract translated into the vernacular, John wrote:

...while the clergy of our diocese and province were considering with diligent thought matters touching the condition and reformation of the Church, they thoroughly took into consideration that by the excessive subtleties of preaching (which we hold to be vain and superfluous, while being tolerant of many) which for the most part assert contradictory matters among themselves, both the lay people and others of mean learning have not merely fallen so far into error, but are inwardly ignorant of the basis of our faith, which is intolerable ignorance.⁶

Accusations of vain behaviour and subtlety when preaching would come to be more generally levelled at the mendicant orders to an almost unparalleled degree.⁷

The most well-known way in which this theme was adopted was as a satirical device in later medieval literature. Geoffrey Chaucer, for example, included a story about a learned friar who manipulated laymen with his silver tongue, quick wit, and cunning in the *Canterbury Tales*.⁸ Similarly, William Langland criticised friars who misled

⁵ R. N. Swanson, 'The "Mendicant Problem" in the Later Middle Ages,' in *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life – Essays in Honour of Gordon Leff*, ed. by P. Biller and B. Dobson, Studies in Church History, subseries 11 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 217-238 (p. 224).

⁶ R. N. Swanson, 'The Origins of "The Lay Folk's Catechism",' *Medium Ævum*, 60 (1991), 92-100 (p. 94).

⁷ P. R. Szittyá, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); G. Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic Violence, Deviance and Remembrance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); S. Steckel, 'Narratives of Resistance: Arguments against the Mendicants in the Works of Matthew Paris and William of Saint-Amour,' in *Thirteenth Century England XV: Authority and Resistance in the Age of Magna Carta. Proceedings of the Aberystwyth and Lampeter Conference, 2013*, ed. by J. Burton, P. Schofield and B. Weiler (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2015), pp. 157-177.

⁸ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by L. D. Benson, 3rd edn. (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2008), pp. 130-136, ll. 1788-1795, 1918-1920, 2290-2292.

the faithful with their irreverent and complicated teachings in the visions experienced by Piers Plowman.⁹ Perhaps the most poignant representation in the context of this thesis is that of Reynard the Fox, a popular series of tales which circulated across Europe. Particularly illustrative is the story of Reynard confronting Chanticleer the cockerel in a monk's habit, feigning piety and claiming to have joined a religious order to atone for his sins. Reynard used clever words and the false appearance of humility to trick the bird into letting his guard down, whereupon Reynard leapt across the threshold of the cockerel's house and devoured poor Chanticleer's chicks.¹⁰ The fact that the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum* can be compared to such themes is testimony to the wide scope of the debate about pride, the faith, and heresy across the continent during the twelfth century, and the longevity of these discourses.

Proactive Fear in England

The close attention being paid to the methods of teaching about the faith were consonant with wider debate about the nature of heresy and its dissemination. During and after Baldwin's lifetime there was a significant group of individuals in England who were interested in the reporting of heresy as part of a wider desire to record the history of Christian society. The chronicles, annals, and other works of history produced as a result of this testify to the fact that England was far from being isolated from Europe in terms of receiving and disseminating information. Multiple networks and activities existed which allowed information about both historic and current affairs to be broadcasted and shared across Europe. The Angevin royal court and the various religious orders were significant networks which facilitated the transmission of information about heresy into and around England. In particular, the Cistercian Order

⁹ William Langland, *Piers Plowman: The B Version. Will's Visions of Piers Plowman, Do-Well, Do-Better and Do-Best: An edition in the form of Trinity College Cambridge MS B 15.17, corrected and restored from the known evidence, with variant readings*, ed. by G. Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson (London: Athlone Press, 1975), passus 15, p. 538, ll. 70-76.

¹⁰ William Caxton, *The History of Reynard the Fox*, trans. by N. F. Blake, Early English Text Society, 263 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 10-11.

and its General Chapter were prolific distributors of information about the confrontations between European ecclesiastical and secular authorities and heretics.¹¹

The audience of this information and its recorders in England were also not ignorant of its importance and implications. Indeed, to quote Björn Weiler, the English historians of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries 'were more closely connected to and far more deeply rooted in the culture of Western Europe than most of their modern readers.'¹² Many themes are apparent in their histories which reflect those in European and Cistercian anti-heretical polemical literature, as well as in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. For example, medieval historians stressed the charismatic yet deceptive characters of heretical leaders, which made their wickedness difficult to discern because they were able to feign piety. All of the records also praised the cooperation between the various groups of Christian society which brought about successes for the Church against heresy.

To this evidence of shared themes apparent across many different examples of historical writing must be added the fact that inconsistencies arose across the group of texts examined in this study. Both facts demonstrate that the current manuscript survival of these histories is complicated, and only partly representative of the mass of documents, letters and oral testimony which were circulated prior to the moment that a part of it was recorded by an historian. Not much is known for certain about the ways in which these manuscripts were produced, but the evidence provided through close manuscript examination of the annals of Bury St Edmunds and Melrose Abbeys, as well as the instances when newsletters like those of Adam Marsh still survive, proves that great quantities of information were being disseminated amongst various ecclesiastical, monastic and secular institutions within England. The extant chronicles and annals are the result of this collaborative effort, which must be understood as a forum in which the fear of heresy was discussed in the highest and most influential institutions in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England.

¹¹ B. Weiler, 'Historical Writing,' pp. 216-218.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 242.

A major concern across all of the histories examined was how the dissemination of heresy transcended social boundaries. This fear was elaborated through recounting wondrous tales of magical escapes, heinous sexual rites and feasts which could corrupt anyone who ate them with the taint of heresy. The tales could also manipulate audiences' feelings of pity and confusion when heretics seemed to act piously or to represent good Christian virtues; the image of the virgin heretic led calmly to her pyre after the manner of an ancient Christian martyr must have caused particular concern about how heresy could corrupt even the best amongst the faithful. That such information and stories were circulated amongst such a wide array of institutions and then recorded there suggests that heresy was of great importance to these people, and that they were seeking an outlet through which they could explore their fears of heresy as a social phenomenon far earlier than the condemnation of Wycliffe and the Lollards after 1382.

The appropriation of suitable forums for the discussion of concerns about heresy was also coupled with attempts made by individuals to be more proactive in resolving those fears. In particular, the efforts of Peter of Blois and Bartholomew of Exeter to encourage the reform of pastoral care for the laity were attempts to take pre-emptive strikes against any weaknesses in the faith amongst both the laity and clergy which might be exploited. Of great significance is that in the case of both men, their understanding of the nature of heresy and its transmission bore striking similarities with the understanding expounded in the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*. In this respect, the writings of both Peter and Bartholomew offer an invaluable perspective through which Baldwin's interaction with the wider debate about heresy in England might be recognised. Their most important shared theme in the context of a pro-active anti-heretical mentality in England was the concentration on the model which the Church had to provide in order to educate the Christian faithful. This is especially as important as it was a time in which the Church was reconsidering its relationship with and responsibility to the lay community. Throughout the thirteenth century, evidence has been found that some bishops sought to adapt the mechanisms through which episcopal and pastoral authority was performed to include considerations about how heresy was to be identified and pursued, and how the clergy were to be educated about

this process. This involved a process whereby heresy was defined in synodal statutes designed to educate the clergy through comparison to more recognisable ecclesiastical offences which were characterised by the intent to deceive.

Evidence has also been found that efforts to prepare for potential confrontations with heresy were not confined to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Attempts were also made by secular authorities operating within the jurisdiction of the royal courts to adopt the mechanisms of royal justice to the pursuit and capture of heresy. This can be seen most clearly in the use of the office of sheriff to undertake the arrest and transport of suspected heretics in conjunction with ecclesiastical authorities. It can also be seen in the various entries in the Close, Patent and Liberate rolls throughout the reigns of the later Angevin and Plantagenet kings which testify to how the arrest and confiscation of chattels belonging to heretics were arranged across the king's royal territories. In addition to this, some of the earliest examples of English legal literature sought to include heresy within the offences which fell into the concern of royal jurisdiction. The compilers of these texts took inspiration from the style of synodal statutes and from canon law, and defined heresy in their works by comparing it to treason. They also justified the punishment of burning for condemned heretics by referring to the suitability of the same punishment for arson, another crime characterised in the Middle Ages by deceit. All of this provided precedents for the future treatment of heresy within England by royal and ecclesiastical authorities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In conclusion, for the first time, heresy can be seen as an issue which was of great concern to monks, ecclesiasts, members of the royal court and secular leaders in England as it was for those in countries where heresy was an immediate reality, in the centuries before the rise and formal condemnation of John Wycliffe. England remained connected to Europe through institutions like the Cistercian Order and the universities, which brought together learned individuals who were concerned with the strength and spirituality of the Catholic Church across Western Christendom. Information about heretics and interpretations of the dangers posed by heresy and the necessary response which must be taken formed the basis of widespread debate. As a result, centuries of fear about heresy in England, which drew inspiration from the continent, provided a

precedent for the ecclesiastical and secular authorities involved in the heyday of English prosecution of heresy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Baldwin's *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum*, and the collaborative work which it represents as a piece of Cistercian literature, constituted the most ambitious manifestation of this proactive fear which existed in England during the twelfth century.

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