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The Stephen J. Brademas, Sr., Memorial Scholarship and Lecture Fund was established in 1976 at Ball State University in honor of the late Stephen J. Brademas, Sr., of South Bend, Indiana. The purpose of the fund is two-fold: first, through education and a program of cultural exchanges, to help promote better understanding and greater appreciation of the history and culture of Greece as well as to contribute to the strengthening of bonds uniting the peoples of Greece and the United States; and second, through the annual lectures, to help bring distinguished individuals to the Ball State University campus and contribute to the cultural enrichment of the university community with new ideas and historical interpretations of important past and contemporary situations.

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Dr. John T. A. Koumoulides, Professor of History, Ball State University, is the Administrator of the Stephen J. Brademas, Sr., Memorial Scholarship and Lecture Fund, Department of History, Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana 47306.

Contributions to the Stephen J. Brademas, Sr., Memorial Scholarship and Lecture Fund are tax-deductible. Contributions are made to The Ball State University Foundation and are designated for the Stephen J. Brademas, Sr., Fund (A. N. no. 3852), and sent to: Director, Ball State University Foundation, Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana 47306, U.S.A.

The Ninth Stephen J. Brademas, Sr., Lecture

Attitudes Toward Self-Inflicted Suffering in the Middle Ages

GILES CONSTABLE



HELLENIC COLLEGE PRESS
Brookline, Massachusetts 02146
1982

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Memorial Scholarship and Lecture Fund

Published by Hellenic College Press
50 Goddard Avenue
Brookline, Massachusetts 02146

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Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Constable, Giles.

Attitudes toward self-inflicted suffering in the
Middle Ages.

(The Ninth Stephen J. Brademas, Sr., lecture)

Bibliography: p.

1. Asceticism—History—Middle Ages, 600-1500—
Addresses, essays, lectures. 2. Suffering—Religious
aspects—Christianity—History of doctrines—Middle
Ages, 600-1500—Addresses, essays, lectures. 3. Tem-
perance (Virtue)—History—Addresses, essays, lectures.

I. Title. II Series: Stephen J. Brademas, Sr.,
lecture ; 9th.

BV5025.C66 1982 248.47'0902 82-23239
ISBN 0-916586-87-1

The Ninth Stephen J. Brademas, Sr., Lecture was given on
Thursday, 25 March 1982 at BALL STATE UNIVERSITY,
Muncie, Indiana

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

Introduction

My late father used to tell his children that he would probably never leave us much money—which was indeed the case—but that he would insure us all a first class education; and that was also the case and, of course, far the richer legacy.

That a lecture series should have been established in his name and in the state in which he lived all his adult life and, moreover, at a university with which his family had had so many links would have greatly pleased him.

That this series was the result of the inspiration and tenacity of purpose of a young scholar who had become my father's friend and really one of the members of the Brademas family would have pleased him all the more.

Therefore, on behalf of all of us in the Brademas family, I want to express our appreciation to Professor John Koumoulides for without his energy and effort, these Stephen J. Brademas, Sr. Lectures, which have brought so many eminent scholars to Ball State University, would not have been possible.

John, my mother thanks you, my brother Jim thanks you, my sister Eleanor thanks you, my brother Tom thanks you, and I thank you.

For the first time, I am participating in this series not as a politician but as an academician. It has been almost a year and a half since I left Capitol Hill and nearly nine months since I assumed the duties of President of New York University.

My new post may therefore entitle me to the privilege of presenting to you a distinguished scholar; twice a graduate of my own university, Harvard; the Lea Professor of Medieval History at Harvard and, since 1977, the Director of Dumbarton Oaks, the Research Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington, D. C. and an important part of Harvard University.

In fact, when I lived in Washington I was gratified to be just around the corner from Dumbarton Oaks and to have become a friend of our guest, and I am pleased still to be a member of the Board of Advisors of Dumbarton Oaks.

Under the leadership of our guest lecturer, Dumbarton Oaks has been thriving.

He has worked hard to cultivate there an environment conducive to both serious scholarship and the enjoyment of Dumbarton Oaks by a wider audience.

The flowering of Dumbarton Oaks has been both physical—with its beautiful gardens and lovely buildings—and intellectual, with its growing

library, expanded fellowship and museum of pre-Columbian art.

Medieval History is the particular field of scholarly interest of our guest and an active interest it is; the list of his published books and articles fills page after page.

We are all honored by his visit to Indiana today.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am pleased to present to deliver the ninth Stephan J. Brademas, Sr. Lecture, Professor Giles Constable of Dumbarton Oaks and Harvard.

Dr. John Brademas
President
New York University

ATTITUDES TOWARD SELF-INFLICTED SUFFERING IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The subject of this paper may seem at first sight to be a long way from contemporary concerns. The practice by many people in the Middle Ages, and the approval by almost all, of voluntary, often self-inflicted, physical mortifications, such as fasting, celibacy, and flagellation, are today among the strangest and least attractive aspects of medieval life, with regard to which we are inclined to agree with Gibbon that the sufferings and devotions of the early monks must have destroyed, as he put it, 'the sensibility both of the mind and of the body.' This is not to say that we approve of unrestrained indulgence of our bodily desires but that we tend to regard self-inflicted punishment as a sign of spiritual and psychological disorder and not, as was believed in the Middle Ages, of a proper and praiseworthy attitude toward oneself and God.

Upon closer consideration, however, it becomes clear that, while the causes for which people are prepared to suffer now are different than they were then, the desire, and perhaps even the need, to suffer is also present in modern society. I have a file of clippings from popular works showing that we no less than our ancestors believe that merit, achievement, and a sense of personal worth can be acquired only by effort and, frequently, suffering. I am thinking not only of those in risky professions, like soldiers and athletes, whose determination to win and break records often involves suffering and even physical damage, but also of creative artists, scholars, and anyone who tends to feel, with the traveller, Wilfred Thesiger, that 'the harder the way the more worthwhile the journey.' Many people feel a need to toughen themselves for possible future suffering. The ascetic element in social revolutions can be clearly seen in Savonarola, Calvin, and Robespierre and is far from dead in our own times. Modern social activism is likewise often inspired by a desire to do something, preferably something hard and dangerous, in order to express one's deepest convictions and to bear witness, in an unmistakably religious sense, against some of the most flagrant abuses in modern society.

The psychological basis of this attitude is still not fully understood, but it is found in most major religious systems. There is nothing peculiarly Christian, either medieval or, as has been said, Protestant,¹ in the belief that pain may be a source of power and grace and thus of value to human beings. Emile Durkheim, the pioneer sociologist of religion, regarded asceticism as an essential element in religious life and said that both in the higher and in primitive religions, 'The positive cult is possible only when a man is trained to renouncement, to abnegation, to detachment from self, and consequently to suffering.' This attitude is found in Buddhism and Islam and

at certain times even in Judaism, which among the world religions is perhaps the least sympathetic to asceticism. Students of anthropology and folklore have also stressed the importance of voluntary suffering in rites of purification, initiation, and atonement. There is evidence that animals, under some circumstances, will impose sufferings on themselves in the same manner as human beings. Fasting and rigorous exercise are known to have psychological as well as physiological effects, including a tendency towards introversion and a reduction of sexual desire. Recent research suggests that great physical exertion may indeed produce hormonal changes that account not only for an oblivion to pain but also for the sense of well-being known among athletes as 'runner's high.'

William James in his book entitled *Varieties of Religious Experience* distinguished six motives, or psychological levels as he called them, for ascetic practices: first, 'a mere expression of organic hardihood, disgusted with too much ease'; second, 'the love of purity, shocked by whatever savors of the sensual'; third, 'the fruits of love, that is, they may appeal to the subject in the light of sacrifices which he is happy in making to the Deity whom he acknowledges'; fourth, they 'may be due to pessimistic feelings about the self, combined with theological beliefs concerning expiation'; fifth, 'in psychopathic persons, mortifications may be entered on irrationally, by a sort of obsession or fixed idea'; and sixth, 'ascetic exercises may in rarer instances be prompted by genuine perversions of the bodily sensibility,' that is, by what would today be called masochism, a term that had not been invented at the time James was writing. Even masochism, however, according to Freud and his followers, is not totally irrational or without some expectation of personal benefit.² To these motives should be added, according to Kenneth Kirk in the *Vision of God*, the spirit of competition, of which the psychological basis is also very unclear. Not all these motives apply as well to the Middle Ages as to the post-Reformation period, with which James was principally concerned. The title of his book shows that he emphasized that religious motives varied and often overlapped in individual cases. He also stressed that physical pain was taken for granted by our ancestors and that attitudes toward it have changed in recent times, when freedom from pain has come to be considered almost a right.

Orthodox Christianity has traditionally taken a relatively positive attitude toward the material world and the human body. The reasons for this are not my primary concern in this paper, but I might mention three relevant points. First, and most important, Christianity took over from Judaism the inheritance of monotheism, with its belief in one transcendent and omnipotent God and consequent belief in the goodness of the created

world. Second, the classical emphasis on the integrity of the individual was never entirely lost in Christianity. And third, the doctrine of justification by faith (which is today associated primarily with the Reformation but which had important early roots, especially in the works of St. Augustine) tended to play down the significance of voluntary works and especially of ascetic practices.³ Dualism as a philosophical or metaphysical doctrine, holding that good and evil, or mind and matter, are two radically distinct and rival principles in the world, has always been rejected by Christians, especially during the early centuries, in opposition to the beliefs of the Manichaeans. As a religious temper, however, dualism has played an important part in the history of Christian asceticism and apocalypticism. The sources of this practical dualism in Christianity are obscure. It certainly does not derive from Judaism and is more strongly marked in the New than in the Old Testament. Christ called on man to deny himself in Matthew 16.24-26, Mark 8.34-36, and Luke 9.23-25, and St. Paul in Colossians 3.5 said that Christians should 'Mortify . . . your members which are upon earth.' There are many other biblical passages and examples, including the Old Testament prophets and John the Baptist, which were cited in the Middle Ages to encourage, if not command, self-denial and voluntary physical mortifications.

These precepts fell on receptive ears in Late Antiquity, when a 'wave of pessimism' swept over pagans as well as Christians, almost all of whom practiced asceticism in one form or another. 'Contempt for the human condition and hatred of the body,' wrote E. R. Dodds, 'was a disease endemic in the entire culture of the period... an endogenous neurosis, an index of intense and widespread guilt-feelings.'⁴ It may be that a broad socio-psychological explanation, still to a great extent unexplored by scholars, underlies the origins of the attitudes we are studying. Among Christians, these attitudes found a specific institutional framework in monasticism. The monks of Egypt, Syria, and the Holy Land in the third and fourth centuries were among the most heroic exponents of a life of complete renunciation and voluntary physical suffering. The monks who lived in the Nitrian desert in Egypt were looked upon as models of ascetic practice. They were called 'athletes of Christ' and were filled with a spirit of individualism and competition. As Cuthbert Butler put it, 'They loved to "make a record" in austerities, and to contend with one another in mortifications; and they would freely boast of their spiritual achievements. . . . The practice of asceticism constituted a predominant feature of this type of Egyptian monachism. Their prolonged fasts and vigils, their combats with sleep, their exposures to heat and cold, their endurance of thirst and bodily fatigue, their loneliness and silence, are features that constantly recur in the authen-

tic records of the lives of these hermits, and they looked on such austerities as among the essential features of the monastic state.'

It is not my intention to enter at length in this paper into a description of the specific types of self-imposed sufferings practiced by monks and nuns, and occasionally by members of the clergy and laity, in the Middle Ages. They may be divided, broadly speaking, into negative and positive mortifications, that is, into forms of deprivation and the active imposition of suffering. Among the former are chastity, poverty, and obedience, which are respectively the renunciation of sexual satisfaction, including marriage, of property, and of self-will. Fasting involves giving up the pleasures of the table; solitude, of human company; silence, of conversation and, as St. Basil stressed, laughter. Humility requires the subordination of one's own wishes and ideas to those of another. These are all aspects of temperance. Among the positive asceticisms, which are the most incomprehensible to us, are the wearing of chains and iron plates and shirts known as *lorica*, immersions in cold water, rolling in thorn bushes and nettles, living on pillars, flagellation and the discipline of whips, and liturgical exercises involving long and painful practices such as standing in a particular position for a long time or repeated genuflexions. Even the kiss, as of the earth, the diseased, or the feet of the poor, was considered an ascetic act of mortification and humiliation. Some of these practices, such as wearing no clothes or shoes, were both negative and positive. Illness or infirmity was likewise considered not only a deprivation of health but also a test by God of His servitors. Ascetic homelessness or expatriation was both a renunciation of home and family and an assumption of a harsh life of solitude and wandering.

The *Vitae patrum* and lives of later medieval saints, and other contemporary sources, dwell at length on the nature of these practices, but they shed little light on the motives behind them, with which I am principally concerned here. The three most prominent motives were the expiation of sin, the expression of devotion, and the avoidance of temptation, which doubtless mingled with less clearly perceptible survivals of ancient elements of purification and atonement. It is no accident that these practices developed, among pagans as well as Christians, at a time when society was pervaded with a sense of failure and guilt, which expressed itself in dislike of the material world and especially of the human body. Suffering was seen as a means not only of expiating guilt in the present world but also of averting punishment in the next. The term 'punishment' today refers principally to retribution, and the term 'penance' to expiation, but they both derive from the Latin *poena*.

The willing acceptance of suffering was also a way of expressing devo-

tion, especially to Christ, Who voluntarily suffered on the cross for the sake of mankind. The question of whether monasticism, historically considered, should be seen as a substitute for martyrdom is disputed by scholars, but there is no doubt that many of the early monks regarded themselves, and were regarded by others, as the successors of the martyrs and confessors and that the desire to suffer with and for Christ inspired their self-inflicted austerities. The example of Christ Himself, according to the biographer of Daniel the Stylite, shows that man can please God by suffering.

Ascetic practices also served the more immediate purpose of warding off temptations to sin. Nearly all the devils and demons who attacked men and women in the Middle Ages (and who can be seen in representations of the temptations of St. Anthony and in the paintings of Hieronymus Bosch) were personifications of sensual desires. In the early centuries they may also have stood for the tendencies to revert to pagan beliefs and practices. Pliny in his *Natural History* recommended tying lead plates to the loins and hips as an antiaphrodisiac, and the countless monks who wore *lorica*, and the more familiar hair-shirts or *cilicia*, were motivated less by a desire to suffer than to avoid fleshly temptations. The Egyptian hermit who thrust his fingers into the flame of a candle when he was tempted by a woman—and whose example was being cited, and followed, a thousand years later—took no satisfaction in the suffering but saved his chastity thereby. (The woman, incidentally, died of the shock, but she was later revived by the hermit's prayers and lived a virtuous life.) The mortification of immersion in cold water, of which examples can be found in the twentieth century, had the same purpose. Gregory the Great specifically said that St. Benedict changed his lust into pain by rolling in nettles and thorns.

There may have been in some of these practices an element of genuine dualism in the sense of an almost instinctive rejection of anything material or fleshly. Theologically, this feeling found its clearest expression in some of the early rivals of Christianity, such as Manichaeism, and in puritanical heresies like Montanism and, later, Catharism, which can be considered both as a rival religion to Christianity and as a heresy. Many monastic leaders, including Basil of Caesaria, were influenced by philosophical dualism and held that monks must dematerialize themselves by cutting themselves off from the physical world as much as possible. This dematerialization could take either one of two basic forms, which in practice doubtless overlapped. The first of these, which is still with us today (to judge from the passages I have cited), is the result of a desire for mastery over the body and a determination not to be governed by purely material needs, either for food, warmth, sleep, or other lower, as they were called,

desires.

The second, and more interesting, form of dematerialization was based on the belief that man is placed between the animals and the angels on the scale of created beings and is therefore in a position of constant tension between the material and spiritual natures. The body, according to this view, while good in itself and essential for life in this world, is something to be left behind, so that man can be as free as possible from material needs and desires. Many monks in the East strove to attain a state of impassivity, apathy, or *theoria*, as it was called, which approximated in its extremes a Yoga-like superiority to physical suffering. Their object was to achieve the *bios angelikos*, the life of the angels, who were by their nature immaterial and above physical needs. To live above the requirements of the body was at the same time to recover the perfect peace and contentment of the Garden of Eden and to anticipate the pleasures of paradise. *Askesis* for them was a process of training and exercise, not unlike that of the athlete, and led to a higher end. The great Alexandrian theologians Clement and, above all, Origen formulated the bases of an ascetic theology in which the Christian way of life was seen as a school for sinners and training ground for souls. Their ideas were used by Evagrius Ponticus in the late fourth century in the first real system of monastic spirituality, with steps leading up to the pure intellect of God by a progressive stripping of the soul and removal of sin. Action and contemplation were, for Evagrius, closely associated and interactive stages of a single monastic life. These ideas were transmitted to the West especially by John Cassian, who in the early fifth century established two monasteries in southern France which were for over a century the spiritual centers of western monasticism. Cassian, like Evagrius, regarded the *vita actualis*, or active life, not as a life of work in the world but as the practice within a monastery of ascetic virtues which prepared the way for a life of contemplation.

St. Augustine examined some of these ideas in his sermon *On the Usefulness of Fasting*,⁶ which is concerned not so much with the material aspects of fasting, or its scriptural justification, as with abstention generally not only from food but also from sin, love of the world, discord, and even heresy. Only man, who is in a middle position between animals and angels, can make this offering to God. 'If then the flesh bending toward the earth is a burden to the soul,' Augustine wrote, '. . . so far as every man delights in his own higher life, so such a degree does he lay aside his earthly burden. This is what we do by fasting.' Later he went on to say that, 'By abstaining from the joy of the flesh, joy of the soul is acquired. . . . Accordingly, for us the purpose (*finis*) of our fastings is for our journey.' Here too, therefore, ascetic practices are seen as a means to

the end of man's journey away from this world toward the next. St. Jerome popularized the concept of spiritual nudity in the phrase, much cited later, 'naked to follow the naked Christ.' In the East the concept was put more simply by the great Byzantine hymnwriter Romanos, who said that, 'Fasting gives men eternal life.'

For western monks these ideas were embodied in the Rule of Benedict, of which the full debt to eastern monastic spirituality has only recently been proved by the researches showing its dependence on the earlier rule known as the *Regula Magistri*.⁷ It is now known that Benedict (or whoever wrote the rule that goes under his name) was much less original as a monastic theorist than was once believed, though his stature as a legislator and administrator has emerged unscathed. The earlier views stressing the contrast between pre-Benedictine and Benedictine monasticism, especially with regard to ascetic practices, have been revised. His rule has been described as 'unintelligible without the Cassianic and Basilian thought behind it' and as providing a framework for 'Evagrian spirituality as interpreted by Cassian.' Although the principal emphasis of the rule, as in the works of Basil and Cassian, is on privative rather than active mortifications, and especially on poverty, chastity, obedience, and silence, self-inflicted suffering was not excluded, and life in a strict Benedictine house was one of great, and sometimes extreme, physical hardship.

Monastic life in the West in the early Middle Ages was not led exclusively according to the Rule of Benedict, however, and during the so-called period of the *Regula mixta*, or mixed rule, from the sixth to the ninth century, every religious house had its own way of doing things, and many types of monastic life, some of great severity, were found in western Europe. Eastern influences persisted in southern France and in Burgundy, especially in the 'perpetual prayer' (*laus perennis*) monasteries, where the monks served in shifts worshipping God twenty-four hours a day. The monks in Ireland were famous at this time for their austerities, which included rigorous fasting, ascetic immersions and tests of chastity, and praying in painful positions. Another form of asceticism that was popular among Irish monks, and of which the character and historical importance have only recently been fully recognized, was penitential pilgrimage or exile. Solitude in the sense of separation from the world had always been recognized as an essential element in monastic life, and St. Basil, among others, stressed the need to break all familial ties. The state of being a stranger, without a home, was considered an ascetic ideal comparable to poverty and humility and was eagerly sought by Irish monks, who set out from their homeland as expatriates, sometimes entrusting themselves to the sea in boats without either sails or oars. Their

wanderings, which had such important results for the foundation of new monasteries and the conversion of large areas of Europe, were basically ascetic rather than missionary in purpose.

Some of these wanderers, and other monks all over Europe, settled down as hermits, living either a classical eremitical life in the woods or a cave, alone or with a few companions, or as a recluse, walled up in a cell or small house usually in close proximity to a church or monastery. These forms of solitary life were in principle — and often in fact, since recluses, and frequently also hermits, depended for food on the surrounding community — no more cut off from the world than life in a monastery, but they involved a higher degree of physical hardship and presented a greater opportunity for ascetic practices.

This was the heroic age of monasticism in the West, and many monks endured suffering in order to show their devotion to Christ and bear witness to the superiority of Christianity over paganism. For Bede, a willingness to suffer and even to die for the sake of truth was a characteristic of the monastic life or, as he called it, apostolic life, referring to the common life of the apostles in Jerusalem after the death of Christ. Asceticism was regarded as pleasing to God, and Gregory of Tours in his *History of the Franks* cited examples of tortures imposed on themselves by monks simply in order to increase their suffering. Jonas said that the fastings and mortifications of St. Columban propitiated Christ and atoned for evil thoughts. The Irish monks in particular adopted many practices designed to test their virtue and endurance. Among these was a type of spiritual marriage which was known in the early church, and appeared again in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, by which a male and a female ascetic lived together, and even shared the same bed, in a chaste union. Many years later James of Vitry told of a departing crusader who had his children brought to him in order to increase his suffering and hence his merit.

Self-inflicted suffering also served some practical functions in society. For the holy man, it was a source of power, as the biographer of Daniel the Stylite realized when he stressed the amazement of those who saw him. To the extent that he was outside secular society, and not bound by its standards, he could act as an arbiter and impose his decisions. Few people are unaffected by the sight of suffering, especially when it is self-imposed, and in Ireland particularly fasting was used in the Middle Ages (as it is today) as a means of bringing pressure and of righting a perceived wrong. The *Liber vitae* of Durham records that some sons prostrated themselves for the sake of their mother, with bare feet and tears in the middle of the night, seeking divine aid against one Gasbert, 'since there was no human aid.' Something like this probably happened at Canossa in 1077,

when the pope was morally unable to keep the barefoot and penitent emperor waiting in the snow for more than three days, and Henry IV in essence got what he wanted. The sacramental efficacy of blood was universally recognized at that time, and the crusades have been described as a sacrifice, in the biblical sense, enlarged to the dimensions of the entire world. Ascetic practices were also used as a means of exorcism, and both Bede and Walafrid Strabo, in his *Life of St. Gall*, describe how places were consecrated by fasting.

As the Middle Ages progressed, there was a tendency for these austerities to become even more severe and emotional in character, and to spread outside monastic circles. Around the turn of the millenium a number of ascetic and devotional exercises appeared, or became more general, which were a standard aspect of spiritual life in the late Middle Ages. These included all-night vigils; copious weeping; ascetic recitations from the Bible, especially the Psalms, often accompanied by prostrations, genuflexions, breast-beating, and whipping; penitential foot-washing; the wearing of hair-shirts, chain-mail, and plates of metal; flagellation; praying with outstretched arms and in other painful positions, which had previously been a specialty of Irish monks; and processions and pilgrimages dressed in sack-cloth, with bare feet or on the knees, and burdened with metal weights or a wooden cross. I do not intend to trace the history of each of these practices in detail. I shall rather look at a few practitioners of these types of asceticism and study some characteristic manifestations of this ascetic spirit in order to discover the attitudes and motives behind it.

? The first figure I shall discuss is one of the most celebrated and extravagant ascetics of the entire Middle Ages, Dominic Loricatus, a monk of Camaldoli who died in 1060 and whose *Life* was written by Peter Damiani, who was himself a fierce ascetic and an influential friend and advisor of Pope Gregory VII. Dominic derived his name *Loricatus* from the *lorica* or metal plates which he hung on his body and which by the time of his death had grown in number to eight, hanging around his neck, hips, and legs. He also prayed for long periods with his arms extended and performed numerous penitential genuflexions or *metanea*, as they were called. But he is most famous for his heroic self-flagellation. According to Damiani, he was in the habit of beating himself while reciting the Psalms and gave himself a thousand blows for each ten Psalms and performed a hundred *metanea* for each fifteen, making a total of fifteen thousand blows and a thousand *metanea* for each full recitation of the Psalter. He regularly recited twenty Psalters in six days and once reached nine (though never, Damiani says, ten) Psalters in a single day. Some scholars have said that he and Damiani originated the practice of penitential flagellation. This is not

true, since earlier examples of the practice can be found. The discipline of whips, or simply the discipline, had long been used in monasteries as a punishment. Dominic and Damiani contributed greatly, however, to the spread of voluntary flagellation, 'this discipline of the new rite,' as Damiani's biographer John of Lodi called it. In the twelfth century it became a regular observance in many monasteries, in spite of the warnings and occasional opposition of monastic leaders, and it culminated in the thirteenth century with the foundation of the order of *Disciplinati* specifically for the purpose of flagellation. Long processions of flagellants were a familiar sight in the late Middle Ages and can still be seen, I am told, in some parts of the American continent today.

The second figure I shall look at is Stephen of Obazine, who died in 1159, almost exactly a century after Dominic. He started life as a well-to-do layman and then became a secular priest and a popular preacher, practicing various austerities such as hair-shirts, rigorous fasts, and ascetic immersions, when necessary breaking the ice with an axe. Finally he decided to renounce the world entirely and having left his native soil, as his biographer says, began to go with bare feet into exile. After a while he settled down with a single companion at Obazine, in the Limousin, leading a life of rigid poverty, manual labor, and ascetic mortification. They beat each other whenever they felt sleepy, and they wore their clothes in winter frozen stiff, not because they needed washing, the biographer says, 'but for the sole desire of suffering.' Stephen travelled barefoot and, like Dominic *Loricatus*, wore metal plates next to his skin. He kept strict silence, except when celebrating the holy offices, and practiced intensive prayer and psalmody, accompanied by many genuflexions. This discipline relaxed somewhat as disciples gathered around him, but I am not concerned here with the later history of Obazine, interesting as it is, except to note that in 1142 the brothers officially adopted the Benedictine rule and became monks and in 1147 joined the Cistercian order.

It is no accident that both Dominic and Stephen were members of reformed monastic orders, because the winds of asceticism blew strongly through the monasteries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and affected many of the old as well as most of the new houses. Flagellation was practiced at Monte Cassino and at Cluny, and the poet Bernard of Cluny recommended wearing lead plates next to the skin in order to repress carnal desires. The Cluniac cardinal Matthew of Albano, writing about 1132, even described the celebration of matins in winter as a great torment. 'What madmen,' he asked, taunting the critics of the allegedly easy life at Cluny, 'would dare to ascribe that to pleasure of self-glorification?'

A new ascetic value was given at that time to the practices of both poverty and manual labor in monasteries. Traditionally, monastic poverty was individual and spiritual: the monk must be personally without property and above all poor in spirit, though the monastery might be rich. Poverty in this sense was very much like humility and obedience. The eleventh and twelfth-century reformers, on the other hand, emphasized true economic poverty and institutional as well as personal divestment: the monastery as well as the monks must be poor. The *pauperes Christi* were those who had freely given up their worldly goods and fully committed themselves to God. At times they were almost obsessed by the dangers of wealth and welcomed all the more the hardships of extreme poverty. In the thirteenth century poverty became the heart and soul of the mendicant movement, and particularly of the teaching of Francis of Assisi, whose whole life was devoted to the ideals of poverty and mendicancy.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, begging was considered beneath the dignity of monks, and the corollary of poverty was not mendicancy but manual labor, which served the double purpose of economic support and physical mortification. For Bernard of Clairvaux and other spiritual writers of the twelfth century work, of various types, filled the role of the active life which for Cassian and the early monastic theorists had consisted primarily of ascetic exercises. While more research needs to be done on the emergence of the modern attitude toward work, it seems to have been above all in the twelfth century that the ancient and early medieval depreciation of manual labor was replaced by a more positive view of work as an active means of salvation and self-fulfillment.

These developments took place not only in monasteries. The fiercely individualistic, and greatly admired, hermit Gezzelin of Trier never joined a religious house. He lived alone, without any habitation or clothing, and nourished himself on grass and roots, having, as a contemporary said, 'the sky in place of a roof, the air in place of clothes, and the support of flocks in place of human food.' John of Salisbury, who was a secular cleric and no ascetic, said of himself in the *Policraticus* that:

I know a man...subjected to constant assault of diseases, though they do not exceed what he can bear, who rejoices that the lascivity of his flesh has been crushed and his spirit aroused and strengthened in the knowledge of God, contempt for the world, and exercise of virtue. He desires that while the senses of his soul and body may be preserved intact [This is a reference to 1 Thessalonians 5.23.] the violence of disease will not draw him away from his activities. He expects and wel-

comes from the hand of the Lord some flagellation, though light and tolerable to the infirm.

It is uncertain here whether the flagellation to which John referred was actual whipping or simply his ailments. There is no doubt, however, about the active mortifications of the regular canon Dodo of Hascha, in Frisia, who died in 1231. He spent his life, in the words of his biographer, 'in unremitting weeping and grieving, groaning and praying for himself and for the entire holy church of God.' He ate 'one meal a day, eating fish and beer one day and bread and water the next; on Friday he ate nothing.' As to clothing, still according to his biographer, 'First, seven iron plates girded his flesh around his sides, two around his arms; over these was a hair-shirt; after this an iron *lorica* was put on; finally he had two woollen tunics, and a scapular above, and so he remained day and night without changes.' He slept on a hard bed, with a mat for a blanket and a concave stone, with a piece of cloth in the cavity, for a pillow, 'following the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who was placed in a manger wrapped in rags.' He rose in the middle of the night for matins, and he then spent the rest of the night in prayer, discipline, and various sorts of genuflexions, performing 'five hundred genuflexions each day and night, and frequently more.' 'His knees were calloused like those of a camel, and since he was a true worshiper of God, the Lord therefore performed many miracles through him.'

These examples cover the period from the early eleventh to the early thirteenth century and illustrate the continuity as well as the changes in the attitudes towards self-inflicted suffering in the central Middle Ages. Behind them all lay a pervasive sense of sin, resembling what Dodds called the 'intense and wide-spread guilt-feelings' in Late Antiquity. This was nourished not only by theological teachings about the depravity of man but also by personal feelings of inadequacy and remorse among laymen as well as monks and clerics. The tender social consciences of men like Robert of Arbrissel and Stephen of Obazine were specially aroused by the sufferings of the poor, sick, and unfortunate in an age of generally growing material prosperity and social mobility, when the traditional ways of dealing with misfortune in society were proving increasingly inadequate. It is significant that many of the reformers, including Bernard of Clairvaux and Francis of Assisi, came from the ranks of the ruling and privileged classes. The *sola cruciendi voluntas* of Stephen of Obazine when he wore frozen clothing was inspired by guilt and a desire to share the sufferings of the poor. Great nobles like Boniface of Tuscany in the eleventh century and William of Aquitaine in the twelfth agreed to be whipped in order to expiate their sins. Yet more remarkable was the barefoot flight of Provost Bertulf of St. Donatien at Bruges, one of the chief conspirators in the murder of

Charles the Good, count of Flanders. In the words of the historian Galbert, Bertulf fled with bare feet, 'voluntarily (*sponte*) performing penance for his sins, in order that God might be merciful to such a sinner.' When he was captured, he was found to have left a trail of blood on the ground.

Actions such as these were not motivated by dualistic repression of the body or by love of suffering for its own sake. Real dualism was rare among orthodox Christians at this time especially owing to the condemnation by many contemporary heretics of all material things, including the eucharistic elements and the wood of the cross. The Cathars and Albigensians in particular were dualists in their avoidance of all material aspects of life. Catholics were therefore careful to limit their objections to the misuse of matter (that is, a question of the will) rather than to matter itself. There remained a strong element of practical dualism, however. John of Salisbury rejoiced that disease had crushed the lasciviousness of his flesh, and St. Francis considered mortification a means of controlling 'the lower nature which leads him [man] into sin.' Such an unimpeachably orthodox theologian as Hugh of St. Victor praised the new orders of monks precisely for their physical austerities. 'For while they lacerate their flesh,' he said, 'they enrich the spirit; while they weaken the flesh, they strengthen the spirit; while they take something away from the outer flesh, they add greatly to the inner spirit.'

There was a growing tendency in the twelfth century, which may be associated with crusading spirituality, to see the Christian as a soldier engaged in warfare against the powers of evil. Military metaphors had long been used in Christian spiritual writings, but in the early Middle Ages the *miles Christi* was an obedient follower or occasionally an individual warrior. Now he was increasingly seen as a knight in the service of Christ. A secular knight gave his *lorca* to the hermit Wulfric of Hazelbury 'as to a stronger soldier,' and Wulfric wore it until it slipped off his shoulders in old age. This military metaphor doubtless also encouraged the ascetic competitiveness that we have already observed among the early hermits. Dominic *Loricatus* constantly strove to beat his own records after he had outstripped all others.

This stress on the inner and emotional nature of asceticism, and its effect on the spirit, was characteristic of twelfth-century spirituality, which emphasized the motive of love both as a quasi-martyrdom and sacrifice for Christ and as a passionate desire to imitate and suffer with Him. Self-sacrifice is likewise a dominant theme in the secular love literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with which the spiritual writings have many affinities. Devotion to the human Christ was especially marked in the religious personalities of some of the fiercest ascetics, whose tears and

groans increasingly expressed, as Berlière pointed out, their sympathy for the sufferings of Christ as well as their remorse for their own sins and who sought in their actions to imitate every aspect of Christ's life on earth. Peter Damiani specifically cited the example of Christ in his defense of flagellation and expressed his own fervent desire to copy Christ. 'I would like to undergo martyrdom for Christ,' he wrote in one of his letters, 'but I have no possibility for it now that the [persecuting] zeal has ceased. I show at least the desire of a fervent soul by destroying myself with beating. For if the persecutor should strike me, I would beat myself, since I would voluntarily expose myself to be beaten. ... The king of martyrs Himself, Christ, likewise was delivered not only by Judas but also by the Father and by Himself.' Dominic *Loricatus* and Stephen of Obazine were both said to have carried on their bodies the signs or stigmata of the wounds of Christ, and while these may have been symbolic, there is no question that Dodo of Hascha not only imitated the infant Christ, as has been mentioned, but also bore visible marks on his body in the places of Christ's wounds 'in order to suffer with the crucified One.' For although Francis of Assisi, so far as is known, was the first visible stigmatic whose wounds were probably not self-imposed, many people in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, both male and female, felt the pain of Christ's sufferings, and some inflicted His wounds on themselves as evidence of their desire to suffer with Him. According to the great fifteenth-century Franciscan preacher Bernardino of Siena, St. Paul did not say that we should understand Christ Crucified 'but that we should feel within ourselves, as He felt on the cross. *Hoc enim sentite in vobis*. And this is the difference,' Bernardino continued, 'between feeling a thing from outside it, from inside it, and from partaking in it.'

The participation in and interiorization of the sufferings of Christ was a central aspect of late medieval mysticism, and a source of ineffable exaltation for those who experienced it. 'Suffering alone is sufficient preparation for God's dwelling in man's heart,' said Eckhart in one of his sermons. 'It makes man Godlike.' Likewise for Catherine of Siena, suffering was a means of progressing toward the vision of God. 'It is for me the greatest consolation, when I suffer some evil,' she said, according to the *Legenda maior*, 'because I know that through that passion I shall have a more perfect vision of God. For this reason the tribulations are not only not burdensome to me but also delectable to my mind, just as you and the others who converse with me can perceive every day.'

Catherine was a shrewd psychologist, and her reference to her sufferings as *delectabiles menti meae* brings out the element of sublimation which must not be forgotten when we consider voluntary or self-inflicted suffering either in the Middle Ages or today. Not only may the fact of abstinence

have modified the needs of the body and the physical exertions of asceticism have reduced the capacity for pain, but the mind transformed what for some would literally have been a source of agony into a source of happiness and peace and a sense of being in harmony with others and with the immaterial forces that govern the universe.

I would not want to leave you with the impression that indiscriminate or purposeless suffering, either voluntary or involuntary, was admired by serious men and women in the Middle Ages, though there were doubtless people then, as now, who were impressed by, and even enjoyed, the mere act of suffering and physical violence. It may have served as a sort of vicarious release for feelings that could not be expressed directly. Likewise today, many people enjoy tales of horror and scenes of violence. The sufferings of the saints, and the stories of their lives, may have played something of the same role in medieval society.⁸ Thoughtful people looked below the surface of the exterior actions, however, and tried to discern the motives, warning against flamboyant or excessive ascetic practices.

From the earliest times there was an insistence, perhaps inspired by fear of dualism, on discretion in self-imposed sufferings and an awareness of the dangers of hypocrisy. St. Paul himself warned the Corinthians against delivering the body to be burned but not having love. The story in the *Vitae patrum* about Abbot John, who decided after fasting in the wilderness for eight days to be a good man rather than an angel, was cited as an example of the temptation of extravagant asceticism, and even a rigid ascetic like Daniel the Stylite did not force his body beyond what it could endure, saying that he ate what was necessary. The author of a homily *On Perfect Monks*, written in Spain in the late sixth or early seventh century, stressed that the Devil often sent the temptation to fast or lie on the ground in order to keep monks from their proper occupations. The earliest commentaries on the Rule of Benedict, which were written in the Carolingian period, also do not stress bodily austerities and in their discussions of fasting deal with such issues as the permissibility of eating fowls.

The fear of hypocrisy was reflected in the tendency to admire austerities and mortifications that were kept secret or were revealed only in confidence. Cassian maintained that fasting should be secret as well as restrained and that it was good not in itself but only as a means toward virtue. Austerities, such as wearing a hair-shirt under comfortable clothing, were sometimes discovered only after death, as were the stigmata of Dodo of Hascha. St. Arnulf, who died as bishop of Soissons in 1087, wore a spiny branch under his clothes, according to his biographer, 'in order to extinguish entirely within himself the smile and emotion of worldly joy...while exhibiting to everyone, however, a happy and joyful countenance.' Espe-

cially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the sentiment against displays of asceticism seems to have grown, as a result not only of the excesses of the past but also of the new stress on interiority. Ascetic extravagance came to be regarded with suspicion. Many of the religious leaders of the time, and a number of the new monastic and canonical rules and customs, urged discretion in this regard and even forbade unauthorized or supererogatory mortifications of the flesh. According to the late eleventh-century constitutions of Camaldoli, for instance, where Dominic *Loricatus* had been a monk not long before, flagellation was to be practiced for the sake of humility, not of torment, and in imitation of the Passion. They established that in this and other mortifications, 'Each monk ought to do what he can bear and utility advises or divine grace inspires. For in such matters force does not impose but voluntary offering advises.' In some rules an increasing concern was also shown for the physical health of monks and nuns in matters such as adequate food and sleep. You will remember that John of Salisbury specified that his flagellation, though welcome, should be light and tolerable to the infirm.

Bernard of Clairvaux was an ascetic himself, who ruined his health by excessive fasting, and a fervent admirer of the hermit Gezzelin. He praised physical hardship and bodily afflictions, including regular discipline, 'by which,' he said, 'we live not by our own but by another's will,' and stressed that they must be willingly and voluntarily born. He was at the same time an experienced and sensitive spiritual advisor and acutely aware of the dangers of excessive zeal and self-will in ascetic practices. In his treatise *On the Steps of Humility*, where he described the successive vices which a monk must overcome in his ascent to God, Bernard gave under the fifth step, singularity, a classic picture of the hypocritical and loveless ascetic who, caring more for appearances than substance, fasted when the other monks ate and prayed alone in the corner filling the ears of those outside with groans and sighs. 'But although these things which he does with singularity but without sincerity raise his reputation among the more innocent, who praise the works they see without discerning whence they proceed,' Bernard concluded, 'the poor wretch is grievously deceived when they call him blessed.'

Parallel passages can be found in many twelfth- and thirteenth-century works. Robert of Arbrissel, the founder of Fontevrault, who was criticized for his own asceticism even by his admirers, urged the countess of Brittany, in a letter written probably in 1109, to use 'discretion in all matters, in abstinence, fasts, vigils, prayers' and not to kill herself, 'since whoever kills the flesh, kills its inhabitant,' that is, the spirit. The kingdom of God, he said, lies not in food and drink, but in grace and peace. Abbot Peter the

Venerable of Cluny, citing I Corinthians 13.3, said that it was useless to practice austerities without love. And the great preacher, and later cardinal, James of Vitry remarked in his biography of Mary of Oignies, after describing with admiration her ascetic devotions, including the stigmata, that, 'I say this not to commend excess but to show fervor. In these, and in many others, however, ...' he continued, 'the discreet reader will observe that the privileges of the few do not make a general rule. ... We should therefore admire rather than imitate what we read certain saints to have done at the private instigation of the Holy Spirit.'

There was agreement among serious churchmen at that time, and later, that meaningful sufferings must be an expression of devotion and that outer actions must be correlated to the inner life. The moral stress on intention in the twelfth century touched the practice of asceticism no less than the fields of theology and law. Interior devotion was as necessary in fasting as in prayer, according to the author of the Bridlington Dialogue. 'Fasts that are performed for human praise,' he said, 'do not please God.' The body should not be made to suffer more than it could reasonably bear, and moderation must be the rule. 'Let sleep be brief, food light, drink easy, clothing humble.' These words are from Petrarch's treatise *On the Solitary Life*, and they reflect the tradition of medieval monastic spirituality as well as the classical ideal of temperance. They are a reminder that many of our own ideals, though differently formulated today, were shaped in the Middle Ages. The standards and systems of values at that time were, needless to say, different from those that prevail today, but the spiritual ideals and psychological needs—to justify ourselves and, if necessary, to suffer for what we believe in—are still with us and show that the study of history can deepen our understanding not only of the past but also of the present.

1. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *Letters to Two Friends, 1926-1952* (New York, 1968) p. 187, writing in 1947 about Gide's *La porte étroite*, said that the 'idea of a value of sacrifice and pain for the sake of sacrifice and pain itself' was an expression of Gide's 'native Protestant education' and 'a dangerous (and very "Protestant") perversion of the "meaning of the Cross".' Dame Laurentia McLachlan, the abbess of Stanbrook, said almost the opposite: "We all know what happiness of heart can be found in the pain of mind and body that God sends us, or in the case of bodily suffering that is self-inflicted. ... We all have to suffer if God is to make anything of us.' *In a Great Tradition: The Life of Dame Laurentia McLachlan* (New York, 1956) pp. 101-2.

2. According to Jack Douglas, *The Social Meanings of Suicide* (Princeton, 1967) p. 372, citing T. Reik and S. Rado: 'Masochism led Freud and others to believe that men can and frequently do will suffering for the self, but they have seen this willing of self-suffering as being the result of expectations of "secondary gain," either through "victory through defeat" or "less defeat through preemptive punishment".'

3. Some of the material in this paragraph is derived from the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1974), which should be consulted for further details.

4. E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine* (Cambridge, 1965) pp. 18 and 36. This can be compared with the well-known view of J. B. Bury attributing the decline of the ancient world to 'a failure of nerve' and J. N. Cochrane's exposition of the 'moral and intellectual failure of the Greco-Roman mind' in the fourth century.

5. Edward Cuthbert Butler, *Benedictine Monachism*, 2nd ed. (London, 1924) pp. 13-14. See also Derwas J. Chitty, *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (Oxford, 1966) pp. 32-3.

6. S. Dominic Ruegg, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De utilitate ieiunii: A Text with a Translation, Introduction and Commentary* (Washington, D. C., 1951). The quotations are on pp. 69 and 77.

7. See Bernd Jaspert, *Die Regula Benedicti—Regula Magistri—Kontroverse* (Hildesheim, 1975), where the index of persons (pp. 508-19) is a guide to the huge bibliography on this topic.

8. See the remarks of Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels, 1921) pp. 273-87.

Since this paper was prepared for a general audience, I have kept the notes to a minimum and used them to elucidate points that might otherwise be unclear and to indicate my indebtedness to authors and works not specifically mentioned in the text. The following indications may be helpful, however, to those who are interested in pursuing the subject further.

The original sources for the paper are mostly the *Vitae* or biographies of saints, of which there is a useful list in the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* (Brussels, 1898-1901), of which a new edition is in preparation. They can also be located in any of several dictionaries of saints, such as (for Benedictine saints) Alfons M. Zimmermann, *Kalendarium benedictinum* (Metten, 1933-8). A number of the Lives cited in this paper have been translated into English: see Clarissa P. Farrar and Austin P. Evans, *Bibliography of English Translations from Medieval Sources* (New York, 1946) and the supplement by Mary A. H. Ferguson, *Bibliography of English Translations from Medieval Sources, 1943-1967* (New York and London, 1974). Two useful collections of translations, both including Lives cited here, are Elizabeth Dawes and Norman H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford, 1948) and Clinton Albertson, *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Heroes* (New York, 1967). The essential collections for Ireland are Charles Plummer's *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910) and *Lives of the Irish Saints* (Oxford, 1922). The three saints whose lives are particularly discussed here are Dominic *Loricatus*, whose Life by Peter Damiani can be found in the *Patrologia latina*, CXLIV, 1012-24, Stephen of Obazine, of whose Life there is a new edition by M. Aubrun, *Vie de Saint Etienne d'Obazine* (Clermont, 1970), and Dodo of Hascha, whose Life is found in the great *Acta sanctorum*, edited by the Bollandists, in the volume for March, III, 848-9.

Of the non-hagiographical sources cited here, at least three are available in good recent translation: *The Lives of the Desert Fathers*, tr. Norman Russell (London and Oxford, 1980); Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, tr. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1974); and *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969). Not available in English, but of great interest for the subject of this paper, are two collections of *exempla* (stories used in sermons) by James of Vitry: *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Thomas F. Crane (London, 1890) and *Die Exempla aus den Sermones feriales et communes des Jakob von Vitry*, ed. Joseph Greven (Heidelberg, 1914). Most of the other non-hagiographical works from before the thirteenth century are printed

in serviceable, though often antiquated, editions in the *Patrologia latina*. The translation from Bernard's *The Steps of Humility* is by George B. Burch (Cambridge, Mass., 1940). The passages from Eckhart and Bernardino of Siena are from the books of Franz Pfeiffer and Iris Origo, respectively. Full references to the sources recommending moderation, and restraint, some of which are more obscure, will be given in the article I plan to write on this subject.

Among secondary works, in addition to the three general books by Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, and Kenneth Kirk, *The Vision of God*, which are cited early in the paper, I have used Uta Ranke-Heinemann, *Das frühe Mönchtum. Seine Motive nach den Selbstzeugnissen* (Essen, 1964) and Peter Nagel, *Die Motivierung der Askese in der alten Kirche und der Ursprung des Mönchtums* (Berlin, 1966). On Basil and Cassian, see, respectively, David Amand (Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta), *L'ascèse monastique de Saint Basile* (Maredsous, 1949) and Owen Chadwick, *John Cassian*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1968). There are several interesting articles in *Théologie de la vie monastique. Etudes sur la tradition patristique* (Paris, 1961). See also Violet MacDermot, *The Cult of the Seer in the Ancient Middle East* (London, 1971) and the article by Peter Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity,' *Journal of Roman Studies*, LXI (1971) 80-101.

Articles on Abnegation, Abstinence, Asceticism, and other specific practices (including the ascetic kiss) can be found in the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* (Paris, 1932 ff.) Several of these are by Louis Gougaud, whose two books on *Dévotions et pratiques ascétiques du moyen âge* (Paris and Maredsous, 1925; Eng. tr. by G.C. Bateman, 1927) and *Ermîtes et reclus. Etudes sur d'anciennes formes de vie religieuse* (Ligugé, 1928) should also be consulted. Among general works on Christian asceticism those of Marcel Viller and Karl Rahner, *Ascese und Mystik in der Väterzeit* (Freiburg im Br., 1939) and Anselme Stolz, *L'ascèse chrétienne* (Chevetogne, 1948) are useful, as is the older work of Otto Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum*, of asceticism in the central Middle Ages. There is relevant material in Albert Dresdner, *Kultur- und Sittengeschichte der italienischen Geistlichkeit im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Breslau, 1890) and in Jean Leclercq, *La vie parfaite. Points de vue sur l'essence de l'état religieux* (Turnhout and Paris, 1948; Eng. tr., 1961). The otherwise valuable work of Ursmer Berlière, *L'ascèse bénédictine des origines à la fin du XII^e siècle* (Paris and Maredsous, 1927) devotes comparatively little attention to self-inflicted mortifications on account of its stress on Benedictine monasticism as a moderate life of silence, prayer, and work. On fasting, see Herbert

Musurillo, 'The Problem of Ascetical Fasting in the Greek Patristic Writers,' *Traditio*, XII (1956) 1-64, and on celibacy, Bernhard Kötting, *Der Zölibat in der alten Kirche* (Münster in W., 1968). The theme of ascetic homelessness is treated in the brief work of Hans von Campenhausen, *Die asketische Heimatslosigkeit im altkirchlichen und frühmittelalterlichen Mönchtum* (Tübingen, 1930), and also in my article on 'Monachisme et pèlerinage au Moyen Age,' *Revue historique*, CCLVIII (1977) 3-27, where further references will be found. On *syneisactism* ('the chaste living together of a male and female ascetic'), see Roger Reynolds, 'Virgines subintroductae in Celtic Christianity,' *Harvard Theological Review*, LXI (1968) 547-66. The topic of the stigmata in the eleventh and twelfth centuries will be covered in my forthcoming article on 'Miracles and History in the Twelfth Century.' There is a large literature on flagellation, beginning with the old but still useful works of Jean Mabillon, *Annales O. S. B.*, IV (Lucca, 1739), esp. 513-15, and Edmond Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, IV (Antwerp, 1738) 229-33. There is an article on flagellation by Paul Bailly in the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, V, 392-408, and a collection of articles entitled *Il movimento dei disciplinati nel settimo centenario dal suo inizio* (Perugia, 1962). The contributions by G. G. Meersseman and Jean Leclercq are especially valuable for the purposes of this paper.

Relatively little work has been done on the subject of moderation and restraint in ascetic practices, upon which I plan to write an article. The important article of Bernhard Schmeidler, 'Anti-asketische Äusserungen aus Deutschlands im 11. und beginnenden 12. Jahrhundert,' *Kultur und Universalgeschichte (Festschrift Walter Goetz)* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927) 35-52, must be used with some caution owing to its stress on the Germanic character of the reaction. Some interesting indications of the growing concern for the physical health of monks and nuns can be found in Gerd Zimmermann, *Ordensleben und Lebensstandard. Die cura corporis in den Ordensvorschriften des abendländischen Hochmittelalters* (Münster in W., 1973) esp. 147, 215-6, 234-5, and 459.

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