

Cluny and the Secular Society in the Twelfth Century

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The abbey of Cluny was founded in 910 in the south of Bourgogne and continued to develop about 200 years. When Pierre le Vénérable (Peter the Venerable, Petrus Venerabilis,) was charged with the abbot in 1122, the number of the monasteries affiliated to Cluny amounted to over 1 200 and the abbey church of Cluny was rebuilt as the biggest and magnificent worship in the Western Europe. At the same time, this period was a turning point for Cluny. From the end of the 11th century, many reformed monasteries emerged in France and Italy. They realized the new monastic ideas--returning to apostolic ideas, *vita apostolica*, criticized the lifestyle of Cluny and gained the support of the emerging landlords. Within this new religious movement, there were some extreme ones and various sects which had developed in the 11th and 12th century. One of the largest heretical sects, "Petrobrusiani", denied the sacrament of Church and the prayer for the dead which were the main activities of Cluny. The Papacy was trying to concentrate the power and urge the clergy to care and supervise the lay people through the sacraments and preaching in order to build the unity of Christianity under the reign of the Pope, "Gregorian Reforms". Facing these changing, Pierre made an effort to express the traditional ideas of Cluny and to reform the abbey of Cluny with the affiliated monasteries.

Beside the diplomatic and domestic activities, Pierre wrote the letters¹ and was greatly interested in the development of the monastic statutes² and the theoretical works³. Though all of his writings are published, the historians have paid little attention to them than the document sources, directly reflecting the economical and juridical relationships between Cluny and the landlords⁴. Particularly the theological writings, although they could offer understanding of the ideas and visions in which the

¹ Giles Constable, *The Letters of the Pierre*, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1968.

² Ed. Giles Constable, *Statuta Petri Venerabilis Abbatis Cluniacensis IX (1146/7), Consuetudines Benedictinae variae (Saec. XI-XIV)*, Siegburg, 1975, p. 19-106.

³ Ed. Denise Bouthillier *Petri Cluniacensis Abbatis, De Miraculis libri duo, Corpus Christianorum continuatio Mediaevalis*, Turnhout, 1988., *Petri Venerabilis adversus Iudaeorum inveteratam, Corpus Christianorum continuatio Mediaevalis*, 58, 1985, *Contra Petrobrusianos, Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Sarracenorum*, Princeton, 1964.

⁴ Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région maconnaise*, Constance B. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter and Cloister, Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198*, Cornell University Press, 1987.

abbot was holding at this difficult turning point, have not been given an appropriate amount of study.

At first, the historians of *l'école des annales* were interested in his miracle stories which show the function of the monk's prayers to save the spirits of the dead. Jacques le Goff quoted a few stories of *De Miraculis* (*On the Miracles*) as the examples of pre-history of "the birth of the purgatory"⁵. The first large-scale study on his writings is a theological study on *De Miraculis* which J.P. Torell and D. Bouthillier published in 1986⁶. In this study they explained Pierre's vision of the world by analyzing this text, not only with theological sight but also with regarding the relationship to contemporary society. In 1990's, a French historian Dominique Iogna-Prat published some treatises about Pierre's writings⁷. He is the first historian who analyzed Pierre's writings against the heresy and the paganism. He has succeeded in showing the notion of Christianity which Pierre had wrote in the sence of an institution and space in order to defend the Christian society against the enemies with in and those outside.

Parallel to this development, the German group from Münster was proceeding with the systematic research on the documents and dealing with the data by computer under chief researcher J. Wollasch⁸. By analyzing the documents concerning donation, dispute, reconcile, they presented the role of Cluny in the regional society and complexity of the personal relationships⁹. As a result, through the use of many sorts of texts, the ambiguous monasticism of Cluny and the relationship between Cluny and the secular society is becoming clearer. With regarding these recent studies, I analyze *De Miraculis* by Pierre and present his vision of Church and try to understand how he dealt with the changing of the church and the society and defended the primary position of Cluny in the western Christian society.

The text *De Miraculis*

De Miraculis is a collection of the miracle stories in which Pierre gathered while he was in the position of the abbot 1122-1156. On gathering the stories, he wrote and

⁵ Jacques le Goff, *La naissance du purgatoire*, Paris, 1981.

⁶ Jean Pierre Torell, Denise Bouthillier, *Pierre le Vénérable et sa vision du monde*, Leuven, 1986.

⁷ Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordner et exclure, Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie au judaïsme et à l'islam 1000-1150*, Paris, 1998.

⁸ Joachim Wollasch, *Cluny, Licht der Welt, Aufstieg und Niedergang der klösterlichen Gemeinschaft*, Zürich/Düsseldorf, 1996.

⁹ Dietrich Poeck, *Cluniacensis Ecclesia Der cluniacensische Klosterverband (10.-12. Jahrhundert)*, München, 1997. (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 71)

published several times until his death. It consists of two books, the first, 33 chapters and the second, 29 chapters. Most of the stories concern his contemporary episodes with the detailed explanations about the real persons and places. This is the first and biggest collection of miracles in Cluny. Before this work, 80% of the narrative texts of Cluny had been *vita*, the life of the saints, mostly of the holy Cluniac abbots¹⁰. Peter's intention of editing *De Miraculis* shows his interest to the contemporary society. Torrel and Bouthillier examined this text mainly with the interest of the demonology; Jacques le Goff, of the theory of the dead spirit's salvation; Iogna-Prat, of the vision of Christianity. In this paper my focus is on Cluny's position to the secular society written in two books of *De Miraculis*.

1. Cluny--the refuge of the sinners

In chapter 9 of the book 1, Pierre praises the reputation of Cluny all over the world and calls Cluny 'the refuge of the sinners'. It is a traditional slogan used in the narrative texts in Cluny¹¹ which signifies its role to the secular society.

It is well known that one of the most important roles of Cluny was praying for the donor's salvation and Cluny received a lot of donations from landlords by this suffrage in 11th and 12th centuries. In *De Miraculis*, there are many stories about the function and effect of the suffrage for the dead souls. The stories of the chapters 10, 11, 23, 24, 27, 28 of book 1, chapter 26, 31, 33 of book 2, concern the appearing of the dead. Among them, chapter 11, 23, 26, 27, 28 of book 1 were the stories of the dead laymen--lords and servants--who committed a sin in the lifetime, repented after the death in the sufferance of the punishment and were permitted to beg for suffrage by the monks of Cluny for their salvation. In the most stories, Pierre tells the details about the time, the place and the figures with using their real names.

I quote a story, chapter 11 of book 1 as an example. The dead lord Bernard Le Gros (lord of Uxelles died on the 10 July 1070) appeared before the prévôt of Cluny, who knew him well, at the forest close to the castle of Uxelles (25km north of Cluny) in the daytime. The lord Bernard did great damage to Cluny and the other churches. But he repented in his later years and met Hugues, the 6th abbot of Cluny, and declared that he came to Rome as a pilgrim and wanted to become a monk of Cluny after his return. He died due to the sudden illness in the suburb of Rome. The repentance prevented him from being condemned to eternal punishment after death and permitted him to return to

¹⁰ Iogna-Prat, *op.cit.*, p. 111.

¹¹ Iogna-Prat, la geste des origines dans l'historiographie clunisienne des XIe-XIIIe siècles, *Revue Mabillon*, 102, 1992, p. 175-176.

earth to beg for aid. The Ghost told to the trembling prévôt about his suffering and asked him to meet the abbot of Cluny and to demand suffrage for the soul. The prévôt went to the abbot and told about the ghost's demand. The abbot accepted it and prayed. After that, this prévôt entered the abbey of Cluny immediately.

This story contains several crucial points about "the refuge of the sinners". First, Cluny was a place of refuge that did not only pray for the sinners but also accepted repented laymen as monks. Since the period of the Abbot Hugues, in the second half of the 11th century, the number of the laymen, who converted and entered Cluny, increased. Sometimes, reconciliation and conversion occurred after the disputes and the conflicts happened, as in this story. The biography of abbot Hugues tells of the conversions and retirement of Guy I, count of Albon and Vienne, Hugues I, duc of Bourgogne¹². It praises the conversion of the latter as the example of humiliation¹³. Pope Gregory VII demanded the penitence to Centullus IV, viscount of Béarn, on 25 February 1079, because of consanguineous marriage. He retired into the monastery of Marcigny—monastery affiliated to Cluny—¹⁴. Abbot Hugues himself suggested Phillippe I, king of France to retreat into Cluny "asile of the penitence" ¹⁵after the trouble of marriage with Bertrade de Montfort. In other stories of *De Miraculis*, Pierre tells about the laymen who entered Cluny; Chapter 28 of book 1 is the story of a merchant who became a hermit in the Cluniac monastery in Spain. Chapter 26 of book 1 deals with the story lord Geoffroi who became a monk of Cluny and abbot of monastery of Marcigny. Chapter 26 of book 2, reveals a story of a knight who became a monk in Cluny, in chapter 7 of book 1, a dying layman was transported to the abbey of Sauxillanges affiliated to Cluny, and was dressed in a monk's tunic. It was a contemporary custom that a donor had gained the right to die in the monastery and to be buried as a monk in the cemetery of monastery or inside the chapel. The nobles founded the Cluniac monastery for the place of retirement of their family. Geoffroi II, brother of abbot Hugues, lord of Semur-en-Brionnais, retreated into the monastery of Marcigny, which he had founded as an affiliated to Cluny, after the death of his wife. The next generation of his family followed his suit¹⁶. The family of Pierre, lord of Montboissier also had the same custom.

¹² Gilon, *Vita et Miracula sancti Hugonis*, II, 3, p.93-94 ;Hildevert de Lavardin, c.40, col.885C-886A ;Renaud de Vézelay, c.40, p.541 ;*Miracula sancti Hugonis*, col.459D-E.

¹³ *Miracula sancti Hugonis, Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, Macon, 1915 2^{ème} éd. col.459D-E.

¹⁴ *Das Register Gregors VII*, München, 1920, (*MGH, Epistolae selectae* 2, 1-2) VI, 20, II, p.431-432.

¹⁵ H.E.J.Coedrey, Two Studies in Cluniac history: I. Memorials of Abbot of Cluny (1049-1109), *Studi Gregoriani* 11, 1978, p.153-154, Duby, *Chevalier*, p, 7

¹⁶ *De Miraculis* chap.26 book 1, tells the story of the ghost of Geoffroi II of Semur-en

Second essence of chapter 11 is the religious condemnation against the Cluny's enemy. Pierre describes that Bernard le Gros ,lord of Brancion and Uxelles,," *was famous for the nobility and secular power and possessed some armed castles near Cluny from which he damaged Cluny and other churches several times*".His family ,called Grossi, ruled Brancion from the eleventh century and obtained Uxelles in the twelfth century. Georges Duby characterized this family as an example of making of the lignages of independent châtelainie¹⁷.In the process of the establishment of the local power, many conflicts occurred between this family and Cluny. Unfortunately most of the information ,which record the conflict, was written by the monks of Cluny ¹⁸and gave us only a one sided history described by the interest of Cluny. From the description in *De Miraculis* , we do not know about the true and real 'sins 'of Bernard le Gros ,but can understand how the abbot of Cluny interpreted the relation with the secular world and his intentions to give Cluny the right of judging the sins of the world--condemnation and forgiveness--. In chapter 26 of book 1,the story of the ghost of Geoffroi III, has the same character. This Geoffroi was lord of Semur-en-Brionnais ,son of Geoffroi II above mentioned.'*After having lived in the secular world brightly for a long time, he was inspired by the divine spirit and renounced the world and took the tunic of Cluny with his son and three daughter*'. He became the prior of Marcigny '*because of his piety and prudence*'. After his death in 1123,he appeared before a nun Adèle and told that he was blamed by the devils for having introduced the taxes into the villages near the castle and he was saved by the Apostle Peter—patron of Cluny. The family of lords Semur-en-Brionnais had a great influence in the society of Bourgogne and maintained a strong relation with Cluny continuously. Hugues , 6th abbot of Cluny, was uncle of this Geoffroi and his father founded Marcigny. On the other side, however, the relation between Cluny and this family was not always favorite one. Many conflicts and disputes were recorded in the cartularies of Cluny. As Pierre described here, Cluny sometimes condemned their activities and forgave them after their conversions. Adèle was countess of Blois, daughter of William the conqueror, died in 1137. Geoffroi's ghost asked her to tell his family to abolish the unfair tax for his salvation. We can guess that Pierre intended to control the local secular society by using this story--the dream of the noble nun. Peter made other ghosts appear of noble origin and told the similar story; chapter 24 of book1,capter 27 of book 1,chapter 31 book 2. These stories reflect the real relation--

-Brionnais

¹⁷ Georges Duby,*La société au XIe et XIIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* ,1952 , p.336-346.

¹⁸ Ed.August Bernard et Alexandre Bruel,*Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*,6 vols.Paris,1876-1903.

the intricate conflict and reconcile between Cluny and the secular society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and show the idea of *Ecclesia Cluniacensis*¹⁹ in the age of 'Gregorian reform'. The monks and the monasteries of Cluny --*Ecclesia Cluniacensis*--functioned as a center of salvation , as a mediator between the world and the heaven. Peter regarded the ideas and the morals of the monasticism as that of the whole world.

2. Cluny— Center of the Church's Reform

In comparison with other contemporary narrative texts--hagiographies, miracles, translations--, it is remarkable that these miracle stories explained in *De Miraculis* were not always initiated by the saints. In and around Cluny, ordinary monks or nuns, lay persons, even a children, saw and worked the miracles. It shows that Pierre estimated the sacred functions given by God, much more than the supernatural power attributed to a particular person. This theory may reflect the theory of the efficacy of the sacraments " *ex opere operantis*" which was justified after the dispute through the 11th century.

In *De Miraculis*, chapters 2,3,4,5,6 of book 1 and chapter 33 of book 2 are about the sacrament of confession. Chapters 1,2,3,5,6,8 of book 1 are about the sacrament of Eucharist--a few stories contain the both elements-- . The sacraments are the most important customs and became obliged to every Christian in the 11th and 12th centuries. Pierre shows the desire to educate the whole Christendom. Therefore, the stories of chapters 1,2,3 occurred outside the monastery and 1,3 are about laymen--one noble man and one farmer-- . The abbots of Cluny, the predecessors of Pierre, were not interested so much in the education and the care of the soul outside the monastery.

The stories of the confession concern the morals and the methods of the right confession. Chapter 3 of book 1 tells about the confession of a dying young layman--anonym--in Charlieu, about 50km southwest of Cluny. This young man ' *gave himself in the worldly vanity. As it usually happened to his age, he didn't suppress the pleasure. After having lived the prodigal life, he felt in love with the married woman full of the bad reputation*'. Then he fell seriously ill and called a priest. He confessed ,but did not confess the relation with the married woman. After this insufficient confession, he received the Eucharist from the priest but could not swallow it--this was considered 'a miracle'. Having noticed that it was the divine punishment, he confessed about the woman. Then he swallowed the Eucharist and died. This is a moral story about the sacraments of the confession, the Eucharist and the marriage whose theories were

¹⁹ Cf. Dietrich Poeck , *op.cit.*, 1998

discussed and established in the age of Pierre. The regulation of the marriage was one of the most crucial point between the church and the secular world²⁰.

There is the diversity of the stories about the Eucharist. Chapter 1 of the book 1 is a moral story against using of the Eucharist as a magical tool. Chapter 2,3,5 of book 1 are stories about the divine punishment to persons who consecrate or receive the Eucharist in the state of the sinner. In chapter 2, during Mass, the consecrated Eucharist disappeared suddenly before an immoral priest—not a Cluniac monk—who was in the intimate relation with a nun. It can be considered as a moral about the celibate of the priest that was one of the important objects of the '*Gregorian Reform*'. In contrary, the story of chapter 8 tells us of a miracle which appears to a sacred priest. When a Cluniac virtuous monk Gérard consecrated the Eucharist during Mass, the Eucharist became a beautiful baby (Christ) and Mary with the angels appeared beside him. Pierre announces the substance theory of the Eucharist which was established and the virtue of the Cluniac monk, Gérard. He entered Cluny under the abbot of Hugues, became the prior of Marcigny and died on the 15th november 1133.

Two-thirds of chapters of book 2, namely from chapter 4 to 23, are the biography of a Cluniac monk Matthieu, who was born about 1085, entered Cluny and became the bishop of Albano. In these stories, a kind of a hagiography, Pierre approves the activity of a Cluniac monk as a high ranked priest and the expansion of the Cluniac spirit throughout Christianity. He pays particular attention to the social phenomena and meditated the problems outside the abbey as if it were his own. Different from the other chapters that tell of each miracle story, the chapters are connected about the life of Matthieu, show to us in a chronological format.

Matthieu originated from the noble family in the province of Reims. He occupied himself to the study in his youth and became a clergy in Laon. But he renounced the post of clergy and became a Cluniac monk (chapter 4,5 6,7). Here Pierre emphasizes the higher level of Cluny in the church, especially compared with the secular clergy. He enumerates the negative images on the secular clergy in chapter 6 '*He(Matthieu) found that in this institute of the clergy(canons of Laon) ,there was no pious person but many deceptions, the verity realized rarely, and the ambition, cupidity, jealousy are mixed. He knew that you could call them in the tonsure and the clerical costume the mercenary better than the canons.*' And the praises of Cluny follow in chapter 7 by the mouth of the archbishop '*Considering the place where he should go and could realize the aim of the religious life, he decided to enter Cluny.He heard the archbishop of Reims*

²⁰ Cf. Georges Duby, *Le chevalier, la femme et le prêtre. Le mariage dans la France féodale*, Paris, 1981.

celebrate the customs and observance of Cluny with many praises and understood him prefer Cluny to other religious institutes. Then, Matthieu entered the monastery St-Martin-des-Champs, Cluniac affiliated monastery in Paris, shortly after he professed officially in the abbey of Cluny and returned to St-Martin-des-Champs.

Cluny had the right to accept the secular clergy and the monks of other orders as monks²¹. Gérard, previously mentioned, was also a secular priest before entering Cluny. Among the abbots of Cluny during tenth and eleventh centuries, Odon, Mayeul and Odilon had careers of a canon. When the monks of the other orders transferred to Cluny, it sometimes caused the troubles between the orders. The most famous trouble is the case protested by Bernard de Clairvaux against the transfer of his nephew from his monastery to Cluny²². This generosity to accept the priests and the monks from outside the monastery is one important aspect of Cluny and a cause of the establishment of *Ecclesia Cluniacensis*.

Matthieu spent a rigorous life for seven years, and he took the office of prior of this monastery (in the year 1117). In chapters 8.9.10, Pierre describes the abbacy of Matthieu as an ideal reign of a monastery. Matthieu acted mercifully and fairly, but very severely to those who were lazy and committed a sin. He whipped and imprisoned them in accordance with the Cluniac rules²³. He himself continued the austere life like a hermit and succeeded in the development of the monastery's observance. He accepted many guests of every status, from the kings to the poor and gained many donations from the kings and nobles. From chapters 11 to 13, Pierre tells that he himself invited 'the closed friend' Matthieu to abbey of Cluny just one year later after having taken the office of abbot 1122 and entrusted him to solve the danger of the division-Schism of Pons de Melgueil--.

While Matthieu was in Rome to attend the pontifical trial concerning the issue of Pons, he was appointed to the bishop of Albano by the pope-- around 1126-- . The following chapters 14~23 tell the stories of his episcopacy, his death and his funeral ceremony. Pierre notes that Matthieu continued the life of a Cluniac monk even after taking the office of bishop. In this part we can recognize the vision of *Ecclesia*

²¹ G. Constable, Entrance to Cluny in the eleventh and twelfth century, *Church and City, 1000-1500, Essays in Honor of Christopher Brooke*, ed. D. Abulafia, M. Franklin, M. Rubin, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 151-171.

²² *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem*, ed. Jean Leclercq et H.M. Rochais, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol. 3, Roma, 1963. Epistula 1. *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol. 7, Roma, 1974, p. 1-11.

²³ *Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii*, *Patrologia cursus completus series Latina*, 141, III 3, 734C-737C.

Cluniacensis of the Pierre, maybe also of his contemporaries in Cluny. Pierre appreciated that Matthieu continued the Cluniac austere life after he took the office of the bishop and the high status of the secular clergy. In chapter 14, 'he didn't abandon anything of a monk. But as it was described in the life of Saint Martin, he conserved the same humility in his heart and poverty in his cloth²⁴. Even when he was occupied with many issues, he did not relax the exercises, the chants and the plenty Cluniac psalmodies. He kept the observances of the monastery in his bishop's palace, even in the secular world, and stayed far from the worldly vanity. Pierre recommends that the Cluniac monks should keep the Cluniac life after quitting the monastery and they should save the dirty world by keeping the holy Cluniac life. In eleventh and twelfth centuries, many Cluniac monks were appointed to the secular clergy, the priests in the parochial churches or the high ranked bishops, cardinals and even pope—Urban II. Pierre identified *Ecclesia Cluniacensis* with the whole roman church and entrusted the Cluniac monks to reform the life and to educate all the faithful²⁵. This concept of the reform is similar to the centralizing idea of the Gregorian reform that compared the pope to *the mountain which covers the whole world*²⁶. According to this vision, the idea of refuge, as previously mentioned, might be established.

The Pierre's idea to establish the rigid relationship with the affiliated monasteries and build the system of centralization, reflect in the stories about Matthieu. Mathieu, who entered the monastery St. Martin-des-Camps, professed in the abbey of Cluny and had to quit the monastery by the order of the abbot of Cluny—Pierre. He wrote other stories that occurred in the affiliated monasteries in France, Italy and Spain. Among them, chapters 6 and 28 of book 1 and chapter 33 of book 2 are what he experienced in the affiliated monasteries by himself. He made many long journeys during the abbacy to many purposes²⁷. Through visiting and staying at the affiliated monasteries, he might strengthen the relations between the members and the head. In order to the develop the centralization, he established the system of the General Chapter and the periodical visiting by imitating that of Citeaux²⁸. It is very difficult to confirm if his aim was

²⁴ *Vie de Saint Martin, Sources Chrétiennes*, 1967, 10, 2, p. 272.

²⁵ Jean Pierre Torrelle, *Eglise dans l'oeuvre et la vie de Pierre le Vénérable*, *Revue Thomiste* 77, 1977, p. 584. In this article, Torrelle analyzes that Pierre identified *Ecclesia Cluniacensis* with *respublica*.

²⁶ Humbert de Silva-Candida *De sancta Romana ecclesia*. Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et Exclure*, p. 87.

²⁷ The total number of his journey's periode is 8 years. Torrelle et Bouthilier, *op.cit.*

²⁸ He realized the first General Chapter in 1146 and gathered the priors of the monasteries. He wrote *Statutus, Consuetudines Benedictinae variae (Saec. XI- Saec. XIV)* ed. Constable, *Corpus Christianorum continuatio Mediaevalis*, VI, p. 39-106.

realized. Several Cluniac representatives showed the adversity to the centralization²⁹. It is not clear that the Cluniac rules³⁰ were obeyed strictly in each affiliated monastery. Moreover the diversity of the monastic life was already allowed in the rule³¹. But some essential customs –the decree of abbot Odilon enacting the memory of 2nd november was observed in each monastery³². In the abbacy of Hugues, from 1049 to 1109, *Ecclesia Cluniacensis* is institutionalized by the help of pope Urban II, who was a former monk of Cluny and enacted a decree 1096 to establish the dependent affiliated monasteries to the abbey Cluny³³. Pierre tried to transform *Ecclesia Cluniacensis* to *Ordo Cluniacensis*. In the 13th century the process of centralization was completed.

3. Cluny—The holy fort

Pierre emphasizes the holiness of Cluny as a place of battle against the devils. In *De Miraculis*, he wrote some stories about exorcism as the real battle, not metaphorical ones. Chapters 6,7,8,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19 of book 1 talk about the devils appearing in the abbey of Cluny or the affiliated monasteries. They attacked and frightened the monks and the laymen or just appeared to them. For example, chapter 7 of book 1 is the story about the vision of the devils which a dying layman saw.

A seriously sick layman was transported to the monastery of Sauxillange, affiliated to Cluny, and put on the monastic cloth. The night before his death, he saw a terrible vision. Many devils appeared in his bedroom and attacked him. He wanted help from a monk sitting beside him. This monk sprinkled the blessed water from the bowl to the devils—visible only to the dying layman. This man said that the devils disappeared by the blessed water. He died the next day.

In this story, the ability of the exorcism attributed to the blessed water, not to the virtue of the blessed person. In *De Miraculis*, there are few stories that Christ or the saints cause the miracles. Pierre seems to tell that even an ordinary monk in Cluny can overcome the devil's attack. In chapter 13, the abbot of Cluny expelled the devils by the ringing the bell. In chapter 14, two devils were talking in the dormitory of the Abbey of

²⁹ Orderic Vitalis criticized the imitation of Citeaux. *Historia Ecclesiasticorum*, VIII, 26, Oxford Medieval Texts vol. 4, p. 310-326, vol. 6, p. 424-426.

³⁰ In the eleventh centuries a few rules were written in Cluny, *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis abbatis*, ed. P. Dinter, *Corpus Consuetudinem Monasticarum* 10, Siegburg, 1980, *Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii*, PL 149, 635-778, Bernardus, *Ordo Cluniacensis*, ed. M. Hergott, *Vetus disciplina monastica*, Paris, 1726, 133-364.

³¹ *Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii*, II, 1, col. 700D-701.

³² *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis abbatis*, 126, p. 186-187, 138, p. 199. Iogna-Prat, p. 70.

³³ Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure*, p. 67

Cluny 'we did nothing. Because all the monks expelled us protecting with the cross, sprinkle of the blessed water and singing the psalmodies'. Like the theory of the sacrament, the method of the exorcism is materialized. The efficacious tool is the material which were blessed in Cluny or by Cluniac monks. Pierre regards Cluny itself as a sacred fort, which can struggle and protect the world against the devil's attack.

Two out of four stories about the miracles of Christ, saints and angels-- chapters 2,8,15 of book 1 and 32 of book 2, occur in and around the altar. Pierre seems to consider the chapel, especially the altar, as the most holy space in the monastery. It was the place where the most important element of the Cluniac life--singing the psalms and celebrating Mass--are fulfilled. Chapter 8 of book 1 is about the appearance of Christ, Mary and the angels on the altar during Mass by a monk Gérard in the affiliated monastery of Beaumont--above mentioned. Chapter 2 of book 1, also previously mentioned, is about the punishment by God on the altar during Mass. Chapter 32 of book 2 is a story about the miracle caused by the saint, namely the holy relic. A woman (perhaps of normal status) holding her dead son, entered the monastery of Souvigny affiliated to Cluny, put the body before the altar and prayed to Saint Mayeul--the forth abbot of Cluny--buried under the altar, in order to revive her son by a miracle. She began to pray there from the first hour of the day. At the ninth hour, the child was revived. The mother dedicated this child to Cluny. In the beginning of this chapter, Pierre explained that Saint Mayeul cured many sick persons by miracles during 162 years following his death. '*Many people suffering from diverse diseases implored the divine mercy before the tomb (of Saint Mayeul). They were cured by the virtue of the saint.*' This explanation specified the place of implorment, at the tomb, namely altar, as the woman of this story had to bring her son and pray before the altar. Pierre emphasized the importance of the sacred place proper to pray in his other writings, especially *Contra Petrobrusiani*³⁴. He attacked the heretic theory of the Petrobrusiani which denied the meanings of the sacred place. From the beginning of the 11 century, many church were constructed in the Romanesque style and their meanings as a sacred place was theoretically confirmed³⁵. Cluny promoted this development most eagerly and rebuilt the chapel of Cluny twice. In the twelfth century, not only Pierre, but also Allain de Lille, Honorius of Autun, Jean Belth, the synod of Arras etc., affirmed

³⁴ ed. J. Fearn, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 10, Turnhout, 1968, p.95-111.

³⁵ Before 11th century, the meaning of the place was not argued in the West. The latin church father estimated the value of the place less than the spirit as the heretic theories in the middle ages. Cf. Augustinus, *Confessions*, VIII, ii4. Iognat-Prat, *Ordonner et exclurer* p.166-170.

the meaning of the sacred place³⁶. In 1130, at the beginning of the abbacy of Pierre, the reconstructing of the chapel of Cluny was completed, which was the largest chapel of Europe and kept the highest position till 16th century—reconstruction of the St Peter's basilica. The local nobles gave the donations to Cluny for the purpose of becoming the neighborhood of saint Peter—Cluny's patron³⁷.

With the establishments and the vast territory surrounded by the walls, the abbey of Cluny seemed to be a holy city. Chapter 15 is about the appearance of Christ, Mary and the angels in the abbey of Cluny during the preaching by the abbot Hugues on Christmas in 1108. In the beginning of this story, Pierre describes the customs preparing the Christmas in Cluny. *'By the melodious chants, many recitations and plenty of lighted candles, most desirable, by special devotion and the tears, this feast is celebrated ardently accompanied by the angelic spirits. As this feast is approaching by the cycle of time, the monks are preparing according the custom and occupied with many works to ornate the churches and to clean up other places in the abbey. They worked merrily outside and inside themselves.'* Here we can see that the ornamenting the holy place at the holy time was as important as keeping the interior devotion. After completing the preparation of the feast, Christ and Mary appeared to the preaching Hugues and the monks, and expelled a hidden devil *'grew fat by the illness of the arrogance'*.

The weakest part of the abbey seems to be the dormitory. Many devils appeared there, while the monks were asleep. A few monks were trembling in the bed and fell in ill by the terror. As there was no difference between the dream and the wake in the monastic thought, the monks might find the dream the real and informed the vision, which they had seen, to the abbot³⁸. Most devils were expelled and disappeared. But in chapter 13 of book 1, an expelled devil escaped into the toilet. We can guess that the toilet might be thought as the entrance and exit of the devils, most dirty place, physically and spiritually?

Chapter 22 is a story about a fire of the monastery of Marcigny affiliated to Cluny. The fire broke out near of the monastery and the neighbor houses were burnt. But the nuns stayed and tried to extinguish the fire of the chapel's roof. The archbishop of Lyon arrived there and commanded them to escape, but they rejected. As the archbishop cried, the fire was extinguished. Here we recognize that the Cluniac nuns preferred

³⁶ Iognat-Prat, *Ordonner et exclurer*, p.170.

³⁷ Barbara Rosenwein, *To be Neighbourhood of Saint Peter*, Cornell University Press, 1989.

³⁸ *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis Abbatis*, p.277.

guarding the monastic rule and protecting the holy space to obey to the local archbishop's command.

Conclusion

As facing the change of the society and the church in the 12th century, Pierre tried to reconstruct *Ecclesia Cluniacensis* with keeping the Cluniac tradition. We can understand his vision in *De Miraculis*. He emphasized in the stories of ghosts that Cluny was the most sacred place and an intermediate between church and secular society, the earth and heaven, the dead and the living. As the refuge of the sinners, Cluny accepted the secular nobles not only as donors, but also as converts in the monasteries and buried them within the walls to save their souls and expel the devils.

Cluny did not only accept the sinners, but also sent the monks outside of the monastery to reform the Church and execute the pastoral activities to the laymen. Through the biography of Matthieu and the miracles about the sacraments, Pierre demonstrated Cluny and Cluniac monks as the center of Church reform and corresponded to the reformatory Papacy and the new monastic movement. By organizing and centralizing the affiliated monasteries, he wanted to establish the Cluniac Unity, as Ordo.

Pierre described the material function of the holy place, attributes, and practices to cause the miracles. He demonstrated Cluny as the sacred fort where the monks saved the secular persons most efficiently. This vision was suitable through sacrament, sufferance, attack to heresy which were disputed in the twelfth century. Pierre wanted to reform the Cluniac life and ideas such that they were more suitable to the contemporary society.