

A Debate on the Cluniac Relationship to Gregorian Reform

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I. From Sackur to Rosenwein

In the course of transformation from the early medieval world to the high middle age, Western Europe had to experience a series of reform movements in spirituality and social organization. These movements were triggered by the Cluniac monastery in the tenth century and extended by the Gregorian reformers in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Since not only two religious bodies were seemed to have a common ground in pursuing the church liberty from laity and the revival of morality, but also leaders of them sometimes cooperated for effectiveness of the eleventh century reform, most of scholars agreed on the claim that the the Cluniac monastery was closely related to Gregorian reform movement.

Since the early 1890's, when Ernst Sackur discussed the significance of Cluny for the first time, Cluny has been considered in relation to the Gregorian. In actuality, a distinction between the objectives of the Cluniacs and those of the Gregorian reformers was first made by Sackur in his two volume work *Cluniacender*,¹⁾ published in 1892-94. The question of whether the Cluniacs were combined with Hildebrandine or not, has long been one of the central issues among medieval historians.

And the studies on this subject were progressed by the influence of Augustine Fliche who popularized the name 'Gregorian Reform.' He sees Gregory VII as the central figure of the vast movement of ideas whose origins are to be found deep in the tenth century and whose manifestations were continued on up to the middle of the twelfth century. Thus Fliche considers that the story of the Gregorian reform began with the Cluniac monastic reform, episcopal attempts to reform, the imperial reform of the German and Italian Churches, the development of legally oriented reform thought in the Lorraine, and finally the emergence of a reform

party in Rome itself under Pope Leo IX(1049–54).²⁾

Barbara H. Rosenwein epitomizes the debates on the role of Cluniacs in her work *Cluny in the Tenth Century* published in 1982.³⁾ In the last chapter of her book she suggests a unique and her own idea. In 1940, a generation earlier than Rosenwein, R. F. Bennett wrote a summary, similar to Rosenwein's, which he attached as an appendix for his translation of Gerd Tellenbach's work titled as *The Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of Investiture Contest*.⁴⁾ In appendix Bennett briefly divides the transition of historians' debates on the relation between the Cluny and Gregory VII into two categories.

At first, Bennett argues that "Cluny is anti-imperial."⁵⁾ Referring to various scholarly views, he suggested the four aspects of the Cluniac inclination as follows. (1) Gregory VII changed the Cluniac ideal of freedom from the world into the idea of the domination over the world;⁶⁾ (2) Everything which was produced by the Cluniac movement⁷⁾ would be considered as an ascetic outlook in practice; (3) The chief objective of Cluny was to deprive the emperor of investitures and to be the best propagandists and champions of papal supremacy in the Church;⁸⁾ (4) The great abbots of Cluny were politicians and strove to realize a concrete political objective. As a result, the anti-imperial attitude of Cluny can be said to be a result of the political realities of Western Europe. The other view indicated by Bennett says that "Gregory VII was mainly interested in moral reform."⁹⁾ This second view focused on Gregory VII's posture in which he concentrated his power on moral reform, while Cluny sided on the matter of the of "anti-imperial" attitude.

In comparison with Bennett's view, Rosenwein's review written forty years later than Bennett's goes far beyond Bennett's review and introduces very new opinion, although she starts her view from the same point as that of Bennett. At the beginning Rosenwein's analysis focuses on questions whether Cluny agreed with Gregory VII's opinion or not, comparing the major point made by Sackur and Ernst Tomek with that of L. M. Smith. While introducing Smith's statement which stressed Cluny's lack of involvement in the political arena of Gregory VII, she slipped into a discussion of the political role of Cluniacs- the proponents of which were Albert Brackmann, P. Boissonade and S. Berthelmer.¹⁰⁾ It is at this point that she departed from Bennett, when she regards the view that Cluny had long been between worldly and spiritual, or between action and asceticism as

dichotomy.

Then, she focuses her attention on the socio-economic interpretation of the relation between Cluny and Gregorian reform, and divides it into two different routes: the Marxist analysis by Ernst Werner and the methodology of the social science of the Annales school espoused by some historians such as J. Eollasch and Georges Duby.¹¹⁾ In the last part of her observation on the debates, she says that 'spiritualitas' as developed by P. Pourrat and B. Bligny was no more than a nineteenth-century notion of programmatic asceticism, which has recently been applied to Cluny.¹²⁾ Judging from the review mentioned above, it seems that Rosenwein thoroughly scrutinizes and shows in detail the trends of scientific arguments over the relations of Cluny to Gregory VII, leading to her own suggestion.

In the tenth century, Rosenwein points out, the social changes and amelioration with the political instability drove the western society into a deviated circumstance which can be considered anomie.¹³⁾ According to Rosenwein, Cluny confronted problems of violence, oppression, and political disintegration. At once and the same time, it connected these issues to past traditions, justified certain aspects of them in the present, and reinterpreted them for the future.¹⁴⁾ Showing the new socio-political situation which had surrounded Cluny, Rosenwein concluded that "in these ways the Cluniacs pointed one way to a chivalric code, the idea of the crusade, and government by responsible laymen. Hence our final point: a case study of Cluny in dealing with changing conditions and the attendant problems of anomie, deviance, and disorder."¹⁵⁾

Upon this review, we can realize that the role of Cluny and its relation with pope can be given various interpretations, some of which reflect the historians' background. Even if the character of Cluny had appeared various in forms, according to the times and the abbots, and it might be approached from the different perspective, it can be said that the fundamental Cluniac ideal was maintained from the beginning to the Gregorian reform age and a part of Cluniac attitude which would be accomplished in the future must be included within it. Therefore, this paper goes through the ideal of Abbot Odo, among other things, since Abbot Odo is considered as an initiator of Cluniac reform and most of the subsequent activities of Cluniacs seems to be based on Odo's ideal. Another reason is that the ideal of Abbot Odo can be thought to be very close to the goal

of Gregory VII. Hence, the focus shifts to the goal of Gregory VII. By comparing the two, this paper pursues the common ground between the two reformers and finally, the relationship between Cluny and Gregory VII will be explained upon their ideals and activities, though it might not be a perfect and entire consideration for the whole of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

II. The Ideal of Abbot Odo

Rosenwein put aside the G. Schriber's point that the Cluniacs had not violated their spirituality by being at the same time worldly, considering it, derisively, the old dichotomy.¹⁶⁾ It seems that she would not like to touch Cluniac spirituality and that she would rather concentrate on the social and political reaction of Cluny. But if one put the basic spirituality of Cluny and its activities in the world out of sight, his observation on the role of Cluny and its relation to Gregory VII will be degraded to an abstract argument not so much as on the firm basis. To know realistically if there was any relation between Cluny and Gregory in the reform movement, if the character of Cluny was political and economic or old dichotomy as in the ridiculous indication of Rosenwein, and if the activities of Cluny reform were a deserved measurement to cope with socio-political anomie in the tenth century, the basic character of the ideals and the activities of Cluny should be studied.

Although Cluniac ideal must be traced on its roots in the foundation charter of Cluny in 908, its spirituality should be sought not only from the pre-cluniac monasticism, but also from the ideals of Cluniac abbots who tried to embody their spirituality in their world. The monastic revival of the tenth century represented the expression of the powerful spiritual stimuli which were at the root of the revival of the whole of European life at the beginning of the new millenium.¹⁷⁾ The reform movement in the tenth century has diverse origins before the tenth century. But its program and deliberate act of authority were changed in the mean time, and sometimes distorted in essence. At the time of foundation, Count William of Aquitaine placed Cluny under the protection of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, entrusting it to abbot Berno.¹⁸⁾ It seems that the Duke of Aquitaine, being conscious of the interference of external powers to whose territory Cluny belong, distinctly, suggested the liberty of monastery. Although the charter was not always significant in the history of the monastery, it gave Cluny something

more than increasing liberty which was to be enjoyed in the later eleventh century. This liberty was the cumulative outcome of development at Cluny; moreover these developments largely took shape under papal guidance. The slow development of Cluny's liberty became complete in the early eleventh century under Popes Benedict VIII and John XIX. The advanced liberty of Cluny owed at least as much to the actions of the tenth- and eleventh- century popes on its behalf, as it did to the original provisions of duke of Aquitaine.¹⁹⁾

The monastic ideal of Cluny became more detailed and concrete under abbot Odo(927-42). Not only his understanding of monastic life was historically significant, but also its monastic values moulded a great number of monks in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and their influence extended beyond the monasteries to the contemporary secular world itself. Then, what were the fundamental ideas of Cluny under the leadership of Odo? Odo was profoundly convinced of the pentecostal Spirit and expounds it in his 'Occupatio,' which appeared shortly after 924. Monasticism fulfils this final evolutionary stage in the ideal community created by the Holy Spirit. In this stage the pentecostal Spirit brings about a state of community of soul, 'animus socialis.'²⁰⁾ St. Odo says that as everything was held in common in the community at pentecost, "This is the beautiful form of the Church at her birth."²¹⁾

Next, St. Gregory the Great influenced the formation of the spirit of Cluny. Odo's biographer says of him that in his mature years, he had already forgotten the world. According to Odo, monks make 'profession of sublime resolve' and their life with all its endeavour reaches beyond this world.²²⁾ Such an attitude is shown in the biography of Odo by John of Salerno.²³⁾

Judging from his way of life, Odo seems not only to long for transcending the world himself but also to emphasize this thought as a way to be a monk. Anticipating a return to original cenobitic state, Odo is able to incorporate his own thought into the desire for returning to paradise which is a key concept of the Fathers.²⁴⁾ Every renunciation monks make is seen to Odo as effacing original sin, destroying its effects and at the same time restoring the original state of obedience.

Another spiritual expectation of Odo is an anticipation of a life to come. Just as St. Augustine did, Odo thought that past and future became present in eschatological perspective. The labour of 'asceticism transforms the past as well as

the future into the present: this idea of eschatological present was especially emphasized by the best minds of the African Church. Odo inherited such a way of thinking and appeared to have been profoundly influenced by it. Furthermore, in the primitive Cluny, silence was regarded as one of the essential elements of conversion. Odo liked to refer to days of complete silence observed on the greatest feasts and during octaves as participation in eternal silence.²⁵⁾ Of course, this kind of silence was a central idea of eremitic life in sayings of the Egyptian Fathers, but it had almost died out in the western monasteries for a long time. Moreover, in each case his interpretation of ascetic silence is dominated by the thought of the eschatological present.²⁶⁾

In Cluny, monasticism pursues the continuing angelic life. Odo suggested two ways of joining the heavenly banquet. The first is the renunciation of marriage, which is a way of anticipating the time when the married state will no longer exist just like the world of angels.²⁷⁾ Second, another way toward the life of an angel for monks is based on the liturgy.²⁸⁾

Beyond the spirituality of St. Odo, what is the real meaning in his ideal for the practical attitude? It may be a mistake to see that the devotion to silence and liturgical way of life only looks forward to transcending and eschatological purpose far from the matter of this world. Beside spirituality, he exposed a deep concern about the imminent social tension in which his community was involved. In some aspect, his stress on the strict spirituality is a kind of process of resolving those strains. It was upon those considerations that he strongly kept in mind the purification of both monastery and outside world. Odo regarded the contrast of the monastic house to the secular society as the contrast of the generation of Cain to that of Abel. He accepted these ideas from St. Augustine but transformed them into his own conception.²⁹⁾ At this point, Rosenwein understands that Odo identified the generation of Cain with a political class, the powerful, 'potentiores.' Odo thought that there was a distinct group of men, the 'violenti,' who were by and large coterminous with the rich and the powerful and who oppressed their fellow human beings because they were inflamed by malice.³⁰⁾ While poor and weak men might be tempted by pride 'superbia' and luxury 'luxuria,' they had no opportunity to be tempted by malice. Two examples of powerful men are found in *The Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac* written by St. Odo.

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The extremes of the generations of Cain and Abel were identified with the 'potentes' who had the possibility to be the oppressor but not to be the oppressed, and the 'pauperiores' who could be the oppressed but could not be the oppressor. Between the two extremes, two other types which had the possibility of ambivalence were the 'potentiores' and the 'pauperiores.'³²⁾ Odo developed this scheme of world, keeping in mind the desire of reform for his ideal of Freedom. In practice, Odo's special concern was to have kings join in this part of his program, which certainly exceeded the bounds of the cloister. His writing *The Life of St. Gerald Aurillac* presented a pattern of nobility in the hope of dissuading the nobles from unseemly behaviour for the sake of reforming the feudal order of knights. According to St. Odo, monasteries do not exist for their own sakes: they must be source of floods of grace to the neighbourhood.³³⁾ In Odo's *Conferences*, we can find that the reform they call for far exceeds the narrow bounds of the cloister and that this kind of demands are expressed for the liberty of the church against lay lords.³⁴⁾ Then, is it possible to realize their ideal of limiting those powerful lords by excommunicating them? No, it was absolutely unthinkable at this time. They thought that the only thing to do was to restore the discipline of the good old days which was the obvious implication of Odo's *conferences*.³⁵⁾ Thoughts similar to this can be found repeatedly in his work *The Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac*.³⁶⁾

III. Gregory VII's Goal

H. E. J. Cowdrey argues that the pattern of Cluny's liberty was completed by 1032.³⁷⁾ But around this period, Cluny had been bereft of papal support, especially, in the time of pope Benedict IX(1033-45). The new bishop of Mâcon, Walter(1031-62) had taken advantage of the opportunity to revive the claims of his spiritual jurisdiction over Cluny, because Abbot Odilo early (c. 1033) provided him with a pretext for doing so. It seems that Cluny could not effectively enjoy exempt status without direct and effective papal support to Cluny. Except for the short-lived Damasus II and Nicholas II, the seven reforming popes who reigned between 1046 and 1073 had already made much effort not only on behalf of Cluny but also for a serious reform movement. When Archdeacon Hildebrand became a pope as Gregory VII, he was no less zealous than his predecessors had been in protecting the close relationship that had grown between Cluny and the papacy.

From this point of view, it will be very interesting to see what kinds of ideas Pope Gregory VII had in common with Cluny, especially with St. Odo, and why he could not help working for reform alongside Cluny. Among other things, the primary objective of the Gregorian Papacy was to build up what the reformers called the liberty of the Church. They meant to make the Church free from the subjection of its episcopal sees, parishes, and monasteries to temporal lordship and to fully commit it to the service of God under the full and unrestricted authority of the Apostolic See of Rome.³⁸⁾ So far as the liberty of the Church was concerned, the papacy of Gregory VII and the Cluny of Abbot Hugh were very close each other. Gregory applied his daemonic energies to the task of making effective the claims of St. Peter and the Apostolic See over this world and he strove to effect its immediate reordering under the hierarchichal leadership of the vicar of St. Peter, and to ensure its present subjection to the claims of righteousness 'iustitia.'³⁹⁾ Far more than the seven reforming popes before him, Gregory VII was in full pursuit of vindication of the pope's unique function as vicar of St. Peter and actively overseeing, judging, and ordering the whole of Christian society here and now. As an illustration, we can see these conception in his letter to the clergy and laity of the diocese of Constance(1075).⁴⁰⁾ In the letter of Gregory to all in authority in Germany, he urges their support for his struggle with Henry IV (July 25, 1076).⁴¹⁾

Like the Cluniacs, Gregory saw the world as a set under the imminent judgement of God. But whereas their first objective was to call upon men to take refuge from it by associating themselves as fully as they could with the world-renouncing life of the cloister, he was to call upon men to convert the world in order that it might be mastered and reordered by the pastoral authority of the vicar of St. Peter.⁴²⁾ Gregory demanded Hugh of Cluny to completely support his task for truth and righteousness. Because the pope exercised St. Peter's authority to bind and to loose, the temporal rulers and the military classes to whom the Cluniacs especially appealed must obey him as loyally and actively as bishops do. In order to recruit men for active service in the world, Gregory radically reinterpreted the traditional conception of the 'militia Christi' as it had been understood by St. Paul or in the Rule of St. Benedict.⁴³⁾ Gregory used the term 'miltia Christi' in a different sense from the traditional notion which means the church's spiritual warfare on behalf of Christ, and further he extended it to

include actual warfare with earthly arms in the service of the Church. According to Gregory's interpretation, the warfare of Christ was not only common with the warfare of knights upon an earthly battlefield, but also extended even to the 'militia sancti petri.'⁴⁴⁾

In relation to the 'militia sancti petri,' Gregory hoped that all the world, both the laity and the spiritual powers would serve for the cause of St. Peter.⁴⁵⁾ In this spirit, Gregory insisted that Hugh should attend for the good of the church, and he was occasionally condemned by the pope for his indifference to the holy task.⁴⁶⁾

In Gregory VII's eyes, Abbot Hugh was too much preoccupied with the monastic life and with promoting withdrawal from the world for his own objectives to be genuinely compatible with those of the Gregorian Reform. In fact, there is an evidence in the letter of the possibility of a serious divergence of aims and of at least occasional tension and disagreement between Gregory and Abbot Hugh. But the remarkable thing is that the divergence did not ever develop.⁴⁷⁾

Then, what is the ultimate goal of militia sancti petri? First of all, Gregory purported hierarchical organization in the Christian world upon the concept of service for the 'sanct petri.' The Investiture Contest was a struggle for the right order in the world. According to Gregory's view, the 'right order' implied the existence of a 'free' church in a reorganized society. Another view can be seen in the contemporary need for intercessory support in life and in death. Popes looked for the support in order to secure the remission of their sins and the salvation of their souls just like everyone else did in the monastic order, Cluny in particular. Accordingly, Cluny met the need by regularly assigning the popes a special place in its masses for the departed. The other passion of Gregory's was the dissemination of Cluny's liberty. No one more eloquently idealized the liberty of Cluny as the crowning example of the freedom of the Church from all external domination than Gregory VII did. In the letter of January 22, 1075 to Hugh of Cluny, Gregory heartedly ask Hugh to join his plan in delivering the love of Christ and justice, and in governing Christian people.⁴⁸⁾

To further his ambitions, Gregory began to use the special bond which had grown up between Cluny and the Apostle See, the liberty of Cluny, and the reciprocal obligation to which it gave rise between the papacy and the monastic order, as a pattern to be produced in a number of other monasteries.⁴⁹⁾ The fact

that Saint-Victor of Marseilles was endowed with the same liberty as Cluny is a good example of the extension of St. Peter's authority to regions where the papacy stood in a special need of support. From this time, the policy of disseminating the liberty of Cluny to other vital monasteries was implemented by Gregory in Germany and in Spain. In 1080 Gregory conferred the same liberty that Cluny enjoyed, upon the Swabian monastery of All Saints', Schaffhausen and three year later upon the Leónese monastery of Sagùn, in order that it might become the Cluny of Spain.⁵⁰⁾ Cluny was, therefore, of greatest significance for Gregory VII as a way of providing a pattern of ideal liberty, since he turned in 1075 to the monastic order with especial insistence as a means of promoting his objectives in the Church at large.

IV. Reform in Practice

Since the work of Sackur, the relationship between the ideal of Cluny and that of Gregory VII has been debated for a long time from the various viewpoints as reviewed in the first chapter of this article. The debates were not always positive, but the relationship between the two in the Gregorian reform ages was oftenly dismissed by some scholars such as L. M. Smith and Norman F. Cantor. Smith regards that Cluny does not seem to have been especially interested in the secular Church.⁵¹⁾ She adds that from the lives of the first five abbots of Cluny she finds no evidence for the connection of the Cluniacs with Gregory VII's reform.⁵²⁾ But it seems that she misinterprets the lives of the first five abbots. Although she seems to scrutinize the lives and ideals of the first five abbots, in actuality, she devotes most of her writing to the lives of Abbots Odilo and Hugh, and tends to exclude the other three, reiterating her negative view on this subject in her article "Cluny and Gregory VII."⁵³⁾ But as Dom D. Knowles points out, although she touches upon some of problems during 1050-1125, the bulk of her book consisted of summaries of charters and letters, deleting crucial and important point, and did not synthesis them.⁵⁴⁾ To analyse the fundamental Cluniac Abbot's ideals and ways of life, she had to start her research from the foundation charter of Cluny and Abbot Odo who began to unfold the Cluniac ideal and himself suggested reform ideals many times. In the book, she says "not that the Cluniacs seem to have preached any special doctrine as to the papal power."⁵⁵⁾ Then, should the relation of Cluniacs to papacy be thought only in preaching the papal power? If

she made an effort only to discover the trace of this fact, she seems to miss the basic characters of Cluniac reform and its activities. Of course, there may be some differences in reform ideals between popes and Abbots of Cluny but it is very difficult to say that there was no relationship between them not only in ideal but also in practice. To Cluny, the papacy was a great institute both for keeping her free from the laity and episcopal power which Cluny was belonged to, and for reforming the corrupted situation of simony and the violation of celibacy by the clergy. On the other hand, to Gregory VII, Cluny was considered as a model for his reform policy in monasteries and churches, so that he attempted to make his relationship with the Abbot of Cluny as close as possible, in spite of the fact that he was able to find companions in other places. Smith emphasizes only the close relations between Abbot Hugh and Henry IV and tends to ignore those between Abbot Hugh and Gregory VII, indicating that Abbot Hugh played a crucial role in freeing Henry IV from excommunication.⁵⁶⁾ Here, she had to recognize that not only Abbot Hugh's role was important at Canossa but also, beforehand, he inspired Henry IV with the power of pope and insisted him to accept the supremacy of Papacy.

Cantor suggested that the theory of identification of the *ecclesia* and the *mundus* was most popular precisely at the period when the early medieval equilibrium came to fruition. 'The Church' and 'the World' were frequently treated as identical and synonymous terms, and hence empires and kingdoms had to be regarded as entities not outside the Church but rather within its universal bounds.⁵⁷⁾ He saw the reality of Benedictine cooperation with leaders of lay society upon this theory.

From the fact that Cluny eagerly sent out her sons to lead staff, or found the German houses for which Henry III and other Salians acted as patrons, we can observe the same view as what Cantor saw. Even Hugh of Fleury presented a theory of relationship between the sacerdotium and the regnum that justified the Cluniac reliance on royal power.⁵⁸⁾ It would be natural that Cluny had gotten to enjoy wealth, comforts, and even artistic beauty from the eleventh to the twelfth century.⁵⁹⁾ The most outstanding leader of eleventh century Italian monasticism, Peter Damian, and the most vigorous and eloquent spokesman for the new order by 1120's were deeply disturbed by Cluny's wealth and comfort.⁶⁰⁾ Therefore, Cantor stated that the Gregorians revolted against the medieval equilibrium and

hence against many things that eleventh-century Cluny and its allies represented.
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The Gregorians wanted not only to free the Church completely from state control and from interference by laymen but also to divest Western kingship of the quasi-sacramental character. On this view, Cantor was reluctant to see Cluniac movement as directly inspired by the Gregorian reform. Instead, he saw the Gregorian world revolution arisen from the new ascetic tendency to an extreme but still logical social life to establish a unified Christian world system, 'Christianitas.'⁶²⁾

Even if Cantor thought that reciprocal services of monks from Cluny and secular rulers were entirely opposite to the aim of Gregorian reform, it does not seem that the relations between monastery of Cluny and the laymen such as nobles and kings could reduce the significance of reform spirit. For it should not be denied that numerous nobles having sponsorship to monastery were participated in the Cluniac reform as much as Duke William of Aquitaine in 908. John of Salerno seems to acknowledge the importance of lay initiative because he affirmed that, when Odo had become "known to kings, familiar to bishops, and believed by secular lords, they handed the monasteries that were built in their territories over to his rules so that he could reform and regulate them according to our customs."⁶³⁾ The nobility seems to have been the most important of these patrons, for the earliest French foundations were the result of noble initiative.

On the other hand, the most direct support given by nobles to the Gregorian reform can be found in its well-known political history. Gregory VII was well aware that military force might be needed to support his programs. The armed support of particular groups of nobles such as the Lorrainers, the Canossans, the Normans of Southern Italy, was all that stood between the reform party and its destruction. The lords and knights who answered papal calls for the Spanish crusades and for the First Crusade achieved the success that made the reform party's divine sanction credible. Nobles who fought for papal causes often did well for themselves, most prominently in Germany, when 'the real victor' of the investiture controversy was the estate of princes.⁶⁴⁾ Beside this, as the Gregorian reform progressed, bishops drawn from the imperial family itself became rare and were replaced by local aristocratic candidates.⁶⁵⁾ Here, on the aspect of noble participation in reform, the nobles who supported the monastery showed an

anti-imperial trend. On the contrary, the religious houses which were supported by nobles appeared to have the same inclination too. It is on this attitude that Gregory VII had fought against Heinrich IV, attracting the favor of the German feudal lords. From the same point of view, John Van Engen agrees that Benedictine houses actively participated in the church reform and, often were in positions of leadership, while he explained that the lay lords played an important role in the monastic houses from the ninth to the early eleventh century.⁶⁶⁾

Any way, the Cluniac ideals of liberty and of reform were not incompatible with those of Gregory VII. In order to disseminate the Christian faith and the reform thought, Gregory VII asked Hugh of Cluny for a monk who would go to Spain to evangelize the Moors. In accordance to his will, Hugh chose Anastasius who was irresistibly attracted to the lonely life of the hermit. Anastasius travelled through the places of the ermites in Toledo and Cordova, preaching the gospel and declaring that the Moslem faith made progress only by the sword, whereas Christendom made its way by charity and persuasion.⁶⁷⁾ Gregory appointed Richard of Marseille as a legate to Spain, where he should preach particularly the Roman ritual, and in 1080 Gregory imposed the Roman ritual on Castile through the Synod of Burgos.⁶⁸⁾

On the other hand, Ernst Werner renders the eleventh century as the age of heresy.⁶⁹⁾ Since oriental Gnostic-manicheans of Dalmatia infiltrated into Western Europe in the end of the tenth century, Neo-manicheism already penetrated from Italy and Spain up to north France and Germany in the eleventh century, Manicheans spreaded and developed their thought extensively in the Orléans province during the year of 1022, and they extended their influence to Burgundy around 1030. Except the anticlerical inclination from the first half of the eleventh century, 'die Pauperes-Bewegung' was directly connected with the reform papacy, especially to Gregory VII.⁷⁰⁾ Gregory VII paid attention to the form of poor in Christ frequently.⁷¹⁾

It is the ideal of poor in Christ that Gregory VII had in common with Abbot Odo. In any case, the appearance of the Neo-manichean movement and other types of heresy was significant not only for Cluny but also for Gregory VII. When the people of the new movement, gradually, refused the Catholic dogma and put importance upon its anti-clerical character, Cluny could not help being nervous about the trend of religious crises. Against the extreme spiritualization and body

denial of Neo-manicheans and Berengar, Cluny intentionally preached the concrete, understandable and visual aspects in religious life with the significance of liturgy. 72) In this socio-religious situation it is natural that Gregory became closely allied with Cluny. Therefore, the especially emphasized liturgical adoption was entirely a reaction against the eleventh-century heresy. Through this process, Cluny served not only the hierocracy but also the worldly feudal lords, trying to keep the established social order without change. Under the guidance of Gregory VII, Cluny fulfilled its role to bolster the existing social structure, without demolishing it, in accordance with the will of the pope. As a result, Cluny could not avoid the contact with the Pope, and Gregory VII needed the cooperation with Cluny in order to realize his reforms whether political or spiritual, or a combination of both of them.

In explaining the reason of my approach in the first chapter, this paper attempted to find out the fundamental ideas and goals of the two religious bodies, to compare their thoughts, and ultimately, to illustrate the real relation between them. In conclusion, if we carefully look at the ideas of Abbot Odo, we come to realize that his ideas had many things in common with the goals of Gregory VII in both political and spiritual views, though Rosenwein dismissed this view as the old dichotomy. Although Cluniacs' attitude appeared to be changed slightly, most of ideals and activities of Cluny have their origin in the ideals of Abbot Odo. Consequently, as far as papacy needed the help of Cluny, Cluny had to be allied with the papacy to accomplish their ideal and purpose.

NOTE

- 1) Ernst Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeineschichtlichen Wirksamkeit bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols., (1892-4).
- 2) Augustine Fliche, *Etudes sur la polémique religieuse à l'époque de Grégoire VII: Les Prégrégoriens* (Paris, 1916).
- 3) Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia: UP Of Pennsylvania P., 1982), 1-29.
- 4) R. F. Bennett, "Appendix," in Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. by R. F. Bennett (Oxford: Basil Black Wall, 1940), 186-92.
- 5) *Ibid.*, 187.
- 6) *Ibid.*, 188.
- 7) *Ibid.*
- 8) *Ibid.*

- 9) *Ibid.*, 192.
- 10) Rosenwein 12-13.
- 11) *Ibid.*, 13.
- 12) *Ibid.*, 24-29.
- 13) *Ibid.*, 102-104: In the tenth Century, the Carolingian political hegemony in France was loosened. At the same time, there were the warrior and family traditions motivating men to grasp for power: men such as Rudolf of Burgundy, Hugh Capet and Geoffrey Greymantle.
- 14) *Ibid.* 110.
- 15) *Ibid.* 112.
- 16) *Ibid.*, 16.
- 17) Raffaello Morgan, "Monastic Reform and Cluniac Spirituality," *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. by Moreen Hunt (Connecticut: Archon Books, 1971), 14.
- 18) "The Charter of Cluny," trans. by Joan Evans, *Monastic life at Cluny: 910-1157* (Archon Books, 1698), 4-6.
- 19) H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 6-7.
- 20) Morgan 34.
- 21) *Ibid.*
- 22) Kassius Hallinger, "The Spiritual Life of Cluny in the Early Days," *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. Moreen Hunt (Connecticut: Archon Books, 1971), 34-35.
- 23) John of Salerno, *St. Odo of Cluny*, trans. & ed. by Dom Gerard Sitwell (London and New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958), 16: "I, the least of all, will praise as the first virtue of Odo, then his contempt of the world, and after zeal for souls, the reform of monasteries, and of the clothes and food of monks, the peace he brought to churches. ...the strength he brought to the continent, the mercy to the wretched, his perfect observance of rules, ...For content with a little cell, and withdrawn from the eyes of men, his cave was to please God alone."
- 24) Hallinger 36.
- 25) John of Salerno 23: "At unsuitable times no one might speak or consort with another of the brethren in the cloister of the monastery ...Within the octaves of Christmas and Easter there was strict silence day and night. This short silence, they said, signified the eternal silence."
- 26) Hallinger 40.
- 27) *Ibid.*
- 28) *Ibid.*, 41.
- 29) Rosenwein 67.
- 30) *Ibid.*, 66.
- 31) St. Odo of Cluny, "The Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac," *St. Odo of Cluny*, Trans. & ed. by Dom Gerard Sitwell (London and New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958), 129, 124: "Count Adalemus, apart from the injury which he did to Gerald when he attacked the castle of Aurillac, was still inflamed with malice and was persistently driven to harm the holy man. Indeed, when he was enjoying the friendship of William and apparently in peace, that persecution might not be lacking to one living in Christ, satan stirred up the above-mentioned Count Ademarus against him whom he had tried to reach by many and various temptation..."; Rosenwein 67: cited from "St. Odo of Cluny," *Collationum Libri Tres*: "The powerful, indeed, are accustomed to be proud, to rejoice in temporal things, and in order for them to hold on to what they lavishly use up, they are wont to desire other people's things... But however harmless, he will be cupiditous, since clearly the holy Apostle compares cupidity even to idolatry... And in order that they use only their own things

and not another's, John the Baptist says to them: 'Terrify no one, nor make a false accusation, and be content with your pay.' (Luke 3:14)"

- 32) Rosenwein 69.
- 33) Hallinger 47.
- 34) *Ibid.*, 52.
- 35) *Ibid.*
- 36) St. Odo., 52.
- 37) H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniac and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 44.
- 38) *Ibid.*, 136.
- 39) *Ibid.*
- 40) H. E. J. Cowdrey(ed.), *The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 25: "Dearest sons, we make these things known to you in order that we may promote the salvation of your souls. For if he is determined to be brazenly hostile and unyielding to St. Peter and to the holy and apostolic See, it is clearly evident that a man who does not honour his mother or father should rightfully neither expect nor ask their faithful sons to yield obedience to himself... Accordingly, as we have already said, by apostolic authority we charge all of you, both greater and lesser, who stand by God and St. Peter,..."
- 41) Ephraim Emerton(trans.), *The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII: Selected Letters from the Registrum* (New York: Columbia UP, 1932), 100: "...But how he has rendered evil for good. and how he had raised his heel against St. Peter and striven to rend in twain the church which God entrusted to him... We admonish you by authority of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles,..."
- 42) Cowdrey, *The Cluniac and the Gregorian Reform*, 138.
- 43) *Ibid.*, 140.
- 44) *Ibid.*
- 45) August Nitachke, "Das Verständnis für Gregors Reformen in 11. Jahrhundert," *Studi Gregoriani*, IX (1972): 141-66.
- 46) Emerton 28: "We can not believe that this is owing to your other engagements, unless it were that your Holiness is avoiding trouble and through a certain indolence putting off the more important matter to a more convenient season. Know then, that while we have borne your continued refusal up to now with surprise, we can no longer endure it without great anxiety and trouble of mind,..." Now through your absence these have either come to nothing by neglect or can not be brought to a fitting conclusion,..." May almighty God, from whom all good things do proceed, make you and those committed to your care so to live in this mortal life that you may attain to the truce and immortal life under divine guidance."
- 47) Cowdrey, *The Cluniac and the Gregorian Reform*, 145.
- 48) Emerton 64: "A vast and universal grief and sadness walls me about because the Church of the East is falling away from the Catholic faith by the instigation of the Devil, and through all its members that ancient enemy himself is slaughtering Christians in all directions, so that the members are destroyed in their bodies while their head is slaying them in spirit... We enjoy upon you in brotherly love that, so far as you are able, you lend your aid with watchful zeal, warning and exhorting those who love St. Peter, that if they really wish to be his sons and his soldiers they do not prefer the princes of his world to him."
- 49) Cowdrey, *The Cluniac and the Gregorian Reform*, 172.
- 50) *Ibid.*, 104.
- 51) L. M. Smith, *Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (London: Philip Allan & Co. Ltd., Mdcccxxx), xiv.

- 52) *Ibid.*, xxvi.
- 53) L. M. Smith, "Cluny and Gregory VII," *English Historical Review*, xxvi (January 1911): 20-33.
- 54) Dom D. Knowles, Book Review of "Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century," *The Downside Review*, XLIX (January 1931): 180-82.
- 55) Smith, "Cluny and Gregory VII," 23.
- 56) Smith, *Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, 67.
- 57) Norman F. Cantor, "The Crisis of Western Monasticism, 1050-1130." *American Historical Review* 66 (1960): 58.
- 58) Cantor 59.
- 59) John Van Engen, "The 'Crisis of Cenobitism' Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050-1150," *Speculum* 61/2 (1986): 279; Giles Constable, "Monastic Possession of Churches and 'Spiritualia' in the Age of Reform," in *Il monachesimo e la riforma ecclesiastica (1049-1122)* (Milan, 1971), 304-31.
- 60) Cantor 51-52; J. P. Migne, *Patriologiae Latinae Cursus Completus*, 222 vols.(Paris, 1844-64), CXLV, 858-59.
- 61) Cantor 61.
- 62) *Ibid.*, 64-65.
- 63) John of Salerno, *Vita Odonis*, Book II. Chap. xxiii, in *Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, 9 vols. (2ndn., Venice, 1733-38), 5:173.
- 64) I. S. Robinson. "Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ," *History*, 58 (1973): 169-92; I. S. Robinson, "Pope Gregory VII, the Princes, and the Pactum 1077-1080," *English Historical Review*, 94(1979): 721-56.
- 65) John Howe, "The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church," *American Historical Review*, (Apr. 1988): 332.
- 66) Engen 269-304.
- 67) Joan Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny 910-1157* (New York: Archon Books, 1968), 59.
- 68) Ernst Werner, *Die Gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen der Klosterreform im 11. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Deutschen Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1953), 92-94.
- 69) Werner 71-79.
- 70) *Ibid.*, 79.
- 71) *Ibid.* 79: "Wie kann Frieden sein, wenn die Fürsten und Reichen der Welt uns Arme in Christo, die ihnen entgegengetreten, hassen und berauben."