

12 Bernard of Clairvaux: his first and greatest miracle was himself

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The earliest surviving reaction to the news of Bernard's death on 20 August 1153 was written by Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford, who had met Bernard in northern France, during 1147 and 1148. He wrote to congratulate a friend, William de Hinet, who had recently joined Bernard's Order, and possibly even his own monastery, and then to sympathise with him on Bernard's death and to praise the qualities of the dead man. He began those praises by expressing his inability for the task, using the rhetorical device of *praeteritio* (literally: a passing over): 'O who am I that I might worthily commemorate that holy pastor and that most famous and fecund abbey of Clairvaux?' and then doing just that.¹

One sentence reflects the impression that Bernard, then in his late forties and already, by that day's standards, an old man, had made on him. 'He was a man horrible with filthiness, whose shrivelled flesh stuck everywhere to his bones, whose body never tasted too much wine, nor mouth any delicacies save for spiritual ones.' Yet although he looked so appalling, he was 'celebrated for his knowledge. Most well-known for holiness, most holy without deceit, a famous writer, eminent preacher, the mirror of his order, and enlarger of the church.'² That shrunken figure was produced largely by having strained his physical resources by long periods at prayer, often at night. As early as 1119 his physical condition was such that his fellow abbots allowed the bishop William of Champeaux to take him away from the monastery for twelve months to convalesce.³ Another picture of Bernard at an earlier stage of his life, by Geoffrey of Auxerre, who had first met Bernard in 1140, scarcely hints at how Bernard was ageing, except when he wrote 'his body was very thin, and he seemed gaunt'.⁴

Appearance was not, however, how popes measured holiness: rather they looked for more concrete evidence. So Alexander III in 1174, as he informed the archbishops and bishops and abbots 'in the French kingdom' that he had discerned Bernard to be a saint, mentioned three sides of his life which he had considered:

How supported by tokens of special grace he shone forth not only in sanctity and way of life ... in the whole church of God through the light of his faith and teaching ... that he had transferred the institutions of a holy way of life as far as the furthest parts and barbarous peoples ... that he had supported the most holy church of Rome ... when it suffered, through his virtuous life ... and through his divinely bestowed wisdom.⁵

Such words bring us nearer to what Bernard had done so here we will first consider Bernard as a Cistercian, then look at his work for the Church in the wider world and lastly at what the pope may have included among 'those tokens of special grace' (*singularis gratiae praerogativa*).

BERNARD THE CISTERCIAN

When Bernard met Foliot, he had been a Cistercian for over thirty years, having entered Cîteaux in 1113, when he was probably twenty-three years old. Two years later, the abbot, Stephen Harding, chose him as abbot for a new foundation at Clairvaux, placed close to the borders of Champagne and Burgundy, some 100 km to the north of Cîteaux, a position he held until his death.⁶

Bernard was born into a noble family at their castle at Fontaines, now within the suburbs of Dijon in Burgundy. He, the third of six brothers, was probably destined for an ecclesiastical career since he would have stood little chance of inheriting sufficient land to support himself in secular society. He was sent for schooling to Châtillon-sur-Seine, where his family had property, and where the teaching must have been good, judging from the quality of Bernard's writings. Following his mother's death, he underwent a conversion experience towards the monastic life, which seems to have been connected with the fact that he was aware of his attractiveness to women, and of theirs to him, which could have made a Church career difficult, since by then marriage and the priesthood were coming to be held incompatible. He chose to join the recently founded monastery at Cîteaux, known for its poverty and strenuous attempt to follow the old monastic Rule of Benedict, rather than join other members of his family in an older house, like Saint-Bénigne in Dijon. Some years later Bernard explained that his choice reflected his sense of needing 'stronger medicine' than was available elsewhere.⁷ It was, however, typical that he persuaded all of his brothers, bar the youngest, an uncle, a cousin and numerous friends to become monks with him, around thirty men in all. Cîteaux was only just beginning

to attract recruits, and so becoming capable of establishing new monasteries attached to itself. Bernard's conviction that the Cistercian way was best emerges in a letter he sent to a bishop of Lincoln after one of his canons had set off for Jerusalem, but had found when he visited Clairvaux that he could go no further, since Clairvaux had become for him the real Jerusalem, where he would stay for ever.⁸ It was this kind of 'discovery' which drew men from many parts of the Latin West into this new monastery.

When Bernard died, Clairvaux had around 200 monks and 500 lay brothers, while its archives contained nearly 900 statements of profession made by novices there, which had enabled it to establish over 60 or so foundations of its own, from Portugal to Denmark and Sweden, or from Scotland and Ireland to southern France and central Italy.⁹ Over a third of them were not new monasteries, but rather, to use a modern term, take-overs, of communities of monks, canons or hermits. In such places a small group would be sufficient, who, once they had passed on Cistercian customs, might be able to return home. Even so, to staff 39 new houses over 500 monks would have to have been recruited at Clairvaux: say, on average, around a recruit for every month of Bernard's abbacy. There is clear evidence too that Clairvaux had grown so large that it was forced to move to a more spacious site with larger buildings during the 1130s.¹⁰ In 1130, as Bernard's work beyond Clairvaux was growing rapidly, there were in all thirty-nine Cistercian monasteries, of which the mother house, Cîteaux, had the largest family, twelve, followed by Clairvaux and Morimond (both founded in 1115), with eight each. Twenty-three years later at Bernard's death, the total was about 340 houses, of which almost half, 160, were in Clairvaux's family, while Cîteaux, the earliest monastery, had 57, and Morimond, 87.¹¹

Clairvaux differed from other Cistercian houses in two, related respects: that Bernard was its abbot, and that he led a community which included many of his relations. Bernard's absences grew sharply in the 1130s, as he dealt with problems which he claimed he had been 'dragged into', but that, of course, made him known to a wide range of potential founders and supporters, as well as potential monks and lay brothers.¹² That Clairvaux contained for some years a significant number of his relatives affected how the community worked, as we shall see.

BERNARD BEYOND CLAIRVAUX

Writing diaries was not a typical activity in the twelfth century, but there is one period, the three months between November 1146 and

February 1147, when some of Bernard's companions kept such records as they journeyed with him in the empire and north-eastern France to preach the crusade.¹³ One may calculate that from 1130 until his death he was away from Clairvaux for at least a third of the time, a significant proportion when one considers the weight of responsibility that the Rule places upon an abbot's shoulders. His letters, more than any of his other writings, show that he felt torn by these absences and lamented the nets of obedience (*oboedientiae retibus*), which we, in a more sociological mode, might call networks, that drew him away from the quiet of his monastery into the cities.¹⁴ At Clairvaux stories were recorded showing how some of the community tried to reassure themselves about his continuing care for them during his absences, expressed in the form of 'visions' in which he was 'seen' present in choir, or while monks were engaged in other tasks.¹⁵ Bernard himself described how he felt while away from home, in various ways, of which the most poignant comes from around 1150 when he called himself 'a sort of modern chimaera, neither cleric nor layman', who 'had kept the habit of a monk, but ... long ago abandoned the life'.¹⁶ The chimaera was to him monstrous because it combined parts of distinct species, and over twenty years earlier in what is now his best known work, his *Apology*, he railed against those monasteries whose cloisters contained carvings of such unnatural animals. Such 'ridiculous monstrosities', he claimed, had no place within parts of a monastery only used by monks: now he lamented that he had become just such a one himself.¹⁷ The point was not lost upon some of his contemporaries, most interestingly Peter Abelard, master of the cathedral school in Paris, who fiercely attacked abbots who busied themselves by attending councils and synods and interfering in business which did not directly concern them.¹⁸ One could spend much time understanding the relations between these two extraordinary men, here I can only observe, as Michael Clanchy did in his great book on Abelard, that they were much more like one another than it was comfortable for either to recognise.¹⁹ Once Bernard attacked Abelard as someone who retained only the habit to show that he was a monk – the very criticism which he applied to himself.²⁰

The event which pulled Bernard out of Clairvaux and launched him into the wider world was the schism which broke out following the death in Rome of Honorius II on 13 (or 14) February 1130.²¹ The cardinals divided over the merits of two candidates, Gregory cardinal priest of Sant'Angelo and Peter cardinal priest of Santa Maria in Trastevere, who on election took the names of Innocent and Anacletus, being second popes with those names. Neither party was strong enough to

oust the other, largely because neither could persuade all the significant rulers in the West to support them. Broadly speaking, Italy, particularly Sicily, remained faithful to Anacletus, while most of Europe north of the Alps came into Innocent's camp, creating a division which lasted eight years, the longest schism in the Latin Church until the so-called Great Schism of the later Middle Ages. Bernard was drawn into Innocent's party through his friendship going back some years with the Burgundian Haimeric, Innocent's campaign manager and chancellor. So in 1131 and 1132 Bernard spent months travelling with Innocent in northern France and the empire, and went to Italy to be with him in 1133, 1135 and, lastly, 1137 and 1138, when he was away continuously for about eighteen months. But why, one must ask, did Innocent want to have Bernard with him?

Fundamentally Innocent wanted him because he was already such a persuasive speaker and writer. His rhetorical skills enabled Bernard to build what the pope hailed in a privilege he awarded to the abbot and his monastery as early as 1132 as 'an impregnable wall around the Church'.²² Although those who wrote the so-called *Vita Prima* (*First Life*, so called to distinguish it from later lives) may have overemphasised just what he achieved for Innocent, there can be little doubt that his contribution was significant, but even so, there were others who aided Innocent considerably, among whom Norbert of Xanten and Peter the Venerable stand out. The former, founder of a successful Order of canons centred upon the northern French monastery of Prémontré, ended his career as archbishop of Magdeburg, and became close to the ruler of Germany. Innocent hailed him with the same 'wall' metaphor, a year after he had used it for Bernard. Peter, abbot of the great monastery of Cluny, possessed a large family of monasteries spread wide over the West, and he plumped for Innocent as soon as he heard the news of the schism. The *Vita Prima* also claimed that Bernard's oratory tipped the scales of opinion in favour of Innocent at a council summoned by Louis VI at Étampes, yet an overlooked letter from Louis to cardinals in Rome makes it clear he had decided for Innocent before he summoned the Council, and planned for it to merely confirm his decision.²³ When Bernard visited Italy in 1135, he was sent by Innocent to Milan and other former strongholds of Anacletus, to reconcile them with Innocent, a process which included spectacular exorcisms believed to drive out the devil.²⁴ When the schism ended in 1138, Bernard never again left Clairvaux for such long periods, but there were many calls for his intervention, of which the most significant was his preaching of the Second Crusade, already mentioned.

Two things happened to Bernard during the years he worked in the public eye: he became known for his skill as a peacemaker between factions in and around a number of cities, and he was offered election to two archbishoprics and at least two bishoprics. These are worth brief consideration.

The cities involved were Milan (1135), Reims (1139), Metz (1153) and Langres (?), and in all of them his success as peacemaker was assisted by his healing powers, which at Milan and Langres was linked with encouragement which came to him through dreams.²⁵ Geoffrey gives a long account of events at Metz during Bernard's last spring, when the dying abbot responded to a heartfelt appeal from the archbishop of Trier, who had travelled to Clairvaux and prostrated himself before Bernard to emphasise the need for his help.

The places where he was offered promotion were Milan (1135) and Reims (1139–40), both archbishoprics, and certainly two bishoprics, Châlons-sur-Marne (1131–9), Langres (1138) and possibly Genoa (1130). He refused all these opportunities, arguing, in words originally used by Jesus, 'That he came not to be served, but to serve' (Mark 10.45).²⁶ The second author of the *Vita Prima* makes it clear that Bernard's own community did not wish to lose him, and got some assurance from Innocent II that he would not press Bernard to leave. William of Saint Thierry, on the other hand, comments that Bernard could never be persuaded to do anything against his will.²⁷ How successful a bishop he might have been cannot be known, but one might expect that without the regular presence of his own brothers, he might have become isolated and remote. Monastic life probably suited him better, and fortunately for him and the wider Church, there, despite his absences, he stayed.

BERNARD AND MIRACLES

Now we turn to an aspect of Bernard's activity to which most modern scholars have paid little attention, namely his numerous miracles, which, then, for many people, indicated that he had a close relationship with God. When Alexander III, as we have already seen, claimed in 1174 that Bernard's life had been 'supported by tokens of special grace', it seems likely that he would have included miracles among them, since by then popes were stressing that miracles were a necessary qualification for sanctification. Now we must consider the evidence about them in the *Vita Prima*.

This was the work of three men, all of whom had known Bernard. William of Saint Thierry met Bernard around 1119 when himself a

Benedictine, remaining in touch with Bernard until his own death in 1148. He concentrated on Bernard as monk, mainly on his home ground. Ernald of Bonneval, a Benedictine house in the diocese of Chartres, possibly chosen because he knew well two of those who had been close to Bernard in the 1130s, Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, and Theobald, count of Blois, focused on Bernard away from Clairvaux during the Anacletan schism.²⁸ The last three books were written by Geoffrey of Auxerre, who became Bernard's secretary soon after he had left the schools in Paris in 1140. He seems to have initiated the writing of the *Life*, since he wrote notes about Bernard's life up to 1145 which both William and Geoffrey used. The five books were largely written while Bernard was alive, and probably finished by 1155–6, within three years after Bernard's death.

But what counted as a miracle for Bernard and for those who wrote about him? He himself provides evidence in his *Life* of the Irish bishop Malachy, who died at Clairvaux in 1148, written not long before his own death. Bernard lists six different kinds of 'ancient' miracles which Malachy had performed: prophecy, revelations (by which he meant meaningful night dreams and waking ones), revenge on the ungodly, healing, changing people's minds and raising the dead.²⁹ He also wrote that 'these are not the times for signs' because there were no prophets, and rejoiced that Malachy was 'so rich in signs'. Gerhoh of Reichersberg, a German Augustinian canon, writing in 1148, attacked fraudulent miracle-workers, but excepted Bernard, and him alone, from that category, praising his thundering sermons and sparkling miracles.³⁰ Sixteen years later, about ten years after Bernard's death, John of Salisbury expressed himself somewhat sceptically: 'he was a man mighty in deed and word with God, so some would believe, and with men as we all know'.³¹

How large a part do signs or miracles, these general terms are used interchangeably, play in the *Vita Prima*? The surprising answer is that they occur on nearly every page, and although many accounts are quite short, others, particularly in Ernald's book, last for several pages. Even so, the modern scholarly world paid this substantial evidence little attention, until a Canadian Trappist, André Picard, published his master's thesis from the University of Montréal in 1991. By coincidence, I published my own, much slighter, essay in 1990, the year he presented his thesis, each of us ignorant of the other's work.³² Since then, Picard and his former supervisor, Pierre Boggioni, published a joint article in 1993, and I another in 2006.³³ Both of us tried to understand the extent and chronology of miracles in the *Vita Prima* and to assess how Bernard saw this side of his life, and how others saw it. The fact that no response

has, as far as I know, been published probably indicates the influence of views expressed by two scholars now dead who dominated Bernardine studies since the 1950s, namely Dom Jean Leclercq and Professor Adriaan Bredero. The former never discussed the miracles in his voluminous writings, while the other analysed those who recorded the miracles, rather than the meaning of the miracles themselves, which he dismissed as part of the traditions found in hagiographical writings.³⁴ The *Vita Prima* contains 337 miraculous events (of which two-thirds are various kinds of healing), increased to 840 when other contemporary sources are included.³⁵ Such a number is far larger than those attributed to well-known contemporaries of Bernard's, Anselm of Canterbury and Norbert of Magdeburg.³⁶

Twenty years ago, I thought I could distinguish in the *Vita Prima*, particularly in the early parts of William's book, episodes concerning Bernard's own growth and development, from others which reassured his community that he was capable of fulfilling his responsibilities as abbot.³⁷ For example, when Bernard joined the monks harvesting, he found it hard to wield his scythe, something that as a young noble, he would not have been expected to learn, just like Levin in Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*. He was ordered to sit down and rest, and then prayed that God might help him. When he rejoined the labouring monks, he found that now he could work quite easily, and one can suppose that just by watching them he had found what to do.³⁸ The other group can be illustrated with the occasion when his brother Gerard complained that he had no money to meet various pressing needs. Then Bernard reassured him, went off to pray, and almost immediately someone arrived with just the sum of money required.³⁹ Now I find the distinctions not so clear, since in both the examples, both Bernard and the community could have been affected. Knowing that he could work effectively on the farm could encourage the community, and knowing that his prayer could have such quick effect could have encouraged Bernard.

Much more significant to his work as abbot was giving sermons and hearing confessions, both duties which William explains Bernard found extremely difficult, while to his monks his sermons were unintelligible, and his advice to penitents unsympathetic.⁴⁰ Here William makes clear that he felt he was portraying an imperfect abbot, indeed these apparent failures in Bernard's holiness become an integral part of it, something which Bredero, I suspect, would have found shocking.⁴¹ Part of the trouble seems to have been that Bernard had formed a low view of the monks, especially because of their moral failures, those 'fragilities of the human condition and ... the temptations and filthiness of

such thoughts'.⁴² But as he realised that his community, which included many older than he, was trying to take his sermons and directions seriously, he was, as it were, opened up to a new approach, after he had experienced a period when he felt that his monks would do better to meditate in silence than listen to him, and wished that he was not obliged to preach regularly. That new direction appeared one night in a vision, when he saw a young man standing beside him, who told him 'with great authority' that he should speak faithfully whatever came to him, since it was not he who would speak, but the Holy Spirit (Matt. 10.20). After this Bernard's sermons changed,

the Holy Spirit spoke more clearly in him, through his mouth came more eloquent words and more abundant thoughts on the Bible, and grace (gave) him more credit and power with his hearers, and a more wholesome understanding of the poor and needy, and of the repentant sinner who demands forgiveness.⁴³

It was apparently after this that there is evidence that some of Bernard's relatives began to belittle his healing powers.⁴⁴ This first happened when his uncle Gaudry and younger brother Gerard accompanied Bernard, who had been summoned by the family of the local landowner, Josbert de la Ferté, who could not speak and appeared to be dying; they feared that if he died without making a full confession, his eternal destiny would be jeopardised. Bernard promised that if his family returned all the property which he had taken from the Church and from the poor, Josbert would be able to speak and make a confession. Everyone who heard Bernard's promise, but particularly Gaudry and Gerard, were horrified because they had no experience of how much grace God had given him. Indeed the *Vita* goes on to recount how his relatives, now named as Gaudry and brother Gui, belittled all the good things that Bernard had done, denying that he had done any miracles, and hurt Bernard so much that he wept. They seem to have been worried about his youth and short experience as a monk. The sequel, some years later, shows Bernard with a sense of humour. Uncle Gaudry fell ill with a fever and, in distress, asked his nephew to do as he had done for others and heal him. Bernard then reminded him of the disparaging remarks he had made years before, and it was only after some time that he agreed to lay his hand upon him, and the fever disappeared.⁴⁵

Much later, in the summer of 1145, when Bernard was travelling with bishop Geoffrey of Chartres in Aquitaine to combat the heretical teaching of Peter de Bruys and his pupil Henry, Bernard talked about his

own miracles with some of his monks who were with him in a way that he had never done before:

I ask myself with deep astonishment what these miracles mean, and why God has found it good to do such things and through such a person. I think I have never read in the pages of Holy Scripture about this type of signs. In truth, signs have sometimes been done by holy and perfect men [*per sanctos homines et perfectos*] and sometimes also by impostors [*et facta sunt per fictos*]. I know that I am not perfect, nor an imposter [*Ego mihi non perfectionis conscius sum, nec fictionis*]. I know that I do not possess the merits of saints who were lit up by miracles, and am confident that I do not belong to that class of men who do many good things in the name of the Lord, 'and yet are not known by him' [Matt. 7.23].⁴⁶

Here one may deduce that he had become more cautious over the years, since his uncle and brother had been worried about him becoming over-confident, even though so many signs had, according to authors of the *Vita Prima*, been done by him. Geoffrey went on to say that he often talked in private about such matters with 'spiritual men', and included a passage of equal length to the one just considered, when Bernard developed similar ideas not long before he died.⁴⁷ There he stressed that the marvels which had occurred were not done to magnify his own attainments, or to suggest that he was more holy than others, but rather to help others to have more love and zeal for holiness, ending that his miracles happened 'not to commend me, but to warn others'.

CONCLUSION

This attempt to give some impression of the life of a very active person, many of whose acts were recorded during his lifetime, or soon afterwards, has, inevitably, omitted a number of sides of his life which were important for him, and which affected many of Bernard's contemporaries. Concentration on three aspects, his work as a monk, his work in wider society and his miracles, has left a great deal unsaid: for example the links which enabled him to found monasteries over much of Western Europe, or how he appealed for men to fight in Palestine and how he felt when the Second Crusade failed. But all this is but to draw attention to the obvious: Bernard was an extraordinary man who affected many different sorts of people. Thanks to his travels, he was actually seen by more individuals than anyone else, and while many

only glimpsed him at a distance, during a great service in a church, or passing him closer on the road, others, like Gilbert Foliot, saw his face clearly or noticed how he held or touched a sick person. The abbot, leader of a large community, healer of wounds in the Church or wider society, was also a man whose lesser and mighty acts of healing, and other signs of another world impending on our own, must have left many impressions. And it was the combination he had found between caring for his community and the wider world that left many feeling that he was a special person. One can understand to some degree why Geoffrey chose to apply to Bernard a phrase which Bernard had coined for Malachy: 'In addition', as he commended Malachy, 'the first and greatest miracle that he did, to my judgement, was himself.'⁴⁸

Notes

- 1 *Ep* 108; ed. A. Morey and C.N.L. Brooke, *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 146–9.
- 2 Compare Foliot's address to Bernard in *Ep* 72 of c. 1147–8, 'Adiutori Domini fidelissimo', 'most faithful helper of the Lord'; *Letters and Charters*, p. 106.
- 3 C. Holdsworth, 'The Early Writings of Bernard of Clairvaux', *Cîteaux*, 45 (1994), 21–60 (pp. 36–9, 58 for the date).
- 4 J. France, *Medieval Images of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, CS 210 (Kalamazoo, MI, 2007), p. 2, citing *Vita Prima* III.3.1; *PL* 185:303.
- 5 A.H. Bredero, 'St Bernard and the Historians', in *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux: Studies Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of His Canonization*, ed. M.B. Pennington, CS 28 (Kalamazoo, MI, 1977), pp. 27–62; quotation from appendix, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, pp. 269–71, followed by three other translated privileges of same date.
- 6 This paragraph and the next follow L.J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideal and Reality* (Kent, OH, 1989), pp. 33–4.
- 7 *Apo* IV.7; ed. M.B. Pennington, *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux: Treatises*, vol. 1, CF 1 (Shannon, 1970), p. 42 has 'remedy'.
- 8 *Ep* 67; *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, intro. B.M. Kienzle, trans. B. Scott James (Stroud and Kalamazoo, MI, 1998), pp. 90–2.
- 9 A.H. Bredero, 'Un brouillon du XIIe siècle: l'autographe de Geoffrey d'Auxerre', *Scriptorium*, 13 (1959), 27–60 (p. 44).
- 10 T.N. Kinder, 'Les églises médiévales de Clairvaux: probabilités et fiction', in *Histoire de Clairvaux: actes du colloque*, ed. J.F. Leroux (Bar-sur-Aube, 1992), pp. 205–29 (pp. 209–10).
- 11 R. Locatelli, 'L'expansion de l'ordre cistercien', in *Bernard de Clairvaux, histoire, mentalités, spiritualité*, ed. D. Bertrand and G. Lobrichon, SCH 380 (Paris, 1992), pp. 103–40.
- 12 *Ep* 51.2 and *Ep* 146.4; *Letters*, pp. 80 and 215.
- 13 *The Historia miraculorum in itinere Germanico patratorem*; *PL* 185:373–410.

- 14 *Ep* 22; *Letters*, p. 55, dated end 1127–beginning 1128.
- 15 *VP* iv.1.3; *PL* 185:323, *Ep* 143; *Letters*, pp. 212–13, *VP* 11.5.28; *PL* 185:284.
- 16 *Ep* 326.4; *Letters*, p. 402.
- 17 *Apo* 11.29; *Treatises*, vol. 1, p. 66.
- 18 M.T. Clanchy, *Abelard, a Medieval Life* (Oxford, 1997), p. 244. See also Wim Verbaal's chapter in this volume.
- 19 Clanchy, *Abelard*, p. 9.
- 20 *Ep* 241; *Letters*, p. 321.
- 21 C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 182–8.
- 22 P. Dinzelsbacher, *Bernhard von Clairvaux: Leben und Werk des berühmten Zisterziensers* (Darmstadt, 1998), pp. 148–9.
- 23 T. Reuter, 'Zur Anerkennung Papst Innocenz II', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 39 (1983), 395–416.
- 24 C. Holdsworth, 'Saint Bernard: What Kind of Saint?', in *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition*, ed. J. Loades (Bangor, 1990), pp. 86–101 (pp. 94–6); A. Picard, *La thaumaturgie de Bernard de Clairvaux d'après les 'Vitae'* (Montréal, 1991), pp. 100–7.
- 25 *VP* 11.2–4.8–24; *PL* 185:273–83; Landulfo de S. Paulo, *Historia Mediolanensis*, ed. I. Bethmann and P. Jaffé, MGH SS 20 (Hannover, 1868), pp. 46–7; *VP* 1.14.67; *PL* 185:264; *VP* v.1.3–6; *PL* 185:352–5; *VP* iv.8.46; *PL* 185:348. The date of the Langres episode is not clear.
- 26 Two lists of offers: *VP* 1.14.69; *PL* 185:265 and 11.4.26; *PL* 185:283; F. Gastaldelli, 'Le piu antiche testimonianze biografiche su san Bernardo', *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 44 (1989), 3–80 (pp. 26–9). For words from Mark, *VP* 11.4.27; *PL* 185:283.
- 27 *VP* 1.14.69; *PL* 185:265.
- 28 About Ernard's status: A.H. Bredero, *Études sur la 'Vita Prima' de Saint Bernard* (Rome, 1960), pp. 109–12; D. Farkasfalvy, 'The Authenticity of Saint Bernard's Letter from His Deathbed', *ASOC*, 36 (1980), 263–8.
- 29 *V Mal*; trans. R.T. Meyer, *Bernard of Clairvaux: The Life and Death of Saint Malachy the Irishman*, CF 10 (Kalamazoo, MI, 1978), paragraphs 66, 84.
- 30 'Praedicantibus contonantibus et miraculis nonnullis coruscantibus', in *Ps. XXXIX*, MGH, *Libelli de Lite Imperatorum et Pontificum*, 3 vols., ed. E. Bernheim et al. (Berlin, 1892–7), vol. III, p. 436.
- 31 *John of Salisbury: Historia Pontificalis*, ed. M. Chibnall (London, 1956), pp. 20 and xxiv–xxx.
- 32 Holdsworth, 'Saint Bernard: What Kind of Saint?'.
- 33 A. Picard and P. Boglioni, 'Miracle et thaumaturgie dans la vie de saint Bernard', in *Vies et légendes de saint Bernard de Clairvaux: création, diffusion, réception (XIIe–XXe siècles)*, ed. P. Arabeyre et al. (Brecht and Cîteaux, 1993), pp. 36–59; C. Holdsworth, 'Reading the Signs, Bernard of Clairvaux and His Miracles', in *Writing Medieval Biography 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. D. Bates et al. (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 161–72.

- 34 J. Leclercq, *Nouveau visage de Bernard de Clairvaux* (Paris, 1976), pp. 11–34; *VP* I reveals more about the author than Bernard: Bredero, *Études sur la 'Vita Prima'*, pp. 73, 104, 142–4 and 151.
- 35 Picard and Boglioni, 'Miracle et thaumaturgie', pp. 41–2.
- 36 Holdsworth, 'Reading the Signs', pp. 164–5.
- 37 Holdsworth, 'What kind of Saint?', pp. 90–91.
- 38 *VP* I.4.24; *PL* 185:240.
- 39 *VP* I.6.27; *PL* 185:242.
- 40 *VP* I.6.28–9; *PL* 185:243–4.
- 41 A. Piazzoni, 'Le premier biographie de saint Bernard: Guillaume de Saint-Thierry. Le premier partie de la *Vita Prima*, comme œuvre théologique et spirituelle', in *Vies et légendes*, ed. Arabeyre et al., pp. 4–18.
- 42 *VP* I.6.28; *PL* 185:243.
- 43 *VP* I.6.29; *PL* 185:244.
- 44 *VP* I.9.43 and 45; *PL* 185:252–3.
- 45 *VP* I.10.46; *PL* 185:253–4.
- 46 *VP* III.7.20; *PL* 185:314–15; for Bernard's typical play with *perfectos* and *per fictos*, see C.S. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe 950–1200* (Philadelphia, PA, 1994), p. 276.
- 47 *VP* III.7.20; *PL* 185:315.
- 48 *VP* III.1.1; *PL* 185:303; *Life of Malachy*, paragraph 43.

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