

EXPLANATORY NOTES FOR PERSONS AND PLACES

Persons

1. *Abelard, Heloise, and Their Families*

Peter Abelard's Family: His father, Berengar, belonged to a knightly family of Le Pallet, close to the south-eastern border of Brittany, not far from Anjou. Berengar had gained some education himself and encouraged the intellectual ambitions of his eldest son, Peter. Late in life, ca. 1113, Berengar entered a monastery. His wife, Abelard's mother, Lucia, of whose family we know nothing, also entered the monastic life around this time. A few years later, ca. 1117/18, Abelard's sister, Denise, offered a refuge to the pregnant Heloise and assumed the care of their son, Astralabe, in his early years. Besides Peter and his brother, Dagobert, there were apparently two more sons in the family of Berengar and Lucia. For details, see Cook, "Abelard and Heloise."

Heloise's Family: About her family and social status we have no explicit evidence beyond her own allusions and the reference of Roscelin (see below) to her maternal uncle, Fulbert, as a "nobleman and a cleric" [*nobilis et clericus*]. Her mother, Hersent (or *Hersendis*) and even her vengeful uncle are mentioned in the Paraclete obituaries, with no explicit reference to her father. It should be noted, however, that the name of Abelard's father, Berengar, is likewise absent from such obituaries, in which his mother is mentioned. Also mentioned in these obituaries without further identification is Count Matthew Beaumont who, Robert Bautier suggests, may be a paternal possibility. He also notes that the names of Hersent, Fulbert, and Heloise appear to have been strictly limited to the "great family" of the Montmorency, vidames of Chartres and their allies; these included the Garlande family that also used the name Heloise [see "Abélard en son temps," pp. 76–77n7]. The connection of the Montmorency family to the convent of Argenteuil has also led to speculations of a blood relation. In *Heloise: L'amour et le savoir*, Guy Lobrichon has posited that Heloise was an illegitimate daughter of Gilbert Garlande, butler to King Louis VI. However, he admits that this also has no supporting evidence. We may conclude that Heloise very likely came from an aristocratic family to have been so well educated but that there is no definite proof as to which one it was.

Fulbert. Probably related to one of these great families (such as the Montmorency), Heloise's maternal uncle and guardian, Fulbert, was a canon of Notre-Dame

cathedral in Paris from 1102 to 1126 (the first and last references). Responsible for ordering the castration of Abelard, he was punished by temporary expulsion from the office of canon and confiscation of his property. He was restored to the office of canon in April 1119—much too soon, according to Abelard's complaint—and was last mentioned in church records of 1126. He has a place also, though without dating, in the obituaries of the Paraclete.

Peter Astralabe: The son of Heloise and Peter Abelard, Petrus Astralabius, was born ca. 1117, near Le Pallet in Brittany and spent his early life in the care of Abelard's sister, Denise. The name Astralabe (perhaps an anagram) itself is hardly common: it is an interesting oddity, representing in one sense an historical scientific instrument developed in classical times and used in astronomy to measure the height of celestial bodies and in other instances to measure time. In his own later years Abelard wrote his *Carmen ad Astralabium*, a Latin poem of advice for his son that also mentions his mother, Heloise, and her self-criticism. After Abelard's death, Heloise herself appealed to their friend, Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, to find a prebend or other church office for their son, Astralabe, of whose later life nothing definite is known. Perhaps he was the canon of Nantes cathedral in 1150 whose name was Astralabe, but there was also an abbot of Hauterive in Fribourg from 1162 to 1165. The last reference, undated, to the Astralabe who was the son of Heloise and Abelard occurs in the obituaries of the Paraclete where he appears as the "son of our Master Peter."

2. Other Persons Especially Relevant to the Correspondence

Adam, abbot of Saint-Denis (as abbot 1099–1122): We lack evidence about the background and early history of this abbot who received Abelard as a monk of Saint-Denis after his castration and later permitted him to withdraw to a certain cell ("Maisoncelle") where he could teach and write. Although Suger, Adam's successor, seemed close to him, referring to him as "father," Suger also emphasized his own importance at Adam's expense. Far more hostile was Abelard's opinion after he was forced to flee from Saint-Denis when he questioned the identity of the abbey's saintly patron; and further described Adam as "evil-living and notoriously depraved." After threatening Abelard with prosecution, Adam died in February 1122, before he could undertake this action.

Alberic of Reims, ca. 1085–1141: Among former students of Master Anselm of Laon, Alberic was the most prominent of Abelard's rivals as a teacher and his most vigorous and successful prosecutor at the council of Soissons in 1121. Already a master at Reims (1118–36), in his later career Alberic became an archdeacon there (1131–36), accompanied by Lotulf, and finally archbishop of Bourges from 1136 to his death in 1141.

Anselm of Canterbury, 1033–1109: Although Abelard would later successfully challenge some aspects of Anselm's teaching on the humanity of Christ and disagreed with certain other views, he had also expressed his admiration for this "magnificent doctor of the church." Anselm, who was born in Aosta on the

northern border of Lombardy, after youthful crises, found his way to Normandy where in 1059 he became a monk at Bec. There he had access both to a library, which was at this time perhaps the best in Europe and, more importantly, to the teaching of Bec's famous prior, Lanfranc, who was then regarded as the leading scholar and philosopher of his time and place. Anselm later embraced with emotional intensity, the new "romantic" ideal of friendship in his letters, which might encompass persons he did not know well, indeed some of whom he had never met. Among the most dedicated of his modern students, Sir Richard Southern, in his *St. Anselm and His Biographer*, found him one of "the most complex and fascinating characters in Christian history...one who touched the thought, the piety, and the politics of his time, and whatever he touched looked different afterward." These are qualities dominating his most important philosophical and theological works, notably the *Monologion*, the *Proslogion*, and *Cur Deus Homo*. [For these and other primary sources, note the Biobibliographies in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Dronke.]

Anselm of Laon, ca. 1055–1117: Although his criticism of this master's limitations, among other issues, led to Abelard's expulsion from the school of Laon in 1113, Anselm himself (not to be confused with Anselm of Canterbury) was, it seems, commonly regarded as the most influential contemporary teacher of "divinity" or biblical exegesis and one of the three "modern masters" in the early years of the twelfth century. Especially striking was his opposition to St. Augustine and others, including Abelard, who held that the Jews who crucified Christ did not perceive him as the son of God and instead Anselm's argument for their knowledge and thus responsibility for the crucifixion. More constructively, he and his followers contributed significantly to the development of the *questio*, the question or problem, as a unit of scholarly exposition, later and more significantly exploited by Abelard in his *Sic et Non* and other works. Abelard clearly learned more from Anselm than he acknowledged, particularly perhaps the importance of Anselm's "stages" theory of sin and intention. Responsible also for collections of *sententiae*, or "sentences," which led to later *summae*, Anselm and his school were particularly important in the development of the *glossa ordinaria*, a brief explanation or commentary that was the "working tool" of the scholar's reflection on the biblical text. Anselm himself left glosses on the Psalms and the Pauline epistles. With his brother, Ralph, he had become a master at Laon, ca. 1109, and was later an archdeacon there until his death in 1117.

Arius: A priest of Alexandria (ca. 260–336), a speculative theologian and quite popular preacher, who objected to his bishop's affirmation of the traditional Christian belief that God the Father and God the Son were coequally eternal. Supported by several Eastern bishops, Arius's doctrines were condemned as heretical by the First Ecumenical Council, which met at Nicea under the patronage of the Emperor Constantine in 325. Arius himself was condemned, abandoned by his supporters, then partly rehabilitated, then condemned once more. His memory and doctrines remained powerful in Eastern Christianity for several generations, and then became the officially approved belief of several Germanic kingdoms in the West. The tradition of the French Church was fiercely

anti-Arian, from Gallic Fathers such as Hilary of Poitiers and Gregory of Tours onward. Little of anything written by Arius survives.

Arnold of Brescia (ca. 1090–1155?): Born and educated basically in Brescia, Arnold was perhaps in Paris ca. 1115 and maybe a student of Abelard there. Arnold was a personally charismatic spokesman for radical ideas about the proper structure of the Church, the role of the clergy, and the function of civil authority in ecclesiastical matters. Back home in politically turbulent and reform-fascinated Lombardy, Arnold became provost of his native city, from which he tried in 1138 to exclude its bishop. Arnold and his innovations were condemned at the Second Lateran Council in 1139. Pope Innocent II sentenced him to silence and exile from Brescia.

Arnold made his way to Sens in time for the council that condemned Abelard; Bernard said that he served Abelard there as a squire does a knight. While Abelard was being protected by Peter the Venerable, Arnold was in Paris at the Mont-Sainte-Geneviève, stirring up the student population with radical opinions and denunciations of Bernard. Expelled from France by Louis VII, Arnold fled to Zurich and then (in 1143) Bohemia, finding sympathetic support in both places. Formally abjuring his former errors, he was reconciled to the Church in 1145 by Pope Eugenius III, a former monk of Bernard's at Clairvaux. Arnold's penance required him to make a pilgrimage to Rome, at that time agitated by political reformers who wanted to revive the Senate and either expel or subordinate the pope. Arnold was active in the revolutionary republican government, the commune, that controlled the City for several years after 1146.

Eugenius III, strenuously urged on by Bernard of Clairvaux, joined with King Conrad III against the commune. Arnold was arrested and returned to papal supervision; under Hadrian IV (1154–59), a severe reformer committed to clerical rights, Arnold was hanged in Rome, perhaps in 1155, and then his body was burnt and his ashes thrown in the Tiber. Whether his radicalism was essentially political or also involved sacramental and other doctrinal theology is unclear.

Berengar of Poitiers, born ca. 1120: Abelard's former student, Berengar was later his secretary and staunch defender after the council of Sens. The author of a bitter attack on the role of Bernard of Clairvaux in Abelard's condemnation, Berengar continued his defense of Abelard in his *Apologia*, ed. Robert M. Thomson, *Mediaeval Studies* 42 (1980), 111–33. He also preserved Abelard's "Confession of Faith," translated above.

Bernard of Clairvaux (ca. 1090–20 August 1153): Abelard's greatest intellectual and ecclesiastical rival was born at the castle of Fontaines in Burgundy to a noble family not unlike Abelard's Breton family. Bernard's father, Tescelin, was a knight appointed by the duke of Burgundy as castellan (commander) of Fontaines-lès-Dijon, which defended the northeastern approaches to the ducal capital. Tescelin and his nobler wife Aleth of Montbard had seven children, all of whom eventually entered the monastic life. Educated at Châtillon-sur-Seine, his paternal family's seat, in the school of the collegiate church of St. Vorles run

by Tescelin's cousin, Bernard acquired a deep classical and biblical education and remarkable mastery of Latin prose style.

Ordained a priest in his early twenties by William of Champeaux, Abelard's former teacher at Paris and by then bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, Bernard became at twenty-five the first abbot of Clairvaux, one of the four daughter-houses of the new Cistercian mother-house at Cîteaux. Interested in the constitution and the political life as well as the distinctive spirituality of the Cistercian Order, which was strongly committed to a severe interpretation of the Benedictine Rule, Bernard became embroiled in many conflicts affecting the Latin Church at large. To defend the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem against the resurgent Islamic jihad, Bernard was one of the planners and the prime preacher of the Second Crusade (1147–51).

Peter Abelard was just one of the “radical” figures from whom Bernard sought to defend the Church in Europe. In a case similar to that of Abelard, occurring a few years after Bernard's 1141 silencing of him, was that of Gilbert de la Porrée, first a teacher at the cathedral school of Chartres and then bishop of Poitiers, who made use of Aristotelian logic in elucidating Christian theology. Bernard's effort to silence Gilbert in 1148 failed, perhaps because the members of the ecclesiastical court hearing the case did not wish to repeat Bernard's triumph over Abelard. Bernard believed that the only orthodox way to teach Christian doctrine was to follow the methods elaborated by the Fathers of the Church, which were not unlike rabbinic argument or traditional Roman speculative rhetoric—in fact derived from both of those traditions. Therefore Bernard is sometimes called “the last of the Fathers,” and Peter Abelard “the father of scholasticism.”

Temperamentally not unlike one another in their combative reflexes and love of confrontation, Bernard and Abelard clashed most severely at the Council of Sens in 1141. Bernard dominated the planning for and conduct of that meeting. Despite his own rhetorical talent, Bernard so respected Abelard's verbal effectiveness that he refused to debate with him. Abelard's teaching on the Trinity was condemned as heretical, after which Pope Innocent II (whom Bernard had supported vigorously in the disputed papal election of 1130) excommunicated Abelard, condemning him to perpetual silence, and ordered his seclusion in a monastery. Abelard was spared the full rigor of that sentence by the intervention of a former student, Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny, with whom Bernard had engaged in a sharp and famous controversy some two decades previously.

It is now difficult to discern what seemed so heretical in Abelard's Trinitarian teaching. For Bernard, Abelard's radically innovative analytical methods and general attitude toward the sacred were heresy enough. Perhaps surprisingly, Bernard was sympathetic to Heloise, and supported her efforts at monastic reform and general organization. She reciprocated, so much so that in time, well after Abelard's death, she replaced some of the liturgy Abelard had composed for the Paraclete with some of the liturgy of Clairvaux. See Related Letters 12 and 13.

Pope Celestine II: See *Guido (Guy) of Castello*.

Conon of Praeneste, d. 1122: The papal legate who presided over Abelard's trial for heresy at the council of Soissons in 1121, Conon of Praeneste had been cardinal

bishop of Palestrina since 1109 and in 1119 a candidate for the papacy, which he refused. Although Abelard described him as “less learned than he should have been,” he was commonly regarded as the most experienced and distinguished of contemporary papal legates, active in missions to important rulers of the early twelfth century.

Fulk of Deuil, late eleventh to early twelfth century: Professing a friendship with Abelard significantly ambiguous in its expression, Fulk was prior of Deuil, a monastery in the neighborhood of Saint-Denis and Argenteuil. He wrote Abelard a letter of “consolation” or “congratulation” after his castration so malicious in tone and theme as to suggest that what has been described as Fulk’s “unique information” may be in important respects unreliable. See Migne, PL 178, 371b–76b; Wheeler, “Origenary Fantasies.”

Geoffrey of Auxerre, 1120–88: A student of Abelard’s in Paris in earlier years, Geoffrey became a Cistercian monk, ca. 1140, and so devoted a follower of Bernard of Clairvaux that he served as his “biographer” or hagiographer, including a somewhat unreliable account of the council of Sens. Geoffrey also acted as Bernard’s secretary from 1145 until Bernard’s death in 1153. Geoffrey’s denial that Abelard was ever reconciled with Rome is contradicted by Peter the Venerable’s letter to Heloise regarding Abelard’s last days and death.

Geoffrey of Lèves, bishop of Chartres, 1116–49: Abelard’s most active defender at the council of Soissons in 1121, Geoffrey was an adviser also of Abelard’s friend and patron, Count Thibaut of Chartres, later of Champagne as well. Although both are commonly regarded as friendly toward Abelard, Geoffrey is said, however, to have approved of Suger of Saint-Denis’s expulsion of Heloise and her nuns from Argenteuil in 1129. As a papal legate appointed by Innocent II, Geoffrey also attempted, though without success, to make peace between Abelard and his recalcitrant monks at Saint-Gildas in the late 1120s. Present at the council of Morigny in 1131, he supported the papal claim of Innocent II at the council of Pisa in 1135. Together with Bernard of Clairvaux, he received the letter of William of Saint-Thierry (see below) concerning the threat that he perceived in Abelard’s teaching. With other highly placed churchmen present at the council of Sens, Geoffrey signed the letter of Archbishop Henry of Sens to Pope Innocent II regarding Abelard’s condemnation for heresy in late May of 1141.

St. Goswin, ca. 1086–1165: As prior of Saint-Médard in Soissons, he welcomed (or, more accurately, accepted) Abelard for a brief compulsory stay after the council there in 1121. According to his hagiographer, he described his “guest” as an “untamed unicorn” or a “rhinoceros.” At his own school on Mont-Sainte-Geneviève, Goswin had earlier, ca. 1112, challenged Abelard to debate. Turning later to the monastic life, Goswin became abbot of Anchin in 1130, and sometime after his death in 1165, he was recognized as a saint.

Guido (Guy) of Castello, *Pope Celestine II*, pope from 14 February 1143–8 March 1144: A former student and later supporter of Abelard’s, who owned copies of his

Theologia and his *Sic et Non*, this Italian scholar was among the most learned men of his time. He was the first master to be appointed to the college of cardinals, as cardinal deacon of Sta. Maria in Via Lata, 1128, and later cardinal priest of San Marco, before his election as pope in 1143. [See David Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard*, pp. 20–22.]

Hato (Hatto), bishop of Troyes, ca. 1075–ca. 1145/46: Officially acknowledging in 1131 the foundation of the Paraclete (1129), Bishop Hato (Hatto) was a friend and supporter of Heloise, Abelard, and their new community. His letters are models of an early twelfth-century “friendship” style, especially those to Peter the Venerable, who appears to have been a particularly close friend and frequent correspondent. Hato also corresponded, though less often, with Bernard of Clairvaux. Although apparently without playing an active role in Abelard’s condemnation at the council of Sens, he was among the many bishops present there. Hato was ordained at Sens in 1095/96 and was successively deacon and archdeacon of Sens before he became bishop of Troyes ca. 1122. Like Abelard, he retired to Cluny late in life, in 1145 or early 1146, and died there soon afterward.

Henry Sanglier, archbishop of Sens 1122–42: A cousin of Stephen of Garlande, Abelard’s politically influential patron and protector, Archbishop Henry had apparently been friendly with Abelard in earlier years. At least he had shown no signs of hostility until very late in their lives; both died in 1142. This change was evident when in early 1141, Abelard kept harassing him, he said, until he gave in and made a place for Abelard’s case at the council of Sens, which met on 25 and 26 May, at which time Abelard hoped to defend himself against the charges of Bernard of Clairvaux. Far from meeting these expectations, however, Archbishop Henry succumbed to the demands of a group of powerful churchmen led by Bernard in a private meeting the night before the council began. There they condemned those teachings of Abelard that Bernard presented in a list of nineteen articles. Confronted the next day by his condemned teachings rather than the expected opportunity for defense, Abelard answered by refusing this judgment. He departed instead on a journey that ended not in Rome engaging in his self-defense, but in the refuge of Cluny where he spent his last year. Abelard died there, very probably on 21 April 1142.

As for the archbishop of Sens, his actions in this case strikingly exemplify a career most clearly revealing the issues, conflicts, and divisions dominating the French church in the early twelfth century. Like his cousin Stephen of Garlande, Abelard’s supporter and patron who was powerful in his exercise of high offices, both royal and ecclesiastical, Henry Sanglier was also for many years an important member of the royal party. But by 1129, seeking to restrain the king’s hostility to church reform, Archbishop Henry seems to have moved gradually toward the moderate reform party represented by such churchmen as Geoffrey of Lèves, bishop of Chartres and Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny. In 1131, Archbishop Henry was present, along with Abelard and many others, at the meeting assembled in the abbey of Morigny to recognize Pope Innocent II. But by 1140, having fallen out with King Louis, the archbishop had reached the last stage of his mobile career in his relationship with the “extreme reformers” who

were victorious with Bernard of Clairvaux at the council of Sens. As archbishop, Henry of Sens is remembered also for his patronage in the earlier stages of the building of the cathedral of Sens. Not finished during his lifetime, it was later celebrated as among the first real Gothic cathedrals.

Hugh of Saint-Victor, ca. 1095–1141: Joined together at times as the “two lights of the Latins in France,” both Abelard and Hugh of Saint-Victor were famous as teachers and scholars, extraordinarily versatile in their interests. Though often critical of Abelard’s opinions, Hugh was, with him, one of the most influential theologians of the early twelfth century. Born in Saxony, the youthful Hugh became, as Abelard had done earlier, a student of William of Champeaux, then teaching the canons regular of Saint-Victor in Paris. Later William’s successor and finally the prior of Saint-Victor until his death in 1141, Hugh was a skillful teacher and prolific writer not only on theology, especially with emphasis on the scriptures and their contemplation, but on the liberal arts and philosophy. With this attachment, Hugh was persuaded that all natural knowledge contributed to the understanding of Scriptures.

Besides his influential *Didascalicon*, an introduction to learning, Hugh’s important works include his *Opera propaedeutica*, on Christian sacraments and contemplation, the fullest contemporary exposition of sacramental theology. Like Abelard, though more actively, Hugh and his pupil, Andrew, were in touch with Jewish scholars and made extensive use of the writings of the famous late eleventh-century rabbi, Rashi, whom Abelard also mentions. The influence of these Victorines in their biblical commentaries was later widely disseminated in the works of the scholastic, Peter Comestor.

Hyacinth (Giacinto) Boboni, ca. 1105–98, later *Pope Celestine III*, 1190–98: A member of one of the powerful “new” aristocratic families in early twelfth-century Rome, and apparently during his youth a student of Abelard’s in Paris, Hyacinth was there again, it seems, with Abelard and Arnold of Brescia during the late 1130s, just before the council of Sens. In the intervening years, during the papal schism of 1130–38, he had been a supporter of Innocent II’s rival, Anacletus II, who died in 1138. In Rome, Hyacinth had witnessed papal documents beginning in 1121. For some years he was prior of subdeacons at St. John Lateran, and he was later made cardinal deacon of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, probably by Pope Celestine II, in 1144. In still later years of his very long career, he headed numerous legations, especially to France, where he was regarded as a close friend of King Louis VII. Elected to the papacy in 1190, then in his middle eighties, he died in 1198, apparently the oldest pope in the history of the church to that point.

Pope Innocent II (pope 1130/38–September 1143): Without waiting for Abelard’s intended arrival in Rome to present his own case after his condemnation at the council of Sens, in mid-July 1141, Innocent confirmed the council’s judgment, extending it to all of Abelard’s theological works and imposing permanent silence on Abelard himself. Innocent later agreed to Peter the Venerable’s request for permission to keep Abelard, who had meanwhile taken refuge at Cluny, there for the rest of his life.

Gregorio Papareschi was born to a powerful Roman family as was his future opponent in the schismatic papal election of 1130, Anacletus II (of the rival Pierleoni family). Innocent had become cardinal deacon of S. Angelo in Pescheria in 1116 and with Abelard's former master and rival, William of Champeaux, negotiated the Concordat of Worms in 1122. After his election as pope in opposition to Anacletus, Innocent fled to France where he won the active support of Bernard of Clairvaux, Geoffrey of Chartres, and King Louis VI, as well as other French bishops and abbots. As abbot of Saint-Gildas, Abelard was, in fact, a respected member of the numerous company of French churchmen who met at Morigny on the occasion of Innocent's dedication of the abbey church.

Innocent returned to Italy in 1132 and secured his position in the north at the council of Pisa in 1135. It was during these years that he confirmed Suger of Saint-Denis in his possession of the abbey of Argenteuil from which Heloise and her nuns were then expelled. After the death of Anacletus in 1138, Innocent reasserted papal authority over the entire Roman Church in the Second Lateran Council of 1139. Although he owed Bernard of Clairvaux a very large debt for his office and often seemed subservient to Bernard's influence, he later occasionally asserted his independence by declaring that Bernard meddled too much in politics, a statement with which their contemporaries might have heartily agreed.

John of Salisbury, ca. 1115–80: As a young English scholar, he became one of Abelard's students of logic during his teaching on Mont-Sainte-Geneviève in 1136. John of Salisbury later recalled him as "a lucid teacher, admired by everyone," and praised other qualities with equal warmth. Present some years later, in 1148, at the council of Reims, John reported, describing the occasion, how the attempt of Bernard of Clairvaux to achieve the condemnation of another distinguished theologian, Bishop Gilbert of Poitiers, was thwarted by a group of cardinals angry, they said, at Bernard's effort to repeat in this case the prejudgment of Abelard that had been successful in Sens some years earlier. After years of study, John served as a papal official, and later in a similar office with his countrymen, the English archbishops Theobald, and later, Thomas Becket, at whose murder in 1170 he was present and which he later described in detail. He became bishop of Chartres in 1176, and died in 1180. Displaying the versatility of twelfth-century men of learning at its best, and demonstrating his prowess as the "most brilliant Latinist of his time," are his numerous works, notably, along with his letters, the *Historia pontificalis*, the *Metalogicon* and *Policraticus* (1159), and a verse *Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum*.

Norbert of Xanten, ca. 1082–1134: Described by Abelard as "bloated with the false name of religion," Norbert is commonly identified as one of the "two new apostles"—the other was Bernard of Clairvaux—whose threatening "slanders" of him Abelard also stressed in his first letter. To his many admirers, however, Norbert appeared as a distinguished "follower of Christ," first as a preacher and reformer, then in 1121, as founder of a community of regular canons at Prémontré near Laon. Living under the monastic discipline of the Augustinian rule, its members also functioning as priests, this community marked the

beginning of the Praemonstratensian order, with papal confirmation in 1126. In that year Norbert himself became the archbishop of Magdeburg, and in 1132 he accompanied Emperor Lothar II to Italy, where he served as imperial chancellor until his death two years later.

Origen: Origen (185?–251?) was a prodigious early Christian thinker born and trained in Alexandria. Often considered the premier Christian theologian in both time and importance after St. Paul, Origen is said to have composed about 2,000 works. His teaching was based on the exploration of Scripture, the text(s) of which he studied with great sophistication. Origen favored the allegorical interpretation of Scripture rather than the literal or moral interpretations—although Eusebius reported in his *Ecclesiastical History* that Origen had himself castrated in literal compliance with Matt. 19:12 (a tradition now considered less than certain, but firmly credited in the twelfth century). Doctrinally, Origen was strongly Trinitarian, although he seems to have seen the Son as not quite equal to the Father, and was unclear about the Spirit. He believed in the eventual reconciliation (*Apocatastasis*) of all Creation to the Creator, including even the Devil; he had unusual ideas about the resurrected body and the long duration of time, etc. The presentation of Origen's doctrines by Evagrius of Pontus and other 'Origenists' found little general favor, and fifteen of the teachings attributed to him (all of them 'Origenist') were condemned by the Council of Constantinople in 553. Because of that rejection, the lengthy complexity of his writings, and misfortune, few of his works survive. Latin translations by Rufinus and Jerome preserve much of his work still known. An anthology entitled *Philocalia* is due to the high esteem for Origen of two of the fourth-century Cappadocian Doctors of the Church, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory Nazianzen (both former students at the Platonic Academy in Athens). Origen's personal life was more than exemplarily Christian, although most bishops disapproved of his reported self-castration. He practiced serious asceticism, and died as a consequence of torture during the persecution unleashed by the emperor Decius. This intensely intellectual, erudite, dubiously condemned 'heretic'–eunuch–'martyr' loomed large in Abelard's consciousness. In Letter 5, Abelard vehemently disapproved of Origen's self-castration. See Bonnie Wheeler, "Origenary Fantasies."

Otto of Freising, ca. 1110–58: Evidently a student of Abelard's in Paris, ca. 1133, later a Cistercian monk and bishop of Freising from 1137 to his death in 1158, Otto also belonged to the German imperial family as an uncle of Emperor Frederick I. With a unique perspective on his own larger world, Otto became one of the greatest of medieval historians, achieving in *The Two Cities* a development of the Augustinian scheme that approached a philosophy of history. Writing in the troubled years before his nephew's election as emperor, Otto tended toward a dark view of the lessons of philosophy and human history. Yet though he believed that when humanity reached a zenith, it was bound to decline, he also noted the achievements of his own as well as earlier times. He praised especially the transformation of intellectual life that began with such illustrious masters of the late eleventh century as Berengar, Anselm of Laon and Anselm of Canterbury. In

keeping with these advances, Otto reflected on a conception of human progress made possible through individual reason and self-understanding.

Significant in this larger context is his treatment, in his history of the reign and achievements of his nephew, Emperor Frederick, of the two cases that, along with some others, in the view of recent scholars, marked the appearance of a "persecuting" society in Western history. Reversing the order of these two episodes, Otto dealt first with the later attack on the teaching of the distinguished theologian, Bishop Gilbert of Poitiers, led by Bernard of Clairvaux in the council of Reims in 1148. This attack essentially failed through the opposition of several cardinals who recalled with anger the similar and successful pre-emption of the case against Abelard at the council of Sens several years earlier. Turning to this episode, Otto dwelt in some detail on the significant development of Abelard as a teacher and thinker, beginning with the sometimes playful, but often incautious and self-assertive master, "so arrogant that he would hardly trouble himself to depart from the heights of his own mind to consider the thoughts of others." But then, passing over the misfortunes that preceded them, Otto went on to describe how Abelard changed when, as a monk, he was able to devote himself night and day to study and thought, to the achievements of his religious as well as his intellectual life. A detailed account of the council of Sens and its outcome ends with Otto's subtle explanation of the hostility of Bernard of Clairvaux toward "intellectuals" like Gilbert of Poitiers and Abelard. Otto remarked that Bernard was impelled by his fear: unable to understand their ideas and ways of thinking, he therefore wished to suppress them.

Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny. Peter the Venerable, the welcoming friend of Abelard's last days, was born Pierre Maurice de Montboissier in Auvergne, in 1092/94, the son of a Burgundian noble family of some distinction, with its members especially prominent in the monastic life during this period. Among Peter's seven brothers, four others were also dedicated to this life, and so was their mother, Raingard, who in her later years, as a widow, became a nun of Marcigny, the famous Cluniac monastery of women. A Cluniac monk since 1109, in 1122 Peter was elected abbot of that great monastery and head of its extensive congregation of daughter-houses. His personal qualities distinguished him among the most prominent churchmen of this time, and he showed affectionate friendship to both Heloise and Abelard in their later lives. For the richest sense of Peter the Venerable's importance to his age, see his voluminous correspondence in Giles Constable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*.

Petronilla of Chemillé, Abbess of Fontevraud, 1116–49: Although we have no certain evidence of their meeting, her reputation as an abbess may have made this older contemporary a model of extraordinary success in their office for Heloise and other abbesses. Chosen by Robert of Arbrissel, its founder, as the first abbess of Fontevraud after the death of Hersende, his earliest collaborator, Petronilla was a *conversa laica*, a lay convert of noble birth and a "skilled manager of property." Her rule confirmed Robert's well-founded belief that she would govern in "manly fashion." More than anyone else, Petronilla shaped the order,

and the future, of Fontevraud, which would encompass some fifty priories at her death in 1149, and seventy by the century's end.

This remarkable abbey and its daughter-houses included members of both sexes, but from the outset were dominated in numbers and authority by their female members, who were served by "brothers" bound by a promise of obedience to the nuns. Ruled by an abbess mourned when she died as a mother "incomparable" and "irreplaceable," Fontevraud offered a model of female dominance followed by other communities, notably those associated with Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt in Brittany.

Robert of Arbrissel, ca. 1045–1116: Hailing Robert as this "distinguished messenger of Christ," Abelard might well have seen in him and his career some reflections of himself and the complexities of his life. At first a parish priest, like his father, Robert soon found himself embarking on several different careers, as a hermit, preacher, and reformer, again like Abelard, a "proto-feminist" and "borderline heretic," a founder of monasteries where men and women joined in lives of prayer and contemplation. (Abelard's ideal Paraclete might have been something like Robert's early Fontevraud.) His friendship with Countess Ermengarde of Brittany led to Robert's only letter of advice to a woman (1109). The ironies of Robert's concern for women and its outcome are evident in the future Fontevraud of Abbess Petronilla, which would lead to the largest and richest medieval monastic order of women (see Fontevraud). Four members of the English royal family became nuns of Fontevraud; an aunt of theirs was its second abbess. On Robert of Arbrissel, an accessible and helpful guide is Bruce L. Venarde, *Robert of Arbrissel: A Medieval Religious Life*.

Roscelin, ca. 1060–ca. 1120/25: Although he was a youthful student of Roscelin's after 1093, and perhaps later in that decade, in his brief references to his early education Abelard failed to mention these years of study with one of the most famous, and controversial, teachers of logic in this period. By the time Abelard was writing, twenty years later, he and Roscelin had become bitter enemies, attacking each other with escalating hostility. Apparently, when Roscelin heard of Abelard's oral teaching as critical of his, he replied by attacking some aspect of Abelard's theory of the Trinity. To this Abelard responded with a harsh letter addressed to the canons of Tours, to which Roscelin belonged. Roscelin's answer was a vicious attack not only on the "unheard-of novelty" of Abelard's teaching, but on his life, emphasizing his relationship with Heloise, whom Roscelin described as Abelard's "whore," though by this time they were married. With equal hostility Abelard answered this latest assault in his *Theologia Summi Boni*, to which further responses, if any, have not been identified. On this subject, see Marenbon, *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard*, pp. 57–58; for Roscelin's letter, see Roscelin, *Epistola ad Abelardum*.

Stephen of Garlande, ca. 1070–1148: In his *Historia calamitatum*, referring only once (though gratefully) to Stephen's help in his escape from Saint-Denis, Abelard hardly did justice to his extraordinary friendship with this prominent and apparently worldly churchman. The head and leader of an important family,

for many years a personal favorite and adviser of King Louis VI, Stephen of Garlande exercised his own dual power, secular and religious, not only as a royal chamberlain and seneschal but also as an archdeacon of Notre-Dame and dean of Mont-Sainte-Geneviève for many years.

Older than Abelard by a decade or more, Stephen of Garlande appears as his friend and patron in a relationship whose fidelity, closeness, and character are suggested by the coincidence of their fortunes for many years, beginning with Abelard's very first appearance as a master. Supported by Stephen's patronage, the establishment of Abelard's first schools at Melun in 1102 and then in Corbie until 1105 was followed by his still mysterious withdrawal to Le Pallet with an illness that apparently lasted for several years. Coinciding with Stephen of Garlande's first fall from royal favor, this withdrawal ended with Abelard's return to Paris, as well as with the rehabilitation of the Garlande family and the beginning in 1113 of Abelard's few but brilliant years of success as a master in Paris and their unhappy outcome. This was soon followed by the separation of Heloise and Abelard, with their entry into the monastic life and the episode with which this note begins.

After Abelard's vicissitudes at Saint-Gildas, which coincided with another fall from royal grace (1127/28–32) of Stephen of Garlande, both were rehabilitated in ca. 1133 when Abelard's return to teaching in Paris was very likely fostered by his enduring supporter's return to power as chancellor. Becoming also dean of the abbey of Sainte-Geneviève, Stephen of Garlande evidently favored Abelard's establishment of his new school there. According to John of Salisbury (*Historia Pontificalis*, p.63), Abelard was living nearby at Saint-Hilaire. Although Stephen's prominence may have declined during this later period, he remained dean of secular canons at Sainte-Geneviève until his death in 1148, leaving substantial property to Saint-Victor and Notre-Dame.

Suger, abbot of Saint-Denis, ca. 1081–1151: Suger, who was raised at Saint-Denis, was elected its abbot in 1122 while he was in Rome, and he was ordained to the priesthood on his return. Perhaps enjoying exaggerated fame for his diverse roles as a "pivotal figure" in the making of the French state, not only as adviser to kings Louis VI and VII, but in his contribution to a "Twelfth-Century Renaissance," and in the creation of a Gothic style in the rebuilding of Saint-Denis (for which see Radding and Clark, *Medieval Architecture, Medieval Learning*, pp. 57–76), Suger is less known for his critical role in the lives of Heloise and Abelard. Indeed, though quite unintentionally, his actions were largely responsible both for their reunion following their entrance into the monastic life and for the founding of the Paraclete.

But first, and much earlier, after Abelard's condemnation at the council of Soissons in 1121 and his return to enter new conflicts of Saint-Denis (see Explanatory Notes, "Saint-Denis"), Suger as abbot had permitted him to leave Saint-Denis, on the condition that he was not to join another abbey. Thus liberated, Abelard embarked on his fruitful years of teaching and writing at the Paraclete. Similarly fruitful in its outcome for both Abelard and Heloise, though painful for her in its occurrence, was Suger's takeover of Argenteuil and his forcible expulsion of its nuns. Although

his action was based on forged documents and probably dishonest claims, it would lead to Abelard's rescue of Heloise and her nuns and their establishment of a new community at the Paraclete. Always devoted above all to the interests of Saint-Denis, Suger's role as a "pivotal figure" is somewhat modified in Lindy Grant's revisionary study, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France*, from which he emerges as "an extremely important, but in most respects unoriginal figure." See also Sarah Spence, "What's Love Got to do With It? Abbot Suger and the Renovation of St.-Denis."

Thierry of Chartres, d. after 1156: Like Abelard a Breton by birth and among the most influential teachers of their generation, Thierry was, according to Abelard, his ironic defender at the council of Soissons in 1121. Thierry was later, after 1130, probably a master in Paris, during the years of Abelard's intermittent teaching there. In the 1140s Thierry was a chancellor in Chartres and a master of its cathedral school, with which his chief surviving works are linked. These are a series of commentaries on the works of Boethius, and various texts in the liberal arts, the *Heptateuchon*. In the 1150s he left Chartres to spend his last days in an unidentified monastery. Especially valuable for our understanding of Thierry as an innovator in medieval philosophy is Peter Dronke's essay in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, pp. 358–85, which notes that Thierry's originality lay in combining a far-reaching naturalism with an extreme Platonism, in which forms and names exist indissolubly in the mind of God, and in which names give essence to things.

William of Champeaux, ca. 1070–1122: Born in Champeaux near Melun, William studied with Anselm of Laon and later taught at the cathedral school of Notre-Dame; in William's early years, Abelard was his pupil and soon his critic and opponent. From ca. 1110, William taught at Saint-Victor, the abbey-school of regular canons that he helped to found. In 1113 he was elected bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne. Together with his teacher, Anselm of Laon, William is regarded as one of the founders of early scholasticism, which involved the teaching of rhetoric, logic, and theology. His theological works remain unpublished; extracts are edited by Peter Dronke in *Fabula*, pp. 68–78.

Emphasizing as strongly as he did William's qualities as a teacher (whether favorable or unfavorable), Abelard had relatively little to say about his teacher's other important roles in the political and religious life of the early twelfth century, especially his struggles for influence on royal authority. After William became bishop of Châlons in 1113, he was particularly active in the rivalry between his party and that of the Garlandes, who were dominant for some years after 1113. This meant that William's chief rival, Stephen of Garlande, was Abelard's strongest supporter. Regarding Abelard's place in their conflicts, it is worth noting that Abelard's return to Paris in 1113 coincided with the Garlandes' return to power, and especially with Stephen's appointment as dean of Notre-Dame, ca. 1113.

William of Saint-Thierry, ca. 1085–ca. 1148: Although he could say of Abelard "once I loved him," William, as he was well aware, was later essentially responsible for

the condemnation of his erstwhile friend at the council of Sens in 1141. Convinced that Abelard's theological works had made their friendship no longer possible, William sent Bernard of Clairvaux and Geoffrey of Chartres a list of statements drawn from Abelard's *Theologia scholarium* and his "book of sentences." These statements supported the charges condemned the night before the official meeting of the council by a majority of the churchmen assembled for that purpose. Before this meeting William had also produced a "disputation" against Abelard as well as an accusatory letter to Bernard of Clairvaux in 1139.

Born in Liège, ca. 1085, William had become a monk at Reims, ca. 1095, and some years later (1121–35) abbot of Saint-Thierry near there. Perhaps present at Abelard's trial in Soissons in 1121, he witnessed documents there in this year, along with Conon of Praeneste (see above). Greatly influenced by Bernard of Clairvaux during the 1130s, William gave up his abbacy to become a Cistercian monk at Signy in 1135. A mystical inclination and an opposition to the rationalism that he condemned in Abelard had led him to the psychology of the affections—the study of the soul's movement toward God—explored in his *The Nature and Dignity of Love* (ca. 1120). William's examination of the five different kinds of love was followed somewhat later by Aelred of Rievaulx in his *Mirror of Charity* and *The Soul*. With their leader, Bernard of Clairvaux, they became what has been described as for that time the most important "school of spirituality since the patristic period" (Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200*, p. 259).

3. Places and Institutions Especially Relevant to the Correspondence

Argenteuil, female abbey: To our evidence of Heloise's earlier life in this ancient abbey (as both she and Abelard describe this monastery), her return there after the disastrous outcome of their marriage, and her years as nun and prioress, must be added the dramatic episode of her expulsion from Argenteuil along with other nuns in 1129. Regarding the takeover of this well-endowed community by Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, and the falsified documents on which his claim was based, see Thomas Waldman, "Abbot Suger and the Nuns of Argenteuil," 239–73. Shortly after this action, when he went to Cluny in late 1130 to deliver the news to Innocent II (then in residence at Cluny) that the French church had accepted him as pope, Suger obtained from Innocent an official confirmation of Saint-Denis' possession of Argenteuil (see Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis*, p. 135).

Founded in the seventh century and virtually destroyed in the Viking invasions, the community was re-founded and generously endowed by Queen Adelaide in the early eleventh century. [On the early history of the abbey, see André Lesort, "Argenteuil," DHGE 4 (1930), pp. 22–26.] The fact that no reference to Argenteuil survives in any extant record between this time and 1113 has suggested the possible relationship between this absence of evidence and the likely destruction of such records by Suger or his agents.

In the seventh century, Argenteuil was a village on the Seine 20 km./13 mi. northwest of Paris, some 45 km./27 mi. downstream if one follows the curving

river, then by far the easiest mode of transportation. Argenteuil is about 10 km./7 mi. due west of Saint-Denis (about half the overland distance to the center of Paris). A monastic community for women was founded there by Ermenric, a *vir inluster* in contemporary documentation, and his wife Mumana, likely in the third quarter of the 7th century. The abbey's earliest surviving document (3 April 697) attests a gift by King Childebert III of woodland north of the village.

In the early ninth century, the abbess of Argenteuil was Charlemagne's daughter Theoderada. It was later claimed that he gave her a precious relic, the Tunic of the Lord, woven by his Mother, for which the executioners of Jesus cast lots at the crucifixion. One tradition asserted that Charlemagne had received the Tunic from the Byzantine Empress Irene. A century later, the abbess was another Carolingian lady of very high standing: Rotisdis, daughter of King-Emperor Charles the Bald (840–77) and mother-in-law of Hugh the Great, Duke of Francia (d. 956) ancestor of the Capetian kings. Rotisdis was also abbess of Chelles, another important monastery of Merovingian foundation. Then came the Vikings, and Argenteuil was left in ruins.

Adelaide of Auvergne, queen of Hugh Capet (987–96) rebuilt the abbey with the gift of all her husband owned in the vicinity of Argenteuil: a royal gift indeed, confirmed in 1003 by Hugh and Adelaide's son Robert the Pious once he became King of the Franks (996–1031). The abbey flourished anew under such patronage: in the reign of Louis VI (1108–37) the abbey's advocate was Banthelu, of the ancient and powerful Montmorency clan—and so perhaps a close relative of Heloise. Heloise's mother Hersinde must have found refuge at Argenteuil in the years before 1000; Heloise was raised and splendidly educated there (if only we knew by whom!).

The Montmorency and former royal connections were not, however, enough to protect the abbey from the acquisitive determination of Abbot Suger to bring it under the domination of Saint-Denis. Suger got Honorius III (pope, 1124–30) to support his suit. At a long "reform" synod held at the abbey of Saint-Germain-de-Près (just southwest of Paris) from early February to mid-April of 1129, the papal legate Matthew, cardinal of Albano (formerly prior of the Cluniac house of Saint-Martin des Champs in Paris' northern suburbs), won approval for the expulsion of all nuns from Argenteuil and their replacement by monks from Saint-Denis in what would now be simply a priory of that great neighboring abbey. On 14 April, Louis VI (who had relied on Suger's advice as his chief minister for some seven years), confirmed that decision: Louis was at Reims for the coronation of his son and intended heir Philip, who predeceased his father, and was swiftly replaced by Louis' second living son, the future Louis VII (1137–80), who was then living at Saint-Denis, presumably intended by his father to be Suger's successor. Thus the abbot of Saint-Denis tended to get what he wanted from both of these kings.

On 2 November 1130, the next pope, Innocent II (1130–43), confirmed this change once more. By the end of that month (28 November), he would confirm the establishment of a new monastic house for Heloise and her nuns at the Paraclete. Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris and a close adviser of Louis

VII, later (1165–68) tried unsuccessfully to get Pope Alexander III (1159–81), a former student of Abelard, to reinstate nuns at Argenteuil.

By 1385 there were only 9 monks at Argenteuil. In 1410 and 1587, the English and then the Huguenots (under Condé) so thoroughly destroyed the standing buildings that the only part of Heloise's abbey we can see today is a Romanesque doorway in the Cluny Museum in Paris. In the later 16th century the priory counted only two monks; nonetheless, it gained a few more members and lasted until suppressed by the French Revolution.

Argenteuil's prime relic, the Tunic of the Lord, was known to exist in France in the sixth century, but was not cited as being at Argenteuil until 1156—while Heloise was alive but far away at the Paraclete. The Tunic has been verified as comparable to Coptic textiles of the second and third centuries, and shows traces of human blood. Its cult reached its peak of popularity in the seventeenth century and, according to the DHGE, is last mentioned as being in Argenteuil in 1894. Heloise's failure to mention it may be taken either as further proof that it was not at Argenteuil in her day, or as an indication of her disinterest in such devotions.

Cîteaux and the Cistercian Order: Despite Abelard's ironic remarks in his letter to Bernard of Clairvaux (Letter 10), among the new orders of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries the Cistercians can be described as the most successful. Swiftly expanding, affecting other new orders, the Cistercians exercised a major influence on the spirituality of the twelfth century. The Abbey of Cîteaux was an outcome of a secession from the abbey of Molesme, which was founded ca. 1075; this new monastery was established by Robert of Molesme at Cîteaux in the hills of Burgundy in 1098. An expansion begun a decade earlier under the leadership of Abbot Stephen was soon enormously fostered under the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux.

Clairvaux: Founded in 1115, Bernard's monastery would have sixty-five daughter-houses (half of the Cistercian abbeys then existing) at his death in 1153; the number of Cistercian monks was estimated then at ten or eleven thousand. Fundamentally committed to the literal observance of the Benedictine rule, refusing the acceptance of child-oblates, the Cistercians with their emphasis on the ideal of work supported its existence with a "second order" of *conversi* or lay workers. Another significant development was their gradual acquisition of privileges, among them exemption from tithes, which virtually freed their monasteries from episcopal authority and made them directly responsible to papal authority in Rome.

Cluny: Considering Abelard's critical view of the Cistercians, and most particularly the role Bernard of Clairvaux had just played in his condemnation at Sens, it is not surprising that Abelard turned to Cluny and its abbot, his friend, Peter the Venerable, for a refuge, especially welcome to an aging and increasingly ailing man. Cluny was, after all, especially important as a haven for the penitent, lay or religious. The largest monastic order (some prefer the term "proto-order" for its quasi-familial network) of medieval European Christendom, Cluny itself was a village in central French Burgundy, given in 909 or 910 by its rich secular

lord, Duke William I of Aquitaine, to a community of reform-minded monks who wanted to live free of secular control, under the ultimate authority not of the king of France but of the distant pope. A local abbot committed to a Carolingian tradition of monastic reform, Berno, accepted the post of abbot at Cluny in 910.

Berno was succeeded by Odo in 926, and Odo by Aymard in 944. Under these two abbots Cluny began to spread its mode of monastic life, which in that anarchic time attracted lay associates as well as monastic communities which could continue their corporate existence once they accepted a Cluniac prior. Odo, a man of ideas, appreciated learning; his widely-read *Life of Gerald* (of Aurillac) presented an ideal of the heroic Christian knight.

Aymard was succeeded by Maiolus in 954; he was to preside as abbot for forty years (until 994). Maiolus' successor was Odilo, who would be abbot for fifty-five years (994–1049). In the near-century of those two abbacies, the autonomous Cluniac family got its temporal immunity solidly established; inaugurated the feast of All Souls (2 Nov) as the imaginative culmination of its elaborate liturgy especially dedicated to the network of saints' cults spread through its prayer-confraternities; and began to support the expansion of Christendom in Spain.

The sixty-year abbacy of Hugh (1049–1109) was the apogee of Cluniac influence. Its monastic family came to include between 500 and 2000 houses (estimates vary widely, depending on definition) throughout Christendom. Expansion in Spain and England in collaboration with reorganizing royal power was especially noteworthy. Although Hugh refused to take sides in the Investiture Controversy between popes and Holy Roman emperors, one of his spiritual sons, Pope Urban II (1088–99), launched the papacy-enhancing First Crusade, in many ways a logical consequence of Cluny's tradition of spiritual militancy.

In the period of rapid change following the First Crusade (1095–99) and the first phase of the papal-imperial struggle (1075–1122), Cluny began to seem out of date, overextended, even incoherently fragile. Abbot Pons resigned after a dozen disappointing years (1109–22). Peter the Venerable (1122–57) was the last great abbot of that monastic empire. Abelard's former student and final savior, Heloise's steady support as she established the Paraclete, Peter undertook major programs of simplification and rationalization, internal and external. The main pressure with which he had to contend was the new wave of intense monastic reform exemplified by Bernard's Cistercians. His rescue of the courageous but defenseless Abelard in 1141 after the condemnation of Sens can be seen either as a coherent part of his resistance to Cistercian competition or as a daringly principled risk. Abbot Peter was not normally sympathetic to religious deviancy: he was fierce in his written and diplomatic confrontation with heresy, Islam, and "judaizing," so his rescue of Abelard is *prima facie* somewhat surprising. His sympathy for Heloise is less so: Bernard admired her, too.

For Abelard and Heloise, Cluny may have represented several sympathetic traditions: reform in several stages over the centuries, though not the most ruthless variety; an elaborate liturgy susceptible to adjustment and expressive of ideology; and an attempt to realize on earth a functioning, territorial model of *libertas ecclesiae*, that old, compelling, elusive ideal.

Fontevraud: A great monastic community of men and women, run by abbesses, in the Loire valley, set at the confines of three major feudal territories—Anjou, Poitou, and Touraine. Founded by the visionary preacher Robert of Arbrissel about 1100, this dual (male and female) community also embraced lay men and women, some of them married. Presided over by a series of powerful abbesses beginning with Petronilla of Chemillé, it was generously supported by the counts of Poitou and dukes of Aquitaine. Its most famous resident (off and on between 1174 and her death in 1204) would be Eleanor of Aquitaine, who is buried there along with her second husband Henry II and her royal sons Richard Lionheart and John Lackland. By 1299, Fontevraud's powerful abbess ruled over some fifty daughter-houses. The original plan of Robert and Petronilla may resemble Abelard's dream of a dual monastery, run by women, dedicated to an unusual and lofty commitment—in the case of the Paraclete, theological learning.

Marcigny: The Burgundian Cluniac nunnery of which Peter the Venerable wished that Heloise were a member, Marcigny was founded in 1056, with a sister of Abbot Hugh of Cluny as prioress. It was planned for ninety-nine members, with the virgin Mary as the hundredth and titular abbess. Life at Marcigny expressed late eleventh-century spirituality. Peter the Venerable referred to it as a "powerhouse of prayer [with] magnificent and lengthy [liturgical] services," in which his mother, by then a nun, participated.

Mont-Sainte-Geneviève: The hill dominating the Left Bank of the Seine at Paris. The church of Sainte-Geneviève was an ancient foundation: King Clovis established its college of clerics, later called canons regular. It was named for one of the city's patron saints (420?–500?) who had helped found the abbey of Saint-Denis downriver. The church named for Geneviève became in time a well-endowed community of secular canons. In the early 1130s, Stephen of Garlande returned to power as a counselor of King Louis VI, and became dean of Sainte-Geneviève. Abelard then returned there, probably thanks to Stephen's reinstatement, and established a school in which he was to teach his most famous students (John of Salisbury, popes Celestine II and III, perhaps Alexander II, Arnold of Brescia, etc.) John Marenbon thinks that Abelard lodged at the monastery of Saint-Hilaire during that roughly five-year stay. Along with the schools of Saint-Victor and Notre-Dame, the abbey school of Sainte-Geneviève became the cradle of the University of Paris.

Morigny: A traditional independent Benedictine house, the Abbey of Morigny, south of Paris near Etampes, was founded about 1102 by a nobleman named Anseau. Philip I endowed the monks of Morigny with the abbey and revenues of St-Martin d'Etampes, said to have been founded by Clovis. Pope Calixtus II himself consecrated the church of Morigny in 1120. Its widely circulated *Chronicle* has been described as the principal purveyor of Capetian court gossip (see Richard Cusimano's translation of Mirot's edition of *The Chronicle of Morigny*). Morigny hosted an important council in 1131 at which Innocent II (who consecrated Morigny's altar to St. Lawrence) received the decisive support of the French church as pope. The Morigny *Chronicle* respectfully records the active presence

there of Abelard (as abbot of Saint-Gildas-de-Rhuys) and Bernard of Clairvaux. One consequence of this encounter may have been Innocent's confirmation of Heloise as head of the Paraclete on 28 November of that year. Morigny's abbot, Thomas, solidified the monastery's power during his thirty-year rule, and he figured prominently in the condemnations of Abelard's writings. Joined in 1629 to the Congregation of Saint-Maur, the Abbey of Morigny ceased to exist after the French Revolution.

Paraclete: The story of this foundation is told throughout this collection. On 28 November 1131 Innocent II confirmed Abelard's gift of the Paraclete to Heloise. For the most complete explanation of its formation as a refuge for Abelard, who was soon joined by his students, and later as a refuge and abbey for Heloise, see McLaughlin, "Heloise the Abbess: The Expansion of the Paraclete," in *Listening to Heloise* and the forthcoming biography of Heloise, *Heloise and the Paraclete: A Twelfth-Century Quest*.

Saint-Denis. The preeminent royal abbey of France from the seventh to the end of the eighteenth century when it was dissolved and ravaged by the Revolution (and restored, briefly, to its royal role by Louis XVIII). Its central and first burial was that of Dionysius, the first bishop of Paris, martyred under the Emperor Decius ca. 250 CE. According to a firmly established ancient local legend, Dionysius was beheaded (his right as a Roman citizen) up on the butte of Montmartre, and then carried his head with him down to the Seine, down which his corpse floated until washed ashore a little to the west of the present abbey church. In time his legend came to include comparable fates for his two deacons, Rusticus and Eleutherius. In the early ninth century, under the abbacy of the enterprising Hilduin, Dionysius of Paris was identified with Dionysus of Athens, whose meeting with Paul on the Areopagus hill in that city is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. Both were further identified with a sixth-century Syrian Neoplatonic author of mystical treatises who signed himself as "Dionysius the Areopagite." This triple patron was celebrated by Carolingian supporters of the abbey; he was, after all, at least as authoritative a "founder" as the barely intellectual Galilean fisherman Simon Peter, from whom the Roman Pope derived his authority. Abelard, protected by Saint-Denis after his condemnation at Soissons, debunked and effectively discredited this triple identity—a typically piercing stance for him, even though newly humiliated by castration and condemnation.

It is generally thought now that the abbey's origins derive from the burial of Bishop Dionysius in a third-century cemetery alongside a Roman road connecting that immediate district with Beauvais. Around 475 the devout Gallo-Roman lady Saint-Geneviève established there an endowment to support a community tending the tomb and maintaining its cultus. At some point a monastic community gathered there. In the mid-sixth century a narthex was added to the primitive church, in which it became a habit to bury members of the royal Merovingian family. In 639 King Dagobert (629–39), a major patron of the abbey later claimed as its founder, was buried there. His throne was also reverently preserved there, and was often sat in by Frankish (and French)

kings visiting the abbey. [Later in the seventh century the female monastery of Argenteuil was founded, some 10 miles to the west, further down the Seine.]

In the mid-eighth century Abbot Fulrad combined the offices of abbot and royal chaplain, a pairing maintained (or at least claimed) by many of his successors. In 775 he inaugurated a much larger abbey church, incorporating all of its distinguished burials (when Abelard became a monk there in the 1120s, thirteen kings and queens of the three royal dynasties—Merovingian, Carolingian, and Capetian—were entombed there; King Louis VI would join them in 1137). Actually, Fulrad claimed that he was not the actual consecrator of the abbey church: Christ Himself was, as Fulrad had discovered the night before that event, when awakened by sacred sounds. It was thus considered an extraordinarily sacred space. Abbot Hilduin strove to enhance the abbey's spiritual standing by bringing it under the Rule of St. Benedict as well as by claiming the triple Dionysian identity. King Hugh Capet (r. 987–96) strove to reinforce the former tendency towards spiritual reform by inviting Abbot Maiolus of Cluny to bring Saint-Denis into full conformity with the Benedictine Rule although it did not adopt the full Cluniac discipline or its liturgical traditions. [Hugh's Queen, Adelaide, and their son Robert I (996–1031) rebuilt and restored the fiscal viability of Argenteuil.]

The abbey was also the peacetime repository of the "oriflamme," the red-and-gold banner commemorating the martyrdom of the founder. The king of France, who declared himself a vassal of Saint Denis (the saint, not the abbey), traditionally went to take the oriflamme from the high altar to carry it with him on campaign. King Louis VI did so in the campaign of 1124 against the German King-Emperor Henry V, a campaign that Suger hailed as doubly glorious for being bloodless as well as victorious (Henry, learning that Louis was marching to meet him near Rheims with an unexpectedly large army of surprisingly obedient feudal vassals, prudently retreated). Thus Saint-Denis embodied highly mythic political/religious sacrality, not exactly Abelard's view of sacred reality—and perhaps not Heloise's either.

Three outstanding abbots presided over Saint-Denis in the lifetime of Heloise. Abbot Adam (1094 or 1099 to 1121) expanded (somewhat carelessly) its extensive properties and enhanced its library and its collection of precious relics. Abbot Suger (1122–51), who represents the apogee of Saint-Denis' prestige, reformed both its spiritual life and the management of its properties, and added to the west and east ends of Fulrad's Church: those extensions, designed by two or perhaps three anonymous architects, constitute the first full-scale use of the new architecture we now call Gothic—a misnomer; in its own time it was called either "modern" or "the French style." The new narthex was inaugurated on 9 June 1140, and the new choir on 11 June 1144.

In 1127, Suger—a serious Gregorian reformer despite his role as the king's ranking minister—imposed a discipline more strictly adhering to the Benedictine Rule and reformed many of the abbey's priories, and he also won papal approval for his effort to annex Argenteuil—which he claimed, on the basis of some highly creative documents, had always been subject to Saint-Denis. He then expelled all the nuns, not only those loyal to prioress Heloise, and installed monks whose

rigorously ascetic diet we know: eggs a few times a week, only apples and nuts in Lent (and Advent?), otherwise a few vegetables. Argenteuil did not thrive under this male regime, despite the priory's effort from the mid-twelfth century to exploit a cult of the Tunic of the Lord.

The monastic membership of Saint-Denis itself had long been capped at 150; at the end of Suger's thirty-year abbacy some 50 or 60 monks may have been in residence. Suger was succeeded by an abbot of his choosing, Odo of Deuil (1151–62). Odo went on the Second Crusade as the personal chaplain to King Louis VII (1137–80) and Queen Eleanor (of Aquitaine); this was evidently a less than successful ministry. Odo maintained Suger's passion for history, both its collection in an ever-growing library and in new works; in fact, from the time of Suger and Odo the abbey became the headquarters of what may be considered a national history-writing project which lasted until the 1790s. Odo successfully resisted the suits of several of the former nuns of Argenteuil (not including those at the Paraclete) assisted by the diocese of Paris, to reclaim their rights. This suit became even more insistent after Odo's death. Heloise seems to have had nothing to do with that effort.

Saint-Gildas-de-Rhuys: An old monastery on the south coast of Brittany claiming foundation by the sixth-century British monk Gildas. The monastery may have been established on an island and moved to the mainland for some relief from Viking threat. It has been characterized as a "particularly corrupt" monastery of semi-Celtic customs largely because of Abelard's devastating description of his reform-resisting, Breton-speaking monks during the first five to seven years (1125 or 1127–32) he served as abbot, feeling more that he was their prisoner than their leader. Spending time at the Paraclete, his foundation now run by Heloise, was an attractive alternative, but Abelard, fearing scandal, withdrew instead to an unidentified location, perhaps close to his family's lands near Nantes. (Then, about 1135, he returned to Paris, teaching at Mont-Sainte-Geneviève).