The Agony of Passing: Monastic Death Ritual in Twelfth-Century England

HARGREAVES, BARBARA,MARY

The Agony of Passing

Monastic Death Ritual in Twelfth-Century England

Barbara Mary Hargreaves

Masters by Research

Department of History

Durham University

2016

'The Agony of Passing'[1]

Monastic Death Ritual in Twelfth-Century England

Barbara Mary Hargreaves

Abstract

Between them, the lives and deaths of Anselm of Canterbury, Ailred of Rievaulx, Gilbert of Sempringham and Hugh of Lincoln, spanned the twelfth century. This thesis considers the death narrative accounts found in the *Lives* of these four saints, all of them monks, two of them bishops (including one archbishop), who were leaders of their respective communities. The death ritual process mandated by Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury in his customary, the *Monastic Constitutions,* is deployed as a base text for comparison. The analysis of these texts seeks to elicit an understanding of how monastic death was to be managed in principle, and how it might have been performed and experienced in practice, in twelfth-century England. The death narratives are those of saints, and therefore hagiographical works intended to demonstrate the sanctity of their subject and his suitability as an exemplar of monastic virtue. The *Lives* show significant commonality in their utilisation of the death of the saint as a framework through which to describe this. There is commonality too in the areas of the death ritual that the hagiographers chose to use, and those they ignored, in their accounts. These aspects of monastic sanctity as demonstrated through the accounts of dying and death are explored in this thesis. A supplementary, and complementary, line of enquiry investigates the role of medicine and medical practitioners at the bedside of a dying monk, and explores the often overlapping expression of medical science within a work of hagiography.

---

[1] 'Cumque eum iam in exeundo viderit laborare [When he sees him now in the agony of his passing].' Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions* [henceforth *MCL*], 112, ed. and trans. D. Knowles and C. N. L. Brooke, (Oxford, 2002), p. 181.

Contents

---

² 'Percussaque tabula.' *MCL,* 112, p. 179.

³ 'Habitaturus in domo Domini.' *The Book of St Gilbert* [henceforth BSG], 52, ed. and trans. R. Foreville, and G. Keir (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 125. From the passage in which Gilbert's hagiographer describes the death of the saint.

---

[4] Walter Daniel, *Vita Ailredi Abbatis Rievall'* [henceforth *VAil*], trans. and intro. F.M. Powicke (London: Nelson, 1950), prefatory letter to Abbot H., p. 1. **'**Our father is dead and has vanished from our world like the early morning sun, and many hearts long that this great light should flood with its brightness the memory of generations to come and indeed of those still living, for whom it shone in all its splendour [Pater noster obiit et quasi lux matutina evanuit e terra nostra et multorum animo insidet ut radius tanti luminis refundatur ad memoriam et illuminacionem futurorum, immo eciam et quorundam prescencium quibus et ipsum lumen emicuit in fulgore suo].' This passage opens Walter's work and announced the death of Ailred. The exact identity of Abbot H. is unknown, but Powicke speculates that it could have been either Abbot Hugh of Revesby or Abbot Henry at Waverley. *VAil*, p. xxix.

[5] 'Vale igitur mi pater dulcissime.' Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis,* [henceforth VA], ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), Miracle Collection, p. 170.These are Eadmer's words to the late Anselm in the final sentences of the miracle collection which conclude his *Life*.

List of Tables

ABBREVIATIONS

BSG   *The Book of St Gilbert,* ed. and trans. R. Foreville, and G. Keir (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

DRC   Paxton, F. S. with the collaboration of I. Cochelin, *The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

MCL   Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc,* ed. and trans. D. Knowles and C. L. N. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002).

MLSH   *The Metrical Life of Saint Hugh,* ed. and trans. C. Garton (Lincoln Cathedral: Holywood Press, 1986).

MV   Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis,* ed. D. Douie and D. H. Farmer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

RC   *Regularis Concordia Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque,* ed. and trans. T. Symons (London: Thomas Nelson, 1953).

VA   Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis,* ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

VAil   Daniel, Walter, *Vita Ailredi Abbatis Rievall',* trans. and intro. F. M. Powicke (London: Nelson, 1950).

Chapter 1: 'When the Board is Struck'[6]

1.1　Introduction to the Research

In the late eleventh century Archbishop Lanfranc compiled a customary for his monastic community at Canterbury.[7] The *Monastic Constitutions* included chapters on how the final illness, death, burial and remembrance of a brother should be managed, in terms of process, practicality and liturgy.[8] The principal purpose of this thesis is to study the death narrative accounts found in the *Lives* of four twelfth-century English saints, and through comparing these both with each other and against the background of Lanfranc's *Constitutions,* identify both continuity and change in monastic death management across the twelfth century. A supplementary line of enquiry will examine the role of medicine at the deathbed of a saint, and the expression of medical science within the realm of hagiography.

In the first place, the textual basis for Lanfranc's *Constitutions* will be considered, as will the context of the death ritual contained in the *Constitutions* within the milieu of late eleventh-century Western European monastic practice. This will include detailing the activity of the death ritual and exploring its enactment, with consideration of its significance to the monks who participated in the ritual. Second, a comparative analysis will be undertaken of the death accounts of four twelfth-century English saints: Anselm

---

[6] 'Percussaque tabula.' *MCL,* 112, p. 179. The striking of the board alerted the community to the imminent demise of one of their brethren, and called them to attend him in the infirmary; the death ritual was in train.

[7] There is a significant bibliography on Lanfranc and Canterbury including: Brooks, N., *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984) and *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church, 400-1066* (London: Hambledon Press, 2000); M. Chibnall, *Piety, Power and History in Medieval England and Normandy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); A. Collins, *Teacher in Faith and Virtue: Lanfranc of Bec's Commentary on Saint Paul* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk and Archbishop* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); R. Gameson, *The Earliest Books of Canterbury Cathedral: Manuscripts and Fragments to c.1200* (London: The Bibliographical Society: The British Library; Canterbury, 2008); M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978); R. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); S. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer: a Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059-1130* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963) and *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); B. Ward, *Anselm of Canterbury: His Life and Legacy* (London: SPCK, 2009).

[8] *MCL,* 111-115, pp. 176-195.

of Canterbury; Ailred of Rievaulx; Gilbert of Sempringham and Hugh of Lincoln. This will include comparison between the individual texts and with Lanfranc's *Constitutions*. Third, the comparative analysis will be used to establish which parts of the death ritual were, or were not, important to the hagiographers and the communities who received the *Lives*, why this might have been, and what can be learnt from this about medieval monastic death ritual as expressed in a work of hagiography, and conversely about hagiographical expression seen through the agency of monastic death ritual.

Medieval monastic death ritual has been well-studied in recent years. Scholars, F. S. Paxton and S. Boynton in particular, have significantly increased the scope of knowledge on the subject, identifying its development from the eighth century onwards and showing its spread through Western Christendom.[9] They have also detailed the increasing sophistication of the enactment of the death ritual, culminating in the complex rites and processes described by monks from Cluny in the late eleventh century, and shared over institutions allied to and influenced by Cluniac practice including Lanfranc's Canterbury.[10] Besides identifying the development and detail of monastic death ritual, research from several academic fields has allowed for the emergence of the ritual as a whole and shown it to be very much more than simply a set of prescribed actions. It was rather a multi-sensory, immersive event predicated upon the beliefs of the participants about the nature of dying and about what happened to a person once they were dead.[11] The monastic death ritual made explicit the community's belief in salvation, through the communal enactment of a profound statement of Christian faith. Christianity is a religion which places a death at its centre; a death and a resurrection.[12] The salvation theory at the heart of Christian belief is at its simplest level

---

[9] See particularly: F. S. Paxton with the collaboration of I. Cochelin, *The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle Ages* [henceforth *DRC*] (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); S. Boynton and I. Cochelin, (eds.), *From Dead of Night to End of Day: the Medieval Customs of Cluny* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), especially Paxton's essay, 'Death by Customary at Eleventh-Century Cluny' pp. 297-318, and Boynton's essay in the same publication, 'The Customaries of Bernard and Ulrich as Liturgical Sources' pp. 109-130; S. Boynton, 'A Monastic Death Ritual from the Imperial Abbey of Farfa', *Traditio,* 64 (2009), 57-84; F. S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

[10] See Paxton for Cluny, and Boynton 'Monastic Death Ritual', for Farfa.

[11] Paxton, writing of Cluny, has described the death ritual as being both a musical and dramatic event, designed to engage all the senses in its ebb and flow, and to lead the participants through, 'numerous spiritual and emotional states as they accompanied a dying brother through his agony.' *DRC,* pp. 38-39.

[12] P. Binski refers to this as 'the drama of salvation', a phrasing that fits the imagery of death ritual as theatre, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 9.

predicated upon the belief that life may be achieved through death. Christ's redemptive death on the cross and subsequent resurrection was seen to open the way to salvation for the faithful, despite their fallen nature. Death was regarded as a necessary stage upon this journey, the price of salvation, a threshold over which each and every person had to pass as they progressed towards either blessedness or damnation. The fate of the individual's soul after death was a matter of crucial concern, and the activities and actions of the death ritual were designed to assure the best outcome for the monk as he negotiated the pathway to his next stage of existence. This is explored in what follows, utilising research from the fields of anthropology and archaeology to complement the picture of the death ritual that emerges from historical research allowing for a fuller analysis of the findings.

This thesis is concerned with the practical processes and meaning of the ritual. As such the use of the liturgy within the ritual is not considered. Although liturgy was undoubtedly an essential part of the death ritual, here the focus is particularly on the physical actions and processes of the community at the time of a death of one of its own; on the care of the dying monk; his progression through the monastic space; the timing and activity of the brethren as they supported their brother during his last hours and onto his burial and reception into the next world. Given this focus on the practicalities and setting of the death ritual, the depiction of the miraculous during the time of death and burial is likewise not considered, other than on those occasions when a described miracle has particular bearing on the care of the body and the posthumous practices that are thereby demonstrated.

While this study concentrates on the twelfth century, there are areas in which it flows beyond the confines of that century. Chief among these is in the dating of Lanfranc's *Constitutions* to a likely composition period within the late 1070s.[13] As will be shown, elements of the death ritual that are seen in the *Constitutions* were present in tenth-century England before being codified by Lanfranc into practice he thought best, in his late eleventh-century customary. Likewise, the writing of Adam's *Magna Vita* of Saint Hugh extends beyond the twelfth century, the work being completed in about 1212,

---

[13] See below, section 1.3.1 The *Monastic Constitutions* of Lanfranc.

some twelve years after the death of the bishop.[14] Despite these expansions beyond the twelfth century however, the fact that the four saints studied here died between the years 1109 and 1200, a period during which Lanfranc's customary was circulating in England, serves to retain the focus of this research within the context of twelfth-century monasticism.

The *Lives* selected for consideration here have been chosen because collectively they represent a cross-section of monastic leadership from different religious orders across the whole of the twelfth century in England. Anselm (d. 1109) was a Benedictine archbishop of Canterbury; Ailred (d. 1167) was abbot of the Cistercian foundation of Rievaulx; Gilbert (d. 1189) was founder and master of the Gilbertine order, and Hugh (d. 1200) was bishop of Lincoln and a Carthusian monk. For each of these monks there exists a full account of their death and funeral, and other than in the case of Gilbert where it is impossible to tell, the author of the *Life* knew their subject well and was an eyewitness to the death they describe. The four saints died in England and their memories were preserved there; their *Lives* written from within and for their English communities. Their burial places were at their respective centres of authority, in Canterbury, Rievaulx, Sempringham and Lincoln.

Although only three of these four monks have actually been the subject of a successful papal canonisation process, Ailred being the exception, for the sake of simplicity when considered collectively they will be referred to as saints.[15] That the *Lives* are hagiographical works, with the aim of portraying their subject as a saint, is a powerful underpinning influence evident throughout, and is seen particularly strongly in the death narratives. The use of the death ritual as a vehicle for the expression of the sanctity of the subject of the *Life* is explored through the use of comparative analysis of the *Lives*.

---

[14] See below, section 1.3.2.iv Hugh of Lincoln.

[15] Anselm was the subject of an uncompleted canonisation endeavour by Thomas Beckett in 1163, but was recognised as a saint in the church prior to this. See Ward, *Anselm of Canterbury*, pp. 72-80 for details. Gilbert was canonised as the result of papal enquiry in 1202, and Hugh by the same route in 1220. *BSG,* p. lxiii, and Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis,* [henceforth MV], ed. D. Douie and D. H. Farmer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985)*,* vol. I, p. xii.

Structurally this work is arranged to consider in this first chapter the research question and how it will be answered, the texts used and the main themes that underpin the study of medieval monastic death. These latter include the concepts of death as a transitional and transformative process, the relationship between living and dead and the special status of a saint in this world and the next. In the second chapter, Lanfranc's death ritual is examined within the broader context of late eleventh-century death ritual. The intention here is twofold: to demonstrate Lanfranc's ritual as expressing what was at the time considered best practice within a complex dynamic of monastic death management; and to explicate the death ritual in its entirety, allowing for a sense of its significance to emerge and with that the ability to analyse its substance. The following chapter undertakes a comparative analysis of the death narratives of the four selected saints and maps this against the stated requirements of Lanfranc's ritual, identifying and presenting reasons for both continuity in practice and divergence. The use of medicine and medical expertise and expression at the deathbed, and how this is manifest, is discussed throughout, drawing from both theory and from the practice described in the *Lives*. The final chapter, chapter 4, concludes the thesis, drawing together and summarising the themes that have emerged and resultant findings.

1.2   Underpinning Themes and Theories

In seeking to comprehend the death ritual in all its richness, it is helpful, perhaps essential, to draw upon research and theory from a range of academic disciplines. While the theories presented here do not constitute a major part of the work, they do nevertheless impact upon it and have a constant influence within the work. For this reason they are introduced and described here, in the introduction.

The dead had a particular form of existence in twelfth-century English society, and were in a sense completely present among the living.[16] The concept of the dead forming part of living society is seen through use of the precepts of life course theory, which

---

[16] C. S. Watkins in *History and the Supernatural in Medieval Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 182-191, has described a variety of ways in which this was seen including visions of the suffering dead and tales of ghosts and revenants. He also describes (p. 121) how the sainted dead remained present to the living and were communicated with as though with a friend.

proposes the concept of human existence and ageing as a continuum impacted by context, rather than as a series of stages.[17] In a development of relevance to death ritual, life course theory has been extended to include post-life identity, the notion of the dead continuing to exist, albeit in an altered state, beyond death.[18] This idea of post-life identity is one that would have been entirely familiar in the twelfth century. Binski describes how the biography of a later medieval Christian was merely interrupted by death, it did not cease; death rituals were simply a marker, a staging post, on the journey.[19] The dead continued to exist but in a new relationship to the world. This view is shared by P. Geary, who writes that death marked a transition for an individual, a change in their status, but not an end.[20] B. Ward takes this even further in discussing the significance of the imagery of the resurrected Christ to the twelfth-century Christian mind, saying that it served as an affirmation that the Christian dead were alive, more alive in fact than the living, the invisibility of the dead being the only difference.[21] R. Bartlett writes about the mutual relationship that existed between dead saints and living people, particularly in terms of requests made by the latter for the intercession of the former.[22] While they express this in terms of modern material culture, seen in photographs for example, or cremated remains, it is seen clearly too in medieval death practices, and at the tombs and through the relics of the saints. It is present as well in the acts of commemoration, of remembrance, that were carried out by the monastic communities for their late brethren. In order to make sense of the monastic death ritual at all, it is necessary to be cogniscent of the medieval understanding of the presence of

---

[17] R. Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), pp. 4-6.

[18] J. Hockey and J. Draper, 'Beyond the womb and the tomb: identity and (dis)embodiment and the life course', *Body and Society,* 11 (2005), 41-57. The authors look at transitions that are at the borderlines of embodiment, including death, and describe how the demise of the body is not necessarily a bar to the continued social participation of an individual. Using the extended life course concept, Gilchrist has described death as an ambiguous state, 'the state of being dead or alive', a condition that confounds definitions of embodiment. *Medieval Life,* p. 5.

[19] Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 22, p. 24 and p. 29.

[20] P. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1994), p. 2. Geary takes this view further (p. 78) through saying that the dead can rightly be termed as an age group in medieval society.

[21] B. Ward, *Signs and Wonders* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), p. 11.

[22] R. Bartlett in *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 103-106, notes that this would have been an entirely comprehensible notion in a society that understood the significance of the role of lordship in the medieval world.

the dead within the community of the living; it is indeed one of the foundations upon which death management was predicated.

The relationship between the living and the dead was complex and dynamic. It was influenced by a variety of factors, one of the foremost of which was the developing belief, or beliefs, about life after death, and the influence both the living and the dead could have upon this.[23] D. M. Hadley itemises the things that a person, or people, could do to determine the fate of a soul after death; these included living a good life, doing penance for sins and offering prayers and masses for the soul.[24] A two-way relationship existed between the living and the dead, undertaken by the living in the sure and certain knowledge that one day they too would be dead and benefit from the good offices of those still living. Not only did the dead depend on the prayers and alms-giving of the living in order to reduce their purgatorial burden, but the living attributed the dead with the intentionality and capacity for strategic action in the afterlife; a potentially valuable attribute to the living in planning their own posthumous journey.[25] The capacity of the living to influence the outcome for the soul of a dying or dead person was a major influence in the design and enactment of the death ritual. Care of the dead was one of the key roles of religious houses in the Middle Ages, and the brothers performed this

---

[23] C. Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 1, goes so far as to say that the key to understanding medieval religion is the fate of the individual's soul after death. Other scholars are of this view too. Gilchrist, Daniell's fellow archaeologist, writes in *Medieval Life,* p. 167, that the entire structure of later medieval Christianity was premised on belief in the concept of purgatory. J. Le Goff holds that the doctrine of purgatory was formalised in 1215 at the Fourth Lateran Council. *The Birth of Purgatory,* trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), originally published as: *La Naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1981), p. 216. Undoubtedly though, the notion of the post-mortem suffering of the soul and the ability to alleviate it through various means was understood for decades previously. Anselm of Canterbury mentions in several of his letters that illness and bodily suffering serve as both God's chastisement and as a way to reduce the burden of sin. In a letter to Hernost of Rochester, (letter 53) written in about 1075-76 when Anselm was prior of Bec, Anselm expresses his grief at the bishop's serious illness then moves to comfort him. 'But when I consider that through this [illness] your soul is being nourished for eternity, your progress consoles me with spiritual joy. It is certainly well known to your holiness that in tribulations of the flesh and cauterisation, the rust of sins is burned away and through patience the life of a just man is perfected [sed cum considero quia per haec anima vestra ad aeternitatem nutritur, consolatur me spirituali laetitia vester profectus. Notum quippe est sanctitati vestrae quia in tribulatione carnis et per ustionem rubigo peccatorum exeritur, et per patientiam iusti vita perficitur].' Anselm, *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia,* vols. i-vi, ed. F. S. Schmitt (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1949-1961), vol. iii, p. 167. Despite this, the majority of references concerning illness, made by Anselm in his letters, are a medical detailing of symptoms rather than an expiatory account of sin. G. E. M. Gasper, ' "A doctor in the house"? The context for Anselm of Canterbury's interest in medicine with reference to a probable case of malaria', *Journal of Medieval History,* 30 (2004), p. 249.

[24] D. M. Hadley, *Death in Medieval England, an Archaeology* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), pp. 66-67.

[25] R. Gilchrist, *Medieval Life,* p. 13 and p. 190.

function through prayer and remembrance both for those in their own brotherhood, and increasingly for contacts and benefactors.[26] All the elements of the monastic death ritual, from the moment of its instigation, were intended to assure the dying brother of the best outcome possible for his immortal soul as it departed from his body at the moment of death. In a sense the death ritual was designed to last forever as the posthumous rites of remembrance settled into an ever-repeating cycle of anniversaries where prayer and masses were offered, in perpetuity, for the souls of the late brothers. Being dead was not at all the same as being gone; it was simply a different state of being.

The status of a dead saint among the living was more enhanced than was that of the ordinary dead person.[27] The saint possessed what A. Vauchez has described as *virtus*.[28] *Virtus* is expressed as a gift from God to his saints in acknowledgement of their merits, and in compensation for their sufferings. It was present in the saint during his lifetime and remained in his body after death, making the body of a saint not just a locus of sanctity but also a powerful agent of the miraculous. While naturally this aspect of the relationship between living and dead is not seen in the death ritual as articulated by Lanfranc, it was, as will be discussed in chapter 3, very evident in the *Lives*. The hagiographers wove together in their death narratives the logistics of the death ritual with the understanding of the special status of a saint, and the possibility, likelihood even, that this sanctity would be manifest both through his body and in his demeanour and attitude as he approached his own death. The dying and death of their subject, with all that surrounded this event, were used extensively by the hagiographers as they utilised the notion of *virtus* in seeking to depict and promote their leader as a saint.

---

[26] E. Jamroziak, 'Burials and Politics of the Living and the Dead in Scotland and Pomerania in the High Middle Ages' in C. Krotzl, (ed.), *On Old Age Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages Vol. II* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), p. 217.

[27] C. S. Watkins, *History and the Supernatural,* p. 120 describes the saints as having been understood to be mediators of grace narrowing the gap between man and God and possessed of an almost tangible power.

[28] Vauchez, A., *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* trans., J. Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Originally published as: *La Sainteté en Occident aux Derniers Siècles du Moyen Age* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1981), p. 425, identifies several uses and understandings of the term *virtus*, but surmises that it is usually used to mean force, power or the capacity to perform miracles.

In addition to *virtus*, the appearance of the physical body of the saint, in life as well as in death, was emblematic of their sanctity.[29] This feature of sainthood is reflective of the complex range of thoughts and beliefs, that were seen in Western Christianity during the medieval period, on the subject of the nature of matter and the condition of the human body with its propensity for change. While this area as a whole is beyond the scope of this work it does touch upon the consideration of the *Lives* of the saints, in as much as it pertains to concepts of life after death and understanding of ongoing human existence, with specific regard to the body of a saint. C. W. Bynum has written about how saints' bodies were often described as if they were jewels, their physical body in life and in death foreshadowing, and in a way actually becoming, the resurrection body they would eventually have.[30]

This imagery is marked in Ailred's *Life,* when its author, Walter Daniel, described the body of the dead Ailred as being like a shining carbuncle.[31] In the same passage, Walter wrote of the childlike perfection of Ailred's body. By the time of his death, Ailred's anorexia and sometime deliberate lack of nutrition had, according to Walter, rendered him emaciated in the extreme. Bynum has expressed a view, seen within twelfth-century saints' *Lives,* of the results of inedia upon the body being considered beautiful. This being the case, it appears that the beauty of Ailred's dead body as described by Walter was not just despite his emaciation, but actually because of it.[32] All four *Lives* considered here stress the lack of nutritional intake by the saint, and the impact of this upon their body, whether the inedia was involuntary as in the case of Anselm, or deliberate as seen in Ailred, Gilbert and Hugh. The propensity for change is less in an emaciated body, a feature that was desirable to a society which felt significant unease at the concept of bodily alterations and decay, and defined and explored matter as the

---

[29] Saints' bodies were treated with special respect and veneration, whether the saint's body decayed or in rare instances, remained incorrupt. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead,* pp. 99-101.

[30] C. W. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity 200-1335* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 210.

[31] Walter uses the word 'carbunculus' which in this context should be understood as a red gem or topaz-like stone. *VAil,* lviii, p. 62.

[32] Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body,* p. 221. While this is a feature of the *Lives* of female saints particularly, it applies here too. Ailred's drawn and fleshless face is described by Walter as being angelic. *VAil*, xli, p. 49.

locus of change.[33] In a way, the body of the saint was becoming a relic while he was still alive. As will be discussed, maintaining the immutability of the body and endeavouring to preserve it through embalming practices is described in three of the four *Lives* including that of Ailred, whose body was described using the metaphor of a jewel and was therefore already in a sense unchangeable. Gilbert was the exception.

Working in the field of social anthropology, A. Van Gennep considered death and burial among other of life's transformative experiences, understood and expressed by the participants through the rites that were developed to surround the particular event.[34] He proposed that transitional processes were underpinned by different rites according to the nature and staging of the transformational event and categorised these rites into those of transition, of separation and of (re)incorporation. Writing specifically about funerals, Van Gennep stated that, contrary to his expectation, rites of separation were not much seen in the ceremonies he studied, however rites of transition proved to be both complex and lengthy.[35] Furthermore, rites designed to incorporate the dead person into the world of the dead, and reform the living as a new community, were particularly elaborate and held to be of great importance to both the dead person and the living survivors.[36] These facets are seen in both Lanfranc's description of the enactment of the death ritual, and in the death accounts as they are recounted in the *Lives,* although, as will be demonstrated, not equally in both. Purification practices occurred during the progressive death ritual and supported the transitional process; these are evident in the efforts the monks made to ensure the cleanliness of both body and soul, through washing the body and through confession. This ritual purification is seen again later on, after burial, with remembrance practices designed to continue the ceremonial cleansing of the late brother's soul.

The sense of progression, of journey, of transition, with all the uncertainty such a situation can bring, can be sensed by the reader through both the requirements of

---

[33] C. W. Bynum, *Christian Materiality* (New York: Zone Books, 2011), p. 25 and p. 32 writes that medieval theorists, following the philosophy of Aristotle and Isodore, understood body to mean 'changeable thing' as well as a living human being.

[34] A. Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage,* trans. M. Vizedom and G. Caffee, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960). Originally published as: *Les rites de passage* (Paris: Emile Nourry, 1909), p. 11.

[35] Ibid., p. 146.

[36] Ibid., pp. 146-147.

Lanfranc's death ritual, and throughout the death narratives in the studied *Lives.* Although this is rarely expressed explicitly in any of the texts considered here, Van Gennep's theoretical modelling is helpful with respect to the monastic death ritual, allowing for and encouraging its analysis as an ongoing transformative process. This means that the death ritual can be seen not just as a series of activities marking particular boundaries and crossings, but as a transitional event through which the monks expressed their understanding of the ongoing nature of their existence both in body and soul, in this world and the next. The understanding drawn from Van Gennep's work about transitional processes as they are manifest in the monastic death ritual, is presented as a recurrent theme throughout this work and complemented by consideration of the impact and utilisation of the monastic space itself upon the ritual. In this way, modern theoretical constructs are not imposed onto periods or texts which had their own, sophisticated, conceptual frameworks for the act and ritual of death, but are deployed alongside them to help sharpen the focus of the discussion.

1.3   The Textual Basis

1.3.1   The *Monastic Constitutions* of Lanfranc

Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions,* written for the cathedral monastery at Canterbury, contains chapters directing the community as to the care of a monk when he is sick, dying and dead.[37] Seven manuscripts and a fragment of the *Constitutions* dating from between the late eleventh century and the early thirteenth century are known to exist.[38] The two earliest are found in Durham Cathedral Library and Hereford Cathedral Library. The copy in the Durham 'Cantor's Book' MS B.IV.24, folios 47r-71v, was written by Eadmer and another unidentified scribe at Christ Church Canterbury between about 1090-95. It was given to the cathedral community at its own request, by Bishop William of Saint-Calais (d. 1096). The Hereford copy, MS P V 1, folios Ir-26v, of s. xi/ xii, was probably copied from the same exemplar as was Durham's copy and is

---

[37] *MCL,* 111-115*,* pp. 179-195.

[38] *MCL*, pp. xliii-xlviii and p. xlv for full details of these manuscripts. Brooke concurs with Knowles' decision to base his translation of the *Constitutions* largely on the Durham text.

dedicated to Henry, prior of Christ Church Canterbury who became abbot of Battle in 1076.[39] The remaining manuscripts date from about 1120 to the late twelfth century, and despite some differences between them and the fact that one is incomplete, it appears that all stem from a common ancestor at Christ Church.[40]

The exact date of the *Constitutions* is unknown. H. E. J. Cowdrey suggests that before 1080 is most probable, basing this view on the likelihood that the work would not have been written before the consecration of the rebuilt church in 1077, but that it would have had to have been written in time for the dissemination to other houses during Lanfranc's lifetime.[41] This matches Brooke's suggested dating of 1077-1079.[42] While the evidence precludes a precise date, there is nevertheless a consensus for composition around 1077-1080. The *Constitutions* circulated within England during Lanfranc's last years and in the period soon after his death.[43]

---

[39] Brooke speculates that Henry took the Hereford copy to Battle with him. *MCL*, p. xlv.

[40] *MCL*, pp. xlv-xlviii.

[41] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc* p. 155.

[42] Brooke in his forward to *MCL*, pp. xxviii-xxxv, favours the earlier date of 1077 and no later than 1079, basing this opinion on a range of factors including Lanfranc's much debated excising of Anglo-Saxon saints from the liturgical calendar at Canterbury.

[43] Regarding the circulation of the *Constitutions*, J. Burton in *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 24, names Rochester, St Alban's, Battle and Durham as recipients. Brooke conjectures that Gilbert Crispin took a copy to Westminster with him. and that it became widely influential. *MCL*, pp. xxxi-xxxii. This view is supported by Gibson when she states that the quality of the *Constitutions* can be seen from its popularity throughout England for the half century following its writing. *Lanfranc*, p. 174. Lanfranc asserted in his prefatory letter to Prior Henry that he had no intention that the *Constitutions* be adopted wholesale elsewhere, stressing the need for local variances to drive local practices within the application of the Rule of Benedict. 'Hinc est quod nulla fere ecclesia imitari aliam per onmia potest.' *MCL*, p. 2. Pfaff in *The Liturgy in Medieval England* pp. 109-110, has suggested this may have been be slightly disingenuous and that the opposite may have been the case, as Lanfranc perhaps deliberately did not give any Canterbury specific topographical information in the *Constitutions* just so that it could be easily used in other houses. As well as the certainty that Hereford and Durham had copies, Pfaff suggests that indications from tradition and inference indicate that the *Constitutions* was also used at St. Albans, Rochester, St Augustine's Canterbury, Worcester, Evesham, Westminster and possibly Eynsham too within a relatively short period of its composition.

1.3.2 The *Lives*: the Saints and their Biographers

i.　　Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109)

The text considered here for the details of Anselm's life and death is the *Life of Anselm*, written by Eadmer, Anselm's fellow monk at Canterbury.[44] Eadmer commenced this work during the period 1112-1114 and continued to amend and develop it over the following years. A final version dates to about 1125. Texts were disseminated to houses in England, as well as more widely in France and Flanders, particularly to the houses with which Anselm had been associated.[45] The alterations Eadmer made to his original composition were occasioned not just by an author's urge to improve his work, but also in response to negative opinions that were voiced about Anselm after his death.[46] Eadmer's revisions strengthened the narrative to display Anselm more clearly as fitting the model of a saint. The death of Anselm was one of the events Eadmer could, and indeed did, use to his benefit as he adopted an apologist stance in his amendments, seeking to portray his subject as truly sainted.

Eadmer had been brought up in the monastic community at Canterbury from boyhood.[47] Once Anselm became archbishop, he and Eadmer came to be close associates, not just at Canterbury, but abroad too as Eadmer accompanied Anselm on his journeys and

---

[44] *VA.* Eadmer's other works include his historical work, *Historia Novorum in Anglia and* the *Lives* of several other Canterbury archbishops and saints, in addition to Anselm.

[45] *VA,* pp. viii-xxv. Southern describes two groups of the work: the first group originates from Eadmer's work in the years c. 1112-1114 and was routed via Bec, possibly St. Bertin in France, and Rochester in England. The second group comes from a longer version of the *Life* Eadmer produced by adding to and editing his original work during the years c. 1114-1125. This version has been found in English houses including Christ Church, Canterbury; St Mark, Bristol; Hinton, Somerset and Holm Cultram, Cumbria. The earliest of these manuscripts, that from Holm Cultram, dates from the late twelfth century. *VA.* p. viii and pp. xxi-xxiv. Southern uses the longer version as the basis for his critical edition of the *Life. VA,* p. xxv.

[46] *VA,* pp. xi-xii.While the detail of the negative opinions raised about Anselm are beyond the scope of this work, Southern describes them broadly as falling into two categories: the first questioning Anselm's effectiveness as archbishop and the second questioning his sanctity. Southern states that Eadmer never wavered in his consideration of Anselm as a saint, and the introduction of a miracle collection to later copies of the *Life* was undertaken in order to support his case.

[47] Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait,* p. 406. Southern reckons Eadmer was born in about 1060, came to Canterbury as a boy and first met Anselm there when the latter visited in 1079.

periods of exile away from the monastery.[48] While the earlier parts of Eadmer's *Life* reflect this close contact with and access to Anselm, from 1100 onwards the *Life* becomes less intimate, relating fact with a brevity that is lacking from Eadmer's previous fuller style.[49] Despite this, Eadmer was with Anselm at the time of Anselm's death and burial and gives an eye witness account of his abbot's passing. As he tells us, 'the whole congregation of his sons gathered around him, and sending forth his soul into the hands of the Creator, he slept in peace.'[50] Eadmer's own words, alongside the late Lanfranc's requirement for the whole of the Canterbury community to be present at the death of a brother, allows for confidence in the fact that Eadmer was indeed witness to Anselm's death.[51]

ii.   Ailred of Rievaulx (1109-1167)

The *Life* of Ailred was written by Walter Daniel who was, with Ailred, a monk at Rievaulx Abbey. The *Life* along with two associated pieces, Walter's *Letter to Maurice* and his *Lament for Ailred* survive in a single late fourteenth-century manuscript housed at Jesus College, Cambridge.[52] While there is no record of the work in the medieval catalogue of Rievaulx Abbey, a section of Ailred's allocution to the monks taken from the *Life* was found there in the fifteenth century suggesting readership in the community

---

[48] Ibid., p. 404, attributes the biographical fullness of Eadmer's *Life* of Anselm not only to the fact that Eadmer and Anselm were in regular contact over many years, and that Eadmer had the skills of recording historical narrative and fact, but also because Anselm himself would recount incidents from his own past, that Eadmer then recorded.

[49] Eadmer himself gives the reason for this. Anselm had called Eadmer to him and at his request been shown Eadmer's work on Anselm. Eadmer reports that at first Anselm was encouraging, but a few days later called Eadmer back and commanded him to destroy the work. Eadmer 'observed the letter of his command, and destroyed those quires, having first copied their contents on to other quires [notatis verbis eius quaterniones ipsos destruxi, iis quires scripti erant aliis quaternionibus primo inscriptis]'. *VA* II, lxxii, pp. 150-151. It appears that Anselm's relationship with Eadmer changed after this incident, as did the exposure Eadmer had to Anselm, and the *Life* reflects this reduction in contact between the two men.

[50] 'Adunatoque circa illum universo filiorum suorum agmine, ultimum spiritum in manus Creatoris emittens, dormivit in pace.' *VA* II, lxvi, p. 143.

[51] *MCL,* 112, pp. 181-183. As discussed in the previous chapter, Lanfranc directed that the whole community should run to the bed of the dying brother when summoned by those caring for him. Only if one of the major offices was in process was this requirement altered, with a few of the monks remaining to complete the office before joining their brothers at the deathbed.

[52] Jesus College, Cambridge, MS Q.B. 7. The *Life* is found on folios 63v-74r, is preceded by Walter Daniel's *Letter to Maurice*, and has Walter's *Lament for Ailred* on the folios following. Powicke notes that the three are written by the same scribe and suggests that the work may have originated from Durham. *VAil*, p. xxix.

at that point.[53] Two later *Lives*, dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively, are independently-made summaries of Walter Daniel's original work.[54] It appears then that there was limited, if any, dissemination of the *Life* in the twelfth century.

Walter's *Letter to Maurice* is an excoriating rebuttal of criticisms levied by persons now unknown at Walter's *Life,* which appear to have questioned much about the work, and specifically the elements designed to demonstrate the sanctity of Ailred including the description of his dead body glowing like a carbuncle.[55] Walter had used the death scene and this description of Ailred's body to support his message of Ailred as a saint and in the face of subsequent criticism was driven to an apologetic response.

Walter lived at Rievaulx for the last seventeen years of Ailred's abbacy.[56] In his *Lament for Ailred*, Walter describes himself as being an 'officio medicus', however there is nothing in the *Life* to suggest that Walter provided medical treatment to Ailred.[57] There are though detailed descriptions provided by Walter about Ailred's illnesses. There are also references to Walter being with Ailred often, and acting as scribe for the abbot.[58] As well as scribing for Ailred, Walter authored his own works, and the catalogue of the

---

[53] *VAil,* l, p. 58, footnote 1. Powicke states that Ailred's allocution to the monks was added to the end of the Abbot's pastoral prayer during the fifteenth century. This he says shows that Walter Daniel's work was being read there at that time and indicates possible continuity of usage from the time of its composition three centuries earlier.

[54] *VAil,* pp. xxviii-xxix. Powicke noted that both works were published together in Carl Horseman, ed., *Nova Legenda Angliae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1901).

[55] *VAil, Letter to Maurice,* pp. 66-81. Walter writes critically of his detractors. 'Those friends of mine, therefore have unjustly abused me. Then then say, "In your book you describe the body of the dead Ailred glowing like a carbuncle and smelling like incense. You have not expressed yourself with sufficient caution" [male ergo vituperaverunt me amici mei isti. Et hoc, inquiunt, quod in libello tuo corpus Alredi defuncti luxisse ut carbunculum et ut thus redoluisse professus es, non satis caute posuisti].' *VAil, Letter to Maurice,* pp. 76-77.

[56] 'I lived seventeen years under his rule [Decem et septum annis vixi sub magisterio euis].' *VAil,* xxxi, p. 40

[57] 'Et licet mihi sim in officio medicus, non tamen sine acerbo dolere curo.' *VAil,* p. xxvii, fn. 1. Dutton translates this as 'and although I myself may be a physician by profession, still I apply treatment not without sharp grief'. *The Life of Aelred of Rievaulx and the Letter to Maurice*, ed. and trans. F.M. Powicke, intro. M. Dutton (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1994), p. 141. Translating 'medicus' as 'physician' may give the title a formality and status in modern understanding that was neither intended nor understood in Walter's time. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

[58] 'His writings, preserved for posterity by the labour of my own hand, show quite well well enough how he was wont to express himself [Siquidem scripta illius ostendunt sufficienter qualiter sit locutus, que manu mea et labore memorie posterorum reservate sunt].' *VAil*, xviii*,* p. 27.

library at Rievaulx, drawn up shortly before the monastery's dissolution in 1538, lists nine of them.[59] The *Life* is not among them. Walter identified himself as the Walter who appears in *Spiritual Friendship*, one of Ailred's own works.[60] Walter makes it clear in the *Life* that he was with his abbot during Ailred's final illness and death, and for the preparation of his body for burial.[61]

iii.   Gilbert of Sempringham (1083/89-1189)

The *Liber Sancti Gileberti* survives in two manuscripts of the thirteenth century, British Library MS Cotton Cleopatra B i, dating from the early thirteenth century, and British Library MS Harleian 468, which is mid or late thirteenth century.[62] The former contains the *Liber Sancti Gileberti* ff. 32-167, and is written in single hand of the very early thirteenth century. In addition to the *Liber Sancti Gileberti*, the manuscript has a prologue and a dedicatory letter to Archbishop Hubert, and shows evidence of use from the thirteenth century until the seventeenth century.[63] The translation of the saint is recorded in the book, so the completion of the work must date to after 13 October 1202, and was possibly finished in time for the first celebration of the feast of the new Saint Gilbert on 2 February 1203.[64] This being the case, the *Life* was written about thirteen years after Gilbert's death, this dating bringing the work chronologically close to the

---

[59] *VAil,* pp. xvii-xviii.

[60] *VAil,* xxxii, p. 41.

[61] *VAil,* lvii, p. 61, for example, in a section in which Walter is describing Ailred's final words, he writes of Ailred's last day. 'I sat with him on that day and held his head in my hands, the rest of us sitting apart [in illo die sedi ego et sustentavi capud euis manibus meis, aliis longius consedentibus nobis].' On the preparation of Ailred's body, Walter places himself there as eye witness, using the first person for his description. 'When his body was laid naked before us to be washed, we saw … [cum autem corpus euis ad lavandum, fuisset et nudatum coram nobis, vidimus …].' Ibid. lviii, p. 62.

[62] *BSG,* pp. lxiii-lxvii. Foreville considers that the later manuscript reproduces the text and arrangement of the earlier one to quite an exceptional degree and is a copy of it. *BSG,* p. lxxi. The manuscript also contains folios relating to the canonisation process of Gilbert. The additional folios include material on visions and revelations, two miracle collections and letters concerning the canonisation. Foreville refers to this collection in its entirety as the 'Book of Saint Gilbert', pp. lxv-lxvi.

[63] *BSG,* p. lxvi. Foreville states that marginal notes from the late thirteenth century, and some from the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries show evidence of long use apparently by the religious of the order and then by Cotton's librarians.

[64] Foreville thinks it likely that the book was presented to Archbishop Hubert Walter before the first solemn feast of the saint because the author does not include in it the proper responses and antiphons for the service in his work, but indicated that he intended to do so subsequently. *BSG,* p. lxxiii and pp. 8-10. 'Responsoria vero et antiphons de eo canendas ex canonical scriptura utriusque Testamenti passim prout ei sententie que de aliquo also nondum cantatur congruerint, Deo dante, in posterum excerpere proposui.'

lifetime of the saint himself. It is thought that the work is based upon an even earlier
and now lost *Life* of Gilbert, written by the same author, a man who served at the church
in Sempringham, but who does not give his name in the text.[65] There is no evidence of
transmission of the *Life* beyond the Lincolnshire area in the years following Gilbert's
death and canonisation. The miracles attributed to Gilbert were in the main for the
benefit of members of his own communities, and those miracles of which the laity were
beneficiaries, happened in the vicinity of Gilbert's shrine. It appears that his cult
remained local and that the *Life* was used by members of his communities rather than
by the laity.[66]

Within the group of saints considered here, Gilbert stands apart in that rather than
joining a monastic order, he founded one. Among the religious communities of the
twelfth century, the Gilbertine order was unusual in that it was a joint order, accepting
both men and women into its numbers. Gilbert originally intended a foundation for men,
but none were willing to live the stringent life required by him, so he accepted instead
women who were prepared to live by his strictures.[67] Men joined subsequently, living
parallel but completely separate lives. Although the order grew, and in some ways
flourished, it was dogged by controversy; at one stage Gilbert asked the Cistercians to
take it over, but they refused. The tone of the *Life* has, accordingly, an apologetic mood
which extends into the death account.[68] Gilbert continued as master of the Gilbertine
order until his death in advanced old age, when he was 'more than a hundred years old

---

[65] 'Sane processu temporis, cum in ecclesia Sempringhamensi ubi sanctus requiescit ministrarem, multa
ibi insignia vidi, plura audivi, que pro mei negotiatione talenti antescriptis adie.' *BSG, Prologue,* p. 8.
Foreville considers that the author was Ralph who was sacrist at Sempringham in 1189 when one of the
first miracles was performed near the tomb of St Gilbert, and was probably the same person as the Ralph
de Insula who was a member of the 1201 canonisation mission to Rome. *BSG,* pp. lxxiv-lxxv. This view
is supported by B. Golding in *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order c. 1130 -1300* (Oxford:
Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 7-9. This view is speculative.

[66] Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham*, p. 67, states that the *Life* did not circulate outside the order, and uses
this along with the localised miracle spread to argue that the cult of Gilbert was intended for the enclosed
world of the cloister and Gilbert's own spiritual family.

[67] 'Cum non inveniret viros qui tam districte vellent pro Deo vivere, in usus talium sua omnia conferre
dignum duxit que vere pauperes spiritu et sibi et ceteris possent celorum regnum vendicare [When he
found no men willing to lead such strict lives for God's sake, he thought it right to give all he owned to
the use of [such girls] who being truly poor in spirit could obtain the kingdom of God for themselves and
others].' *BSG,* 9, pp. 30-31.

[68] 'Ut curam domorum suarum manciparet custodie monachorum Cistercie.' *BSG, 13,* pp. 40-41. Golding
in *Gilbert of Sempringham*, pp. 8-9, describes Gilbert's *Life* as being 'aggressively defensive' in tone, and
attributes this to the fact that there was discord within the order and that Gilbert was not recognised as a
saint by some contemporaries.

and full of days.'[69] There is nothing in the text to indicate whether the author of the *Life* was present at the death and burial of Gilbert. The recounting of the death scene can be read either as an eyewitness account or as hearsay evidence, or, indeed as fabrication. There is a distance in the sentence in which the death is introduced, which suggests that the author may not have been present. He writes, 'Those who were present could scarcely say anything …', rather than, 'we who were present …'.[70]

Despite the uncertainty about the identity of the author of the *Life,* and the fact that it is not possible to say whether he witnessed Gilbert's dying, it remains a credible source for the death and burial of the saint. The proximity of the composition of the *Life* to the date of Gilbert's death, and the probable identification of Ralph de Insula, sacrist at Sempringham as its author, give validity to the work, as does the fact that it formed part of the documentation validated by witness accounts and taken to Rome for the formal canonisation process in 1202.

iv.   Hugh of Lincoln (1140-1200)

The author of the *Magna Vita*, Hugh's *Life,* was a Benedictine monk, Adam of Eynsham.[71] Surviving manuscripts of the *Magna Vita* fall into one of three classes.[72] In compiling the version of the *Magna Vita* used here, Douie drew upon manuscripts from all three classes, collating them in to the version she presents.[73] The oldest manuscript dates to the second half of the thirteenth century, was probably written within thirty years of Adam's death and is considered to be the one that best preserves Adam's

---

[69] 'Plus quam centennis senex et plenus dierum.' *BSG,* 52, pp. 124-125.

[70] 'Vix aliquid dicere poterant qui interfuerant … '. *BSG,* 52, pp. 122-123.

[71] *MV,* vol. I, pp. viii-ix. Adam who was sub prior at Eynsham before becoming Hugh's chaplain, was later to become its abbot. The last mention of Adam is in 1233, and Douie believes he must have died shortly after this. *MV*, vol. I, p. xiii.

[72] *MV,* vol. I, pp. xlix-liv. These classes are named as: the oldest form of the text; the long abbreviation; continental vulgate texts.

[73] *MV,* vol. I, p. liii.

work.[74] It may even be a direct copy of his original.[75] Douie gives precedence to this manuscript in her version of Adam's *Magna Vita* meaning that her edition is extremely close in both time and content to Adam's original.[76] Regarding the spread of the *Magna Vita* in England, Douie states that it is known that Bishop Richard Gravesend of London (d. 1303) had a copy, and that there was more than one copy at Lincoln.[77] She also points out that it is reasonable to suppose that English Charterhouses held copies.

In the prologue to the *Magna Vita,* Adam wrote that for three years he served as Hugh's chaplain, and was a constant companion of the bishop until Hugh's death.[78] Adam was requested by the monks of Witham, the Carthusian house in England of which Hugh had been prior, to write Hugh's *Life.* The date at which he started the work is not known although the last chapter of book II was written after 1206 and the whole work completed some six years later.[79] Adam's literary skill and suitability for the task is noted by Douie as is his factual accuracy which can be validated by other historical sources.[80] In 1219, Adam, then abbot of Eynsham, was one of the witnesses at the commission appointed by Pope Honorius III to consider the evidence put forward for the canonisation of Hugh.[81]

---

[74] *MV,* vol. I, p. xlix. MS Digby 165, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Douie gives precedence to this manuscript.

[75] *MV,* vol. I, pp. liii-liv.

[76] *MV,* vol. I, pp. l-li. The second class of manuscripts, which form the 'long abbreviation' group, is so called because the abbreviator of the original version from which the extant versions in this group descend, reproduced only about two thirds of Adam's original material. Douie describes the most faithful member of the long abbreviation group as a manuscript belonging to the former London Charterhouse. This she says is closely related to the Digby 165 text despite the fact that is was written some two hundred years later. Douie uses both these texts. The third group of texts date from the fifteenth century onwards.

[77] *MV,* vol. I, p. liv.

[78] 'A quo tempore, per annos tres et dies quinque … die semper et nocte adherens ipsi et ministrans ei.' *MV*, vol. I, p. x.

[79] *MV*, vol. 1, p. xii. Douie suggests that Adam completed the whole work soon after his period of exile in 1212.

[80] *MV*, vol. I, p. x. Douie considers too that Adam's reverence for his master did not blind him to Hugh's apparent defects which results in the *Life* providing an admirable portrait of Hugh both as monk and saint.

[81] *MV,* vol. I, p. xii.

Adam of Eynsham's *Life* of Hugh of Lincoln tells its reader that although Hugh achieved high office in the church as bishop of Lincoln and therefore had many public duties to perform, from the outset he remained true in spirit and as far as possible in lifestyle, to the Carthusian ethos of his profession.[82] As will be discussed, Hugh's holding to the monastic ideal is strongly apparent in the death account. This being the case, and despite the fact that Hugh's episcopal duties required him to live life outside the cloister, Hugh can reasonably be considered here as a monastic leader.

---

[82] *MV*, III, v. vol. I, p. 102. In one example from many as to how Hugh as bishop retained his monastic lifestyle and values as far as possible, Adam describes how Hugh rode to his consecration showing the visible signs of the poverty of his order and carrying his own bedding on his horse. 'Solitam animi gravitatem cum exterioris abiectione cultus retentans, sidebar equum non faleris adornatum set post sellam oneratum quibus diurno uteretur tempore seu nocturno pellium et sagorum involucro.'

Chapter 2: 'He Went to Dwell in the House of the Lord'[83]

2.1 Background

The earliest textual records of detailed death rituals for monastic communities date from the late eleventh century.[84] The comprehensive accounts of death practice found in Bernard of Cluny's customary and Lanfranc's *Constitutions,* both written in the late eleventh century, are therefore particularly important in providing an interpretative and evidential focus for this study, especially so as there is a dearth of such compilations from the twelfth century.[85] They are the fullest such accounts of the period and are both derivative and iterative, showing development in the practicalities and beliefs surrounding monastic death over the eleventh century. Although both were composed within the context of a specific monastery, Cluny and Canterbury respectively, they were more widely influential, with the practice they described spreading to other foundations. Additionally as will be demonstrated, they show considerable commonality in their written instructions for monastic death management and it is likely that Lanfranc drew on Cluniac practice when compiling his *Constitutions*, it being highly influential in English monasticism.[86] Even though practical application cannot be

---

[83] 'Habitaturus in domo Domini.' *BSG,* 52, p. 125. From the passage in which Gilbert's hagiographer describes the death of the saint.

[84] Earlier regulations as to the enactment of monastic death ritual are contained in the late tenth-century English customary, the *Regularis Concordia* and the early eleventh-century Cluniac *Liber tramitis*, however the death rituals found in these works are less detailed than those considered here.

[85] Bernard of Cluny's customary has been expanded by Paxton into an account of the death ritual as a whole, as it might have been practiced in Cluny during the late eleventh century. He quotes Bernard's chapter on dying and death in its entirety using an exact transcription of the late eleventh-century copy of chapter 26 of Bernard's customary: 'de obitu fratris et sepultura [the death and burial of a brother]', Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 13875 folios 47v-55v. *DRC*, pp. 56-171, with plates of the original folios on pp. 54-55. He notes that it shows evidence of use in the twelfth century. Paxton additionally makes reference to the customary of the monk Udalrich of Cluny also written during the late eleventh century.

[86] *DRC,* and see additionally for Cluny the following from among a very large body of literature: G. Constable, *Cluny from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries: Further Studies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), *Cluniac Studies* (London: Variorum, 1980) and *Medieval Monasticism: a Select Bibliography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970); N. Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh, 1049-1109* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1967), and *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1967); B. H. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982); J. Van Engen, 'The "Crisis of Cenobitism" reconsidered: Benedictine monasticism in the years 1050-1150' *Speculum, 61*, (1986), 269-304, reprinted in Van Engen ed., *Religion in the History of the Medieval West* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 269-304.

assumed from commonality of instruction, it does allow for the study of what was considered at the time to be the best way of managing the death of a monk. Additionally it helps to place the Canterbury material within a wider context of contemporary monastic networks. Because of this, the *Constitutions* is considered here as a basis for discussion of monastic death ritual in twelfth-century England, however tracking practice and change through that century is undertaken in the chapter following, by comparative analysis of the death narratives of four twelfth-century English saints. It is worth noting at this juncture that the earliest of the deaths to be considered, that of Anselm, occurred at Canterbury just thirty or so years after Lanfranc compiled his *Constitutions* for use by the monastic community there. Anselm was Lanfranc's successor to the see of Canterbury and Eadmer, the author of his *Life,* also wrote part of the *Constitutions*.[87] This serves, conjecturally at least, to link the theory of Lanfranc's death ritual to the practice of death management as seen in Anselm.

The textual background to the development of the customaries of Bernard of Cluny and Lanfranc is important in terms of determining the ground for comparison between the texts, and the scope of enquiry. While the practical aspects of the death ritual, both in terms of its progression and its context, form the focus of the investigation, this is complemented by a consideration of the impact of the monastic space itself on the ritual, and the centrality of the dying monk. The death ritual was not merely a process signified by a habitual set of actions; it was a transitional rite of profound significance for all involved, and an event in which the environment itself contributed meaning. Tellingly, enactment of the death ritual was given priority over most other monastic events and responsibilities. At all times throughout the ritual, the dying monk was both literally and figuratively at its centre. Being able to identify the pending and actual moment of death was essential to the ritual as its requirements had to change to meet the changing status of the monk as he negotiated the boundaries between different states of being. This is seen not just in the practical arrangements detailed in the customaries, but also through the utilisation of medical knowledge in the monasteries. Combining together and considering in conjunction the themes of the ritual details with the

---

[87] *MCL*, pp. xliv for the identification of Eadmer as one of the scribes of the copy of the *Constitutions* found in Durham Cathedral Library's 'Cantor's Book' MS B.IV.24, folios 47r-71v, which dates to about 1090-95.

monastic environment in which they occurred, and the role of the dying monk and the application of medical knowledge, makes possible a fuller consideration of the meaning of the ritual as a whole and its place within the outworking of the economy of salvation.

2.2   Death Rituals

2.2.1   The Cluny Death Ritual[88]

The foundation charter of Cluny (910) articulates the place of prayer and almsgiving for the benefit of the dead, though a death ritual itself is not mentioned.[89] The earliest customary from Cluny to mention a death ritual is the *Liber tramitis* written around the 1020s.[90] While it is outside the chronological framework of this study, the *Liber tramitis* has relevance in establishing the background for the late eleventh-century customaries of the Cluny monks Udalrich and Bernard.[91] Briefer and less detailed than their work, the customs inherited from the *Liber tramitis* influenced the tradition within which Udalrich and Bernard wrote their own customaries.[92]

There has been considerable debate over whether Udalrich's or Bernard's customary is the earliest, and which is derivative from the other. Certainly it is the case that Bernard's customary is the fuller and so, as Paxton determined, is the more helpful in establishing

---

[88] Recent studies on how the death of a monk was managed at Cluny include, in addition to *DRC*, Boynton and Cochelin, *From Dead of Night*, especially Paxton's essay, 'Death by Customary' pp. 297-318. These will be referred to extensively in what follows.

[89] *DRC*, p. 22.

[90] The *Liber tramitis* was originally and erroneously thought to be the personal customary of Abbot Odilo of Cluny (994-1049). It was instead the work of a visitor to Cluny, the monk Johannes of Mons Opuli, and was received at the abbey of Farfa during the 1020s. It has a complex transmission history with opinion varying as to when it was originally compiled, however Boynton's recent work on this customary showing that it arrived at Farfa in the 1020s, makes a date of composition within that decade most likely. *From Dead of Night*, p. 11.

[91] Paxton estimates that Udalrich's material makes up two thirds of Bernard's material. *DRC*, p. 25.

[92] A significant difference between the works is that the ritual anointing at the outset of the process in the *Liber tramitis* is available to a sick monk as well as to one who is dying. This is similar to the death ritual found in the tenth-century English customary *Regularis Concordia Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque,* [henceforth RC] ed. and trans. T. Symons, (London: Thomas Nelson, 1953), in which care of a sick brother is conflated with that of the dying. The chapter containing the instruction for anointing is entitled 'Quomodo circa aegrotum fratrem agatur, qualiterque defunctum humo conveniat reddi'. *RC*, XII, p. 64. This is markedly different to the later death rituals, where anointing is reserved exclusively for the dying.

the details of the death ritual at Cluny. It is thought that both documents date from the last three decades of the eleventh century. N. Hunt's view is that Bernard wrote a first customary in about 1075, followed by Udalrich in 1083.[93] Bernard then followed this with a second customary in 1084-6, and it is this work we have now. G. Constable concurs with this view.[94] Paxton's view is that Udalrich's is the earlier, reflects practice in the 1060s and 1070s and was written in about 1080, while Bernard wrote his fuller version shortly afterwards, around 1085.[95] Bernard's customary served to correct some of the negative views expressed by Udalrich and to provide for the record a more accurate account of the liturgical rites as performed at Cluny. There is agreement that the existence of the posited first customary of Bernard can only be extrapolated from later documents so is conjectural; there is no tangible evidence.

It is possible that Udalrich's customary was not written for Cluny at all, but for Abbot William of Hirsau.[96] If this is the case then Bernard's customary is indisputably the earliest known Cluny customary written by a monk there for use in the monastery. In terms of dating, had Bernard's customary already been in existence when Udalrich was writing his customary, there would have been little requirement for Udalrich to write a new, and scantier one. This, combined with the fact that there is no tangible evidence for a first customary of Bernard's and that Bernard appears to be writing on occasion specifically to correct Udalrich's account, suggest that it is more likely that Bernard's work is the later. For these reasons, as well as for the comparative fullness of Bernard's account, it is Bernard's work as presented by Paxton that is used here.

Little is known for certain about Bernard of Cluny. It has been suggested by Boynton that Bernard may have been the librarian and liturgical director for Cluny as his depth of knowledge of the detail and variables of Cluniac practice is so great.[97] This is Paxton's view too and he further suggests that Bernard may have been a child oblate at Cluny.

[93] Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh, 1049-1109,* pp. 11-13.

[94] Constable, *Cluniac Studies*, p. 152.

[95] *DRC*, p. 26.

[96] Boynton, *From Dead of Night,* p. 12, summarising in part Cochelin's paper in the same publication, 'Evolution des Coutumiers Monastiques', pp. 29-66.

[97] Boynton, 'The Customaries of Bernard and Ulrich as Liturgical Sources' in *Dead of Night,* p. 110.

Both of these possibilities would account for Bernard's deep familiarity with the Cluny customs and his concern to ensure their integrity and continuity.[98]

Architectural as well as textual evidence remains of the death ritual at Cluny, for the monks literally inscribed their practices into the fabric of their building. The infirmary floor had a groove carved in to it especially for use during the death ritual.[99] The purpose of the groove was to position the dying monk upon it, lying on sackcloth and ashes for the moment of his death. The *Liber tramitis* records the expectation that a monk will die lying on sackcloth and ashes, and this custom endured.[100] It is not known when the groove was first built into the infirmary floor, but it can be no later than mid twelfth century since the infirmary was rebuilt by Abbot Odilo (994-1049), Abbot Hugh (1049-1109), Abbot Peter the Venerable (1122-56), and not thereafter.

2.2.2 The *Monastic Constitutions* of Lanfranc

Lanfranc's *Constitutions* emerge from a time of considerable change. He was appointed as archbishop of Canterbury in 1070, coming there from his previous role as abbot of St. Stephen's, Caen. When he arrived in Canterbury to take up his new role Lanfranc found a monastic community, which was, following a major fire in 1067, in some disarray.[101] The library at Canterbury held a copy of a tenth-century English customary, the *Regularis Concordia,* which had been composed in about 973 for a collective of English

---

[98] Paxton, 'Death by Customary' in *Dead of Night,* p. 304.

[99] The eighteenth-century traveller Moleon, described this as being about six feet long and two and a half to three inches wide. Moleon who visited Cluny in about 1718, said the monks were still using it for that purpose then, but not until after the monk had died. He also described a *lavatio corporis* found at Cluny during the same visit. Designed for washing the body, it was a stone trough with an integral pillow carved from the same piece of stone and a hole at one end for drainage. It was in a room of about six or seven feet in length called the 'lavatory', and was hollowed out from the floor. P. Ariès, *At the Hour of Our Death*, trans. H. Weaver (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 161-162. Originally published as: *L'homme devant la mort* (Paris: Seuil, 1977). A similar, though free standing trough remains at Jervaulx Abbey, Yorkshire.

[100] As in the example of St Martin from his *Life* by Sulpicius Severus, and as found in the *Liber tramitis* which said that the son of a Christian should die on sackcloth and ashes. 'Filius christiani non debet migrare nisi in cinere et cilicio sicut iam in multis exemplis sanctorum experti sumus.' *DRC*, p. 196 footnote 91.

[101] *MCL*, p. xviii.

foundations under the patronage of King Edgar.[102] While Southern believed that the community was, to some extent at least, following its customs when Lanfranc arrived to take up his position as archbishop, there is no firm evidence to show what practices the community were following at that time.[103]

Whether or not the practices found in the *Regularis Concordia* were actually being enacted at Canterbury when Lanfranc arrived, the customary itself was known and, it would appear, perceived to be of use. This is demonstrated in a letter written by Anselm from Bec, to Maurice at Canterbury, requesting a copy of what he calls the rule of monastic life, drawn up by Saint Dunstan.[104] In making this request Anselm was most probably referring to the Canterbury library copy of the *Regularis Concordia*.[105]

Lanfranc's stated aim in writing the *Constitutions* was to provide a guide to the maintenance of monastic order.[106] As Lanfranc tells Prior Henry in the letter with which he prefaced the *Constitutions*, his overarching concern in ordering the monastic life was to do with salvation. He wrote, 'What we have to consider with the greatest care is that what is necessary for the soul's salvation should be safeguarded in every way.'[107] To enable this, he intended to regulate practice, to ensure the Rule of Benedict was

---

[102] Wider consideration of the influence of Norman practice and people upon English monasteries post-Conquest is not the intention here; monastic death management is the sole focus of interest. Reference to the *Regularis Concordia* and specific consideration of its sources for death management and written instruction concerning death practice will however be used on occasion to consider whether or not there was enduring commonality of opinion as to what constituted best practice in this area in both pre- and post-Conquest England.

[103] Southern in *Saint Anselm: a Portrait,* p. 311, suggests as evidence that the *Regularis Concordia* was being used at Canterbury when Lanfranc arrived, the recording of a miracle that took place during an an Easter day enactment by the community, of the three women searching at the tomb of Jesus. This took place shortly before Lanfranc's arrival and occurred when the community were following a requirement laid down in the *RC*.

[104] Anselm, letter 42, in *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia,* vol. iii, ed. F. S. Schmitt, (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1949-1961), p. 154.

[105] G. E. M. Gasper and F. Wallis, 'Anselm and the Articella', *Traditio* 59 (2004) p.129.

[106] Knowles and Brooke in *MCL,* p. xvi, describe Lanfranc's achievement in writing the *Constitutions* as considerable, in that he managed to contain within it the whole of monastic activity in a code that is a reasonable and practical directory of monastic life. Gibson, in *Lanfranc,* p. 173, states that Lanfranc's contribution was to make existing observance function far more efficiently than in the *Regularis Concordia* considering the latter to be an inadequate guide to monastic practice. The *Regularis Concordia* is indisputably scantier in detail and generally less orderly than is the *Constitutions*.

[107] 'Illud tamen cautissime attendendum est, ut ea sine quibus anima saluari non potest omnibus modis inuiolata seruentur.' *MCL*, I, pp. 2-3.

followed in action and in spirit, and to provide clear directions for his monks to follow. Lanfranc does not name the sources he drew from in writing the *Constitutions*. In his prefatory letter to Prior Henry, Lanfranc states only that he has compiled the customs from 'those monasteries which in our day have the greatest prestige in the monastic order'.[108] In doing this, Lanfranc had three obvious sources from which he could have drawn; the local *Regularis Concordia;* customs from his previous foundation at Bec, and the traditions from Cluny.[109]

The dearth of *Regularis Concordia* material in the *Constitutions* has been much debated.[110] In terms of death ritual however, as will be referred to subsequently, there are some definite similarities between the two customaries. While local English elements of the *Regularis Concordia* are not much seen in the *Constitutions* as a whole, the former work itself had Cluniac influences, as did the *Constitutions*.[111] It has been questioned whether the inclusion of the death ritual in the Cluniac *Liber tramitis* was as a result of the example of the earlier *Regularis Concordia*.[112] If so, this would give a circularity from source to source from the late tenth-century *Regularis Concordia*, to Cluny in the early eleventh century and on to Lanfranc at Canterbury later in the same century.

The second possible influence on Lanfranc in writing his *Constitutions,* was Bec, where he was prior from about 1045 until he left for Caen in 1063. As Cowdrey suggests Lanfranc played an important, central, role in the transformation of Bec from a monastery of under-resourced obscurity on his arrival to one of the more celebrated

---

[108] 'Mittimus vobis nostril ordinis consuetudines scriptas, quas exerpsimus ex consuetudinibus eorum cenibiorum, que nostro tempore maioris auctoritatis sunt in ordine monachorum.' *MCL*, I, p. 2.

[109] While there is considerable debate on the sources Lanfranc used in writing the *Constitutions,* as the focus here is particularly on death ritual,the sourcing questions will be mentioned only in brief.

[110] See among others the following, and differing, opinions on Lanfranc's attitude to Anglo-Saxon practice and saints: Brooks, *The Early History*, p. 265; Ridyard, *Royal Saints,* p. 7 and pp. 251-252; R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm, a Portrait,* p. 310 and p. 313.

[111] Knowles cites Cluny and Lorraine as the major influences in the *Regularis Concordia* with local applications seen in some practices. *MCL,* p. xvi.

[112] Paxton has speculated that the *Regularis Concordia* with its descriptions of daily life and discipline in a monastery may have influenced the writers of *Liber tramitis* to include such information in their customary. 'Death by Customary' in *Dead of Night,* p. 298. Certainly there is some similarity in these two works which is not seen in later customaries, though some is carried forward. If this is the case it adds a circularity in influence from one customary to another over the course of the eleventh-century.

monasteries of Normandy on his departure.[113] In light of this, it seems improbable that Lanfranc would not have been cognisant of Bec customs when writing the *Constitutions*. However, while it is both natural and reasonable to suppose that Lanfranc would draw from the customs at Bec, Brooke sounds a note of caution. The earliest extant Bec customs are from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and are very different in many respects to the eleventh-century Cluny customaries.[114] This is despite there being no evidence from Bec sources to suggest major changes there in the ensuing period. Therefore it is difficult to demonstrate links between Bec and Canterbury in the *Constitutions*. Following this train of thought through leads to the suspicion that eleventh-century Bec customs were not like those of Cluny in the same period and that in writing the *Constitutions* Lanfranc ignored Bec in favour of Cluny. The extent to which this was the case remains, however, a matter of speculation.

Cowdrey cites the Cluniac *Liber tramitis* as a major source for Lanfranc, especially in terms of the liturgical practice.[115] Brooke accepts, as did Knowles that the links between the *Constitutions* and Bernard of Cluny's customary are close, and that Bernard's work was a principal source for the second part of the *Constitutions* which describes the discipline and daily activity within the monastery, and includes the death ritual.[116] However, he couches this carefully; even in chapters where the texts are closest there are differences between Bernard's and Lanfranc's descriptions. Dating is problematic if trying to draw the *Constitutions* directly from Bernard of Cluny's customary, since it is likely as already discussed that the *Constitutions* was written earlier. However it does make sense given the similarities between Canterbury and Cluny customs to suppose that when writing his *Constitutions*, Lanfranc adopted some Cluniac practice as described in *Liber tramitis,* as well as current Cluniac practice that was yet to be encapsulated into Bernard's work.

---

[113] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc* p.15.

[114] *MCL,* p. xl.

[115] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc* p. 156.

[116] *MCL,* p. xli.

There were good reasons both practical and political why Lanfranc should draw heavily on the customs of Cluny in writing for his own monastery. The prestige of Cluny and positive regard for its standards of practice as an exemplar for the monastic life was one such reason.[117] Cluny was a dominant force within the monastic life of western Christendom at the time Lanfranc was writing his *Constitutions* with its practice being widely emulated. In addition to adopting the high standards of Cluniac monasticism, Lanfranc could have had an eye to the advantages offered through the potential of patronage from royal and noble persons in England.[118] Lanfranc may too have been drawn to Cluniac practice for entirely pragmatic reasons. At Cluny, as would be the case for him at Canterbury, duty required the abbot to be away from the monastery for periods of time and in writing the *Constitutions* Lanfranc may have chosen to adopt existing customs that already covered this eventuality.

As regards the death ritual specifically, there is much in common between the requirements stated in the *Regularis Concordia,* the *Constitutions* and Cluny. At times the *Constitutions* is closer to the *Regularis Concordia* than it is to Cluniac practice, the instructions for remembrance being a particular example of this. This similarity, albeit in a single specific area of practice, supports the view that Lanfranc did not completely ignore Anglo-Saxon tradition, nor did he intend to sweep it away wholesale in writing the *Constitutions.* While the subject of remembrance will be expanded upon later, it seems likely that in this respect at least, Lanfranc was not deliberately turning his back

---

[117] In the later eleventh century, Pope Urban II, a Cluniac himself, described Cluny as a 'light unto the world'. From Urban II, *Epistola* 214 in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Series Latina, ed. J. -P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-88), 151: col. 486, cited in *DRC,* p. 15. The quote echoes Matthew 5:14. 'You are the light of the world. A city seated on a hill cannot be hid.' All quotations from the Bible are from the Vulgate and Douay-Rheims translation. Vulgate numbering for the Psalms has been retained throughout. While Urban could be expected to be partisan to some extent, nonetheless his choice of words in describing Cluny shows that it was in his opinion an outstandingly good exemplar for monastic practice.

[118] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, p. 156 suggests that the fact that the king and queen were devotees of Cluny may have been an influence in Lanfranc's decision to follow Cluniac practice so markedly at Canterbury. This accords with Brooks view in *The Early History*, p. 265, that the Normans showed shrewd political judgement, and utilised whatever options worked best for them in furthering their aims. Burton writes that Cluniac monasticism was being grounded in England at around the same time Lanfranc was writing the *Constitutions,* with the foundation of the priory of Lewes by William De Warenne and his wife no later than 1077. Monks were sent from Cluny to establish Lewes. William I requested that Abbot Hugh of Cluny send him six monks to aid in the reform of the English church, a request Hugh refused. *Monastic and Religious Orders*, pp. 36-37.

on Anglo-Saxon custom.[119] Rather he was being selective in choosing his sources from a range of different places, and identifying, collating and explicating what he considered would be best practice for his community at Canterbury.

2.3   The Details of a Death

2.3.1   Initiating the Death Ritual

The dying monk himself initiated the death ritual.[120] Lanfranc in his *Constitutions* describes how and when the death ritual should commence, writing that 'if a sick man should seem to be tending towards death rather than towards recovery, and should ask to be anointed' the community should move to provide the necessary ministrations and commence the death ritual.[121] The Cluny initiation of the ritual occurred when 'a brother who in his growing weakness feels himself near to his departure from this world' asked to make his confession.[122] This confession was made to either the abbot or his deputy, the monastic hierarchy being called into play at the advent of death.[123] Lanfranc is a little more regulated, more cautious in his written approach to the commencement of the death ritual than is Cluny, in that he has the brother in charge of the infirmary relaying the request for anointing to chapter, and while he allows the duty priest to prepare what he needs in order to perform the anointing, nonetheless chapter

---

[119] Ridyard in *The Royal Saints*, pp. 6-7 and p. 251, writing about Lanfranc's supposed purging of the Anglo-Saxon saints from the liturgical calendar at Canterbury, opines that far from disregarding the traditions he found, Lanfranc, like other members of the Norman leadership, showed a shrewd judgement in choosing which Anglo-Saxon customs to accept and which to reject. This appears to be the case in his compilation of the death ritual in the *Constitutions*.

[120] Foreknowledge of death was a familiar feature in the medieval world of hagiography. In the religious world, such foresight was considered a sign of sanctity and was reported in many medieval saints' *Lives*. For example, at Canterbury in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the monk Eadmer wrote *Lives* of several saints. Three of the five men he wrote *Lives* for (Wilfred, Dunstan and Oswald), knew of their death in advance. *The Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan and Oswald*, ed. and trans. B. Muir and A.Turner (Oxford, 2006) and Eadmer's *Life of Saint Wilfred*, ed. and trans. B. Muir and A.Turner (Exeter, 1998).

[121] 'Si infirmus magis ad mortem quam ad salutem tendere videatur, et se petat inungui.' *MCL,* 112, p. 178.

[122] 'Frater qui se infirmitate ingravescente senserit se in proximo ab hoc seculo migraturum.' *DRC*, pp. 56-57.

[123] This ensured that the dying monk benefitted as fully as possible from the confessional ministrations of Cluny's most senior monks prior to his death. *DRC*, p.178.

business will be completed first. Whether at Cluny or Canterbury though, the ritual is commenced by the dying monk himself requesting to receive one of the sacraments of the church in order to commence the rites of purification which will mark his pathway to death.

At Canterbury, the role of the infirmary staff in the request for anointing reveals a check in the system inherent in Lanfranc's instruction. Although it is the brother himself who requests anointing, the experienced and knowledgeable infirmary staff presumably would not forward the request unless they believed that recovery was not possible and that the brother was truly dying. At Cluny, if the account is taken as written, there was no buffer between the dying monk and the abbot, for when the monk felt himself to be dying he moved directly to making his confession.[124] Bernard says the monk can request through either the prior or the infirmarian that he be taken to chapter to confess. The supposition behind relaying the request through the infirmarian is that in some instances the monk was already in the infirmary and therefore expert opinion would be available to guide him as to the state of his health and the likelihood of his imminent demise. Even though it was of the utmost importance that the death of a brother was managed properly, it would also have been essential to the smooth and orderly management of the monastery that daily life and office was not interrupted needlessly by anxious monks who upon feeling unwell erroneously believed themselves to be at death's door.

In the earlier *Regularis Concordia,* while it is still the monk himself who initiates the death ritual, the wording used is markedly different from both Cluny and the *Constitutions:* 'When a brother is called upon to pay the debt of our common weakness and feels himself to be weighed down with such exceeding sickness that he can no longer endure it …'.[125] The language is redolent of obligation, of reciprocity. Death is described as the debt of mankind, of every man, for his sinful nature. It is an articulation

---

[124] 'Frater qui se infirmitate ingravescente senserit se in proximo ab hoc seculo migraturum de omni conscientia sua domni abbati.' *DRC*, p. 56.

[125] 'Dum ad debitum communis fragilitatis exsoluendum quis vocatus fuerit, dum senserit se nimia invalitudine praegravari ita ut iam non posit portari.' *RC*, 65, pp. 63-64.

of a transactional theology of salvation which is overtly lacking in the Cluny and the *Constitutions* wording a century later.

Although there is a lack of urgency in the written instructions from both Canterbury and Cluny concerning the commencement of the death ritual, plainly the advent of death does not always follow an orderly route, and there will have been instances when sudden and unexpected death came upon a member of the community. There is no mention in the *Constitutions* or in the Cluny account about how this should be managed, although Lanfranc does acknowledge that it can happen and allows for it in general terms, writing 'necessitas non habet legem.'[126] It seems likely then that in the customaries the writers are describing an ideal death and ignoring the many possibilities offered by the general unpredictability and sometimes untidiness of sudden death. To litigate for every such or even most such eventualities would have been impractical and onerous in the extreme and counter to the orderliness of monastic scheduling.

2.3.2   In the Infirmary: Oil and Water

While the exact order of events varied a little between Canterbury and Cluny, in both foundations, if the customaries were followed, the monk spent his final hours in the infirmary. He was never alone and prayer was a constant feature throughout. The community, which would converge for the moment of death itself, was present too for some of the events leading up to death. If the monk lingered, they would resume their normal duties whilst awaiting the summons to the deathbed when his time came.

The personal and general confession which happened in the Chapter House at Cluny occurred in the infirmary at Canterbury and was a community event. Through confession of his own sins and the receiving and giving of absolution for sins committed either by or against him, the monk cleansed his soul in preparation for death and was at peace with his community. No grudge or wrongdoing should be carried beyond the boundary of death either by the monk himself or in respect of him, by anyone else in the community. At Canterbury this act of absolution was followed by all

---

[126] 'Necessity knows no law.' *MCL,* 112*,* p. 180, from a proverb attributed to Publilius Syrus.

in the community kissing the monk. In a sense, this kiss was the final living act of the monk as a fellow community member; if as expected he progressed on to death, from then his eyes were set to the world to come, his time here was done and all activity henceforth served to prepare him for the transition from this life to the next.

The final anointing is described in some detail at Cluny, although Lanfranc refers to it in just the briefest of terms.[127] He speaks only of the prayers which are to be said beforehand and the disposal of the water in which the priest washes his hands afterwards.[128] By contrast, Paxton's recreated Cluny ritual speaks at length of the anointing, covering parts to be anointed (eyes, ears, lips, nose, hands, feet and loins) and the prayers to accompany each separate part of the anointing.[129] As in the *Constitutions*, clear direction is given as to the disposal of the water after the priest has washed his hands in it following the anointing, requiring it to be either poured onto a fire, or into a clean place set aside specifically for that purpose.[130]

---

[127] Anointing the dying was part of the ritual cleansing carried out prior to death and as such was a vital component of the death ritual. Lanfranc's dearth of detail must therefore be due to the fact it was so familiar it needed no articulation, and not due to any lack of importance. Had there been any ambiguity about the process, he would surely, like Bernard at Cluny have recorded the details. Anointing the dying was not seen until the eighth century. Until then, and based on the scriptural example from the letter of James (5:14-15), anointing was a ritual act performed for the sick in order to restore health both bodily and spiritually. Paxton notes that James' anointing of the sick came to be anointing the dying as part of the rapid changes, liturgical innovation and reform seen between the eighth and ninth centuries. Benedict of Aniane in the ninth century developed a prayer specifically for the anointing of the sick and not the dying, perhaps in an attempt to halt the non-scriptural practice. However by the time Bernard wrote his customary, anointing the dying was a firmly accepted practice at Cluny. *DRC*, p. 183.

[128] *MCL,* 112, p. 179.

[129] *DRC*, pp. 59-81. The sins committed through the loins, 'super inguina' are identified as being attributable to lust, 'per ardorem libidinis'. *DRC*, pp. 78-79. It would not however be in keeping with monastic propriety for the genitals themselves to be anointed. Further on in the ritual, when the washing of the body is described, the word used for genitals is 'verendis', p. 110. Lanfranc by contrast when directing the washing of the body, uses the term, 'pudendas sui corporis partes [the parts of the body causing shame]'. *MCL,* 112, p. 182. While the anatomical area described by these latter terms is clear (the genitalia), that referred to by *'super* inguina' [my italics] is less so, covering as it does the general area of the lower abdomen. Interestingly, it is the part of the abdomen above what are now known as the inguinal canals from which the testes descend in boyhood.

[130] Knowles identifies this as the drain in the church or sacristy, leading into the ground, into which water from the chalice was thrown. *MCL,* 112, p. 179, fn. 389.

2.3.3 In the Infirmary: Waiting for Death

The customaries from Cluny and Canterbury are silent on the physical care of the dying monk.[131] Their focus was on his spiritual well-being and the responsibility of the community as a whole in doing its utmost to ease his transition and ensure his reception in the hereafter in a maximum state of spiritual cleanliness. Communion was taken if appropriate, and if the monk were able, and then the waiting began.

As the monk's weakness grew he was monitored carefully and with increasing attentiveness was observed for the signs of imminent death. Lanfranc required that once death was seen to be near, the brother should never be left alone but watched until 'the soul has left the body.'[132] Two of the brothers were to stay with him day and night. Their task was to read to him: the Passion narratives and other parts of the gospels while he was conscious, then 'when his senses fail, they recite the psalter in order and without ceasing so long as he remains alive.'[133] The monks did this in shifts if the dying man lingered, however as long as he was seen to be progressing to death rather than life, he was accompanied by brethren and surrounded by scripture and prayer. The instructions in the Cluny death ritual are subtly different. For at Cluny, while a particularly devoted brother might request to sit with the dying man, the monk was under the watchful care of the infirmary staff. He had an infirmary servant allocated to him alone, whose only duty was to care for the dying man. While it is to be expected that this servant would provide physical care for the monk this is not made explicit.

At night, all the Cluny infirmary staff had to attend to the condition of the dying man, 'so that his death does not happen unexpectedly.'[134] Bernard was plainly concerned lest

---

[131] References to infirmary staff in the *Constitutions* and at Cluny mention only their responsibility in identifying when death is imminent. In *RC, 65,* p. 64, however there is a little more detail. As the dying monk is granted leave to enter the infirmary the brothers are instructed to be 'solicitous in rendering aid to him [omnibus pro eo sollicitis in suis interventionibus]'. A little further on in the same passage is found an injunction regarding care from the infirmary brothers and staff and their obligation to furnish all the sick monk's needs.

[132] 'Egressa iam de corpore anima.' *MCL,* 112*,* p. 183.

[133] 'Cum intellectu privatus fuerit, quamdiu supervixerit, psalterium ex ordinendecantare non cessent.' *MCL,* 112*,* p. 180.

[134] 'Ne obitus ejus improvisus eveniat.' *DRC*, p. 90.

in the dark reaches of the night, when energy is at its lowest, a brother should slip away unnoticed by the servant detailed to watch him and thus at his moment of death be denied the prayerful ministrations of his community and their attendant benefits. Bernard further mitigated against the darkness of the night by directing that candles should be kept lit until daylight, and that the dying man should have a cross laid upon his face.[135] The instruction concerning the candles is comprehensible in a number of respects; it enabled the dying man to be observed more closely; aided the watching servant in remaining awake and allowed others to see that he was; marked the transitional nature of the moment; kept the dark forces of the night at bay and, like the cross, provided the familiar comfort of a religious emblem.

In both the *Constitutions* and at Cluny, as the infirmary servants saw that the monk's death was upon him, they lifted him from his bed on to a sack cloth or hair shirt, sprinkled with ashes in the shape of a cross. While at Cluny it appears that this will happen to every monk, in the *Constitutions* the instruction is slightly softer; Lanfranc allowed the monk the choice of being laid on sackcloth and ashes for his final moments. In this Lanfranc is poised between the *Regularis Concordia,* which makes no mention of the custom, and Cluny which articulates it strongly. It is possible that Lanfranc was moderating his adoption of continental practice in the light of English tradition. Once the monk was positioned on the sackcloth and ashes (or not if that was his choice), the community was summoned.

The timing here needed to be exact and the responsibility of the infirmary staff in ensuring the community was called to the bedside at the right time, was immense. The fact that they lifted the dying monk from his bed on to the sackcloth and ashes before summoning the community allowed them some leeway. Better perhaps that the dying monk should be uncomfortable on his sackcloth on the floor for a little longer, than that the community should be called to the deathbed too early.

---

[135] 'Crux est contra faciem ejus affixa, et lumen cerei usque ad claram diem non defuerit.' *DRC*, p. 90.

2.3.4 Death

The community was summoned to the deathbed by a board being beaten in the cloister 'when … the soul is about to depart from the body.[136] Once there the monks surrounded their brother, offering the prescribed prayers for as long as needed before death occurred. That this could be delayed is clear from both the *Constitutions* and Cluny. Instructions are given for what to do if the death did not actually occur as expected after the community has been summoned, with Lanfranc directing that the litany should be prolonged or shortened 'as the brother's time of passing may demand.'[137] No mention is given however as to how the moment of death may be known. The wording used by Bernard is 'when however they do not doubt he is dead.'[138] This is a purely practical injunction in contrast to the *Constitutions* more spiritual description, 'when the soul has left the body.'[139] However, it is apparent from Bernard's words and his use of 'doubt' in particular, that despite the availability of medical knowledge, the signs that demarked the physical cessation of life could be ambiguous and absolute certainty was needed before the community moved on to the next stage of the death ritual.[140] Identifying that death had occurred was important, because once the monk had passed from this life not only the physical care of the body needed to change in line with his new status, but most importantly so too did the spiritual care. The moment of death signalled the separation of body from soul, and a new stage of the transitional process from mortal to eternal life.

---

[136] 'When it is noted and clear that the soul is about to depart from the body [donec notem sit, et pateat animam de corpore iam egressurum sine longa mora].' *DRC*, p. 92. 'Tabula' is the word used for the board at both Cluny and Canterbury. *DRC*, p. 92, and *MCL,* 112, p. 180.

[137] 'Secundum quod fratris exitus visus fuerit admonere.' *MCL,* 112, p. 182.

[138] 'Cum autem iam eum non dubitaverint ob[i]sse.' *DRC*, pp. 104-105.

[139] 'Egressa iam de corpore anima.' *MCL,* 112, p. 182.

[140] A respiratory pattern known as Cheyne-Stokes respiration typically occurs before death. Lasting minutes or even hours, it is characterised by periods of shallow rapid breathing interspersed by times where deep rattling breaths are followed by cessation of breathing for up to a minute, before another gasping, heaving breath is taken. W. Hector, *Modern Nursing* (London: Heinemann Medical Books Ltd, 1976, p.40. It is only when the silence remains that it can be certain that breathing has finally stopped for good. It is not surprising then that Bernard speaks of doubt in reference to death having occurred.

2.3.5   Care of the Corpse

Community members sought to meet the requirements of both the body and soul of their late brother: his soul through prayer, and his body through preparing it for the grave. The instructions for the preparation of the body are very similar in both the *Constitutions* and at Cluny. Once death was confirmed, most of the community removed themselves to continue their prayers in the cloister while the assigned monks gathered what was necessary for washing and clothing their brother. The washing did not take place in the infirmary. Bernard at Cluny wrote of an antechamber set aside for this exact purpose; Lanfranc simply said that the body was taken for washing. The postmortem washing served more than just a practical function in that it continued the ritual purification which endured throughout the death process.

The monk was washed by those of the same rank as himself, and never by members of the community involved in food handling or who were duty priests and so served at the altar and handled the sacred vessels.[141] There was an understanding that death could bring physical contamination and during this time of liminality, spiritual contamination also. This knowledge is seen through the example of a surgeon who in 1135 came into contact with the imperfectly embalmed body of the recently dead Henry I. The surgeon contracted an infection from the putrid copse and subsequently died, it being noted in Henry of Huntingdon's *Chronicle* that he was, 'the last of many whom Henry destroyed.'[142]

For the washing itself, in Cluny the instruction is that the body is washed from the head to the soles of the feet except the genitalia.[143] However Lanfranc's direction reads that 'while the corpse is being washed, it shall have the shift previously worn, about the privy parts of the body.'[144] It would appear therefore that the genitalia were to be

---

[141] *MCL,* 112, p. 183.

[142] T. S. R. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages: Morality, Judgement and Remembrance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), p. 113. Boase quotes Roger of Wendover in the same passage as saying that it was fortunate that the decaying body of the king was transported during the cold of winter.

[143] 'Nudatur, et dum a vertice usque ad plantam pedis lavatur, exceptis verendis.' *DRC*, p. 110.

[144] 'Inter lavandum circumcinctus sit staminia, qua indutus antea erat, circa pudendas sui corporis artes.' *MCL,* 112, p. 183.

washed but not exposed. The monk's modesty and dignity were to be maintained in death, and his brethren were not either expected or allowed to view the entire body.

Having been washed, the dead monk was dressed. The directions for this are careful and detailed, showing that this was an important matter. With reference to clothing the body for burial, the dress, for monks no less than for anyone else, religious or lay, was a matter of significance: dress denoted status and role. For the religious, their monastic or priestly dress showed their particular and special position as avowed and sometimes also ordained people.[145] The customaries instruct that the monk should be dressed in a shirt, cowl, hood and night shoes. Lanfranc states these should be clean and although there is no mention of this at Cluny it seems highly unlikely that the chamberlain there would provide dirty garments.[146] Neither makes mention of any additional dress if the dead man was a priest, although the *Regularis Concordia* states that if the dead monk was a priest he may have a stole placed over his cowl if in keeping with the rule.[147] Both Lanfranc and Bernard describe how the hood should be drawn down to cover the dead man's face and sewn in place, likewise the sleeves; shoes and leg covering were secured by sewing, 'everything so pulled together that no part of it is loose.'[148] There is a symmetry here between the tidiness of the corpse with its tightly contained limbs and the swaddling of an infant; in both instances a person is dressed in readiness for their new life.

2.3.6 Burial

Once laid out, the body was taken to the church where it remained until burial. It was accompanied at all times by brothers. The time between death when the soul was loosed from the body, and burial when the body was safely interred, was a transitional one for both the late monk and his community. The monks continued their care for their late

---

[145] Gilchrist, *Medieval Life,* p. 70.

[146] Paxton notes that Bernard does not mention things that would be self evident to him, and so did not record them thus leaving us with gaps. *DRC*, p. 40.

[147] *RC*, 66, p. 65.

[148] 'Tota ita constringitur, et nulla sui parte sit laxa.' *DRC*, p. 110.

brother by surrounding him in prayer, doing all within their power to see him safely on his way. The liturgy throughout the period of death was rich; a statement of faith and of expectation juxtaposed with an articulation of the uncertainty experienced in the face of death. It called upon God frequently for the delivery of the soul from hell while affirming the hope that their brother was currently in blessedness awaiting the final resurrection. The prayer offered for the soul of the late brother as his body is carried in to the church asks for God's mercy. 'May you [God] see fit to free it [the soul] from the torments of hell and gather it up among the company of your saints. May you also order that it be clothed in celestial and immortal garments and cared for in the pleasantness of paradise.'[149]

Sensory features marked this period of transition; lit candles were placed at the head and foot of the corpse and a cross at his head. Bells were rung at set times, and holy water and incense used as directed. Again the prayers and processional requirements are detailed, as too is the timing of the burial itself, which would vary according to when the monk died. The timing was determined in the main by liturgical requirements, however Bernard does mention in his customary in a rather delicate sentence that burial arrangements may need to take in to account external factors such as smell.[150]

Lanfranc invokes silence in the cloister at all times while the body is unburied, and does not allow anyone to leave the monastery unless it is for such a short journey that they can return in time for the funeral.[151] Although the latter is mentioned in Cluny, the former is not explicitly. However, Paxton extrapolates from several of Bernard's instructions that it was indeed the custom at Cluny to keep silence when a body was unburied, Lanfranc is, then, following this practice.[152]

---

[149] '… ut liberare eam ab infernorum cruciatibus et collocare inter agmina sanctorum tuorum digneris, veste quoque celesti et stola immortalitatis indui et paradysi amenitate confoveri jubeas.' *DRC*, pp. 112-115.

[150] *DRC*, p. 121.

[151] 'Quamdiu corpus super terram est, nullus in claustro loquator' and 'si tamen ipsa die post capitulum sepeliri debit, priusquam sepeliatur nulli liceat extra claustra monasterii exire, nisi tam prope sit locus ut ad sepeliendum fratrem posit redire.' *MCL,* 113, p.186.

[152] *DRC,* p. 119 and p. 216.

As at other key moments in the death ritual, the burial itself was a community event. While the timing of the burial and arrangements for the procession are similar at Cluny and in the *Constitutions,* there is a difference in both the mood and the detail of the directions for the interment itself. The Cluny customary directs that once the body reached the prepared grave the burial itself must progress speedily. The priest should cense the grave at once, and then the body should be buried 'immediately and without any pause whatsoever.'[153] By contrast Lanfranc at Canterbury requires that brothers (number unspecified) don albs and go down into the grave, where they will receive the body as it is handed down to them, lowered on the pall. There they, 'shall lay it out carefully in the grave.'[154] There is a sense of care here, of tenderness almost in Lanfranc's requirement, that is lacking in Bernard's brisk instructions that the body shall be consigned to the grave without delay. The reason for Bernard's injunction to haste is not clear. Paxton speculates that it was because there was no point in delaying and the reminder was just to ensure the priest remained focussed on the burial while the community was to continue their psalmody.[155] Whatever the reason, the instruction not to dawdle through the closing rites was deemed to be necessary at Cluny while not, apparently, at Canterbury or the English monasteries covered by the *Regularis Concordia.*

At Cluny the bells were rung throughout the burial itself. Candles accompanied the dead monk from the moment he was laid out in the church until after his burial. On the completion of the final canticle the community as one, in a sudden single action, blew their candles out. The abrupt extinguishing of the candles with the resultant smell that was left must have had as dramatic an impact on the senses as had the sudden silence that fell as the bells ceased their tolling.[156] This marked a boundary; now their brother was buried the community was entering a new phase in their transitional journey. Before his interment they, together with the dead monk had constituted a special group situated between the world of the living and that of the dead. Now that the burial had

---

[153] 'Quo facto statim, sine quolibet intervallo ponitur corpus in terram.' *DRC,* p. 144.

[154] 'Illi diligenter illud in sepulchre componat.' *MCL,* 112, p. 192.

[155] *DRC,* p. 230.

[156] *DRC,* p. 231.

happened the community and dead brother had separated, and the brethren needed to move on to rites of reincorporation and re-establish their place as a new group within the land of the living.[157]

Although the living needed to reform as a new group, in a way that was both real and comprehensible to the medieval mind, they remained along with their dead brother within the single community of living and dead. This group of living and dead together formed part of the social fabric of the medieval period. So in acknowledgment of this extended society as well as to continue fulfilling their ongoing duty to pray for the dead, the monks undertook their final action in the cemetery; after putting out the candles, the living brothers chanted Psalm 50 and said the *Pater noster* for all their dead brethren resting there.[158]

The monastic cemetery was an integral part of the monastic complex, both in its physical location and as a community space. It was simply inhabited by the dead rather than the living. That this was important to the monastic identity and the monks' conception of postmortem continuity within their community, can be seen from a letter that Pope Pascal wrote to Osbern, Bishop of Exeter in 1102. It concerns the monks of St Nicholas Priory, Battle, whom Osbern had prevented, by want of providing a cemetery, from being buried within the precincts of their monastery. Pascal writes in the strongest of terms, rebuking Osbern soundly for his refusal to allow the monks a cemetery and so denying them the right to remain within their community when dead. The pope states that it is hard for anyone to 'live with the grace of devotion in a place from which he can foresee that his dead body will be utterly cast out.'[159] In part Pascal's strong tone was due to the fact that this was an ongoing wrangle that had already occasioned his

---

[157] Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, pp. 164-165.

[158] Psalm 50 was chanted on four occasions in the Cluniac death ritual. *DRC*, p. 240. The psalm is an articulation of hope of salvation, and uses the language of sacrifice and cleansing. Chanting it for all those lying in the cemetery as the burial service there closes, means that the service ends on a note of optimism with, through the words of the psalm a reinforcement of God's promise of salvation. The frequent repetition of this throughout the ritual reminds the monks of this promise, saying it aloud and together further reinforces it, and brings it before God as a reminder.

[159] 'Grave est ut in eo loco quisquam cum devotionis gratia conversetur, unde cadaver suum praevidet onmimodus propellendum.' Letter 226 from Pope Pascal to Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, in Schmitt, *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis*, vol. iv. p. 131.

predecessor Urban to write to Osbern, and Osbern was still refusing to accede to papal authority. However, plainly the matter of the monks being buried within their own monastic precinct was important too. It shows the contemporary understanding that after death the monks should remain within their community in body as well as in memory, and continue to inhabit the sacred space in which they had lived.

2.3.7   Posthumous Remembrance Practices

Having buried their brother and completed all the necessary prayers and offices pertaining to the burial itself, the community entered a period of immediate remembrance. The aim of remembrance whether in the form of prayer or alms-giving, was to benefit the souls of the dead. Where possible, there was an explicit link through these remembrance rites, between the individual dead to the living. This personalising of the deceased meant that a dead brother was not part of an amorphous anonymous group, but was as much of an individual as was any living person. Personal relationships endured beyond the grave, and the individual dead could be assured of the attentions of the living in the prayers and offerings that were made in their name and that were necessary to improve their wellbeing in the afterlife. Offering these prayers was a potentially beneficial activity for the living, in that they prayed for the dead in the confidence that, courtesy of those still living, they too would be recipients of the same service when they died.[160]

Bernard of Cluny articulates the requirements of remembrance in detail. The postmortem period divided into three main sections, of which the first, the *septenarius,* covered the week immediately following the death, and the second, the *tricenarius,* ran concurrently with the *septenarius* but extended to cover the thirty days after death.[161] The third period of remembrance was assumed to continue until the last judgement, and

---

[160] While remembrance in monastic communities was generally seen in masses, prayers and celebration of anniversaries, S. Sweetingburgh has shown that at Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, in the early fourteenth century, the brethren were using drinking bowls that had belonged to long dead monks, one of whom was Prior Wilbert (d. 1167). She conjectures that this was a form of commemoration seen in the everyday routine of meal times. S. Sweetingburgh 'Remembering the Dead at Dinner-Time' in T. Hamling and C. Richardson (eds.) *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), pp. 257-266.

[161] *DRC,* p. 169 and p. 233.

was marked on an ongoing basis by annual commemoration on the anniversary of death. Rites consisted in the offering of prayer and masses for the dead brother and alms were given to the poor in the shape of the food that the dead monk would have eaten. This was donated for thirty days following his death, then on each anniversary the monk's allocation of food and drink was likewise given in alms.[162]

Bernard further directs as to the disposal of the late monk's clothes. These were to be brought to chapter once washed, then the chamberlain kept them until they were offered to a novice. Bernard notes that that this custom was introduced by Abbot Hugh (d.1109) and that the new monk would be expected to pray for the soul of the man whose habit he came to wear.[163] This is yet another way in which the dead monk was maintained in prayer and in a sense in person, within his community.

By comparison with Bernard, Lanfranc's instruction for remembrance at Canterbury is brief. He required seven complete offices of the dead to be said in choir, and then set prayers for the following thirty days. The decision as to offering food as alms on the death of a brother, was left to the abbot's discretion, and there is no mention of anniversaries.[164] An abbot however, was to receive fuller remembrance rituals, with the late abbot's measure of wine and three dishes being given to the poor daily for the year following his death, and anniversaries celebrated.[165] This difference in postmortem practice depending on whether it was a brother or the abbot who died, falls between the local customs in the *Regularis Concordia* and those from Cluny; the brothers' entitlement mirrors local custom, while the abbot's is closer to Cluny.

There may be a good reason why Lanfranc said so little on the subject of commemoration and alms giving in the *Constitutions*, for remembrance came at a cost. It has been calculated that by the twelfth century, the Cluniac necrologies contained

---

[162] *DRC,* p. 169.

[163] 'Precipitur camerario ut auferat inde, et custodiat quam optime donec aliquis novitius pro anima ipsius defuncti suscipiatur, qui vestimentis illis induatur hoc autem a domno Hugone abbate constitutum est.' *DRC,* p. 168.

[164] *MCL,* 113, p. 192.

[165] 'Iusticia eius per totem ipsum annum ad mensam abbatis cotidie cum tribus pulmentis danda pauperibus ponatur.' *MCL, 82,* pp. 112-113.

about 90,000 names, of which 48,000 were of monks. Besides having to commemorate these people liturgically, the living monks were also responsible for giving alms in the form of food to 18,500 poor people every year.[166] Abbot Peter the Venerable (1122-56) had to restrict the daily feeding of the poor at about this number, fifty a day, presumably as the numbers were growing beyond the measures of economic reality.[167] Perhaps Lanfranc's brevity on the subject of remembrance and alms-giving can be attributed in part at least to prudence in light of the burgeoning and progressively unmanageable demands that were being experienced at Cluny.

2.3.8 Brothers Who Die Away from the Monastery

The instructions regarding death conclude in both the *Constitutions* and at Cluny with directions as to what should be done for a brother who dies elsewhere. Lanfranc has two sections on this matter, the first covering a situation where a monk dies outside the monastery and is brought back for burial. The second section concerns a monk of the monastery who died and is buried elsewhere.[168] The aim is that all things should be done properly for the monk wherever he dies, or wherever his body rests. In the *Constitutions* mention is made of bringing the body home and then picking up the ritual at the appropriate place so the monk misses none of the physical or spiritual benefits of being a community member.[169] The Cluny wording by contrast is more reflective of a network of affiliated houses with a broad responsibility for commemoration for the dead who notify each other formally of the death of a community member and offer reciprocal remembrance benefits.

---

[166] Constable, *Cluny from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries* p. 260. This is consistent with Udalrich's observation from the previous century that 17,000 poor people were fed at Cluny annually. *DRC*, p. 233.

[167] *DRC*, p. 33.

[168] *MCL*, 114 and 115, pp. 193-195.

[169] In the section on the office for a monk who dies elsewhere, Lanfranc gives his instruction specifically for monks of his own community.'De monacho congregationis alibi defuncto atque sepulto.' *MCL*, 115, p. 194.

2.4 Death in the monastery

The detail and process of the monastic death ritual formed only aspects of the ritual in its entirety, for the death ritual was an event in which the whole was definitely greater than the sum of its parts. Meaning emerged, and in a sense was created from, the conjunction of component parts of the ritual itself, the environment that hosted it, and the men who enacted it. While the minutiae of what happened and when, is important in understanding the significance of the death ritual, as too is mapping the progression through the stages, neither of these can be properly understood without placing them within the spatial context in which they occurred.

2.4.1 The Staging and Space of a Death Ritual

Space had a particular dynamic in a monastery. With the activity it hosted, and the silences it contained, the medieval monastery itself demonstrated how a religious space served to encapsulate a mindset of prayer and contemplation, and in a sense worked to create an anchoring of earth to heaven.[170] Gesture and movement echoed and emulated the architecture, which was designed to mirror and enhance the activity it would contain.[171] So the medieval cloister can be seen as an example of gestural space, one in which the ritual actions of the monks (ambulating, bowing, meditating) reflect the columns, capitals and spaces of the cloister. A language of space is derived from the combination of activity, gesture, body placement and sound with, and within, the environment. This was particularly significant during the death ritual, when the passing of the monk served to soften the interface between the worlds of heaven and earth. Even the customaries written to direct and embed the proper management of the death ritual have been interpreted as expressions of spatialised sanctity in written form.[172]

---

[170] L. L. Coon in *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), p. 98, describes this linking of the architectural to the abstract with the former serving to articulate the latter. The cloister is as an example of how an emblematic religious place moors a mental space, in this instance one of contemplation and theological abstraction, to the earth, allowing it to express itself symbolically and to become part of a practice.

[171] Ibid., p. 98.

[172] J. A. Harris, 'Building Heaven on Earth: Cluny as a *Locus Sanctissimus* in the Eleventh-Century' in *Dead of Night,* p. 132.

The notion of space, and of particular significance here, sacred space, has been explicated through the use of theoretical modelling.[173] While the purpose now is not to explore this in any great detail, a basic articulation of the notion of sacred space will contribute to understanding the monastic death ritual. Place and space have been separately described, with place being defined as the actual buildings and geography of somewhere, while space is described as what this same area becomes when people enter and use it.[174]

Early theory about sacred space hypothesised that a place in and of itself had a real power, a divine agency that led to ritual and worship developing there. In contrast to this, more recent theory suggests the opposite occurs, and it is human agency rather than divine that creates sacred space. A phenomenological approach takes elements of both.[175] It recognises the cultural production of sacred spaces and focuses on the power experienced in such spaces which gives the space an agency of its own. So place becomes space becomes sacred space, as the result of engagement between the area itself and the human activity within it, and a dynamic reciprocity between the two determines and articulates meaning therein. This is a fruitful line of thought for the consideration of monastic death. The interaction between people and place, especially as it entered the realm of the sacred, combined to give the ritual part of its meaning and richness and transcend the merely earthly. Whatever its source, the sense of the sacred that was released through the enactment of the death ritual within the monastic enclave, elevated the simple death of an individual to something that became a profound expression of faith, of trepidation and expectation; a statement made by an entire community speaking though the agency of a single man and his journey from this world to the next.

---

[173] Ibid., pp. 133-134.

[174] M. Kobialka, 'Staging Place/Space in the Eleventh-Century Monastic Practices' in B. Hanawalt and M. Kobialka, (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), p. 128. Kobialka gives as an example of a place, an urban street, which becomes transformed into a space when people enter it.

[175] Harris, 'Building Heaven on Earth' pp. 131-135.

The construction of sacred space in the middle ages was enabled not just by the space itself and the activity it hosted, but also by what it contained. The physical remains of saints within a place served to change the profane to the sacred, or to confirm the sacred as being sacred. The relics of the saints were housed in the holiest places of all. These most holy of places were points at which heaven was in a sense manifest on earth and perceived to be so. Within the monastery of Cluny, as in other monasteries, the sacred centre was found at its high altar, from where rippling circles of sanctity and therefore power, flowed outwards. It was here, at this junction of profane and sacred, that the body of the late monk, washed and clothed, ritually clean, was placed prior to burial.

Monastic space was extremely well organised, as too was the movement of the monks through this space.[176] The monastery contained a series of thresholds, the significance of which was far greater than the architectural features would suggest in and of themselves. As the death ritual unfolded it passed over a number of the literal and spiritual thresholds of the monastic buildings. From chapter house to infirmary, then church to cemetery, the action flowed through the spaces of the monastery, each centre of activity having both practical purpose and being imbued with spiritual significance. As the ritual advanced over the physical thresholds of the monastery buildings, so too did it move through transitional *limina* as the dying monk and his community passed through the stages of separation, transition and incorporation.[177] It was to be expected, or at least hoped, that this bodily progression through increasingly holy spaces would continue beyond death and burial, taking the monk ever closer to God.

The language of space did not stand alone in adding meaning to the death ritual but was enhanced by the accoutrements of the death process, each with their own sensory impact; the tolling of bells; the use of incense and holy water; the candles that were lit at key times then suddenly and with great dramatic effect, extinguished; the whole

---

[176] V. Flint, 'Space and Discipline in Early Medieval Europe' in *Medieval Practices of Space* p. 149. Although Flint is considering monastic space in the context of punishment, her general points are pertinent to monastic space overall; to how the spaces were used and named, and the very precise timing which the monks had to follow in order to utilise space properly and efficiently, and to release the power inherent within those spaces.

[177] As described by Van Gennep in *The Rites of Passage,* p. 146.

underpinned by the murmur and the chanting of the monks in prayer.[178] The management of dying and death became an all encompassing somatic and sensory experience for both the dying monk and his community, one in which the very walls of the buildings with their shadows and echoes, contributed to the process. [179]

The use of gesture by the monks within the monastic space introduces another dynamic to the death ritual; that of emotion. It has been posited that medieval emotions were expressed by gestural language in a society that used gestures to supplement words; gesture as a method of communication was usual over the period in which the monastic death ritual was being developed.[180] While monastic communities employed gesture at times as opposed to words in order to maintain silence, the use of a gestural language of emotion casts a particular complexion on gesture within the death ritual. The notion of 'emotional communities' has been proposed.[181] These are groups in which systems of feeling exist, through which the community can define and assess what is valuable or harmful to it, and determine what expression of emotion is acceptable and appropriate, or not. While it is not possible to articulate the feelings of others, especially at a cultural and historical remove, it can reasonably be supposed that the death of a brother in the community evoked an emotional response in those who knew him and witnessed the death. In a way, the death ritual served to enhance this and the use of gesture can be seen as enabling a community and individual expression of emotion.

Using the language of space allows insight into how the monastery itself, and the way in which the human activity and sounds coursed through it, contributed to the death ritual. The interaction between the architecture of the monastery and the human action within it formed an inherent part of the process of creating a sacred space, allowing the ritual event performed therein to be one in which this world and the next conjoined. At the

---

[178] Gilchrist describes the significance of this all encompassing sensory event, describing how the senses were regarded as gateways between the body and the soul, and so life course rituals worked to enhance somatic experience. This was supported by the use of sensory aids, such as candles, incense and bells which additionally served to punctuate the moments of transition. *Medieval Life* p. 181.

[179] *DRC*, pp. 38-39. Paxton also notes (p. 39), that the sacred spaces in which the rituals took place were designed for acoustic purposes.

[180] B. H. Rosenwein, 'Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions', *History Compass,* 8 (2010) p. 830.

[181] Ibid., p. 832.

moment of his passing, the monk was both literally and figuratively between two worlds, in transition from one state of being to another. He and his brothers stood on a threshold together although one that only the dying could pass beyond.

2.4.2   The Dying Monk and the Priority of Death

Dying was a public event and the monk was familiar with the role he was expected to take, serving both as principal and director in his own drama of death.[182] All gathered to support the dying monk and surround, sustain and solace him through their presence and prayers during the time of his death. At every stage of the monastic death ritual, from the moment it was instigated until the time of burial, the dying monk was the centre of all activity, and his community both as individuals and as a collective, provided the counterpoint.[183] Even as his weakness grew, the monk remained at the physical centre of activity with his bodily placement representing his status and significance as the hub of the ritual. When he became confined to bed, the Cluny ritual directed that the bed be positioned so that 'the brothers can stand around on all sides'.[184] This instruction regarding the placement of the bed is seen in the *Constitutions* too, as Lanfranc requires that the community should 'stand around him in order so far as the place where he lies may permit.'[185] At Cluny, the monk's bed is placed on the floor and the dying monk lies on his back, facing upwards, his brothers around him, funnelling his attention heavenwards, surrounding him with prayer. This foreshadows the scene later in the cemetery when the shrouded body is consigned to the grave, facing heavenwards, feet to the east, the sides of the grave rising above the corpse in the same

---

[182] P. Ariès, notes that this was common to both lay and religious deaths of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; death was a public ceremony, organised and directed by the dying person. *Western Attitudes Toward Death from the Middle Ages to the Present,* trans., P. Ranum (London: Marion Boyars, 1976), p. 11. Originally published as: *Essais sur l'histoire de la mort en occident du moyen âge à nos jours* (Paris: Seuil, 1977).

[183] Monastic practice here echoes usual lay domestic arrangements. In medieval thought the best place to die was at home; in a religious house the home was replaced by the infirmary, or sometimes the dormitory, and the family by the monastic community. R. Gilchrist and B. Sloane, *Requiem: the Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (MOLAS, 2005), pp. 21-22.

[184] 'Ubi fratres possint undique circumstare.' *DRC*, pp. 56-57.

[185] 'Ordinate circumstent, sicut locus in quo iacet fieri permittit.' *MCL,* 112*,* pp. 178-179.

way that earlier the bodies of the brethren in the infirmary had stood above the dying monk.[186]

The central position of the monk endured beyond his death and burial into the intensive period of remembrance and alms giving which was seen in the month following his death, and even further onwards with the recording and marking of his anniversaries. Interpreting this through the lens of sociological anthropology, the centrality of the dying monk is only to be expected, for as the main protagonist in the transformative process of the death ritual, he was the subject, not the object of what was happening.[187]

It is a remarkable fact, and one that shows how important dying was, that in the ordered and tightly scheduled monastic world, the cloistered calm and predictability could at any time be shattered by a monk, any monk, every monk, who feeling himself to be dying, could instigate the death ritual. Once in train, the ritual required the attention and presence of the entire community, taking them away from all their other monastic duties, and disrupting the daily liturgy.[188]

The importance of death and the requirement for the community to be present for it, is seen in the injunction that the monks were to drop everything and run, literally to run, straight to the bedside when summoned. Lanfranc writes that 'Wheresoever else they may be [if not at office] and whatsoever they are doing when the alarm reaches them, they shall make no pretext for delay but run to the sick man, chanting the *Credo*.'[189] The action of running was not one which was considered suitable and seemly for a monk, and the only other eventuality which allowed for a dispensation on the no-running rule

---

[186] *DRC*, p. 180.

[187] As explicated by J. P. Mitchell in, 'Performance' in Tilley, Keane, Huchler, Rowlands, Spyer (eds.), *Handbook of Material Culture* (London, 2006) pp. 384-401.

[188] The hierarchy of the offices had to be maintained in that the mass, regular hours and some processions had to go ahead irrespective of death, but could be flexed when needed to fit in the community's responsibility for, and response to their dying brother. Paxton describes the 'elasticity' of time in the Middle Ages, and how this was utilised to enable the usual daily programme of the monastery to adjust in the event of a death. *DRC*, p. 201.

[189] 'Ubicunque vero alias, vel quocunque alia negotio occupados predictus sonus invenerit, sine aliqua excusatione vel mora similiter currentes, et Credo in unum Deum canates, ad egrum veniant.' *MCL,* 112, p. 182.

was in the case of fire.[190] Udalrich in his customary sums up the need for both the running and the constant recitation of the Creed while doing so, writing that this was so that, 'brotherly faith might bring aid to one about to depart from this world.'[191]

Bernard of Cluny's customary directs the brother whose job it is to signal the hours to check on the dying man before calling the congregation to divine office. This was to ensure that if the death was imminent they were not called to the church at that particular moment and so found themselves at prayer and therefore unable to attend their brother at the moment of his death, but also to make certain that the office was not neglected.[192] Bernard articulated on many occasions how the breaks to the daily office and activities, must be managed, and then resumed in the event of their disruption by a death.[193] Despite the scheduling difficulties involved, death remained a community event and responsibility, and Bernard emphasised this, writing that 'a brother ought not to die without everyone present.'[194]

2.4.3 Prognosticating Death

The monastic infirmary staff held the significant responsibility of identifying when a dying monk would actually die. Bernard mentions infirmary servants who were well trained and highly skilled in identifying the advent of death.[195] At Cluny in Bernard's time there were three lay servants attached to the infirmarer's office, of whom two slept

---

[190] F. Paxton, 'Signa mortifera: Death and Prognostication in Early Medieval Monastic Medicine', in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 67 (1993) p. 632.

[191] 'Ut fraterna fides suffragium conferat migraturo.' *DRC*, p. 198, footnote 101.

[192] 'Est autem consuetude ut quamdiu super cilicium eger jacuerit secretarius qui horologium temperat, post completorium cum absconda illuc pergat, et postquam horologium ceciderit, antequam pulset scillam ad matutinos, et etiam in die ut secumdum quod ibi deprehendere poterit sic temperet, et provideat ne de servitio dei propter obitum fratris negligentia evenat.' Paxton, 'Death by Customary' in *Dead of Night,* p. 100 and p. 304.

[193] For one example from many, detailing what should happen if the burial is to occur on a day on which the monks were due to be shaved; if the death had occurred at a time that allowed the dead monk to have a conventual mass, then he was buried after chapter for otherwise shaving would have to have been postponed. The hours were in this case celebrated more quickly and the psalms for the dead were not said until the beginning of the psalms before the shaving of the brothers. At the end of the chapter the prior directed, 'we will bury the dead monk and afterwards we will shave [defunctum monachum sepeliemus et postea rademus]'. *DRC*, p. 125.

[194] 'Numquam enim debet finire frater, quin ibi absint omnes.' *DRC*, pp. 102-103.

[195] 'Famuli qui sunt in talibus multum exercitati, multumque periti.' *DRC*, p. 90.

in the infirmary.[196] No mention is made by Bernard, however, of whom exactly the infirmary servants were, nor of what their training consisted. Lanfranc too is silent on the background of the infirmary servants.

In the *Regularis Concordia* however, is it made explicit that monks as well as lay staff were working in the infirmary. 'Let there be therefore in that house brethren, fervent in the fear of God and love of the brotherhood, who shall furnish the sick brother with everything he wants; if indeed it is necessary, let the help of servants be employed under a careful brother.'[197] The wording indicates that the monks who worked in the infirmary should have an attitude of care and compassion, and were charged to meet all the needs of their patients.

Although no mention is made in the customaries about training, it is reasonable to suppose that infirmary staff whether religious or lay, learnt from the example and teaching of more experienced personnel. They would have become increasingly familiar with the signs of approaching death as they worked with the sick and dying. Eadmer describes how the watching monks realised Anselm's death was upon him when 'he began to draw his breath more slowly than usual.'[198] Besides learning by example and through experience, it is likely that the monks and infirmary staff at major foundations like Canterbury and Cluny would have had access to texts about death held in their libraries. Monastic communities had been copying, collecting and collating such texts since at least the eighth century, and editing them to suit their particular interests and needs.[199] The Hippocratic work *Prognosis* which includes in its second chapter the signs

---

[196] Constable, *Cluniac Studies,* p. 330, says that their duties were food preparation and serving, helping the infirm to church, and heating water for the Saturday foot washing. While numbers in the infirmary would naturally have fluctuated, two to three servants must have been inadequate at times to provide for the needs of all, especially if one of the servants was taken up with watching over a dying man.

[197] 'In ea itaque domo servitors sint, Dei timore fraternoque amore ferventes, qui in quibuscumque indiguerit suppeditent; aut, si necesse fuerit, cum sollicito fratre famulorum adhibeatur obsequium.' *RC*, 65*,* p. 64. Symons identifies 'servitores' as being monks and 'famuli' as lay servants.

[198] 'Lentius solito spiritum trahere cepit. Sensimus igitur eum iamiam obiturum.' *VA,* II, lxvi*,* p. 143.

[199] Paxton, 'Signa mortifera', p. 642 fn. 46, says that there was a rich body of texts concerning prognosis and signs of death from which to draw, and monastic scribes had collected and collated such texts. They included medical teachings ascribed to Hippocrates and Galen as well as those concerned with astrology and numerology. Of the sixteen texts he considers in his article, he identifies nine as unquestionably monastic and another five as possibly so.

of pending death, is an example of this.[200] *Prognosis* had been translated from Greek to Latin in the fifth or sixth century, and was translated afresh in the eleventh century, probably from the Arabic.[201] Parts of the work made their way from the authentic original, into derivative works attributed to Hippocrates, and joined with other medical works to form manuscript collections known to have been circulating in monasteries from the ninth century.[202]

Other works in addition to *Prognosis* were concerned with prognostication. Galen's *Ad Glauconem de methodo medendi,* an authentic and influential work which had been recommended by Cassiodorus (dates uncertain, likely died c. 580), as part of a programme of medical readings for monastic physicians, was one of the works which came to have prognostic texts collated with it. One of these texts was *Capsula eburnae,* said to have been found in the tomb of Hippocrates, with the earliest witness to the Latin text originating in southern Francia and dating to the eighth century.[203] It was widely diffused in medieval manuscripts, and lists very precise symptoms which will ultimately lead to death at a prescribed time.[204]

---

[200] In *Prognosis*, from 'Prognosis' in *Hippocratic Writings* ed. G. E. R. Lloyd, trans. J. Chadwick [et al.] (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), pp. 170-85, the signs of impending death are given as: the nose sharp, the eyes sunken, the temples fallen in, the ears cold and drawn in and their lobes distorted, the skin of the face hard, stretched and dry, and the colour of the face pale and dusky. Other symptoms to be looked for included anomalies of the eye; white, loose, parted lips; tooth grinding. The face was of particular significance in Hippocratic prognostication of the twelfth century, because of the belief that the five senses are located there. M. Saffron, 'Maurus of Salerno Twelfth-century *Optimus Physicus.* With his commentary on the Prognostics of Hippocrates', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* 62 (1972), p. 17.

[201] F. Wallis,'Why was the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates retranslated in the Eleventh Century?' in Fraenkel, Fumo, Wallis and Wisnovsky (eds.), *Vehicles of Transmission, Translation and Transformation* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), p. 189.

[202] Paxton, 'Signa mortifera', pp. 634-637, cites two ninth-century texts from the Abbey of Echternach which appear derivative from *Prognosis,* contain some (though not all) of the same prognostic details and add more of their own. Paxton states that these works had a long and independent life and remained apparently unaffected by the presence of more accurate translations of some or all of *Prognosis.*

[203] Ibid., pp. 640-643. Paxton believes that the popularity of *Ad Glauconem* was due to its being the only medical work mentioned by name by Cassiodorus, whose works were staples of medieval monastic libraries.

[204] Wallis notes that the rational 'if x then y' style of prognosis associated with the names of Galen and Hippocrates, emphasised the logical connection between clinical signs and probable outcome, and was in contrast to the style found in late antique medical writing which was designed for a non-medical audience and had a practical orientation and application. The attribution of work to Hippocrates, or Galen, or on occasion Democrates, gave a ring of authenticity to the medical information contained within a text. Placing a work within the purlieu of one of the fathers' of medicine rooted it within tradition and gave it validity and status. *Medieval Medicine: A Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), p. 42.

The art of prognostication was drawn not only from medical texts but included divination, astrology, and the interpretation of auguries as well. Among what has been described as an 'eleventh-century miscellany' of manuscripts from Christ Church Canterbury, is found a collection of prognostic texts attached to a copy of the *Regularis Concordia* and written in the same hand.[205] The texts identify ways in which a pending death may be known; for example, the reader is advised that if a person falls sick on 'the 25th day of the moon, they will languish and die.'[206]

Medical works drew monastic interest not only because of the knowledge they contained about how to identify impending death, but also because of their scientific value and ethical application. Writing from Bec to Christ Church, Canterbury sometime in the years between 1070 and 1077, Anselm asked his friend Maurice to obtain for him from the library there, a copy of Hippocrates' work *Aphorisms.* That this was one of the new Greek style translations is apparent from Anselm's request in two of his letters, that Maurice should not leave out any terms that are unfamiliar to him or in Greek.[207] This request perhaps presages the increasingly scientific descriptions of monastic death that were seen from the twelfth century.[208]

The enduring monastic interest in medical texts concerned with the prognosis of death, which is seen between the eighth and the twelfth centuries, has been attributed to concern with both the practicalities of death, and with the emerging and developing beliefs about what lay beyond.[209] This is shown too in the development of monastic death ritual over the later part of this same period as the monks sought to ensure the best outcome for a passing soul by applying their increasing knowledge of the physiology of dying in support of their religious beliefs about death and its aftermath.

---

[205] R. Liuzza, (ed. and trans.), *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010). The texts are from the British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii and contain in addition to the *RC,* and the eighteen prognostic texts, a copy of the Rule of Benedict.

[206] Ibid., p. 166. 'Luna xxv languet et morietur.'

[207] Gasper and Wallis, 'Anselm and the Articella', pp. 29-30.

[208] Hadley, *Death in Medieval England,* p. 75.

[209] Paxton, 'Signa mortifera', pp. 647-648.

2.5   Summary

The monastic death ritual, as described by Lanfranc and emanating from Cluny, was a highly choreographed process, which was on one level about a dying then a dead man, and on another level a community expression of hope in salvation and eternal life achieved through death. The death ritual involved not just the community members but the monastic building itself as the activity flowed through its spaces and the brother was accompanied on his passing from this life to 'the obscure unknown beyond the grave'.[210]

Comparison of the death rituals from Cluny and Canterbury indicates that there was broad standardisation of practice, or theory at least, in the late eleventh century. That this was of some duration is demonstrated by the similarities seen with the earlier *Regularis Concordia,* comparison with which has also shown the development of an increasing level of sophistication and depth in monastic death management during the eleventh century. This matched a rising concern and uncertainty as to the fate of the soul and body after death. That this occurred at a time when scientific and medical enquiry was increasing and becoming more sophisticated is no coincidence. Indeed, it is likely that the growth of medical enquiry concerning death and the development of soteriological belief was as a result of their mutual dependency within the world of eleventh- and twelfth-century thought. Death is an event in which the discipline of theology and that of medicine conjoin, naturally enough since it concerns both body and spirit. Scientific observation and knowledge provided an empirical avenue through which to explore and anticipate the possibilities and threats of dying, and to develop the theories of what lay beyond. The priority given to both the dying monk himself and to identifying and responding to the moment of death, show the importance of this event in the monastic mind. The time of death was the final opportunity for the mortal monk to cleanse his soul, reduce his purgatorial burden and secure his eventual place in heaven. The enactment of the death ritual was intended, and believed, to facilitate the progression of the monk, body and soul, from this world to the next in as positive manner as was possible. As the dying brother moved through his final hours, his

---

[210] Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages*, p. 28.

community joined with him, giving their full attention in both person and prayer, to performing the prescribed ritual. For nothing in the long term could be of greater importance to the dying monk and his community than the fate of his immortal soul.

That the mortal bodies of the monastic dead should continue within their community is seen through the tender care with which Lanfranc directs that they be laid to rest, and in Pope Pascal's letter commanding a cemetery for the monks at Battle. Attention is paid to their bodily comfort; they are sent clean and suitably clothed in to the grave. There is no doubt that in a very particular way, the dead formed part of their living community with this being signalled through different types of remembrance. The monks delivering these acts of remembrance expected to be so served in their turn, and benefit from the prayers of the living to ease the passage of their own soul through the postmortem challenges and pains it may face on its journey to eternal glory.

Chapter 3: 'Our Father is Dead'[211]

3.1 *Lives* and Death

This chapter considers the last illness, death and burial accounts of four twelfth-century monastic leaders, as narrated in their *Lives*. A number of significant themes emerge from the appraisal and analysis of the detail of the death narratives, especially when set against the hagiographical genre within which the *Lives* were written.[212] The authors of the *Lives* used details of the death accounts and descriptions of the dying man to depict him as being paradigmatic of monastic excellence, serving as an exemplar for his community of practice. The demeanour of the dying monk during his journey to death, dying a good death, was of key importance, and, as far as can be gauged from the *Lives* considered here, what a good death looked like changed over the twelfth century. This same behaviour at the time of death, served a polemical function as well, designed to silence critics who may have doubted the sanctity of the late monk; an apologist element is seen to a greater or lesser extent in all of the four *Lives*. Analysis of the death accounts shows too, how the attitude towards medical care at the deathbed provided another vehicle through which the hagiographer expressed the sanctity of his subject. Describing medical advice, intervention and the acceptance of this (or not) by the saint allowed the writer to voice areas of conflict and harmony seen at the interface of care of body and of soul.

---

[211] *VAil,* prefatory letter to Abbot H., p. 1. 'Our father is dead and has vanished from our world like the early morning sun, and many hearts long that this great light should flood with its brightness the memory of generations to come and indeed of those still living, for whom it shone in all its splendour [Pater noster obiit et quasi lux matutina evanuit e terra nostra et multorum animo insidet ut radius tanti luminis refundatur ad memoriam et illuminacionem futurorum, immo eciam et quorundam prescencium quibus et ipsum lumen emicuit in fulgore suo].'

[212] There is a large body of work on hagiography and the dynamic seen in saints' *Lives* between the genres and expectations of hagiography, biography and historical verisimilitude. Of particular relevance to the twelfth century is: R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, especially chapter 13, pp. 504-586; Classical Rhetorical and Medieval Historiography ed. E. Breisach (Kalamazoo: Michigan University, 1985); T. J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), and for Ailred specifically, chapter 3 'Sanctity in the Cloister: Walter Daniel's *Vita Sancti Aelredi* and Rhetoric', pp. 72-122; R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer,* pp. 320-328; A. Vauchez, *Sainthood*; B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215* (Aldershot: Wildwood House, 1987).

A detailed comparative analysis of the four death narratives set against the model monastic death ritual found in Lanfranc's *Constitutions,* as described in the previous chapter, shows that many of the practices recorded and recommended by Lanfranc did in some respects endure across the century, or were at least recorded as having been undertaken. Some however, like the confession of the dying man to his community, and rites of remembrance are completely absent from the *Lives.* This absence suggests not only that these areas were irrelevant to the authors who were writing to describe a saint, but that part of that same description was defined as much by the absence of particular areas of the death ritual, as it was by the inclusion of others.

The death accounts are particularly valuable when considering how the transition from life through death to what lay beyond, was understood and explained in a monastic setting. As discussed in the previous chapter, those waiting at the bedside thought it possible that the liminality of death could soften the interface between this world and the next, as the dying person was held between two states of existence and perhaps able to mediate and message between earth and heaven. The apparent co-location of the two realms made perceptible through the medium of the dying man, is seen in Walter's *Life* of Ailred when the saint appeared to commune with angels. Walter wrote, 'it was awesome because, as I suppose, angels were conversing with him, but only he could hear them, and unless I am mistaken, he was replying to them all the while, for we heard him say again and again, "Hurry, hurry" '.[213] In a monastic setting the possibility that a dying monk could be existing in both heaven and earth simultaneously means that it can be expected that the death ritual itself would become a framework within which a hagiographer could describe and display the sanctity of his subject and reaffirm the faith and soteriological expectation of the community. The comparative analysis that follows shows in what ways this was the case.

---

[213] 'Terribile quantum ad hoc quod, ut conicio, angeli confabulatur cum eo, set illo solo audiente quibus ni fallor sine intermissione respondat. Hoc enim iugiter ex ore illius sonuit in aures nostras "Festinate, festinate".' *VAil*, liv, pp. 59-60.

3.2   The Deaths: the Passing of the Saints

3.2.1   The Last Illness

In the *Constitutions* Lanfranc describes an ideal and convenient death, one in which it is apparent that a monk is about to die, allowing the community to assemble in a timely and orderly manner at the deathbed.[214] In none of the four *Lives* examined here did death come in quite such a straightforward manner. All four saints had suffered more or less extended periods of ill health in the years and months preceding their death, and when death finally came it was not particularly quick, nor initially at least was its advent certain. In the early stages of the saints' final illnesses, it would appear from the *Lives* that there was nothing to differentiate this, their final period of sickness, from any of the other previous ones. It was only the ultimate arrival of death that made the last time different. This shows the difficulties that could and did ensue for monks as they endeavoured to gauge when to commence and enact the death ritual.

The *Lives* describe in detail the suffering experienced by their subjects prior to death. This is particularly marked in the latest three *Lives*, those of Ailred, Gilbert and Hugh, which describe in some detail the physical suffering of their subject through illness to death. The death that happened the closest in time to the writing of the *Constitutions,* that of Anselm, by contrast describes the archbishop with a demeanour of calm acceptance, and pain free.[215] Eadmer writes of Anselm submitting to God's will regarding the timing of his death, even though he, Anselm, still felt he had work to do. Anselm's increasing weakness is described and attributed to lack of food.[216]

---

[214] *MCL,* 112, p. 179.

[215] Hadley, *Death in Medieval England,* p. 75 describes this as being illustrative of the increasingly realistic death accounts that are seen generally in the twelfth-century accounts of the death of saints. This realism is in contrast to accounts from the preceding century, in which the saint displayed a passive submission in the face of death.

[216] 'Respondit, "Et quidem si voluntas eius in hoc est voluntati eius libens parabo. Verum si mallet me adhuc inter vos saltem tam diu manere, donec quaestionem quam de origine animae mente revolvo absolvere possem, granter acciperem, eo quod nescio utrum aliquis eam me defuncto sit soluturus. Nam nichil doloris in aliqua corporis parte sentio, nisi quod lassescente stomacho ob cibum quem capere nequit totus deficio".' *VA,* II*,* lxvi, p. 142.

Eadmer noted that Anselm had been subject to periods of ill health in the few years before his death, and that at one time his condition was so serious that bishops and abbots gathered for his funeral.[217] Although he recovered on that occasion, his health declined slowly and he became increasingly weak.[218] Despite his frailty, up until five days before his death he insisted on being carried to the church every day for the consecration of the Lord's Body.[219] Thereafter he remained in bed until he died. It appears that Anselm was accompanied during this time by some at least of his brothers, for Eadmer writes of a conversation that took place with Anselm on the Sunday before his death saying that they (the attending brothers) were sitting beside him as usual.[220] There is however no suggestion in the text that at this time, three days before his death, the death ritual was in process. The first intimation of this came on the Tuesday evening, the day before his death, when Ralph, bishop of Rochester, asked Anselm who could by this stage no longer speak, to bestow his blessing on those present.[221] This Anselm did by gesture, although there is no mention of him seeking the absolution of his brothers, nor of receiving the final anointing. While the latter *is* seen in the other *Lives*, all are silent on the matter of the dying man confessing to his community and receiving absolution from them.

Ailred's health was so poor for so long, that it is difficult to determine when ill health became terminal illness. For the final year of his life Ailred was weakened by a cough so severe that at times he could scarcely breathe, was racked by fevers, and periodically was hypersensitive to touch to such an extent that he could not bear any weight upon him.[222] By Christmas Eve 1166 Ailred was in extreme pain and by his own account

---

[217] 'Post haec episcopis et abbatibus qui exequiarum illius causa convenerant in sua remeantibus.' *VA,* II, lvii*,* p. 136.

[218] For the final year of his life, Anselm was too weak to travel by horse, but had to carried about in a litter. *VA*, II, lxiv*,* p. 140.

[219] 'Attamen consecrationi Dominici Corporis quod speciali quodam devotionis affectuu venerabatur interesse desiderans singulis diebus illuc se in sella faciebat deferri.' *VA*, II, lxv*,* p. 141.

[220] 'Illuxerat Dominica dies Palmarum, et nos pro more circa illum sedebamus.' *VA*, II, lxvi*,* p. 141. Eadmer uses the word 'more' showing this was a habitual action, however there is nothing to suggest that their attendance upon Anselm was related to his pending death, rather than simply being what might be the customary attendance of brethren upon their abbot and archbishop.

[221] 'Vesperascente dehinc tertia feria cum ipse verba quae intelligi possent edere iam nulla valeret rogatus a Radulfo Rofensi episcopo ut nobis qui aderamus et aliis filiis suis.' *VA*, II, lxvi*,* p. 142.

[222] *VAil*, xlviii*,* pp. 54-55.

ready to 'depart and be with Christ'.[223] He longed to die: 'I wish and crave, if it please Him, that God may speedily deliver me from this prison and lead me into a place of comfort'.[224] It was nearly three weeks before his wish was granted, weeks according to Walter of increasing bodily weakness and great pain. Walter describes Ailred's eyes as being like 'great lamps of fire' fixed upon the cross held before his face as he prayed for release.[225] Ailred's mind remained sharp though, and a week before he died, he called all the monks to him and delivered an allocution, seeking their permission to leave, saying farewell and bestowing his blessing. Ailred spoke of forgiveness too, saying that since he had entered the monastic life, 'the malice, detraction or quarrel of no man has ever kindled any feeling in me against him which has been strong enough to last the day in the domicile of my heart'.[226] This is the closest any of the *Lives* come to relaying something approaching the ritual of mutual absolution recorded in the *Constitutions*.

Ailred received the viaticum from Roger of Byland, and shortly thereafter he began to 'fail in speech and, as though he were already in heaven, to take less account of earthly things'.[227] Walter writes that during these final days, Ailred had at times a hundred monks about him.[228] The scriptures were read and Ailred responded, showing joy or

---

[223] 'Dissolui et esse cum Christo.' *VAil*, xlviii, p. 55. Walter is using a reference here to the New Testament, Phil. 1:23. 'But I am straitened between two: having a desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, a thing by far the better.' Scriptural reference is a frequent feature of hagiographical works, a mechanism for rooting the account in tradition with the validating influence of divine scripture. Heffernan argues that the embedding of scripture within hagiographical texts was a device recognised and accepted by those receiving the accounts, and was a well established convention governing the genre. *Sacred Biography*, p. 114.

[224] 'Volo et desidero, si Deo placet, quatinus me de hoc carcere cito educat et in locum refrigerii deducat.' *VAil*, xliii, p. 55.

[225] 'Et oculos erigens ut lampades ignis ad crucem que ibi aderat in facie.' *VAil*, liv, p. 60. The description of Ailred's eyes as lamps of fire is significant in that the eyes, like the mouth were seen as a gateway between body and soul. Gilchrist, *Medieval Life*, p. 8. The fact that Ailred was looking upon the crucifix at the time serves to make this moment one which links the realms of heaven and earth. The practice of the cross being held in front of the dying monk is not mentioned explicitly in the *Constitutions* although is described in the Cluny death ritual. *DRC*, p. 90. 'Crux est contra faciem ejus affixa, et lumen cerei usque ad claram diem non defuerit.' Of the four *Lives* examined here, this is the only such mention of the custom.

[226] 'Postquam habitum huius religionis accepi cuiuslibet hominis malicia vel detraccione vel litigio in illum exarsi aliqua commocione, que diei finem in domicilio cordis mei expectare prevaluisset.' *VAil*, l, p. 58.

[227] 'Verborum deficere prolatu et quasi iam interesset celestibus terrena sapere minus.' *VAil*, liii, p. 59.

[228] *VAil*, liii, p. 59.

sorrow at particular passages, through motions of his hands and smiles and tears.[229] His focus was increasingly heavenwards. Despite the extended period over which Ailred lay dying, the scene described by Walter is closer in detail to the process laid out in the *Constitutions* than is Anselm's death as Eadmer recorded it. Walter is explicit about Ailred being surrounded by monks, having scripture read, blessing his brothers and being anointed. Like Anselm though, no mention is made of his receiving absolution from his community.

Gilbert was more than one hundred years old when he died. He was blind and frail, subject to the weariness of extreme old age, worn thin by the spareness of his diet.[230] His biographer described Gilbert in his last weeks, saying 'one worn out by illness and old age is bound to leave this world: illness attached itself to Gilbert in the proper course of nature for it always accompanies old age.'[231] Gilbert apparently knew his life was coming to an end and wrote to his communities to inform them of his imminent demise, to offer them his blessing and to request their prayers.[232] This is resonant of the part of the monastic death ritual in which the dying man offers forgiveness to his community as they surround him on his deathbed in the infirmary, although like the other saints here, Gilbert did not seek forgiveness from his brothers. However, the sentences following Gilbert's blessing upon his communities show that the purpose of this passage is not solely, or perhaps not at all, to do with the death ritual. Gilbert's biographer continued by writing that Gilbert's absolution was extended after his death only to those who loved the order and defended the unity of its houses. Those who plotted dissent would be condemned before God.[233] The Gilbertine houses had been rocked by scandal and discord in the years preceding Gilbert's death and in the face of the founder's death the future of the order was uncertain. The author accordingly chose

---

[229] *VAil*, lvi, p. 60.

[230] *BSG*, 28, p. 91, describes how although Gilbert would insist upon being supported to the refectory, once there he would not take food. 'Ubi corpusculum magis india affect cam refecit.'

[231] 'Morbo nempe et senio confectus hinc commpellitur migrare, et morbus quidem ex proprietate inhesit nature: nam solet semper senium comitari.' *BSG*, 51, p. 118.

[232] 'Mox igitur insinuavit per litteras onmibus ecclesiis sui resolutionem imminere, orans ut orationibus suis exitum euis munirent, et relinquens post se benedictionem.' *BSG*, 51, p. 119.

[233] 'Machinantibus autem discidium et discordiam contestatus est suam non posse prodesse absolutionem, cum in conspectu Dei nisi penituerint constet eos penitus esse reprobatos.' *BSG*, 51, p. 119.

his words to meet the political expediencies faced in keeping the order under control in the light of recent problems and the death of the founder.

Gilbert was at Cadney when he was anointed and received communion and prepared for death, however he did not die immediately and his companions, fearing his body might be seized for burial in a house other than one of his own, decided to carry the dying man to Sempringham in order to ensure he would be buried there.[234] It is not clear whether in his final days Gilbert was attended at all times. Certainly at the time of his death he had others with him for we are told that their grief was so great that their tears caused their tongues to stick in their throats.[235] However on the day before his death he was, at one stage at least, accompanied only by Roger the man who was to succeed him as master.[236]

Despite the slightly unusual aspects of the approach to Gilbert's death, it was, as regards adherence to the monastic death ritual, mainly conventional. The fact that the biographer chose to include the standard features of a monastic death into his account acts to place it within the context of a mainstream monastic process. In doing this, the biographer could have had two intentions in mind: to portray the Gilbertine order as a 'proper' order, and to confirm Gilbert's pathway to death as meeting the practical and established requirements for the death of a holy person.

Hugh of Lincoln's last illness was played out in London. Believing himself soon to die, he requested to make confession and receive the anointing of the sick. Hugh's final confession was very thorough and prolonged too, and as it was to be two months before

---

[234] 'Instante itaque tempore quo sancta illa anima carnis erat relictura hospitium, nocte qua natus est Dominus, apud monasterium quod est insula Kadeneia, extreme unctionis dominicique corporis munitus est sactamentis.' *BSG,* 51, p. 120.

[235] 'Singultus enim et lacrime adherere fecerunt linguas suas faucibus suis.' *BSG,* 52, p. 122.

[236] The biographer is clearly making a political statement in this part of the account, for it was at this time according to the *Life*, that Gilbert endorses Roger as his successor. Only Roger was there to hear this though. *BSG,* 51, pp. 120-121.

he did actually die, it was often repeated.[237] Adam was Hugh's chaplain and confessor, and the references to confession during Hugh's final weeks concern his personal and private confession.[238] There is no mention of a general confession made by Hugh to his household and community. Adam states that having received communion and then extreme unction, Hugh's conditioned worsened and he remained in bed for the last two months of his life.[239]

It was during this final period that Hugh made provision for his death. He realised that the pending general council at Lincoln, to which he himself was too ill to travel, would require the presence of his fellow bishops and churchmen with their households. This would leave no-one of equal rank available to attend him in London at the time of his death. He commanded Adam to send to Westminster and to St Paul's to request monks and clerks who would come to Hugh's deathbed and perform the necessary exequies.[240] He ordered that ashes be blessed ready for him to be lain upon in his final hour, and directed as to the washing of his body; that it should be done thoroughly, who should do it and who would provide the water. He also stated that he should be buried in his episcopal vestments, as was the custom.[241] The day before he died, Hugh received communion, then recognising his strength was waning, sent to Westminster and St Paul's for the arranged monks to perform the rites.[242]

The account of Hugh's preparation for death is different to the others in that he was away from home and had the time and was well enough to make careful arrangements

---

[237] 'After he had said this he began very earnestly to confess every sin of which he felt himself guilty, and also whatever at every stage of his life and in all his different capacities might have been displeasing in the sight of God [Hiis ita memoratis, quicquid aliquando in se noverat accusabile, vel quicquid in quodlibet gradu etatis, ordinis aut professionis sibi de se potuerat discplicere, cepit in conspectus Domini].' *MV*, V, xvi, vol. II, p. 185.

[238] A. Murray, *Conscience and Authority in the Medieval Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 41, notes that Carthusian spirituality attached great importance to monastic confession and the private examination of conscience. Adam's emphasis on Hugh's thorough and frequent private confession is reflective of this, and of Adam's desire to show Hugh as observing the Carthusian practices.

[239] *MV*, V, xvi, vol. II, p. 187.

[240] 'Ita siquidem speciosas michi persoluetis exequias.' *MV*, V, xvi, vol. II, p. 191.

[241] 'Ut corpus exanime pontificabilus induatur ex more.' *MV*, V, xvi, vol. II, p.191.

[242] 'Pridie quam migravit a corpore, ut frequenter singulis prius septimanis consueverat, viaticum percepit corporis et sanguinis Christi.' *MV*, V, xvi, vol. II, p. 197.

for his own death.[243] He did this, attending to both the spiritual and practical aspects of his pending demise. Had he been in his diocese he might not have felt it necessary to litigate thus, assuming that his attendants would automatically ensure everything was in place. Or, perhaps Adam in writing the *Life*, wished to draw his readers' attention to Hugh's directions as to his own death and management of his body. These passages serve to reinforce Hugh's wish to die first and foremost as a professed monk.

Table 1:   **Areas in which Lanfranc's pre-mortem death ritual practice is seen in the *Lives***

Requirements from Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions*	Anselm	Ailred	Gilbert	Hugh
death ritual explicitly initiated				
community attends	✓	✓	?	✓
monk makes confession to his community and seeks their absolution				✓ Made confession to God, rather than to community
blesses and absolves his community	✓	✓	✓	✓
is anointed		✓	✓	✓
receives communion		✓	✓	✓

The hagiographer who recorded fewest of Lanfranc's processes being enacted at the onset of the death ritual, is Eadmer. This is perhaps curious: Eadmer knew Lanfranc, having served under him at Canterbury and was the scribe for part at least of one of the earliest surviving copies of the *Constitutions*. He would too have inevitably been witness to previous deaths within the Canterbury community. It is only possible to speculate as to the reasons for Eadmer's silence on some of the key elements of the early parts of the death ritual. It seems extremely unlikely that Anselm did not receive

---

[243] This is in keeping with Hadley's view that in the medieval period it was expected that death should be prepared for in a variety of ways, including the practical. The objective of preparation was to ensure as speedy as possible postmortem journey. Death and burial were not just specific events; rather they were dynamic transitional processes. *Death in Medieval England*, p. 9 and p. 56.

the viaticum. Perhaps, however, Eadmer felt no need to record what he considered to be obvious, and it was anyway irrelevant to his intentions in recording Anselm's last moments.

Notable by its absence is the fact that none of the saints sought absolution from their communities. As they were all able to give their blessing, it seems safe to assume that they could have requested community absolution had they wished. Although Adam is at pains to stress the frequency and thoroughness with which Hugh made his confession, this was his personal confession, to his chaplain. Two points stem from this observation, again, both speculative. One is that since the hagiographers were in the nature of things describing holy men, perhaps even writing to create holiness, it could have been considered counterproductive to record offences the saint had committed against their fellow monks. The second point is one of status; all four of these men were leaders of their communities and very senior monks. While humility and awareness of wrongdoing were desirable qualities in a monk, perhaps it was not deemed appropriate for such senior men, men portrayed as role models for the monastic life to have their fallibilities broadcast. There was a tension for the hagiographers in the writing of a *Life* in effecting a balance between portraying the saint both as a person subject to the human condition, as well as an individual touched by God. However, the hagiographers here did not choose to demonstrate the human sinfulness of their subject through a deathbed confession to the gathered community.[244]

3.2.2   Death and the Last Offices

Anselm died at dawn on the Wednesday before Easter, fulfilling the prophetic words a member of his community had spoken a few days earlier. 'My Lord and father, we cannot help knowing that you are going to leave the world to be at the Easter court of your Lord.'[245] As his brethren were singing lauds and while he himself was being read

---

[244] Heffernan describes this challenge as the biographer having to make their subject appear fully human while at the same time confirming and celebrating their otherness. *Sacred Biography*, p. 30.

[245] 'Domine pater ut nobis intelligi datur, ad paschalem Domini tui curiam relicto seculo vadis.' *VA*, II, lxvi*, p. 142.

the passion account from the gospel, Anselm's breathing slowed.[246] Eadmer writes that the brothers in attendance recognising that Anselm was on the point of death, lifted him from his bed on to sackcloth and ashes.[247] There he died, as Eadmer recounts, surrounded by his community. 'The whole congregation of his sons gathered round him and, sending forth his soul into the hands of the Creator, he slept in peace.'[248] All the *Lives* stress the scriptures or offices that were being read or spoken at the moment of the saint's death. Walter placed onto the lips of the dying Ailred, the final words of the crucified Jesus, 'Into your hands I commend my spirit.'[249] Plainly this was extremely significant in a religious community, serving not just to root the moment in the matrix of scriptural justification, but to deliver a message, and perhaps to comfort and reassure too, the recipients of the *Life*.

Gilbert, like Anselm, expired as the community was celebrating lauds. The significance of leaving this world for the next as night gives way to day is made explicit by his hagiographer's use of language of the darkness of this world and the light of the next.[250] Hugh died during Compline, the final office of the day.[251] Adam recounts that as the community were chanting Psalm 90:15 'He shall cry to me, and I will hear him: I am with him in tribulation, I will deliver him, and I will glorify him' Hugh was laid on the

---

[246] Eadmer records that Luke 22:28-30 was being read as Anselm entered his agony; the verses are those in which Jesus promises his faithful followers a heavenly kingdom and a place at his table.

[247] 'Sensimus igitur eum jamjam obiturum, et de lecto super cilicium et cinerem positus est.' *VA*, II, lxvi, p. 143.

[248] 'Adunatoque circa illum universo filiorum suorum agmine ultimum spiritum in manus Creatoris emittens, dormavit in pace.' *VA*, II, lxvi, p. 143.

[249] *VAil*, lvii, p. 61 and Luke 23:46. 'In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum.' Heffernan considers that Walter's use of this particular verse engenders in the recipients of the *Life*, an association between the death of Ailred and that of Christ, the latter being the death which is paradigmatic for every Christian. *Sacred Biography*, p. 79. Further, as Ward writes, the death of Jesus is the necessary preemptor of his resurrection so an occasion of hope and promise to the Christian mind and especially to the receivers of the *Life* of a saint. *Signs and Wonders*, p. 11. This being the case, Walter's choice of this particular biblical quote reminds his audience that the Christian dead are in reality, and through the grace of God, alive.

[250] 'Hoc enim secutum est: … cum nox immutaretur in diem, dum celebrarentur laudes a conventu, a tenebris huius seculi et laboribus mundi ad veram lucem requiemque eternam migravit [for this is what followed … as night was changing into day and while the community was celebrating lauds, he left the darkness of this world and earthly labours for true light and everlasting rest].' *BSG, 52*, pp. 122-123.

[251] *MV*, V, xvi, vol. II, p. 198.

ashes where he died as the monks commenced the Nunc dimitis, with an expression of deep peace upon his face.[252]

Gilbert was the only one of the four saints considered here of whom there is no mention of his dying on sackcloth and ashes. It is somewhat anomalous that no reference is made to the practice in Gilbert's *Life*, and forms a case where silence is difficult, if not impossible to interpret. If Gilbert were not placed on ashes it suggests that his attendants either chose not to follow the custom, perhaps not acknowledging it as their own, or did not know of it. If Gilbert were placed on ashes this was not recorded, so either the writer of the *Life* did not know that it happened or omitted to mention it. Out of the variety of theories which present themselves here, the most likely would seem to be that Gilbert was not lifted on to sackcloth and ashes for his final moments. Earlier on in Gilbert's *Life*, mention is made of Gilbert wearing a hair shirt, and perhaps this was seen to suffice.[253] This was certainly the case for Hugh, who when he was requesting that the ashes be blessed ready for his demise, explicitly said that sackcloth was not used at the time of death in the Carthusian order, because the custom was for each monk to wear a hair shirt routinely, and the monks preferred to die in the garments in which they had lived.[254] The other *Lives* considered here suggest that the practice of lying the dying monk on sackcloth and ashes was standard in monastic communities; Gilbert's *Life* would surely have mentioned it had it happened. Walter is explicit in his *Life* of Ailred that the practice was monastic custom, writing 'Then, when we were aware that death was near he was placed, as the monastic custom is, on a hair-cloth strewn with ashes'.[255]

---

[252] 'Ille vultu placidissimo spiritum sensim colligebat, quem tunc in manus Conditoris tradidit cum Symeonis canticum psallentium chorus recitare cepit.' *MV*, V, xvi, vol. II, p. 198. The opening lines of the Nunc dimittis in the English (Douay-Rheims 1582) are, 'Now thou dost dismiss Thy servant, O Lord, according to thy word in peace; because my eyes have seen Thy salvation …'.

[253] 'Inter linum et cilicium mediam lanam propter subditorum conformitatem et popularis aure fugam potius utendam censuit.' *BSG, 22,* p. 64.

[254] 'Cilicium enim more quorumdam, in ordine nostro migrantibus nequaquam substernitur; eo quippe quilebet moriens apud nos contentus est quo pridem vivens usus et indutus est.' *MV*, V, xvi, vol. II, p. 190.

[255] 'At tunc nobis eum iam iamque obiturum sencientibus, positus est super cilicium et cinerem more monachorum.' *VAil*, lvii, p. 62.

Lanfranc in the *Constitutions* gives details of the practice, but allowed the dying monk the choice of being placed on the sackcloth and ashes if he wished.[256]

Once death was confirmed, Lanfranc's *Constitutions* directed that the dead monk should be washed by those of his own rank.[257] Hugh was clear in his instructions to Adam about who should wash his body requiring them to wash him with care as he was to be buried close to the altar of St John the Baptist and his body needed to be clean 'so as not to dishonour so holy and venerated a spot'.[258]

Adam's account of the management of Hugh's body is predicated upon his desire to show Hugh as a saint in the model of St Martin of Tours. Adam is explicit in this, as is shown in his choice of title for the chapter following his description of Hugh's death.[259] Inevitably this gives a particular bent to Adam's narrative. He describes Hugh's body as being, 'Like Martin's, it was clearer than glass, whiter than milk.'[260] A further miracle showed that the extraordinary Martin-like colouration extended throughout Hugh's body. Because Hugh had to be transported to Lincoln, a journey of six days, the doctors advised that his intestines be removed. Adam writes that 'when the surgeon made his [Hugh's] internal organs visible no water or stool was found and they were as clean and immaculate as if someone had already carefully washed and wiped them.'[261] Adam

---

[256] 'Egro autem in agonia posito, et iam iam si ita visum fuerit morituro, famulus, qui ad hoc deputatus est, cilicium expandat, et supra illud, ad mensuram longitudinis et latitudinis quam ipsum cilicium habet, signum crucis de cineribus faciat, morietemque fratrem desuper ponat.' *MCL, 112,* p. 180.

[257] 'Sacerdos a sacerdotibus, diaconus a diaconis.' *MCL, 112,* p. 182.

[258] 'Cave ne hac in parte quevis obrepat neggligentia, qua loci reverendi deshonestetur dignitas sacrosancta.' *MV,* V, xvi, vol. II, p. 191. Brother Peter, the lay brother was to provide the water for washing, and Adam and two others (unnamed), should perform the washing; no-one else was to be present. Hugh had previously remarked that no abbot or bishop would be available to attend him through the last rites as they were attending the Lincoln meeting.

[259] 'The numerous coincidences preceding and following the deaths of the blessed bishops Martin of Tours and Hugh of Lincoln [Quod multa consimiliter precesserunt et subsecuta sunt beatorum episcoporum Martini Turonesis et Hugonis Lincolniensis transitum].' *MV,* V, xvii, vol. II, p. 199.

[260] 'Ut sicut Martinus purior et lacte candidior.' *MV,* V, xvii, vol. II, p. 206, and fn. 2. Adam is quoting from Sulpicius Severus, Epistula III, in which he described the body of the dead Martin. Ward notes that Sulpicius Severus' work on Martin was one of three earlier Christian texts used frequently in hagiographical work of the twelfth century. The other two hagiographical models are Athansius on St Antony and Gregory the Great's work on St Benedict. *Miracles*, p. 168.

[261] 'Ubi manu cirurgica ipsa interaneorum secreta patuerunt, inuenta sunt nichil superflue collectionis, nil prorsus concreti, ut assolet, humoris intra se retinentia, set tali quodam purissimo nitore prelucebant ac si plurima cuiuslibet hominis diligentia abluta essent et undique purgata.' *MV*, V, xix*,* vol. II, p. 219.

continues by noting that while some people attributed this phenomenon to the dysentery Hugh had suffered from in the days before his death, whatever the cause, Hugh's dead body resembled Martin's both inside and out.

Walter uses exactly the same image and hagiographical device in writing about Ailred's body. When it was readied for washing, Walter writes that Ailred's 'flesh was clearer than glass, whiter than snow.'[262] This statement of Walter's appears to have drawn criticism as Walter subsequently defended his account in his *Letter to Maurice*, saying that he was using hyperbole as a rhetorical device, but that in fact Ailred's body was as he described it.[263] Walter's words suggest he sees no contradiction in holding both points simultaneously. His ability to hold two apparently conflicting positions at once without difficulty can be explained using the notion of the 'medieval enterprise' of rhetoric which acted to shape, if not constitute reality.[264] This explains how rhetorical device and actuality could harmonise even when different. The miracle itself was a familiar one, recounted not only for Ailred and Hugh. Indeed Ailred himself, in his Life of St Edward, wrote how the snowy white body of the late king Edward the Confessor became suffused with a rose colour, and accounted this as a demonstrable sign of the dead king's sanctity.[265]

Miraculous changes in bodily colouration are a common factor in some of the *Lives*. Adam, having recorded the whiteness of Hugh's body, describes another miracle to do with the complexion of the saint. This miracle occurred when Hugh's body was in Lincoln cathedral prior to his funeral and Adam was preparing him for burial, dressing him in the robes in which he had been consecrated.[266] Adam described Hugh's body at that time as remaining, 'fresh, white and beautiful as if he had risen from the dead

---

[262] 'Cuius caro vitro purior, nive candidior.' *VAil*, lviii, p. 62.

[263] *VAil*, Letter to Maurice, p. 77. Heffernan, in *Sacred Biography,* p. 11, attributes this feature of Walter's writing as being derivative upon a view received from Gregory of Tours, that in the sphere of sacred writing, narrative can reflect both actual circumstances and metaphysical truth.

[264] Breisach in his introduction to *Classical Rhetorical and Medieval Historiography*, p. 2.

[265] Aelred of Rievaulx, 'The *Life* of Saint Edward, King and Confessor' in *The Historical Works,* trans. J. P. Freeland (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2005), p. 211.

[266] *MV*, V, xx, vol. II, pp. 228-229.

instead of having been dead for so many days'.[267] Adam noted the flexibility of Hugh's limbs, and the fact that his skin was not discoloured at all, even though only his face and right hand had been besmeared with balsam.[268] Shortly after this, people saw that Hugh's colouration changed from being pallid to rosy.[269] Besides demonstrating the miraculous, this passage echoes one in which Adam describes Hugh travelling to Witham, his Carthusian priory where he, Hugh, spent as much time as he was able. As he came close to Witham, Hugh's face would flush pink at the first glimpse of the priory, showing the joy he felt at his arrival there.[270] Adam appears to be using the image of the flushed face of the dead Hugh to signal his approach to heaven and his joy therein, as in life the same effect had been used to show Hugh's delight at his approach to the peace he would find in the simplicity and rigour of his Carthusian practice at Witham.

Another miracle in common pertains to the immediate postmortem period of two of the saints; Anselm and Ailred. Eadmer writes that following his death, Anselm was washed according to custom, and then the miracle occurred.[271] The monks decided to anoint Anselm's face with balsam but found only a tiny amount in the jar.[272] This increased miraculously until there was enough to anoint his whole body several times over. Walter recounts exactly the same thing happening when the brothers at Rievaulx prepared Ailred's body for burial.[273] Lanfranc made no mention of embalming in the *Constitutions*, but the fact that for three of the four saints studied here steps were taken to preserve the body from putrefaction shows that it happened in some instances.

---

[267] *MV*, V, xx, vol. II, p. 228. Vauchez in *Sainthood*, p. 427, writes that the condition of the body of a recently dead saint was seen as the first sign of their divine election. They are attributed with having the appearance of one sleeping rather than dead, soft childlike flesh, supple limbs.

[268] 'Manus eius et digiti, brachia quoque et lacerti, non aliter quam pridem in vivo, tunc in defuncto placabiles, molles et tractabiles erant. Balsamo sola eius facies et manus eius dextera fuerat delibuta.' *MV*, V, xx, vol. II, p. 229.

[269] 'Rosis rubentibus genas similes pretendat, ut dormientis, non defuncti.' *MV*, V, xx, vol. II, p. 229.

[270] 'Colore decenter rubicundo superfusus, genas ei cum facie simul tota vestire consuevit.' *MV*, IV, x, vol. II, p. 49.

[271] 'Loto igitur ex more corpore ejus.' *VA*, II, lxvii, p. 143. It can be supposed that the custom Eadmer meant is the washing of the body as described by Lanfranc in the *Constitutions. MCL*, 112, p. 179.

[272] *VA*, II, lxvii, pp. 143-144.

[273] *VAil*, lix, p. 63.

In the case of Gilbert too, the postmortem treatment of the body was an occasion for the miraculous. The water with which Gilbert was washed was subsequently given as a drink to the sick, many of whom were then restored to health.[274] The chronology of Gilbert's funeral is not easy to follow. The biographer notes that the funeral rites took place over a period of four days, and that 'after solemn masses were sung the holy body was first of all cleansed with water …'.[275] Although the ordering of the text suggests that the body was washed and clothed towards the end of the four-day funeral period this is unlikely; the risk of corruption would have required the body to be prepared and suitable for viewing sooner rather than later. Gilbert was dressed in priest's robes for his burial.[276] Hugh and Anselm both went to their tombs in their episcopal garb.[277] There is no mention of the garments in which Ailred was clothed.[278]

---

[274] *BSG, 55,* pp. 130-131. This miracle is seen in the tradition of Thomas Becket, to whom miracles were attributed when sick people were cured by drinking the water used to wash away his blood following his murder in 1170. This is significant here as Gilbert's biographer was seeking to place Gilbert in the model of Becket, equating the worth of martyrdom with a life lived in virtue. The prologue to the *Life* of Gilbert states that 'inter quos, dies nostris, in regione nostra, post beati Thome Cantuariensis martiris admiranda constantie exempla, habemus in beato Gileberto Sempringhamensi confessore amplectenda zeli animarum rudimenta'. *BSG, Prologue,* pp. 2-3.

[275] 'Completis missarum sollemniis, venerabile illud corpus prius aqua perlotum.' *BSG, 55,* p. 130.

[276] Gilchrist describes the symbolism of clothing in the medieval period as central to rituals that marked life course transitions, including that from life through death. She also comments on the place clothing played in the medieval world as being both an expression of self-identity and as a marker of group membership. *Medieval Life*, p. 68.

[277] 'Sacris et sacerdotalibus vestimentis.' *BSG, 55,* p. 131; 'Pontificabilus induimus insigniis.' *MV*, V. xix, vol. II, p. 218; 'Pontificis vestibus est sacris indutus.' *VA*, II, lxvii, p. 144.

[278] This omission may have been been made in cognisance of the example of the Cistercian abbot Waltheof of Melrose (d. 1159) about whom there was a debate as to whether he should be buried in his monastic habit or as in the example of Bernard of Clairvaux, in his vestments. H. Birkett, *The Saints' Lives of Jocelyn of Furness: Hagiography, Patronage and Ecclesiastical Politics* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 2010), p. 202. This is entirely speculative not least as the earliest surviving copy of Waltheof's *Life* dates from around 1207, so some years after the probable writing of Walter's work. It does seem likely though that news of the debate should have reached Rievaulx and given its controversy the subject was avoided by Walter.

Table 2:   **Areas in which Lanfranc's ritual for the time of death is described in the *Lives***

Requirements from Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions*	Anselm	Ailred	Gilbert	Hugh
community present	✓	✓	✓	✓
sackcloth and ashes	✓	✓		✓
washing the body	✓	✓	✓	✓
clothing the body	✓ in the habit of an archbishop	not recorded	✓ in priestly vestments	✓ n episcopal garments

The table above shows that the practices Lanfranc described were used during the death of each of the four saints although in none of the cases does the record describe the level of detail that is contained in the *Constitutions.*

While liturgy and prayer does not fall within the scope of this current investigation it is nonetheless interesting to note that although little is said in the *Lives* about the assigned prayers for death, much mention is made of the liturgy or office that was in train when the saints actually died. Again there is a hagiographical message within this element, of the saints either being called from, or choosing to depart from this life at a moment of metaphorical significance in the daily office, notably matins or lauds. The time of their departure was complemented by the apparently co-incidental use of particular scriptural verses which perfectly suited both the occasion and the saint.[279]

3.2.3   Burial and Remembrance

Hugh of Lincoln was carried from London to his burial in Lincoln cathedral. According to Adam's description, Hugh's progression along the way was an occasion marked by a

---

[279] For example, Anselm's final moments came as the words of Jesus from Luke 22:29-30 were being read to him. 'And I dispose to you, as my Father has disposed to me, a kingdom; that you may eat and drink at my table, in my kingdom: and may sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.' *VA*, II, lxvi*, p. 142.

great outpouring of grief from people along the road, and the funeral itself was an event of grandeur. The king of England, the king of Scotland, and princes of the church, as well as the common folk attended.[280] People vied for the honour of carrying the bishop's bier into the cathedral. There, the crowds became immense, and great numbers of people carrying candles surrounded Hugh's body day and night.[281] Miracles of healing and justice were reported in addition to the miracle seen in the colouration and preservation of Hugh's body. As Hugh was being carried to his burial people attempted to cut off pieces of the vestments in which he was dressed.[282] Adam described at great length, and at times with apologist tone, the scale of Hugh's funeral, having previously attributed its magnificence as being a reward to Hugh for the zeal that he, Hugh, had brought to burying the dead throughout his ordained life.[283] In contrast to the funeral description, Adam's words concerning the actual burial are brief. He notes only that Hugh was laid, as he had instructed, near the altar of St John.[284] There is no mention of the preparation of the tomb, nor of how the body was placed into it, nor of the service held.

Eadmer is more informative in his description of the detail of Anselm's funeral as regards management of the body itself, probably because it was the occasion of a miracle. This occurred during the funeral service when Anselm was placed into the stone coffin that had been prepared for his body previously, and the coffin was found to

---

[280] Adam writes in *MV*, V, xix, vol. II, p. 225, that Hugh's funeral cortege was met at Lincoln by the two kings as well as there high-ranking dignitaries from church and state. 'Archbishops, bishops, magnates, abbots and nobles and an immense crowd of clergy and people, such as hardly ever been seen in England before this gathering [obvios habuimus cum inestimabili multitudine cleri et populi, regem Anglie et regem Scotie, archiepiscopos, episcopos, principes, abbates et proceres, quot vix umquam in Anglia pariter ante conventum illum contigit inveniri].' Many of these people were already at Lincoln for the planned meeting, which had as previously mentioned, necessitated Hugh in London calling upon the services of the monks of St Paul's to provide his death exequies.

[281] *MV*, V, xx, vol. II, p. 231.

[282] *MV*, V, xx, vol. II, p. 232.

[283] 'Factus vero etatis iam integre et pontificali officio insignitus, sepeliendis mortuis tantam visus est sollicitudenem impendisse, ut misericordie huius premio reposito in futurum, sub presenti quoque tempore singulari donaretur honore sepulture.' *MV*, IV, *Prologue*, vol. II, p. 1.

[284] 'Sepultus est, sicut ipse nobis preceperat, secus parietem non procul ab altari sancti Iohannis Baptiste.' *MV*, V, xx, vol. II, p. 232. Adam observed that the choice of place seemed best because of the crowds flocking there.

be long enough, but too shallow.[285] This meant that the lid could not be placed on the coffin without damaging the body. It appears that this disrupted the service, as attendees debated how the situation should be managed. The matter was resolved when the coffin miraculously became higher than the body, allowing the lid to be positioned and the funeral completed.[286]

Like Adam for Hugh, Gilbert's biographer relates only the place of Gilbert's burial and no further detail about the interment of the body itself. Gilbert's tomb was positioned in a hollow in the wall separating the two churches serving the twinned community of men and women at Sempringham, thus allowing both parts of the community access to the tomb.[287]

Walter's account of Ailred's burial is slightly fuller than that of Gilbert and Hugh. Having related the miracle of the balsam, Walter tells how the convent of the brethren was waiting to see their dead abbot, and so those present at the washing and anointing hurried to take Ailred's body to them, and then to the church.[288] 'Later the body was borne into the church, and on the next day, after Mass had been celebrated and the rites of the father's funeral observed and completed, he was taken for burial in the chapter-house.'[289] Of interest here is the question of where Ailred died and where his body was taken for viewing by the community after it had been washed and anointed, before being taken to the church. Since Ailred had his own quarters, it could be assumed that he died there, but Walter's statement about the removal of Ailred's body in order to return it to his community members, suggests this might not have been the case. While Walter describes just two rooms in Ailred's lodgings, recent archeological research shows that there were in fact three.[290] The largest of these could hold up to thirty monks

---

[285] 'Longitudine quidem et latitudine aptum, sed profunditate magna ex parte minus habens inventum est.' *VA*, II, lxviii, p. 144.

[286] *VA,* II, lxviii, p. 145.

[287] *BSG,* 55, p. 131.

[288] *VAil*, lix, pp. 63-64.

[289] 'Post que delatum est corpus eius oratorium et in crastino, missis celebratis et debitis circa patris exequias obsequiis et consummatis, in capitulo traditur sepulture.' *VAil,* lx, p. 64.

[290] P. Fergusson and S. Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey: Community, Architecture and Memory* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1999), p. 126.

and is mentioned by Walter, as is the small room with a grave or pit [fovea] within it. The architecturally identified third room was small and abutted the infirmary wall. None of these rooms was large enough to hold the one hundred monks Walter describes as being with Ailred at times in the days before his death.[291] It may then have been the case that Ailred was moved to the larger infirmary when he became critically ill, thus allowing the community to congregate around him. Lanfranc regulated that the body be moved for washing and that only a small number of appropriate people should be present for this. This being so, it is reasonable to speculate that Ailred was moved after his death in the infirmary to one of the smaller rooms in his suite for washing, then carried back out, maybe to the infirmary again for the brothers to see, before being taken to the church.

None of the *Lives* mention any specific rites of remembrance. While on first reading this is a surprising omission, in fact there is rational explanation for the absence of an area of posthumous practice that was considered of key importance during the period. Remembrance for remission of sins and reduction of the purgatorial burden was logically unnecessary in the *Life* of a man who in that same *Life* was being hailed as a saint. All however describe posthumous miracles. The writers of the *Lives* seem to be focussing on two main points in their immediate post-burial accounts: the site of the tomb, and the miracles that occurred relative to it.[292] Both of these items were of primary importance in the remembrance of the subject of the *Life* as a saint.

---

[291] 'Eramus autem circa illum nunc xii, nunc xx, nunc vero xl, nunc eciam monachi centum quia sic vehementer amatus est a nobis amator ille omnium nostrum.' *VAil*, liii, p. 59.

[292] Vauchez writes in *Sainthood,* p. 512, that the final moments of the life of a saint, and then the saint in death did not attract particular attention in canonisation processes before the mid thirteenth-century. While this dearth of information is seen in all the four *Lives* examined here, two of the subjects of which (Gilbert and Hugh) went through a formal papal canonisation process, it is more marked in the two earlier *Lives* of Anselm and Ailred.

Table 3: **Areas in which Lanfranc's ritual for burial and remembrance is seen in the *Lives*[293]**

Requirements from Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions*	Anselm	Ailred	Gilbert	Hugh
body displayed in church		✓	✓	✓
candles and bells				✓
rites of remembrance				

3.3 Medicine

There is no mention in Gilbert's final illnesses and death of his being attended by a doctor, nor of his receiving care and treatment under medical advice. Likewise, Eadmer is silent on the subject of any medical care or intervention during Anselm's last days. However, it is far from the case that Eadmer's silence on the matter denotes any lack of interest concerning medical matters from Anselm himself. [294] Both the *Life* of Ailred and that of Hugh provide a great deal of information on the symptoms, diagnosis and

---

[293] While Lanfranc described the way in which the grave should be prepared and the body lifted into it, none of the saints here were interred in a cemetery. As mentioned previously, Ailred was buried under the chapter house floor, and the other three saints were placed in tombs in their respective churches or cathedrals. Even allowing for this though, there is no information as to the preparation of the space itself or the manner in which the body was laid in the tomb.

[294] Gasper, in 'A doctor in the house' shows how Anselm himself regarded medical care as being of value and within the gift of God. This is seen in some of Anselm's letters (for example, letters 32, 33 and 34) from Bec, in which he requests of several people that the monk Maurice is seen by Albert the physician in Canterbury in order to treat Maurice's headaches. Schmitt, *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis*, vol. iv. pp. 140-142. In letter 34 Anselm wrote to Gundulf himself asking for help. 'As for his [Maurice's] headaches, I beg you as earnestly as I can, that through your prayers and help, as much as you can give, he may be cured by our lord and friend Albert, the physician, if it is possible [De infirmitate capitis eius te precor quantum possum, ut te precante et adiuvante quantum potes, a domino et amico nostro Alberto medico curetur quantum potest].' Anselm uses the word 'medicus' here. Anselm also wrote directly to Albert, (letter 36) asking the doctor to see Maurice. 'To the degree that our friendship can inspire you, his illness demands of you and your healing skill, with God's help, may accomplish, we commit him in to your hands to be cured [Quantum apud vos rostra potest amicitia et eius exigit infirmitas et vestra sufficit operante deo medicina, vestris manibus curandum propter deum committimus].' Schmitt, *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis*, vol. iv. pp. 143-144. Given Anselm's position as archbishop, and his own interest in medicine, it seems highly unlikely that Anselm was not attended by medics during his final illness and death. Although Eadmer does not say so explicitly, perhaps they were included among the group of monks who attended upon Anselm in his illness. Eadmer does mention how the monks implored Anselm to eat. 'With anxious care begged him to take some food [ut in cibum aliquid sumeret diligenti cura petebatur].' Although this is the introductory part of a small miracle in which a marten catches a partridge which is brought to Anselm to eat, it nevertheless shows in the concern for Anselm's diet, the application of health-promoting care and maybe too the influence of doctors. *VA*, II, lvii, p. 135.

treatment of their subject, and in Hugh's case this information is richly supplemented by that found in *The Metrical Life of Saint Hugh.*[295]

Although Walter Daniel referred to himself as an 'officio medicus' he himself was not responsible for the medical care of Ailred.[296] Even though it is not clear exactly what Walter meant by the title of officio medicus, the details in his account of Ailred's symptoms, signs and treatment support a supposition of Walter having medical knowledge, or at the very least of having a keen interest in medical matters. Throughout the *Life*, Walter includes carefully observed records of Ailred's medical condition and possible diagnosis.[297] This is seen in, for example, a passage about Ailred's final illness.

---

[295] The author of this work is not known, but C. Garton suggests it may have been the poet Henry of Avranches who wrote a metrical *Life* of St Francis which contains passages similar to the *Metrical Life of Saint Hugh* in the focus on medical information. *The Metrical Life of Saint Hugh,* [henceforth *MLSH*] ed. and trans. C. Garton (Lincoln Cathedral: Holywood Press, 1986), p. 4. The exact date of its composition is also unknown though must have been between 1220-1235 as it refers to St Hugh's canonisation which was in 1220 and the fact that Hugh of Wells was Bishop of Lincoln, a post he held from 1209 to 1235. Garton putatively narrows the composition of the *Metrical Life* down to the 1220s and believes it to be later than, and derivative from, both Adam of Eynsham's *Magna Vita,* and Gerald of Wales *Life of Hugh*. There is no suggestion in the text that it is an eye witness account of Hugh's illness and death, nor is there any evidence to link it to a source who was actually present at these times. Its significance here is not so much in its value or otherwise as a source for the life and death of Hugh, but in the medicalised information, whether actual or not, that it offers on Hugh's condition at the end of his life.

[296] E. J. Kealey includes both Walter and Ailred himself in his list of identifiable medical practitioners from the years 1100-1154. *Medieval Medicus: a Social History of Anglo-Norman Medicine* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1981), p. 31. C. H. Talbot in *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England: a Biographical Register* (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1965), does not however include them in his register. Regarding Ailred's medical care, Walter writes that Ailred entrusted the care of his illness entirely to two of the brethren. 'Duorum solacio fratrum curam tocius infirmitatis sue subiecit.' *VAil*, xxxi, p. 39.

[297] Nothing is known of Walter's education so there is no way of telling whether or not he received any formal medical education or training. S. Race in *Aelred of Rievaulx: Cistercian Monk and Medieval Man* (Tigmor Books, 2011), p. 53, suggests that the library at Rievaulx in the twelfth century had what she calls 'a book of healing' to which Walter may have had access. The title of medicus is one that was familiar in the early twelfth century. Kealey in *Medieval Medicus,* pp. 15-16 and p. 34, considers it to have been a complimentary term, but for reasons that are unclear one that many practitioners chose not to use. It denoted curative skill rather than formal training and was applied to a general practitioner in the field of medicine rather than a specialist in a particular area, such as a midwife or phlebotomist. It was possibly also used to refer to those who brought about healing through miracles, as did Ailred. In the *Life* of Ailred, when describing a miracle effected by Ailred curing a man of a gastric condition, Walter writes that 'medical men testify that this is a most dangerous disease [est enim periculosa nimis hec passio, ut phisici testantur]'. *VAil xxxiv,* p. 42. It is interesting to note that in this instance Walter appears not to be including himself among the ranks of the medical men: he is giving their opinion, not stating his own. The word he uses in this context is 'physicus' and not 'medicus', the word with which he describes himself. This resonates with the distinctions Wallis describes in the usage and understanding of the terms 'medicina' and 'physica'. *Medieval Medicine,* p. xxii. She states that the practice of medicina can be dated to 500-1100 and denotes a practical and concrete application of care and medical practice with the craft being acquired by observation and experience. Physica as a medical science is seen from 1100-1500, has its roots in ancient Greece, is based on medicinal knowledge derived from books and then from about the twelfth century on, is taught in the schools and universities. This being the case, Walter may be including himself in the group of practitioners who learnt their craft through experience rather than through the academic route.

'Indeed, in my opinion the suffering in his breast and the difficulty of breathing were all due to an abnormal distemper in the head, producing fresh fever, and this in turn when his body was racked by the cough, set up an irritation together with the coughing.'[298] The rational approach, level of medical observation and detailing of symptoms together with a diagnostic statement, are typical of Walter's style, as is the confidence with which he gives his own opinion.

Walter used clinical accounts of Ailred's physical condition as a vehicle upon which to build the descriptions of Ailred's suffering and therefore his sanctity. Forbearance throughout a period suffering was a common hagiographical feature, so it is to be expected that Walter would detail Ailred's courage during his illness, and he does indeed do this.[299] In one passage from Ailred's last days Walter described how he could tell that his abbot was in pain. 'For two hours he lay as though unconscious and half dead; then I came and saw the father sweating in anguish, the pallor of his face flushed, the ball of his nostrils twitching, his lips bitten by his teeth.'[300]

Here Walter is recording within the context of a hagiographical work, the actual clinical signs demonstrated by a person in great pain. The detailed and graphic medicalised description of the physical condition of the dying abbot serves to highlight Ailred's God-given ability to endure without complaint what many others would be unable to tolerate. Through this device, Walter portrays Ailred as being at one and the same time human and so subject to great suffering, and divinely ordained so able to bear the suffering with courage and fortitude.

---

[298] 'Ut autem michi visum fuit, omnis illa depressio pectoris et inspirandi difficultas ex capitis venit insolita distemperancia novam frigiditatem inferente, que quandam irritacionem movebat cum sonitu in faucibus, quando precordia a tusse urgebantur.' *VAil*, xlviii, p. 55.

[299] Ward describes three themes that recur in accounts of Christian death, particularly in a monastic context. These are that there is no pretence that death is easy or simple, but is preceded by great pain and genuine distress; that dying monks found it possible to link themselves to those who had already passed through the grave; and that for the monk death itself is, through the death and resurrection of Christ, the gateway to life. *Signs and Wonders*, pp. 10-11. All of these are seen to some extent in Ailred's *Life*; in the prolonged periods of pain and debility he suffered; through Walter's linking of him with St Martin, and the choice of his final words, quoting those of Christ from the gospel of Luke 23:46. 'Into Thy hands, I commend my spirit.'

[300] 'Iacet ergo quasi per duas horas velut insensibilis et semimortuus, cum ecce venio et video patrem sudare pre angustia et faciem versam in pallorem subrufam et oculos lacrimantes et pirulam narium fluctuantem et labia constricta dentibus.' *VAil*, xlix, p. 56.

Walter takes a further opportunity of using medical matters to demonstrate Ailred's holiness, when he describes how Ailred's anorexia increased in his final years. Not only did Ailred barely eat, but he refused to take medicine too. He would remove the curatives he had been prescribed from his mouth when he thought no-one was looking and grind them to powder on the floor.[301] When his physicians objected, Walter recounts that Ailred chose to ignore their prescription and advice. 'The father, taking his soul in his hands, gave greater weight to his own councils than to those of the physicians, and for God's sake, despised the cure of the body and considered in all ways the health of the soul.'[302]

Hugh demonstrated a similar disregard for the welfare of his body when he reckoned it against the welfare of his soul. When he believed himself to be dying, Hugh asked to receive the final anointing. Having confessed, taken communion and been anointed, Hugh said, 'Now let the doctors and our sickness come to what agreement they will, neither from now on are of any consequence to us'.[303] Although it was to be a further two months before Hugh died, in Adam's account it seems as though the last sacraments acted as a threshold, and that once Hugh had passed beyond this threshold he had entered a liminal period between life and death. Although his body was still on earth, Hugh's mind was from this point set heavenwards, and Hugh the saint had no further use for doctors.

This division between care of the body and the soul, and the sometime mutual incompatibility of the two within the enactment of the requirements of the monastic lifestyle, is seen too in the metrical *Life of Hugh*. There, the unknown author describes

---

[301] *VAil*, xli, p. 49.

[302] 'Pater ponens animam suam in manibus suis medicorum consilia postponderavit propiis et pro Deo contempnens remedia corporis anime sanitati consuluit onmibus modis.' *VAil*, xli, pp. 49-50. In this passage Walter uses the word 'medicus' rather than 'physicus' to describe Ailred's doctors.

[303] 'Iam medicis et morbis nostris, up poterit, conveniat; de utrisque amodo erit in pectore nostro cura minor.' *MV*, V, xvi, vol. II, p. 186. Adam uses the term 'medicus' for doctor, as did Walter. Hugh's words suggest his illness as being an almost independent entity. Similar personification of illness is seen in Anselm's letter to Gilbert (letter 142), in which he describes his own recent fever, his fear of this sickness, and eventual recovery. 'But when it [the fever] saw my mind intensely contemplating how I could send to our friends for the help of prayers, being terrified it fled the terrified, twice afflicted victim [Sed cum videret mentem meam intentissime conversam, ut ad amicos nostros pro auxilio mitterem orationum, exterrita bis tactum fugit exterritum].' Schmitt, *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis*, vol. iv. pp. 153-154.

how despite the wishes of his doctors, Hugh in his final illness refused to compromise his religious observances to effect a cure for his body. 'No force of malady or fear of death, no advice of physician or desire of health could induce him to compromise in the sharp exactitude of his usual religious observance.'[304] While the practice of medicine for the relief of a sick monk was plainly acceptable, as too were the needful treatments that might stem from this, it appears that at the approach of death the hagiographers chose to state that the truly sainted would not compromise the rigours of their practice even when medical advice allowed them to do so.

Although the author of the metrical *Life* makes no claim to have been a witness to Hugh's illnesses and death, he does provide a full medical assessment of Hugh's condition. Using humoral theory, he describes how Hugh's pulse and urine showed when his death was imminent. 'By now one of his bodily humours was upsetting the temperament of the other three. His pulse and urine afforded two indications of outcome, through the pulse lacking its usual beat, the urine its usual colour.'[305] The use of pulse as a prognostic measure is seen too in the *Magna Vita.* When Hugh experienced excessive pain Adam tried to comfort him, saying, 'soon, my lord, you will be at peace, for when I feel your pulse it shows the crisis is ending.'[306] The study of urine and pulse was made primarily in order to provide a prognosis, in this instance of death, rather than a diagnosis.[307] The passage in the metrical *Life* continues by describing how the disease progressed until it claimed Hugh's life. Interestingly, one of the observations the author makes in this pre-mortem period concerns Hugh's complexion. 'All his facial colour deserted him, the elements of fire and water passed away wholly into fires.'[308] This

---

[304] 'Nulla languori vi vel formidine mortis, nullo consilio medici vel amore salutis, flectere consuetae vult religionis acumen.' *MLSH,* p. 70. This writer too uses the term medicus.

[305] 'Iam tres humores unus distemperat humor: pulsus et urina duo sunt prognostica mortis; hic solito motu, solito caret illa colore.' *MLSH,* p. 71.

[306] 'Iam domine quiescetis, tactus nempe pulsus vestri finiri nunc innuit accessionem istam.' *MV*, V, xvi*, vol. II, p. 192. Adam makes no reference to having medical knowledge himself, but plainly felt confident enough both to take a pulse and to interpret the findings. The point of the passage in which this quote is found, is to demonstrate Hugh's fortitude in the face of great pain; Adam's mention of his taking Hugh's pulse is simply an adjunct to this. This being the case, it suggests the possibility that within the monastic enclave a basic level of medical knowledge may have been found among the brethren.

[307] F. Wallis, 'Signs and Senses: Diagnosis and Prognosis in Early Medieval Pulse and Urine Texts', in *The Social History of Medicine,* 13 (2000), 265-278, p. 265.

[308] 'Tota peregrinat complexio, totus in ignis, ignis et humor abit.' *MLSH,* p. 71.

medical observation regarding the colouration of the saint, which here serves to denote the passage from life to death, mirrors Adam, who uses the same device to describe the dead Hugh moving from a state of death to one of eternal life.

It was not the case however that doctors had no hagiographical function beyond that served by having their advice ignored by the saint. The hagiographers also used the doctors as a medium through which to confirm sanctity. Hugh's doctors served as a vehicle to carry two hagiographical features: the use of scriptural reference, and depiction of the saint as a man of courage and strength in the face of suffering. This is seen when Hugh's doctors admired his strength of spirit in the face of his bodily weakness and imminent death. Adam quotes them directly. 'This man's spirit is not defeated by his illness … in fact, like the apostle he can mock at the body of death and say "When I am weakest, then am I strongest and most powerful".'[309]

The doctors had a further and significant role to play in the death of Hugh, and specifically in the management of his body, when as previously mentioned, they insisted on surgically removing Hugh's bowels from his body before it was transported from London to Lincoln for burial. Although Adam wrote that this seemed unnecessary to him, it was through this action that people present were able to witness the miracle of Hugh's organs being possessed of the same purity and translucence as his skin. In that instance, Adam used the word 'cirurgica' to identify the doctor who performed the autopsy as a surgeon.[310]

The relationship between medicine and faith in the *Lives* is complex. Plainly the focus of the *Life* had to be upon faith, but within this context, the practice of medicine and the opinions of the doctors were a tool of value to the hagiographer. They were used either as a confirmation of the holiness of the saint, with the doctors from their position of expertise expressing amazement at the strength of will of the saint in his bodily

---

[309] 'Et dicibant medici, huiusmodi gestus eius intuentes: "Vere spiritus hominis istius sustentat infirmitatem eius. Vere cum apostolo insultare potest iste corpori mortis huius et dicere "Quando infirmator, tunc fortior sum et potens".' *MV*, V, xvi, vol. II, p. 193. The quote refers to 2 Cor. 12:10. 'For when I am weak, then am I powerful.'

[310] *MV*, V, xix, vol. II, p. 219.

weakness; or the doctors are ignored by the saint because of their concern with the body in the here and now, this mundane focus serving as a foil to emphasis the other-worldly character of the saint.

3.4   Summary

As has been demonstrated in this chapter, there are practical consistencies in the descriptions of the deaths and postmortem care of the bodies of the four saints as well as similarities in the way in which the accepted framework of a *Life* was utilised and adapted to meet the particular requirements of each of the writers. It appears that the authors of the *Lives* chose to record only those parts of the death process which served their purposes. This is of course to be expected: the reason for writing a *Life* was to describe a saint for their community, and possibly to defend the *Life's* subject, and not to describe a process. Giving details of a process did however provide the medium through which a monk could be described as a saint, and the monastic hagiographers considered here made full use of this opportunity. It is possible to follow such detail from the accounts and discover in what ways the death ritual was followed, or at least was said to have been followed. That the death of a saint was a time imbued with particular religious, ritual and transitional significance meant that the hagiographers gave careful attention to their descriptions of the events surrounding death.

The *Lives* are telling both in what they say and in what they do not say. Their silence in some areas speaks as loudly as do their words in others. This is particularly apparent in the brevity of the burial accounts and lack of remembrance accounts. In the case of the interment of the body, the perceived information needs of the audiences of the *Lives* were twofold; they needed to know where the saint was buried, and needed too confirmation through miracles centred on the body and the tomb that the saint was indeed a saint, and so worthy of veneration. To the hagiographer, nothing else about the burial itself was relevant. Regarding remembrance practices, the *Lives* are uniformly silent. In fact, there is a notable absence in the *Lives* of the two areas from Lanfranc's *Constitutions* where wrongdoing and sin might be attributed to the dying and deceased. These are in the confession of the dying man to his community and in the postmortem

rites of remembrance. It is no surprise that the hagiographers are silent on these points as their purpose would not be served at all by introducing descriptions of human fallibility into their accounts of the life of a saint. The aim of a *Life* was to emphasise the saintliness of its subject, and this would not be achieved by recounting the public confessing of sins, and remembrance rituals undertaken for the remission of those same sins.

One of the aims of a *Life* of a medieval saint was to confirm the subject of the work, within the eyes of their community and society, as chosen by God and worthy of election. This served to provide inspiration and example to the receivers of the *Life*. Themes such as endurance under extreme suffering suited these purposes perfectly, as too did any miraculous happening concerning the death itself and the condition of the body. With the belief that the condition of the temporal body was considered emblematic of the health of the soul, it is no wonder that the authors focus on the purity and to some degree, the immutability of the body of their respective saints.[311] Although Lanfranc makes no mention of embalming practices, plainly for both practical and perhaps for hagiographical purposes, the preservation of the body was important. This is demonstrated through the fact that three of the four *Lives* describe steps taken to preserve the body. Once the saint had died, the body presented an opportunity for the manifestation of the divine, and miracles are attributed to all four saints in the immediate aftermath of their death prior to their burial. The hagiographers' message is clear, no sooner had the soul departed than the body became a visible locus for the divine.

Two hagiographical devices designed to validate the subject of the *Life* as a saint, are seen in the death and burial accounts. The first of these is in the linking of the life of the saint to the sacred via the medium of scriptural allusion, and the second is through

---

[311] Binski describes how the human body was regarded as visible evidence of the condition of the soul. *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 24. Walter demonstrates this understanding in his recounting of a vision experienced by a brother prior to Ailred's death, in which the image of a spotless and shining body is representative of the soul. In the vision, the monk saw the shining body of Ailred, glistening as if illuminated by a thousand candles. 'Tanquam mille luminaribus illunimatum emicuerit et refulserit.' Only a small cloud near the navel of the image of Ailred marred this brightness, the cloud representing the amount of wrongdoing staining Ailred's otherwise spotless soul. The monk was told that Ailred would not die until the cloud was taken away and his soul pure. *VAil*, xlvii, pp. 53-54.

reference to already acknowledged saints. Hugh and Ailred are partnered with Martin of Tours, and Gilbert with Thomas Becket.[312] All four saints have their death scenes wrapped around by scriptural reference, and embedded into the ritual of the monastic daily office. Hugh died at the time of compline and Anselm, Gilbert and Ailred at lauds. Naturally these are areas that Lanfranc does not mention, so cannot be linked to his death ritual other than to say that in general terms scripture, prayer and the daily office are a common feature to both the *Constitutions* and the *Lives*.

The role of doctors and medicine is really only seen at the deathbed in the *Lives* of Hugh and of Ailred. In all the *Lives* though, doctors appear on occasion, and the doctors' advice for the treatment of their respective patients is generally followed. This compliance disappears though during the approach to death, and the views of the medics were largely ignored by their patients. It appears that this disregard for expert advice about the welfare of the body best suited the hagiographers' purposes as they endeavoured to create an end of life picture of a man of suffering, remaining true to his calling, ignoring his bodily welfare in order to focus instead on that of his soul.

Another point of interest, somewhat unexpected, arises from the consideration of the role of medicine at the deathbed. This is in the use of the various titles that could be attributed to a medical practitioner. The *Lives* use the title medicus overwhelmingly, with the specialist titles of physicus and surgeon being used only in a context specific to a particular type of knowledge and practice. In both instances where a specialist title is used, it appears to refer to a practitioner from outside the community whose expertise is brought in for a particular purpose. Those called by the title medicus seem by contrast to have been in regular attendance upon their patient and as is apparently the case for Ailred's doctors, may well have been community members themselves.

Within the overall framework of the death ritual, it appears from the four *Lives* examined here, that Lanfranc's practices continued. Although not all of the *Lives*

---

[312] Although his hagiographer does not say so explicitly, there are several parallels apparent in Gilbert's *Life,* between his life and that of Stephen of Obazine (d. 1159), and the author may have been endeavouring to link the two. There are significant similarities: Stephen, like Gilbert, founded a religious community and accepted women into it, had his body moved for its safety at his time of death, and was buried between the two altars of the twinned community. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham*, p. 21.

recount all aspects of the death ritual as set out by Lanfranc, there is a general consistency over the accounts. Based on the four *Lives* it is possible to say that death was a community event, surrounded by prayer and involving the sacraments of the church. The dying man was lifted on to sackcloth and ashes and his body was washed and dressed carefully for burial. The fact that two of the four burials did not take place within Lanfranc's prescribed timescale is accounted for by the fact that these were senior churchmen and time was needed to arrange the service. The silence on the subject of rites of remembrance is due to the nature of a hagiographical work requiring that its subject is, at the end of his life, seen as a saint, not as a sinner. The details of the death ritual as described by Lanfranc or used at Cluny, such as the washing of the body by those of equal rank, and holding a cross to the face of the dying monk, can be glimpsed in places too, as at times the writers chose to include these details to illustrate the points they wished to make. While hagiography rather than bibliography is the overwhelming influence in the death and burial descriptions in the *Lives*, it has nonetheless been possible to extract from the accounts areas of commonality that endured in monastic death practice across different orders in twelfth-century England.

Chapter 4: 'Farewell therefore, my dearest father'[313]

4.   In Conclusion

The death accounts in the *Lives* considered here were constructed to show the sanctity of their subjects. The *Lives* were written for the saints' own communities of practice and portrayed them as being paradigmatic of monastic excellence. The subjects of the *Lives* were depicted as being both saints and monastic leaders, elevated in worldly status, while through their monastic vocation, remaining humble before God. It is apparent that the liminality manifest through the experience of death, when set alongside the structure of the death ritual, provided a particularly valuable tool for the writers. In describing the saint's death within the framework of the ritual, the hagiographers were presenting a process that would have been largely familiar to the receivers of the *Lives,* and one through which they knew they too would have to pass in the fullness of time.[314] However, the descriptions of the dying saint as he suffered and died, served to turn the monastic death ritual from being simply a prescribed set of actions, albeit highly significant actions, into an event through which in a number of ways the hagiographer described the sanctity of his subject, and his merit as a role model. In the death accounts, the recipients of the *Lives* were provided with two key themes: a description of a model death presented through the articulation of the ideal monk dying the ideal death, and, through this, an exemplar of practice for themselves. Additionally, the model death described in a *Life* perhaps allowed the monks collectively to extrapolate from the account of the holy man who had been held within their brotherhood, a concept of themselves as forming an ideal monastic community.

---

[313] 'Vale igitur mi pater dulcissime.' Eadmer's words to the late Anselm in the final sentences of the miracle collection which concludes his *Life. VA, Miracle Collection,* p. 170.

[314] The familiarity of the death ritual to community members can be inferred from Lanfranc's instruction regarding the actions to be taken in the event of a monk dying away from his home monastery. When the prior announces the death of the brother, he says, 'Let us go and accomplish what is his due and what is customary in our order [Eamus, et faciamus ei quod iustum est, et nostri ordinis consuetude habet]'. *MCL,* 115*,* p. 195. Lanfranc's written injunction suggests that the custom may even have been being practiced in the community before his writing of the *Constitutions.* This familiarity of the Canterbury community with the death ritual, as articulated by Lanfranc, may explain why among the death narratives, it is Eadmer whose description of Anselm's death mentions the fewest number of components of the ritual. Writing for his own community, in the first instance at least, Eadmer may have seen no need to mention points of process that he may have considered to have been self-evident to the readers of the *Life.*

4.1   The Monastic Saint

The message relayed to the recipients of the *Lives* through the explicit utilisation of their familiar monastic death ritual was multi-faceted. It served to describe the dying monk as just that, a monk, an ordinary brother amongst his fellow brethren; it emphasised the humility of the saint and his obedience to the Rule; it demonstrated his faithfulness to the end, then conversely used these same features to display him as a saint. This juxtaposition was predicated upon the use of the framework of the approved monastic death ritual, a process which would almost certainly have been familiar to most, if not all, of those receiving the *Lives*. The hagiographer combined his narrative about the death of the saint with the habitual experience of the community, to show the saint as an exemplar of monastic virtue and humility, subject to the human condition in all respects but through grace and faithfulness able to achieve sanctity. This depiction provided the receiving community with a paragon of monasticism, someone to emulate, while providing too the means through which an ordinary monk could strive for spiritual betterment. The late saint was simultaneously both one of them, and other.

This presentation of the saint as a role-model is seen through a number of devices used in the death narratives: the timing of the death; the demeanour of the dying man; the utilisation of monastic death practices. Each hagiographer embedded their account of the saint's death into the observance of the monastic daily office. Hugh died at the time of compline while Anselm, Gilbert and Ailred died at lauds. The hagiographers stress the timing, showing it to be matter of importance. Adam reflected that the time of Hugh's death was wholly appropriate as Hugh, having always been so conscientious about the divine office, should on the last day of his life, hear it in full.[315] Grounding the death within the daily office, describing elements of the ritual itself, with its familiar actions and accoutrements, the candles and crosses, prayers and chants, served to place the death of the saint firmly within the monastic tradition. At the moment of death, lying on the sackcloth and ashes, the saint was, despite his divine ordination, fully a monk, humble before God, neither more nor less than any of his community members.

---

[315] 'Tunc, licet ab ore euis satis inuite tali hora secederemus, ne tamen minus plene die ultima divinum audiret servitium, cui adeo diligens studium omni pridem tempore consueverat exhibere, ymnos qui ad complendum dici solent cepimus decantare.' *MV*, V, xvi*, vol. II, p. 198.

This deep emphasis on the monastic qualities of the subject of the *Life* is seen in all four works considered here and is particularly marked in Adam's account of Hugh of Lincoln's passing. Adam took care to describe how Hugh effected his passing first and foremost as a Carthusian monk. Adam was at pains to locate the true centre of Hugh's vocation within his calling as a Carthusian monk and its secluded and contemplative lifestyle, rather than in the active and outward focused existence of a secular bishop. During his final illness Hugh insisted on keeping the daily monastic office. Adam recounted that even when feverish, Hugh always 'took particular care to recite the day and night offices at the proper times'.[316] Hugh's careful instruction regarding the blessing of the ashes upon which he wished to be lain for his death further strengthens the depiction of Hugh as a monk, as too does his advance arrangement of the attendance of monks from a neighbouring foundation to attend him at the time of death. At this crucial juncture of his life, Adam's account shows that Hugh chose to comport himself fully within the requirements of Carthusian practice, and despite his elevated ecclesiastical status, to die as a simple monk.[317] Walter reinforces the death of Ailred as occurring within the context of monastic custom as well, when he describes how the dying abbot was lifted onto sackcloth and ashes 'as the monastic custom is'.[318]

Despite the intent of the hagiographers in portraying the subject of the *Life* as a saint and exemplar of monastic excellence, the spread of the texts suggests that their intentions did not in all cases translate into actuality as far as wider reception of the work was concerned. Ongoing interest in the *Lives* can be inferred through tracking the diffusion and influence of the texts as far as is possible in the years immediately following their writing. As discussed in chapter 1, it appears that the *Lives* of Ailred and Gilbert had no circulation beyond their own communities, and it is not clear even how

---

[316] 'Divinum officium utroque tempore, noctis videlicet et diei, studiose curabat horis statutis exsoluere.' *MV*, V, xvi, vol. II, p. 187.

[317] Burton in *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 77, writes that the customs of the Grande Chartreuse were evident from about 1128. Douie names Guigo I, the fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse as responsible for the codification of the customs of the order. Guigo died in 1136. *MV*, vol. I, p. xxiii. As is shown through the table in Appendix 1, the death ritual is similar in process to that described by Lanfranc in *Constitutions*.

[318] 'Positus est super cilicium et cinerem more monachorum.' *VAil*, lvii, p. 62.

much they were used there.[319] Eadmer's *Life* of Anselm had a wider circulation, principally to houses with which he himself had been associated.[320] The *Life* of Hugh was requested by his former community at Witham showing that they intended to preserve his memory there. The earliest surviving copy of this work dates to the second half of the thirteenth century and may have been of Carthusian origin and intended for public reading.[321] While later copies are extant, these date to the fifteenth century leaving two centuries through which it is impossible to track the spread of Hugh's *Life,* if indeed there was any. From the scant evidence available in this area, it seems that the *Lives* as far as they were used at all in the years after the saints' deaths, were used as exemplars only within the monastic milieux from which both they and their subject had come.

4.2   The Suffering Saint

The descriptions of the physical suffering of the saints as they approached death were one of the features used in the *Lives* to portray the saint as being at one and the same time both human and divinely ordained. These accounts of often extreme bodily pain, served as a counterpoint, a foil, to the extraordinary mental fortitude that the saints displayed throughout their suffering, and acted in part to reinforce the hagiographers'

---

[319] The fact that just a single copy of the *Life of Ailred* is known to exist, suggests limited, if any, spread of the work. *VAil*, p. xxix. A hint that the work may still have been familiar to Rievaulx monks in the fifteenth century is shown through their reported use of words from Ailred's allocution made prior to his death. *VAil,* p. 58, footnote 1. While this would suggest continuity as well as familiarity, it is sketchy evidence, and does not indicate any spread of the work either at the time of its composition or subsequently. Regarding the spread and influence of Gilbert's *Life,* Golding considers it to have been limited to Gilbert's own houses. *Gilbert of Sempringham*, p. 67. Only two copies of Gilbert's *Life* survive in thirteenth-century manuscripts, of which one is a copy of the other. These documents were used for the papal canonisation process. *BSG,* p. lxxi. Gilbert was one of the first saints to undergo formal papal canonisation, and this shows in the breadth and detail of the surviving manuscripts which now make up the *Life*. The fact that there is little evidence of spread suggests that the manuscripts were not copied because either there was no interest beyond the order itself, or that as Golding suggests, the community members retained Gilbert's memory within their own houses and did not seek to, or were not successful in, promoting his cult beyond their own churches.

[320] Southern has shown spread to houses in England, France and Flanders. *VA*, pp. xxi-xxv. The earliest surviving work of Eadmer's fullest version of the *Life* dates to the late twelfth century, suggesting a steady spread within the monastic world inhabited by Anselm in the century after his death.

[321] Douie attributes this supposition to the fact that the manuscript, MS Digby 165, has frequent marginal notes of *lege* and *noli legere. MV,* vol. I, pp. xlix-l.

intended message of their subject as a saint.[322] The longing for death, expressed by some of the saints, can be seen both as an articulation of their current suffering as well as an intense yearning for the life to which they were going. Adam wrote that when in the days before his death, Hugh was 'suffering terrible and excessive pain he often used to repeat this prayer: "O merciful God, give me rest. Excellent Lord and true God, give me rest at last.".'[323] Hugh's pleading for rest showed his longing to be free of pain, his fervent wish to enter the afterlife, and his steadfast faithfulness to God in the face of intolerable suffering. The hagiographers stress though that the pain experienced by the saints was only physical; their faith and their fierce concentration on what they believed lay beyond death, enabled them to endure and maintain a heavenwards focus, and stay strong in spirit. Walter recounted of Ailred during his last days, that, 'the following night brought the father great pain, and for us most pain of all, for his was only of the body while ours was the pain of a sorrowful mind, exceeding sad because of him. And so he continued, very weak in flesh, yet very strong in spirit'.[324]

In the account of the death of Gilbert there is an interesting alternative to the theme of the suffering saint during his approach to death. Gilbert lived to be a great age and other than blindness was, according to his *Life,* in good health until the end when he became very tired. Gilbert's hagiographer described how despite a life of hardships Gilbert managed to reach great old age in vigorous health, then continued by attributing this longevity both to the gift of grace, and as a trial in its own right. 'The Lord wished to test him with many trials and to crown his labours so that his reward might be great in heaven.'[325] So even though Gilbert did not apparently suffer overmuch during his

---

[322] H. E. J. Cowdrey described the influence of Isodore of Seville on the concept of martyrdom as seen in the eleventh century. There were two ways in which martyrdom might be achieved; through public sufferings, or through secret, heroic virtue. 'Martyrdom and the First Crusade' in *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism, 11th-12th Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), essay VII, p. 47. In a way, and despite their deaths through natural causes rather than violence, the four saints all displayed elements of either public suffering through their painful death conducted under the eyes of their community, and secret, heroic virtue through their attitude in life and in dying, broadcast only through the written account in their *Life.*

[323] 'Cum vero durius vexaretur doloribus immensis, huiusmodi sepius verba orando repetebat, "O pie Deus, requiem presta nobis. Bone Domine Deusque verax, dona tandem nobis requiem".'. *MV,* V, xvi, vol. II, p. 192.

[324] 'At subsequens nox dolorem patri magnum induxit, nobis autem maximum, quia illius corporis tantum erat, noster vero animi merentis et constristati pro eo vehementissime. Siquidem deinde carne nimium fragilis, spiritu tamen fortissimus existens.' *VAil*, xlix, p. 57.

[325] 'Voluit Dominus multis eum excercere laboribus et complere labores illius, quatinus merces eius multa esset in celis.' *BSG,* 51, pp. 118-119.

approach to death, his hagiographer used Gilbert's long life itself as a cause of suffering. Gilbert's advanced years provided the hagiographer with the opportunity to show the saint's ability to endure, as well being, in and of themselves, a sign of divine grace.

Anselm is the only one of the monks considered here whose death scenes do not contain descriptions of suffering. While Eadmer narrates Anselm's slow decline in health, his increasing frailty and malaise, this is described against a demeanour of acceptance by the archbishop as he overtly accedes to the will of God. Anselm's lack of pain is mentioned explicitly, the words coming from Anselm himself. 'I feel no pain in any part of my body …', Eadmer reports Anselm as having said on the night before he died.[326] This calm and painless demise is in marked contrast to the death scenes of the three later saints.[327] Perhaps it was the case that Anselm's death in 1109 was the quiet passing of a tired and elderly man, and that Ailred and Hugh who died over half a century later, suffered mightily, and that the hagiographers were simply describing what they saw. However, this assumption is thrown into question by the fact that Gilbert's hagiographer, writing at the end of the twelfth century, felt it necessary to utilise Gilbert's great age in itself as a cause of tribulation. This offers the possibility that the three later accounts with their sometimes gruelling descriptions of pain and suffering are suggestive of a changing model of hagiographically described sanctity. The emphasis was no longer so much on the calm and accepting saint, as is seen in Anselm's *Life,* but on fortitude demonstrated through suffering. This focus on death, and therefore the possibility of salvation, reached through the experience of extreme bodily pain, is congruent with the rising focus on the physicality of Christ during the same period. Bynum has identified how while pain was seen as an inevitable accompaniment to the corrupt and fallen body, suffering in this life was also regarded as in a sense joining with the crucified Christ in his agony. This association of the suffering Christ with the

---

[326] 'Nam nichil doloris in aliqua corporis parte sentio.' *VA*, II, lxvi, p. 142.

[327] As previously noted, Hadley has identified this as something which changed over the twelfth century, as a calm acceptance in the face of death gave way to depictions of pain and anguish fully experienced, but borne with great fortitude. *Death in Medieval England*, p. 75.

lived experience of human suffering allowed for the possibility of salvation through pain.[328]

4.3   The Justification of the Saint

Other hagiographical devices designed to validate the subject of the *Life* as a saint are seen in the death and burial accounts. The sanctity of the late monk is endorsed via scriptural reference, which is used in the *Lives* both explicitly and allusively. Ailred's last words, the final words of the crucified Christ, are a direct quotation from the gospel of Luke, 23:46.[329] Likewise, Walter, reflecting on the beauty and purity of Ailred's dead body, inserts into his account an allusion to the psalms. 'My God! He did not die in darkness, as those that have been long dead, not so, Lord, but in your light, for in his [Ailred's] light we see your light.'[330] While the use of scripture is not seen much in Anselm's death narrative, Eadmer did use it in in the miracles which occurred after Anselm's death. Eadmer recounts a vision experienced by a monk of the abbey of Saints Peter and Paul and Augustine, in which the monk saw Anselm received into heaven. This vision which occurred at the time at which Anselm was dying, quotes from Psalm 41. 'Behold, he whom you await is at hand. Receive him, and lead him where the Lord has ordained, with the voice of joy and praise.'[331] Scriptural references are manifold throughout the death accounts. In a monastic setting where the daily office was rich in scripture, these allusions and quotes provided a familiar mechanism for the recipients of a *Life,* a link using God's own words and His message to the faithful which endorsed their belief in their holy man as a saint. Heaven and earth were in a sense conjoined during the time of dying, and God's words to the community of faith, delivered through the medium of scripture, held a particular potency and significance when received at the time of death.

---

[328] C. W. Bynum and P. Freedman, (eds.), *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 12.

[329] 'In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum.' *VAil*, lvii*,* p. 61.

[330] 'Deus meus, non obit ille *sic ut mortui seculi*, non, Domine, *in obscuris* set in lumine tuo, quia in lumine vidimus lumen tuum.' *VAil*, lviii*,* p. 63. Italics (Powicke's) denote the use of a quote from psalm 142:3. 'For the enemy has persecuted my soul: he has brought down my life to the earth. He has made me to dwell in darkness as those that have been dead of old.'

[331] 'Ecce, adest quem expectatis, suscipite illum, et quo Dominus iussit efferte in voce laudis et exultationis.' Psalm 41:5 (Vulgate). *VA, Miracle Collection*, pp. 155-156.

When Gilbert's biographer chose to compare Gilbert to Thomas Becket he was using another recognised hagiographical device, that of endorsing the sanctity of the subject of the *Life* by associating them with an already acknowledged saint.[332] While Martin of Tours was a saint commonly used in this manner, as is seen in the *Lives* and deaths of both Ailred and Hugh, the choice of Thomas Becket as a hagiographical model in the *Life* of Gilbert is particularly interesting[333] In this case, the linking of the subject of the *Life* with an acknowledged saint was not just a means to endorse the sanctity of the former but also perhaps a polemical statement. It also carried a value in the hagiographical economy. In Gilbert's *Life,* the hagiographer states that the value of a life lived as a confessor is as great as that of martyrdom, and a life spent winning souls is as meritorious as is sacrificing ones life for one's flock.[334] One of the first postmortem miracles attributed to Gilbert was achieved through the drinking of the water used to wash his body after death, the same miracle that was seen in the aftermath of Thomas's death, and which contributed to his being hailed as a saint.[335] Thomas's death two decades before that of Gilbert had resulted in a significant and lucrative cult for the cathedral at Canterbury. Gilbert's hagiographer appears to be making the link between the acknowledged saint Thomas Becket and the recently dead Gilbert as per standard hagiographical practice, but, unlike the other *Lives*, instead of describing similarities between the two men, the dissimilarities are appraised. It is only in Gilbert and Thomas's Englishness that the author considers them as equivalent. The link with the Canterbury saint is achieved through equating the relative values and actions of a confessor and a martyr and itemising the different characteristics of each. Not only is the hagiographer writing to justify his championing of Gilbert through using another English saint, but he could be considered to be elevating Gilbert to the detriment of

---

[332] 'Inter quos, dies nostris, in regione nostra, post beati Thome Cantuariensis martiris admiranda constantie exempla, habemus in beato Gileberto Sempringhamensi confessore amplectenda zeli animarum rudimenta.' *BSG, Prologue,* pp. 2-3. Gilbert's biographer was seeking to place Gilbert in the model of Becket, equating the worth of martyrdom with a life lived in virtue.

[333] For the description of Hugh and Ailred in the model of Martin of Tours, see particularly *MV*, V, xvii, vol. II, pp. 199-208 and *VAil*, lviii, pp. 62-64, and for Martin of Tours as a common model for medieval sainthood see Ward, *Miracles*, p. 168. For the explicit linking of Thomas Beckett with Gilbert, see *BSG, Prologue,* pp. 2-3.

[334] 'In illo discimus quanti sit meriti animam propriam pro ovibus sui dare, in isto novimus quanta sit merces animas proximorum lucrifacere.' *BSG*, pp. 2-3.

[335] *BSG,* 55, p. 131.

Thomas, while using the model of Thomas the saint, in an attempt to set up Gilbert too as the object of a cult.

As well as relating a picture of the perfect monk, justified through scriptural allusion and by similarity to acknowledged saints, all the *Lives* contain, to some extent or another, an apologist element. The authors used their descriptions of the ideal monastic death as part of their defence of the saint against detractors. This is seen explicitly in Eadmer's closing statements in Anselm's *Life,* when he records that he is writing with regard to the 'unbelief of certain men who to this day with jaundiced minds are your detractors'.[336]

4.4   The Patient Saint

As the principal focus of the death accounts was to show the dying monk as a saint, naturally describing his spiritual wellbeing and demeanour was of primary concern to the hagiographers. The *Lives* do however describe solicitude for the physical condition and welfare of the dying monk as well. Medicalised information is an ongoing feature of Ailred's *Life* and doctors are seen too at Hugh's deathbed and postmortem preparation. While the medics served a practical purpose at the bedside of the saint, their function within the death scenes was also hagiographical. Their role was to endorse the message of the sanctity of the dying monk through their recounted professional opinions. The authors achieve this in two ways. The first of these is by the doctors confirming the extraordinary suffering the saint was enduring, and his ability to remain steadfast in spirit throughout this time of agony; the second was by having the advice of the doctors ignored by the saint, thereby showing his focus on the care of his soul to the exclusion of that of his body.[337] Both of these factors contributed to the overall portrayal within the *Lives* of the saint as a saint.

---

[336] 'Peperci enim incredulitati quorundam qui usque hodie tibi non sincere animo detrahunt.' *VA, Miracle Collection*, p. 170.

[337] Among other examples in the *Lives, VAil*, xli*,* p. 49, describes Ailred's doctors prescribing him curatives and undiluted wine for his infirmities. Ailred refused these treatments. 'Nec iam, ut ante aliquando solebat, vel vine modicum meri bibere voluit, set ita porro aquatum ut magis aqua quam vine asset gustavit pocius quam bibit; quamquam hec infirmitas eius speciale a medicis accepisset remedium quatinus naturalises poculis uteretur et puris.'

Beyond this though, the comparison of the four *Lives* offers a glimpse into the presentation and application of medical intervention and general healthcare within a twelfth-century monastic setting. All of the *Lives* record a concern for the physical comfort of their subject. This is seen particularly in relation to two areas: nutrition and clothing. The use of analgesic remedies is seen too in Ailred's *Life,* in the baths he was allowed to take to relieve his pain, and the curatives he refused to take.[338] During the final illness of all of the monks considered here, the *Lives* describe the diet of the saint, and his refusal or inability to eat more, even though to do so would restore his strength.[339] The consumption of food was of course a tightly regulated area in a monastic community but the Benedictine Rule allowed for relaxing of food restrictions during illness. While the saints' refusal to eat serves a hagiographical purpose, the focus on nutrition seen in the *Lives* also shows a keen awareness by community members of the curative value of a good diet.[340] In addition to refusing food, Hugh insisted on wearing the customary garb of a Carthusian monk, including a hair shirt, throughout his final illness. Hugh's attendants entreated the sick bishop to remove this garment to lessen his suffering; Adam explicitly states that to do so was permissible among the Carthusians during illness.[341] However, Hugh refused, saying the garment comforted him, and healed his sores rather than causing them.[342] While the hagiographical

---

[338] *VAil*, xxvii, p. 34. Walter describes how Ailred took baths to ease the passing of pieces of renal stones 'the size of a bean [fragmenta sax ad grossitudinem fabe]'.

[339] *BSG,* 28, pp. 90-91. Gilbert's hagiographer devotes a chapter to Gilbert's diet, telling how the saint even when weak from old age refused to eat in his own chamber but struggled to the refectory to join the brethren, but did not himself eat. 'Ubi corpusculam magis inedia affecit quam reflect.' Walter described Ailred's emaciation during his final years, his unbelievable fasting and subsequent loss of desire for food. 'Nec mirum, sidiquem parum comedens et minus bibens ciborum appetitum abstinencie inedia incredibilis extinxit omnino in seipso.' *VAil*, xli, p. 49.

[340] The curative aspect of good nutrition is seen particularly in Anselm's *Life.* Eadmer records how Anselm struggled to eat. 'All forms of food with which human beings are strengthened and nourished, became distasteful to him. Still, he ate in order to keep his strength up, knowing that he could not live without food [Omnes cibi quibus humana natural vegetatur et alitur in fastidium ei versi sunt. Manducabat tamen naturae suae vim faciendo, sciens se river non posse sine cibo].' *VA*, II, lxv, p. 141. Anselm is unusual among the saints in that his anorexia was not apparently welcomed by him; he wished to eat to maintain his strength, but could not. The other saints actively refused food despite their community members' entreaties that they eat. Although the four *Lives* alone do not allow for a firm judgement to be made, this attitude to taking food may be reflective of the changing hagiographical style, from the accepting to the suffering saint, that is seen in twelfth century.

[341] 'Et quia novimus apud Cartusienses plurimum infirmis cilicia ex consuetudine tolli, dicebamus ei.' *MV*, V, xvi, vol. II, p. 190.

[342] 'Nolit Deus! Absit istud ne fiat! Non enim ledit set lenit nos vestis hec, nec tam ulcerat quam iuvat.' *MV*, V, xvi, vol. II, p. 190.

emphasis here is evident, the episode nonetheless shows the concern felt by the community for the physical welfare and comfort of their patient during his illness.

Although the community members in attendance upon the dying saint seem to have been conversant with the basics of good healthcare in terms of diet and hygiene, the medical responsibility for the patient, diagnosis and prescription, rested with medical practitioners. In the *Lives* considered here, these fell into two categories as regards title. Medicus was used to describe a general practitioner who was apparently a community member, while the specialist titles of physicus and surgeon are applied to practitioners from outside the community who offered a specific skill. As discussed previously, it is unclear exactly what the designation of medicus meant; it appears to have been fluid, changing with time and context.[343] The medical practitioners' route to the title is not specified in the *Lives*. Walter who describes himself as medicus, certainly shows a medical bent in his writing, however, in an interesting twist, Adam's mention of his taking Hugh's pulse and confidently interpreting the findings suggests that medical skills and knowledge were not limited solely to those designated as medicus.[344]

In addition to the general level of medical knowledge found among the monastic brethren, and the employment of acknowledged medici, the monasteries employed, or appointed from within their own number, suitably skilled practitioners to work in their infirmaries. While some of these may have been one and the same people as the aforementioned doctors, it appears that others were employed as servants. Although there is little mention of these infirmary workers in the *Lives,* they are seen in the customaries, fleetingly in the *Constitutions,* but with more detail in the Cluny texts, and in the tenth-century *Regularis Concordia.*[345]

---

[343] *VAil*, xxvii*,* p. 34, Walter describes Ailred himself as a medicus. 'Erat eciam amicus infirmorum et medicus, et mores inperfectorum viriliter tolerebat et sanabat plurimos.' This is probably playing both on Ailred's previously recorded concern for the sick brethren and his infirmary visits, and on his role as abbot, drawing on the imagery found in the Rule of Benedict of the abbot as a doctor.

[344] 'Iam domine quiescetis, tactus nempe pulsus vestri finiri nunc innuit accessionem istam.' *MV*, V, xvi*,* vol. II, p. 192.

[345] *MCL,* 112*,* p. 180, for the description of the servant in the infirmary providing and preparing the sackcloth and ashes. *RC*, 65*,* p. 64, regarding care from the infirmary brothers and staff and their obligation to furnish all the sick monk's needs. *DRC*, p. 90, for the requirement seen in Bernard's customary that infirmary staff had to attend to the condition of the dying man.

Overall analysis of the death accounts and customaries suggests that varying degrees of medical knowledge and skill existed in the community. While these were almost certainly not rigid stratifications, they fall naturally into three or even four broad ranges. At a basic level it seems that some community members held a generalised level of knowledge about how best to care for the physical wellbeing of a sick monk in terms of diet and bodily comfort. Further, as is demonstrated through Adam's pulse-taking, it is apparent that some community members were able to use more advanced medical skills. Additionally, dedicated staff, probably both lay and religious, worked in the monastic infirmary and knew how to identify pending death. Finally, the *Lives* describe advice and services delivered by men who were acknowledged medical practitioners and are referred to as medicus, physicus or surgeon.

This extraction of evidence from the *Lives* and the customaries about the application of medical knowledge at the time of illness and death is complemented by consideration of the availability and use of medical texts in monastic libraries during the same period. Recent research has shown the increasing presence, copying and exchange of such texts during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[346] The prognosis of death was a subject included in some of these works and was based upon not just the physical signs and symptoms displayed and described by the patient, but also on auguries, astrology and divination.

This access to knowledge, taken together with the presence of skilled practitioners in the monasteries and the injunctions concerning the identification of the time of death, triangulate to show that there was a degree of sophistication in the application of medical knowledge, skill and experience applied at the deathbed. That this was brought to bear during the final illness of a monk can been seen in the *Lives* considered here, and can reasonably be conjectured as having been present within at least some of the twelfth-century monastic communities in England.

---

[346] See among others: Liuzza, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics;* Lloyd (ed.), *Hippocratic Writings*; Paxton, 'Signa mortifera'; Gasper and Wallis, 'Anselm and the Articella'; Wallis, 'Why was the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates retranslated in the Eleventh Century?'; Wallis, *Medieval Medicine.*

4.5   The Death Ritual in Theory

Comparison of the death rituals from Cluny and Canterbury has shown that there was broad standardisation of practice in the late eleventh century. Or rather, there was standardisation about the recording of what was considered to be best practice in those communities falling within the sphere or influence of Cluniac monasticism and practice. That this articulation of established practice emerged as part of an iterative development occurring over a period of time, is shown by the similarities seen in some areas of the death ritual with the earlier *Regularis Concordia* in England, and the *Liber tramitis* from Cluny.

The application of theoretical modelling and knowledge from a range of academic disciplines, to consideration of the precepts of the written death ritual, has proved fruitful to understanding the ritual in its entirety. While the texts, Lanfranc's *Constitutions* and the *Lives* in particular, have formed the focus of this enquiry, material from these works has been enhanced by the wider understanding gained from the fields of archaeology, architecture and sociological anthropology. This has allowed for the consideration of the death ritual as a whole to emerge, and with it the possibility of evaluating and analysing its significance to the participants.

While this sense of the death ritual as a whole is not voiced explicitly within the *Lives* themselves, application of theory has shown that the ritual was a progressive, transitional event; literally, spiritually and figuratively, one that described the transformative experience both the dying monk and his community were undertaking. The dying monk was the central figure in the death ritual as can be expected of the main protagonist in a transformative process.[347] As the death ritual advanced through the spaces of the monastery, crossing some of its physical thresholds, so too did it move through the transitional phases of separation, transition and incorporation which are marked by the rites surrounding a major life event.[348] These are seen throughout the

---

[347] Mitchell, 'Performance', pp. 384-401.

[348] As described by Van Gennep in *Rites of Passage,* p. 146, and by Kimball in his introduction to Van Gennep's work, p. vii.

ritual in the practices of cleansing: confession for the soul and washing for the body. As the monk separated from his living community in spirit at the time of death and then in body upon burial, and moved onto whatever lay beyond, the watching monks too changed their collective status. Rites of reincorporation are seen in the remembrance practices the monks held during the thirty days following their brother's death, and served to re-establish the community as a new group within the land of the living, as well as supporting their late brother in his incorporation into the community of the dead.[349] While the intensity of these rites reduced after the initial thirty-day phase, they continued as annual anniversaries, serving to retain the late monk within his community of practice.

The pre-mortem physical progression of the death ritual described by Lanfranc in his *Constitutions* is not traceable through the *Lives* and there is little indication as to where in the monastery the saints were during their final illness and death. Eadmer commented that for Anselm's final five days, until he died, he was recumbent; this suggests he was on a bed, but does not indicate where.[350] A vision of Anselm's death occurring at the time the archbishop actually died, and recounted in the miracle collection, says that Anselm was in a room.[351] There is no mention of the infirmary in either. Ailred's death, as previously discussed may have taken place in the infirmary, before his body was moved to one of the rooms in his suite for washing. Hugh was not in a monastic setting when he died, having entered his final illness while in the bishop's palace at Old Temple, London. Tracking his demise through Adam's work is a little knotty, as Adam describes how Hugh's attendants withdrew from the critically ill bishop in order to say compline, having in advance 'uncovered the floor in front of him and arranged the ashes scattered over it in the form of a cross'.[352] Compline was being said within Hugh's hearing since, at a particular passage, the bishop signed that they should bring him 'into

---

[349] Ibid., pp. 164-165.

[350] 'Exin ergo assidue lecto decumbens.' *VA*, II, lxv, p. 141.

[351] 'Visum ergo illi est se camerae in qua ipse Anselmus iacebat iam moriturus comminus astare, et quendam pulcherrimum albatarum personarum cuneum eandam cameram hinc inde miro decore circumvallare.' *VA, Miracle Collection,* p. 155.

[352] 'Nudari fecimus pavimentum coram eo et crucis effigem sparsis ibidem cineribus benedictis expressimus.' *MV*, V, xvi, vol. II, pp. 197-198.

our midst and laid on the ashes'.[353] There he died. The juxtaposition of compline being said near enough to Hugh for him to hear it, while being at one and the same time far enough away for his attendants to have to withdraw in order to perform the office, is awkward to understand. This is an instance where, as has been shown to be of use in understanding and mapping the progress of Ailred's death at Rievaulx, the benefit of archaeological evidence, if such were available, could be of value in ascertaining whether the hagiographical necessities of the death scene description could be mapped to the physical environment building in which the saint died and cast light on the enactment.[354]

In contrast to the other three saints, progression *is* seen in Gilbert's pre-mortem narrative. However this had nothing at all to do with the enactment of the death ritual or the mirroring of the journey of body and soul through death that is manifest by the performance of the ritual. Gilbert's journey was from the Gilbertine monastery on the island of Cadney, where he became critically ill and received last sacraments, to Sempringham where he died.[355] Gilbert's attendants decided upon this removal of a dying man, on a journey of some fifty miles, when his death did not happen as soon as expected. There is a hagiographical bias to the account, in that the aim of the journey was to protect the body of the saint from secular authorities who may have wished to seize it and bury it in their own church.[356] Overall, the progressive nature of the *Constitutions* death ritual is not seen pre-mortem in the deaths considered here. There are several possible reasons for this absence. It could be that Lanfranc's pre-mortem instructions were not followed in respect of these saints. Perhaps the fact that the monks dying were senior churchmen dictated that their pathway to death was determined by building geography and capacity, as large numbers gathered to witness their demise.

---

[353] 'Illo ita fieri innuente, expositus est in medio et cineri impositus.' *MV*, V, xvi*, vol. II, p. 198.

[354] Fergusson and Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey,* p. 126.

[355] *BSG,* 51*, pp. 120-121.

[356] Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham,* p. 59, describes this as a common hagiographical topos, seen in other saints too, including Wulfric of Haselbury and Stephen of Obazine. Possession of Stephen's body was desired by a local noblewoman who wished to secure it for her own church. The brothers feared she would offer violence, so hurried his body to safety in their nearest grange. 'The Life of Saint Stephen of Obazine', in *The Lives of Monastic Reformers, 1: Robert of La Chaise-Dieu and Stephen of Obazine,* trans. H. Feiss, M. M. O'Brien and R. Pepin (Collegeville, Minnesota: Cistercian Publications, 2010), p. 230.

Primarily though, and as is the case throughout, hagiographical necessity and imperative in the *Lives* appears to determine this particular aspect of the description of the death ritual.

The architecture of the monastery itself contributed to the creation and utilisation of a sacred space.[357] The area containing the high altar was the holiest space of all in a monastery, the point at which sacred and profane most closely conjoined, and at which heaven was in a sense made manifest on earth. It was here that the laid-out body of the monk was placed, and his vigil held prior to his burial.[358] The purity of the sacred space is demonstrated by Hugh, who instructed Adam as to how he should wash Hugh's body after he, Hugh, had died. Hugh was to be buried near to the altar of St John the Baptist and because of this required that his body be thoroughly washed and clean so as not to dishonour so holy a spot.[359] Ailred was laid in the chapter-house at Rievaulx, next to the body of his predecessor, William, a man described by Walter as 'venerable and saintly'.[360] Walter's message here is that while Ailred's status was raised by his proximity in death to an acknowledged holy man of the community, and the glamour of the sacred that such a space contained, it was also the case that Ailred's own personal sanctity merited such placement. Gilbert was positioned in the holiest of places within his dual church of Sempringham, being laid between the two high altars of St Mary and St Andrew and so accessible to both the men and women of the community.[361] The *Lives* considered here are notably informative about the burial place of their subjects. All of the saints were interred within an area of both sacred and practical function. The hagiographers emphasised the exact burial spot because, with a somewhat circular logic, the sanctity of the late monk was endorsed through his place of burial, and his place of burial was justified because he was saint. Both of these points were salient and comprehensible to the receivers of the *Lives* and merged to contribute to the overall

---

[357] Coon, *Dark Age Bodies*, p. 98, explains how the architecture of a medieval monastery, along with the actions contained within it, worked to create an anchoring of earth to heaven.

[358] *MCL,* 113*,* p. 185.

[359] 'Quamobrem exuuias corporis huius mundissimas oportet exhiberi quas sudor tantus multo iam squalore infecit. Cave ne hac in parte quevis obrepat neggligentia, qua loci reverendi dishonestetur dignitas sacrosancta.' *MV*, V, xvi*,* vol. II*,* p. 191.

[360] 'Venerabilem et sanctum.' *VAil*, lx*,* p. 64.

[361] *BSG,* 55*,* p. 131.

image of the dead man as holy. In creating their image of the saint, the writers were cognisant of the fact, as were their readers, that the remains of the saint would enhance, as well as be enhanced by, the sanctity of the space. In purely practical terms, recording the burial site allowed people to know where the remains of the saint could be found, and so endeavour to realise any benefits that the living might experience through being in proximity to the dead saint.[362] That this included the miraculous is apparent through the fact that miracles are attributed to all four saints in the immediate postmortem period.

4.6   The Death Ritual in Practice

There are both uniformities and anomalies seen when comparing the practices detailed in Lanfranc's death ritual and the accounts of death found in the *Lives*. Within the overall framework of the ritual, a general consistency is seen across the customary and the *Lives* and it appears from this that, broadly speaking, there was a commonality of practice which endured over the twelfth century. All the *Lives* describe the death as happening in community, surrounded by prayer and involving the sacraments of the church. It is not possible to determine from any of the accounts whether or not there was a particular moment at which the death ritual was initiated, but it is clear that the dying saint was surrounded by brethren who knew that he was dying and who supported him during this time through their presence and ministrations. Immediately prior to his death the dying monk was lifted onto sackcloth and ashes, other than in the case of Gilbert where no mention is made of the practice. For all the saints the body was washed and dressed carefully for burial. There is an increase seen over the century in the number of words expended by the hagiographer on describing the body of the dead saint during the postmortem and particularly the burial period. Even allowing for the hagiographical bulking of the text that is seen in Ailred and Hugh's *Lives'* this increase in the amount of narrative is significant. It shows a growing level of interest in the dead saint in the immediate aftermath of his death, and in the hagiographical opportunities made available through this component of his death. In a diversion from the *Constitutions,*

---

[362] For one example among several: Eadmer describes in the miracle collection how a secular priest, believing himself to be dying, took the monastic habit at Canterbury. As his illness continued he decided to pray at Anselm's tomb, thereby effecting a miraculous recovery. *VA, Miracle Collection*, pp. 157-158.

some forms of embalming or preservation measures were taken for three of the four saints. Congruent with their promotion as a saint, the burial itself and the position of the grave was recounted with care and in detail. The practical details of the preservation of the saint, in body, in memory, and through the recorded place of burial, were plainly regarded as matters of crucial importance by the hagiographers in their writing of the *Lives,* with the amount of attention paid to the physical body, not least as it was emblematic of the soul, increasing over the century.

A noteworthy omission in the death accounts when compared to Lanfranc's death ritual, is seen in the complete lack of any mention in the *Lives* of either pre-mortem confession to the community, or postmortem remembrance practices. Both confession and remembrance were regarded as essential components in ensuring a late monk as smooth and as painless transition as was possible through purgatory, and confessional requirements formed part of Lanfranc's prescribed death ritual.[363] Remembrance practices in terms of alms-giving are seen less in the *Constitutions* than they are in Bernard's Cluny customary, although the requirement for prayer is similar. The inference that can be drawn from the fact that the *Lives* are uniformly silent on the matter of confession and remembrance is that these areas were seen as being logically unnecessary to the *Life* of a saint who, as a saint, would not be negotiating the purgatorial pathway.

4.7   Farewell

The closing section of Eadmer's *Life* of Anselm and the following miracle collection, consists of a defence of the *Life,* and of Anselm himself, against his detractors.[364] It takes the form of an address made by Eadmer directly to Anselm. If, as Southern believes, the *Life* was edited on an ongoing basis between the years 1114 to 1125,

---

[363] 'Facta confessione absoluatur ab omnibus, et ipse absoluat omnes.' *MCL,* 112, p. 178. Murray, in *Conscience and Authority,* p. 38 and p. 46, has studied miracle collections for evidence of lay confession, and identified that prior to 1215, confession was seen mainly at two junctures: among monastic orders and at the time of death, although it was also seen in areas adjacent to some monastic centres, suggesting the practice of confession was extending from the religious to lay populations. However there is no indication as to how embedded monastic confession was as a practice.

[364] *VA, Miracle Collection,* p. 170.

Eadmer was writing these words up to sixteen years after the death of Anselm.[365] The passage commences, 'I have written these things as best I could, O reverend father Anselm, to show the quality of your life'.[366] Eadmer continues by writing, 'farewell therefore, my dearest father and advocate; assist me, your pupil Eadmer, your assiduous and tireless servant while you held the archbishopric of Canterbury'.[367] Although the words have a defensive intention, they also show the presence of the dead Anselm within Eadmer's sphere of living experience. The existential status of the subjects of the *Lives* as delineated by their hagiographers, and the various ways in which the manner of a farewell is used in the death narratives, demonstrates some of the layering of views held of the dead by the living in the twelfth century.

While the dead Anselm remained in a sense present to Eadmer, Walter uses a different mechanism to evoke the figurative changes wrought by Ailred's death and describe how these could be understood by the brethren. In his final illness, as he knew death was approaching, Ailred asked permission from his community to leave them, in the same way that he had sought their permission previously when he had had to travel from Rievaulx on official business.[368] This request to leave is the only allusion to a farewell Walter includes in Ailred's death scene. His imagery here is one of journey, an onward movement. The emphasis is not on departure so much as on progression. Ailred will leave his monastery and, as on those previous journeys, while not present in body, will still, albeit in absentia, remain a part of his community.

Gilbert's farewell scene lacks the otherworldly quality seen in Anselm and Ailred's *Lives*. It is in part a pragmatic description of the dead saint, lying uncovered in his tomb receiving the kisses of the gathered congregation of the faithful.[369] Of note here is the

---

[365] *VA,* p. viii.

[366] 'Haec pro designanda qualitate vitae tuae reverende pater Anselme qualicunque stilo digressi.' *VA, Miracle Collection,* p. 170.

[367] 'Vale igitur mi pater dulcissime et esto pro me, Edmero videlicet alumno tuo et donec pontificatui Cantuariensi presedisti assiduo et indefesso ministro tuo.' *VA, Miracle Collection*, pp. 170-171.

[368] 'Sepe pecii a vobis licenciam vel cum transfretare habuissem vel debuissem ad remotas quasque provincias properare vel institissem regis curiam petere.' *VAil*, l, p. 57.

[369] 'Nec tamen lapis fovee superponitur donec omnes qui affuerant, tanquam ultimum vale dicentes, sanctum et dilectum corpus qua quisque poterat parte contingere amplexati certatim oscula infigerent.' *BSG*, 55, p. 131.

fact that the hagiographer stresses how everyone, even small children, did not hesitate to kiss the dead body; they felt no horror at touching the corpse; faith and piety apparently overcame any distaste they might otherwise have felt at kissing a man who had by that time been dead for four days.[370] At this stage of the *Life* the author made no explicit claim as to the miraculous preservation of the saint's remains, but nonetheless this episode of the faithful saying goodbye to their saint through their close contact with his body signifies through allusion the latter's ongoing existence. Although his soul had departed and according to the hagiographer, been received in heaven, Gilbert's body remained fresh; his lack of physical corruption at the time of burial signifying his spiritual purity and continuing existence.[371]

The penultimate chapter of Adam's *Magna Vita,* which tells at length of Hugh's funeral, is redolent with images of continuity in the planes of both heaven and earth. Adam commences the chapter, 'it is now time to relate how after the immortal part of Martin's disciple had been taken up into heaven, his mortal remains were committed to the earth'.[372] However, Hugh does not say farewell to his brethren at all; he remains with them. Adam wrote that 'although this double reception into paradise and into the earth prevents us from seeing him any longer, yet, as the visions already described prove, he will not forsake us if we follow him with that love with which he has taught us he must be followed'.[373]

There is an overt duality in this description similar to that seen in Gilbert's *Life*; his soul in heaven, his body on earth, Hugh is present in both. The key to ensuring Hugh's ongoing presence is, according to Adam, through following him with love. Adam uses the euphemism 'fell asleep [obdormiens]', a transitory state, as his choice of words to describe Hugh's death, and later on in the chapter when relating the embalming process, describes how Hugh's bowels were interred in the Temple church, 'there to await their

---

[370] 'Nec erat alicui, etiam pueris et puellulis, horro in extincti cadaveris deosculatione.' *BSG*, 55, p. 130.

[371] 'Hec circa sanctam animam illam gesta fuisse credimus officia celestia.' *BSG*, 54, p. 128.

[372] 'Set iam tempus est ut celo receptum pro parte potiore Martini pedissequum, terre quoque pro inferiore sui portione monstremus commendatum.' *MV*, V, xix, vol. II, p. 217.

[373] 'Qui licet hoc gemino arcente receptorio, terra videlicet et celo, videri a nobis ultra non posset, nobis tamen ille non deerit, sicut ex premissis visionum indiciis patuit, si amore sequamur quo sequendem se docit.' *MV*, V, xix, vol. II, p. 217.

reunion with his glorified body on the joyous day of the final resurrection'.[374] This is the only intimation seen in the *Lives* considered here of the resurrection of the body and the subsequent reunification of its scattered parts.

Spanning a period of about one hundred years, from the early twelfth to the early thirteenth centuries, the farewell components of the death narratives show a range of ways in which the dead, especially the sainted dead, were portrayed during the period. These elements of farewell also suggest change and an increasing complexity in the consideration of what it meant to be dead. As is indicated by Eadmer's words to Anselm, the dead saint was someone who was present inasmuch as they could be spoken to; a century later as is shown by Hugh, the dead saint never really left. There is a sense in the text of Anselm's *Life* of Eadmer speaking to Anselm across a divide; Anselm has progressed through death leaving Eadmer behind and Eadmer, as he finally completed the *Life,* chose to conclude the work through saying his own goodbye to Anselm. Hugh by contrast was, according to Adam, retained within his community as long as they were his friends on earth and continued to follow him faithfully. The sense of a journey which is seen in Ailred's pre-mortem request to depart from his brothers, that necessity incumbent upon his own human mortality to traverse death and move to whatever lay beyond, sits between the image of Anselm as somehow already gone, and Hugh as still fully here. All are present, but the degree to which they are present, and the manner through which this is described, is notably different.

This thesis has focused on death within monastic milieux, and has shown that to the hagiographers who composed the *Lives,* and accordingly for the monks for whom the works were intended, the portrayal of the saint as a monk conforming to the established mores of monastic practice was an important factor in establishing his sanctity. The hagiographers used the death ritual as a vehicle through which to present their portrayal of the sainted monk. In terms of process, enactment of the monastic death ritual, or the reporting of this, remained largely unaltered throughout the century. Close inspection of

---

[374] 'Gloriosum redivivi corporis sui templum expectant, sub magne resurrestionis tempore feliciter subeuendum.' *MV*, V, xix*,* vol. II, p. 218.

the texts however has shown that subtle changes occurred. These suggest an ongoing dynamic in both the understanding of death itself and in the model of sainthood.

Consideration of the use of medical expertise at the bedside of the dying saint has shown that there was a range of knowledge and skill available within the communities found in the *Lives*; a range of practitioners too. The conjunction of the expressions of faith with the display of medical science that is seen in the death accounts has allowed for an articulation of medical practice as demonstrated within the aegises of monasticism and hagiography. This is an area that could perhaps benefit from additional exploration in future scholarship.

Finally, the death accounts in the *Constitutions* and in the *Lives* examined here have shown a significant similarity of practice enduring over the twelfth century. However, resemblance to the *Constitutions* is seen only in those aspects of the death ritual where the hagiographers purposes were served by describing their subject as both conforming to monastic tradition and being worthy of sainthood. The elements of the ritual that can be taken to describe the saint as an ideal monk, a model of monastic leadership and sanctity, are utilised to their full. Those that do not fulfil this purpose, or could detract from the image of the monk as a saint, such as rites of confession and remembrance with their connotation of sin, are ignored.

Appendix 1: Comparison of Monastic Death Rituals[375]

Regularis Concordia (c. 970)	Cluny: *Liber tramitis* (c. 1020)	Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions* (c. 1077)	Cluny: Bernard's *Ordo Cluniacensis* (c. 1085)	Chartreuse written by Prior Guigo I (1109-36)
Initiating the death ritual; confessing and anointing				
- Brother presents himself to the abbot and community; - with the blessing of all, enters the infirmary; - all to be solicitous in helping the brother.	- The sick brother requests to be anointed, either having been asked by the prior or asking via the infirmarian.	- Sick brother in the infirmary asks to be anointed; - monk in charge of infirmary tells the brethren in chapter; - priest of the week and sacrist prepare the necessary items; - after chapter business is concluded, all process to the infirmary carrying the required accoutrements	- Asks to be anointed with oil and to make confession to the abbot.	- When a brother is thought to be approaching death, the community visits him.
Last rites: confession				
- Community visits the dying brother after mass to anoint him.	- Brother makes his confession to the community and gives and receives absolution; - community move in procession to the infirmary.	- Community surround the dying man's bed; - sprinkle him with holy water; - monk makes confession, is absolved by all and himself absolves them; - is kissed by all the brethren.	- Goes to chapter house and prostrates himself; - confesses to the community; - absolves the community.	- The monk confesses.

---

[375] Derived from the following works: for *Regularis Concordia* see *RC* 65-68, pp. 64-68; for *Liber tramitis* see Paxton, 'Death by Customary', p. 309; for *Monastic Constitutions* see *MCL,* 112-115, pp. 179-195; *Ordo Cluniancensis* in *DRC*, pp. 57-171; Chartreuse material from R. Green, *Perfectissimus: the Carthusians in England c. 1178 - c. 1200*, (Durham University: PhD thesis, unpublished, 2016).

Regularis Concordia (c. 970)	Cluny: *Liber tramitis* (c. 1020)	Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions* (c. 1077)	Cluny: Bernard's *Ordo Cluniacensis* (c. 1085)	Chartreuse written by Prior Guigo I (1109-36)
Last rites: anointing and communion				
- Communion given after anointing.	- Monk is anointed by the priest who then washes his hands and water is thrown in to the fire; - monk receives communion after having his mouth washed by the infirmarian; - he kisses the cross and the brothers and the boys.	- Monk is anointed; - priest washes hands and disposes of water in designated place; - communion is not taken if the monk has already received it that day; - if communion is to be received, mouth washed, and communion given.	- Sick monk taken to the infirmary; - brethren surround bed; - dying man anointed; - priest washes hands and disposes of water in designated place; - mouth washed, and communion given.	- He receives unction; - is kissed by the community then takes communion.
Ongoing care				
- Provided by infirmary monks; - Community visits daily; - Brethren required to be fervent in the fear of God and furnish their sick brother with all he needs.	- Watched over by the infirmary servants, night and day and by the brother who supervises them; - prayers, psalms, litanies are read to him while he lingers.	- Two brothers stay with dying monk at all times and read Scriptures while his senses remain; - once unconscious, attending brothers recite psalter.	- Servant assigned solely to care of dying monk; - other servants keep watch too so death does not happen without warning; - cross placed on face and candles burn during the night; - devoted brothers may also keep watch i prior agrees.	- Brother attended as Rule directs that those with him when death seems imminent signal to others.

Regularis Concordia (c. 970)	Cluny: *Liber tramitis* (c. 1020)	Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions* (c. 1077)	Cluny: Bernard's *Ordo Cluniacensis* (c. 1085)	Chartreuse written by Prior Guigo I (1109-36)
The advent of death				
- Brethren summoned by the tablet being struck; - community assemble to be present at passing and say assigned prayers.	- Monk lifted on to sackcloth and ashes; - community summoned by boards being struck; - they run to attend.	- Monk laid on sackcloth and ashes if he wishes; - servant observes dying man closely and summons community to attend the death by beating boards at cloister door; - brothers run to attend.	- Servants in infirmary identify when death is close; - lift dying monk on to sackcloth and ashes; - community called to attend by the striking of the board against the cloister door; - community runs to attend.	- When death is seen to be imminent, the signal is given and all hurry to attend; - monk laid on to ashes.
Laying out the body: washing				
- Body washed by those appointed to do so.		- Body taken for washing by those of equal rank; - priests for the week and the allocated to refectory, kitchen, cellars must not wash the body; - chamberlain provides grave-clothes and needle and thread; - during washing, genital area covered by an old shift.	- Body moved to chamber for washing and placed on table used solely for this; - washed only by brothers of equal rank - though not by those on duty in as either priest or cook or cellarer; - new candles, holy water, cross and thurible brought; - chamberlain provides the clothes; - deceased undressed and washed from top of head to soles; - genitalia covered with an old shirt.	- Body washed.

Regularis Concordia (c. 970)	Cluny: *Liber tramitis* (c. 1020)	Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions* (c. 1077)	Cluny: Bernard's *Ordo Cluniacensis* (c. 1085)	Chartreuse written by Prior Guigo I (1109-36)
Laying out the body: dressing				
- Clothed in clean garments, shirt, cowl, stockings, shoes; - a priest may also have a stole if that accords with the rule.		- Newly washed shift and cowl and head cloth of wool; - cowl brought over head and sewn on in three places; - gaiters and night shoes put on, hands covered by sleeves; - sleeves and slippers secured by sewing.	- Dressed in wool shirt, cowl, night slippers and sugary; - hood of cowl sewn on to breast covering the face; - hands folded on chest and cowl drawn together and stitched to secure; - slippers sewn together.	- Monk dressed in hairshirt, cuculle, stockings and shoes; - lay brother in tunic, capulle, shocking and shoes.
Procession to church				
- Body carried to church; - psalms recited and bells tolled.	- The bells are rung and the office of the dead sung (it is not clear exactly when this happens).	- procession forms up in order; - those carrying holy water, cross, candlesticks and thurible first, then children, then community, then body of dead monk carried by those who washed him; - body carried to church to lie there with cross at head and candles at feet.	- Body placed on bier and carried to church door; - procession of monks and boys forms up in order; - bells ring and procession enters church and place body here; - cross and candle at head of the dead monk.	- Body placed on to stretcher; - taken to church.

Regularis Concordia (c. 970)	Cluny: *Liber tramitis* (c. 1020)	Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions* (c. 1077)	Cluny: Bernard's *Ordo Cluniacensis* (c. 1085)	Chartreuse written by Prior Guigo I (1109-36)
In the church.				
- Appointed brothers unceasingly chant psalms by the body.		- Some brothers ordered to stay with the body continuing psalmody until burial, stopping only for regular offices; - body attended at all times; - time of funeral determined by time of death and time of year - the next day is preferable.	- Psalmody continues until burial, stopping only for the regular office; - time of funeral service determined according to time of death; - after high mass on the day following the death is usual.	- Psalms said; - brother buried on the day of death if possible, following day if not; - body attended at all times until burial.
Burial				
- The body is committed to the earth.		- Body handed down from the hearse to brothers waiting in the grave to receive it; - scroll of words of absolution placed on the dead monks chest; - brothers come out of the grave, change their clothes and rejoin the community; - on completion of the burial, the community return to the church to say assigned prayers.	- The grave is prepared and prayed over; - candles distributed to community who progress to cemetery while bells toll; - body placed in grave immediately and censed; - wooden cover placed over body, and dirt laid on top of this; - on completion of interment, prayers said for the rest of the dead in the cemetery.	- Body carried to the grave; - grave blessed, incense and water sprinkled; - the dead monk placed in to the grave; - prayer continues at the graveside and in the church.

Regularis Concordia (c. 970)	Cluny: *Liber tramitis* (c. 1020)	Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions* (c. 1077)	Cluny: Bernard's *Ordo Cluniacensis* (c. 1085)	Chartreuse written by Prior Guigo I (1109-36)
Remembrance				
- Office of the dead said for seven successive days; - daily mass offered for the brother for thirty days; - neighbouring communities informed of the death and prayers requested.		- Seven complete offices for the dead are said in the choir; - prescribed prayers continue for thirty days; - if the abbot orders, the almoner receives a loaf, measure of food and a drink for thirty days.	- All priests say mass for the dead brother on the day of his funeral and the office and mass for the first seven days are offered for him; - the monk's prebend given to the poor for thirty days; - his clothes are washed and given to a new brother if needed; - annual remembrance through mass, prayer and distribution of prebend to poor.	- For thirty days, one mass is celebrated daily for the late monk; - on the day of burial the monks can take their meals together as an aid to consolation; - his name is recorded in the martyrology and mass offered annually for him.

BIBLIOGRAPY

Primary sources

Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis,* ed. D. Douie and D. H. Farmer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

Aelfric, *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham,* intro. and trans. C. A., Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Aelred of Rievaulx, *The Historical Works,* ed. and trans. J. P. Freeland (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2005).

Aelred of Rievaulx*, The Lives of the Northern Saints*, ed. and trans. J. P. Freeland (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2006).

Aelred of Rievaulx, 'The Nun of Watton'*,* in J. Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers* (London: Penguin, 1989).

Anselm, *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia, vols. i-vi,* ed. F. S. Schmitt (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1949-1961).

Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, *Epistulae Anselmus Cantuariensis* [electronic resource www.brepols.net] (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

Augustine of Hippo, *City of God*, trans. H. Bettenson (London: Penguin, 2003).

Augustine of Hippo*, Enchiridion* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

Bede, *Commentary on Revelation,* trans. F. Wallis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013).

Benedict's Rule: a Translation and Commentary, ed. T. G. Kardong (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1996).

Eadmer*, Vita Sancti Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Wilfredi Auctore Edmero*, ed. and trans. B. J. Muir and A. J. Turner (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1998).

Eadmer, *The Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan and Oswald*, ed. and trans. B. J. Muir and A. J. Turner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006).

Gerald of Wales, 'Vita Sancti Hugonis' in *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores; [21], vol. vii*, ed. J. F. Dimock(London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1877), pp. 81-147.

Hippocrates, 'Prognosis', in *Hippocratic Writings,* ed. G.E.R. Lloyd and trans. J. Chadwick et al.(Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983) pp. 170-85.

Holy Bible, Catholic Public domain Version, based on Douay-Rheims version, ed. and trans. R. Conte (internet www.sacredbible.org).

Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version Common Bible with Apocrypha/Deutero-canonical books (New York, 1973).

John of Salisbury, *Anselm and Becket; Two Canterbury Saints' Lives*, ed. and trans. R. E. Pepin (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2009).

Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. and trans. D. Knowles and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002).

'Liber Sancti Gileberti', in *The Book of St Gilbert,* ed. R. Foreville and trans. G. Keir (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-1980).

Peter Lombard, *The Sentences Book 4: On the Doctrine of Signs,* ed. and trans. G. Silano (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2010).

Regularis Concordia Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque, ed. and trans. T. Symons (London: Thomas Nelson, 1953).

'The Life of Saint Stephen of Obazine', in *The Lives of Monastic Reformers, 1: Robert of La Chaise-Dieu and Stephen of Obazine,* trans. H. Feiss, M. M. O'Brien and R. Pepin (Collegeville, Minnesota: Cistercian Publications, 2010).

The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury, Volumes 1-3, ed. and trans. B. Frohlich (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1990, 1993, 1994).

The Metrical Life of Saint Hugh, ed. and trans. C. Garton (Lincoln Cathedral: Holywood Press, 1986).

Walter Daniel, *Vita Ailredi Abbatis Rievall',* trans. and intro. F. M. Powicke (London: Nelson, 1950).

Walter Daniel, *The Life of Aelred of Rievaulx and the Letter to Maurice*, ed. and trans. F. M. Powicke, intro. M. Dutton (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1994).

BIBLIOGRAPY

Secondary sources

Ariès, P., *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present,* trans. P. Ranum (London: Marion Boyars, 1976). Originally published as: *Essais sur l'histoire de la mort en occident du moyen âge à nos jours* (Paris: Seuil, 1977).

——, *At the Hour of Our Death,* trans. H. Weaver (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). Originally published as: *L'homme devant la mort* (Paris: Seuil, 1977).

Bartlett, R., *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013).

Beaty, N. L., *The Craft of Dying: a Study in the Literary Tradition of the Ars moriendi in England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970).

Berman, C. H., *The Cistercian Evolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

Binski, P., *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

Boase, T. S. R., *Death in the Middle Ages: Morality, Judgement and Remembrance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972).

Boynton, S., 'The Customaries of Bernard and Ulrich as Liturgical Sources', in S. Boynton and I. Cochelin (eds.), *From Dead of Night to End of Day: the Medieval Customs of Cluny* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005) pp. 109-130.

——, *Shaping a Monastic Identity; Liturgy & History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa 1000-1125* (London: Cornell University Press, 2006).

——, 'A Monastic Death Ritual from the Imperial Abbey of Farfa', *Traditio,* 64 (2009), 57-84. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27832089 (accessed 11.3.16)

Boynton, S., and Cochelin I. (eds.), *From Dead of Night to End of Day: the Medieval Customs of Cluny* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

Breisach, E., (ed.), *Classical Rhetorical and Medieval Historiography* (Kalamazoo: Michigan University, 1985).

Brooks, N., *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984).

——, *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church, 400-1066* (London: Hambledon Press, 2000).

Brown, P., 'The Decline of the Empire of God', in C. W. Bynum (ed.), *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 41-59.

——, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2008).

Burton, J., *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

——, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire 1069-1215* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Bynum, C. W., *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone, 1991).

——, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity 200-1335* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

——, *Christian Materiality* (New York: Zone Books, 2011).

Bynum, C. W., Harrell, S., Richman, P. (eds.), *Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986).

Bynum, C. W., and Freedman, P. (eds.), *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

Chibnall, M., *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

——, *Anglo-Norman England 1066-1166* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986).

——, *Piety, Power and History in Medieval England and Normandy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

Colish, M. L., *Peter Lombard* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994).

Collins, A., *Teacher in Faith and Virtue: Lanfranc of Bec's Commentary on Saint Paul* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

Conant, K. J., 'Cluny. Les eglises et la maison du chef d'ordre', *Medieval Academy of America Publications,* 77 (Macon: Protat, 1968). www.international.icosmos.org/monumentum/vol7 (accessed 9.12.14)

Constable, G., *Medieval Monasticism: a Select Bibliography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976).

——, *Cluniac Studies* (London: Variorum, 1980).

——, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1998).

——, *Cluny from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries: Further Studies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

Coon, L. L., *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

Cowdrey, H. E. J., *The Cluniacs and Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).

——, *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism, 11th-12th Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

——, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk and Archbishop* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Daniell, C., *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (London: Routledge, 1997).

Davis R. H. C., and Wallace-Hadrill J. M. (eds.), *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).

DuBruck, E., and Gusick, B. (eds.), *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

Evans, G., 'Saint Anselm and Sacred History', in R. H. C. Davis, and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 187-209.

——, *Bernard of Clairvaux* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Fergusson, P., and Harrison, S., *Rievaulx Abbey: Community, Architecture and Memory* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1999).

Finucane, R. C., *Ghosts: Appearances of the Dead and Cultural Transformation* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1996).

Flint, V., 'Space and Discipline in Early Medieval Europe', in B. Hanawalt, and M. Kobialka (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), pp. 149-166.

Foreville, R. (ed.), and Keir, G., trans., *The Book of St Gilbert* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

Foxhall Forbes, H., *Heaven and Earth in Anglo-Saxon England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

Freeman, E., 'What makes a Monastic Order? Issues of Methodology in 'The Cistercian Evolution', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly,* 37 (2002), 429-442.

Gameson, R., *The Earliest Books of Canterbury Cathedral: Manuscripts and Fragments to c.1200* (London: The Bibliographical Society: The British Library; Canterbury, 2008).

Gasper, G. E. M., ' "A doctor in the house"? The context for Anselm of Canterbury's interest in medicine with reference to a probable case of malaria', *Journal of Medieval History,* 30 (2004), 245-261.

Gasper, G. E. M., and Wallis, F., 'Anselm and the Articella', *Traditio,* 59 (2004), 129-174.

Geary, P., *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1994).

——, (ed.), *Authors of the Middle Ages, Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West. Vol. II* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995).

Gibson, M., *Lanfranc of Bec,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

——, 'History at Bec in the Twelfth-Century' in R. H. C. Davis, and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 167-185.

Gilchrist, R., 'Archaeology of life and death in later medieval hospitals'*,* in S. Bassett (ed.), *Death in Towns; Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 101-118.

——, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012).

Gilchrist, R., and Sloane, B., *Requiem: The Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2005).

Golding, B., *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order c. 1130-1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

Gordon, B., and Marshall, P. (eds.), *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Green, R., *Perfectissimus: the Carthusians in England c. 1178 - c. 1200,* (Durham University: PhD thesis, unpublished, 2016).

Hadley, D. M., *Death in Medieval England, an Archaeology* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001).

Hageman, M., and Mostert, M. (eds.), *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

Hanawalt, B., and Kobialka, M. (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

Harris, J. A., 'Building heaven on Earth: Cluny as a *Locus Sanctissimus* in the Eleventh-Century', in S. Boynton, and I. Cochelin (eds.), *From Dead of Night to End of Day: the Medieval Customs of Cluny* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005) pp. 131-151.

Harvey, B., *Living and Dying in England 1100-1154: the monastic experience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

Hector, W., *Modern Nursing* (London: Heinemann Medical Books Ltd, 1976).

Heffernan, T. J., *Sacred Biography: Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

Hockey, J., and Draper, J., 'Beyond the womb and the tomb: identity and (dis)embodiment and the life course', *Body and Society,* 11 (2005), 41-57.

Holcombe, J., 'Anselm of Canterbury and the Theology and Economy of Salvation' in J. Holcombe (ed.), *Christian Theologies of Salvation* (New York: New York Press, forthcoming).

Hoste, A., *Biblioteca Aeldrediana: a Survey of the Manuscripts, Old Catalogues, Editions and Studies Concerning St. Aelred of Rievaulx* (Steenbrugge: St Peter's Abbey, 1962).

Hunt, N., *Cluny under Saint Hugh, 1049-1109* (London, Edward Arnold Publishers, 1967).

——, *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1971).

James, M. R., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Jesus College Cambridge*, (London, Clay and Sons, 1895).

Jamroziak, E., *Rievaulx Abbey in its Social Context 1132-1300: Memory, Locality and Networks* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

——, 'Burials and Politics of the Living and the Dead in Scotland and Pomerania in the High Middle Ages', in C. Krotzl (ed.), *On Old Age Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages Vol. II* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 217-231.

Jones, C., 'Monastic Custom in Early Norman England: The Significance of Bodleian Ms. Wood Empt. 4', *Revue Benedictine,* 113 (2003), 135-168.

Kabir, A. J., *Paradise, Death and Doomsday in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Katajala-Peltomaa, S., 'Ritual and Representation', in C. Krotzl, (ed.), *On Old Age: Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages Vol. II* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 315-331.

Kealey, E. J., *Medieval Medicus: a Social History of Anglo-Norman Medicine* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1981).

Kemp, E. W., *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1948).

Knowles, D., *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).

Kobialka, M., 'Staging Place/Space in the Eleventh-Century Monastic Practices', in B. Hanawalt and M. Kobialka (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), pp. 128-148.

Kornelx, L., 'The *Regularis Concordia* and its Old English Gloss', *Anglo-Saxon England, 24* (1995), 95-130.

Kruger, K., *Monasteries and Monastic Orders: 2000 Years of Christian Art and Culture* (Konigswinter: H.F.Ullman, 2008).

Liuzza, R. M., (ed. and trans.), *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010).

Lapidge, M., 'The Saintly Life in Anglo-Saxon England', in M. Godden and M. Lapidge (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) pp. 251-272.

Le Goff, J*., The Birth of Purgatory,* trans., A. Goldhammer, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). Originally published as: *La Naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1981).

Matarasso, P., *The Cistercian World: Monastic Writings of the Twelfth-Century* (London: Penguin Books, 1993).

McGinn, B., *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

Mitchell, J. P., 'Performance', in C. Tilley (ed.), *Handbook of Material Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 2006), pp. 384-401.

Moreira, I., *Heaven's Purge:Purgatory in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Newhauser, R., 'Religious Writing: Hagiography, Pastoralia, Devotional and Contemplative Works', in L. Scanlon, (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 37-55.

Noonan, H., *Personal Identity* (London: Routledge, 1989).

O' Connor, M., *The Art of Dying Well: the Development of the Ars Moriendi* (New York: AMS Press, 1966).

Paxton, F. S., *Christianizing Death* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

——, 'Signa mortifera: Death and Prognostication in Early Medieval Monastic Medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* 67 (1993), 631-50.

——, *The Cluniac Death Ritual in the High Middle Ages. A Reconstructive Edition* (internet published, 2002). www.uni-muenster.de/imperia/md/content/…/cluny/ …/clunyriteeng.pdf (accessed 3.3.14)

——, 'Death by Customary at Eleventh-Century Cluny', in S. Boynton and I. Cochelin (eds.), *From Dead of Night to End of Day: the Medieval Customs of Cluny* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005) pp. 297-318.

——, *The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle Ages* with the collaboration of I. Cochelin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

Pfaff, R., *The Liturgy in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Pick, L. K., 'F. S. Paxton with I. Cochelin. The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle Ages', *The Medieval Review* (2014), 283. https://scholarworks.iu.edu/ dspace/handle/2022/19030 (accessed 1.2.15)

Race, S., *Aelred of Rievaulx: Cistercian Monk and Medieval Man* (Tigmor Books, 2011).

Ray, R., 'Rhetorical Scepticism and Verisimilar Narrative in John of Salisbury's *Historia Pontificalis*', in E. Breisach (ed.), *Classical Rhetorical and Medieval Historiography* (Kalamazoo: Michigan University, 1985), pp. 61-102.

Ridyard, S., *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Rosemann, P. W., *Peter Lombard* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Rosenwein, B. H., *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

——, *A Short History of the Middle Ages* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004).

——, 'Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions', *History Compass,* 8 (2010), 828-842.

——, 'Frederick Paxton with the collaboration of Isabelle Cochelin, The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle Ages', *Speculum,* 90 (2015), 286-288.

Rowell, G., *The Liturgy of Christian Burial: an Introductory Survey of the Historical Development of Christian Burial Rites* (London: SPCK for the Alcuin Club, 1977).

Scanlon, L. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Saffron, M., 'Maurus of Salerno Twelfth-Century *Optimus Physicus, w*ith his Commentary on the Prognostics of Hippocrates', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* 62 (1972), 1-104.

Southern, R. W., *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).

——, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer: a Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059-1130* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).

——, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Squire, A., *Aelred of Rievaulx, a Study* (London: S.P.C.K, 1981).

Sweetingburgh, S., 'Remembering the Dead at Dinner-Time', in T. Hamlin and C. Richardson (eds.), *Everyday Objects, Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), pp. 257-266.

Symons, T., 'Regularis Concordia: History and Derivation', in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in the Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia* (London: Phillimore, 1975), pp. 37-59.

Talbot, C. H., *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England: a Biographical Register* (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1965).

——, *Medicine in Medieval England* (London: Oldbourne, 1967).

Thompson, V., *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004).

Van Egmond, W. S., 'Saintly Images: Visions of Saints in Hagiographical Texts', in M. Hageman, and M. Mostert (eds.), *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 221-237.

Van Engen, J., 'The "Crisis of Cenobitism" Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050–1150', *Speculum, 61* (1986), 269-304.

Van Gennep, A., *The Rites of Passage,* trans., M. Vizedom and G. Caffee (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960). Originally published as: *Les rites de passage* (Paris: Emile Nourry, 1909).

Vauchez, A., *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* trans., J. Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Originally published as: *La Sainteté en Occident aux Derniers Siècles du Moyen Age* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1981).

Wallis, F., 'Signs and Senses: Diagnosis and Prognosis in Early Medieval Pulse and Urine Texts', in *The Social History of Medicine,* 13 (2000), 265-278.

——, *Medieval Medicine: A Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2010).

——, 'Why was the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates retranslated in the Eleventh Century?', in C. Fraenkel (ed.), *Vehicles of Transmission, Translation and Transformation* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 173-199.

Ward, B., *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215* (Aldershot: Wildwood House, 1987).

——, *Signs and Wonders* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992).

——, *Anselm of Canterbury: his Life and Legacy* (London: SPCK, 2009).

Ward, J., 'Some Principles of Rhetorical Historiography in the Twelfth-Century', in E. Breisach (ed.), *Classical Rhetorical and Medieval Historiography* (Kalamazoo: Michigan University, 1985), pp. 103-155.

Watkins, C. S., *History and the Supernatural in Medieval Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Williams, D. H., *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages* (Leominster: Gracing, 1998).