

CISTERCIAN FATHERS SERIES: NUMBER FIFTY-FOUR

Bernard of Clairvaux

SERMONS
FOR THE AUTUMN SEASON

CISTERCIAN FATHERS SERIES: NUMBER FIFTY-FOUR

Bernard of Clairvaux

*Sermons
for the Autumn Season*

Translated by
Irene Edmonds, OCSO

Revised by
Mark Scott, OCSO

Introduction by
Wim Verbaal



Cistercian Publications
www.cistercianpublications.org

LITURGICAL PRESS
Collegeville, Minnesota
www.litpress.org

A Cistercian Publications title published by Liturgical Press

Cistercian Publications

Editorial Offices

161 Grosvenor Street

Athens, Ohio 54701

www.cistercianpublications.org

Based on the critical edition in Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones II*, Sancti Bernardi Opera, 8 vols., edited by Jean Leclercq and H. M. Rochais (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–77), 5:288–447.

Scripture texts in this work are translated by the translator of the sermons.

© 2016 by Order of Saint Benedict, Collegeville, Minnesota. All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, microfilm, microfiche, mechanical recording, photocopying, translation, or any other means, known or yet unknown, for any purpose except brief quotations in reviews, without the previous written permission of Liturgical Press, Saint John's Abbey, PO Box 7500, Collegeville, Minnesota 56321–7500. Printed in the United States of America.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Bernard, of Clairvaux, Saint, 1090 or 1091–1153, author.

Title: Sermons for the autumn season / Bernard of Clairvaux ; translated by Irene Edmonds, OCSO ; revised by Mark Scott, OCSO ; introduction by Wim Verbaal.

Description: Collegeville, Minnesota : Cistercian Publications, 2016. | Series: Cistercian Fathers series ; Number fifty-four | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2015034631 | ISBN 9780879074548 | ISBN 9780879071547 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Catholic Church—Sermons—Early works to 1800. | Sermons, Medieval.

Classification: LCC BX891.3 .B4513 2016 | DDC 252/.02—dc23

LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2015034631>

Contents

General Introduction	ix
Editor's Note and Acknowledgments	lxvii
Table of Abbreviations	lxix

THE SERMONS

On the Time of Harvest (In lab mess)	1
Sermon One: How a Twofold Evil Works for Good	1
Sermon Two: Of the Two Tables	4
Sermon Three: <i>This is the generation of those who seek the Lord, of those who seek the face of the God of Jacob (Ps 23:6)</i>	7
On the Solemnity of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Asspt)	14
Sermon One: Of the Double Assumption	14
Sermon Two: Of Cleaning, Adorning, and Furnishing the House	18
Sermon Three: Of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus	26
Sermon Four: Of the Four Days of Lazarus and the Celebration of the Virgin	33
Sermon Five: On the Same as Before	41
Sermon Six: To Establish “full of grace” in Mary in Three Ways	53
Sunday within the Octave of the Assumption (OAsspt)	55
Of the words of the Apocalypse: <i>A great wonder appeared in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars (Rev 12:1)</i>	55
On the Nativity of Blessed Mary (NatBVM)	70
Of the Bringing of Water	70

A Sermon to the Abbots (Abb)	85
How Noah, Daniel, and Job Crossed the Sea, Each in His own Way: on a Ship, by a Bridge, by the Shallows	85
On the Feast of Saint Michael (Mich)	91
Sermon One: Of the Threefold Reasons that the Angels Care for Us	91
Sermon Two: Of the Words of the Lord, <i>If anyone offends one of these little ones</i> (Matt 18:6)	97
Sunday of the First Week of November (1 Nov)	101
Sermon One: Of the Vision of Isaiah	101
Sermon Two	104
Sermon Three	109
Sermon Four	114
Sermon Five	118
On the Feast of All Saints (OS)	130
Sermon One: Of the Gospel Reading: Jesus Seeing the Crowds	130
Sermon Two: Of the State of the Saints before their Resurrection	146
Sermon Three: <i>In What Way Shall They Be without Blemish or Wrinkle?</i> (Eph 5:27)	154
Sermon Four: Of Abraham's bosom, and of the altar beneath which Blessed John heard the voices of such souls of the saints, and of the seven loaves from which we read that the same number of baskets remained	159
Sermon Five: Of the Advantage of Their Memory	167
For the Dedication of a Church (Ded)	178
Sermon One: Of the Five Sacraments of the Dedication	178
Sermon Two: How We Should Cling to Ourselves and Others	184
Sermon Three: Of Three Sorts of Equipment We Possess for Godly Vigilance	188
Sermon Four: Of the Threefold Dwelling-Place	193
Sermon Five: Of the Twofold Consideration of Oneself	200
Sermon Six: Concerning the word of Jacob: <i>Truly the Lord is in this place</i> (Gen 28:16)	210
On the Feast of Saint Martin, Bishop (Mart)	213
Of Examples of Obedience	213

On the Feast of Saint Clement (Clem)	229
Of the Three Waters	229
Sermon on the Passing of Saint Malachy the Bishop (Mal)	235
On the Vigil of Saint Andrew the Apostle (VAnd)	244
How We Should Prepare for the Solemnities of the Saints with Fasting	244
On the Feast of Saint Andrew (And)	249
Sermon One: Concerning Clean Fish	249
Sermon Two: Of the Four Arms of the Cross	258
On the Death of Master Humbert (Humb)	266
Index of Scriptural References in Bernard's Liturgical Sermons (CF 51–54)	275
Index of Subjects in Bernard's Liturgical Sermons (CF 51–54)	334

General Introduction

AS HAS BEEN AMPLY elaborated in the introduction to the translations of both Bernard's *Sermons for Advent and the Christmas Season* (CF 51) and his *Sermons for Lent and the Easter Season* (CF 52), the growth and development of the series of liturgical sermons was the result of a long and painstaking process of selection, rewriting, and ordering. Dom Jean Leclercq distinguished three preliminary series (B, M, and L) that he interpreted as the successive steps in the construction of the final collection Pf, which he edited in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, volumes 4 and 5.¹ In my previous introductions, I have demonstrated that the relationship among the four redactions is much more complicated than suggested by the supposition of a simple chronological sequence, going from the most simple (B) to the final and most complicated version (Pf) that Leclercq published in his edition.

While M and Pf are clearly structured along the lines of the liturgical year, it is not at all clear what the structure is for the first redaction, B, in which the dominant argument seems rather to be found in the captivation and liberation of the human soul, the phases of which Bernard loosely projects onto some solemnities of the ecclesiastical year.² L, on the contrary, is structured in a liturgical way only in its

¹ See the introduction to the edition (*Sermones II*, ed. Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais, SBOp 4 [Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1968], ix–xvii), and Leclercq's preliminary study, "La tradition des sermons liturgiques de s. Bernard," *Scriptorium* 15 (1961): 240–84, reprinted in *Recueil d'études sur saint Bernard et ses écrits* 2 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1966), 203–60.

² See my elaboration in the introduction to Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermons for Lent and the Easter Season*, trans. Irene Edmonds, CF 52 (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2013), vii–lxiii, here xxxvii–xli.

last part (L^B). Its largest part, the first ninety-six texts (L^A), is in some manuscripts distinguished as a first book; it is of an exegetical nature and offers an interesting insight into the way Bernard seems to have organized his personal archives.³ Moreover, the two truly liturgical redactions, M and Pf, present a remarkable difference in approach. Whereas M is organized according to the traditional bipartition of sermons *De tempore* and *De sanctis*, Pf shows no such division but offers a continuous reading of the liturgical year.⁴

These fluctuations in the arrangement of the series indicate Bernard's shifting organizational principles. Apparently he hesitated among several options for how to express the message he wanted to convey. It is not even originally clear whether the Christian year did offer an answer to his quest, as the liturgical strand is only latently present in the first redaction, B, and might even be the result of the modern editor's retrospective shaping of the later collections in accord with this earlier one. More important for Bernard than the liturgical movement seems to have been the moral strand of how the human soul in its threefold capacities of reason, will, and memory can be delivered and freed from its captivity in sin.

The moral plot of B falls apart roughly in two movements, treating fall and conversion on the one hand, and growth to spiritual fecundity on the other; this bipartition is echoed and reinforced in M, the collection almost contemporaneous with B. M also offers a moral interpretation, like that of B, but now dependent on the traditional division inside the liturgical year, with the sermons grouped in two portions, *De tempore* and *De sanctis*. Bernard seems simultaneously to have tried out two distinct narrative structures: one more linear and moral on an abstract level, the other circular or repetitive, according to the two successions of liturgical solemnities.

³ See my introduction to Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermons for Advent and the Christmas Season*, trans. Irene Edmonds, Wendy Mary Beckett, and Conrad Greenia, ed. John Leinenweber, CF 51 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2007), vi–lix, here xxxviii–xl.

⁴ See my introductions to CF 51 and to CF 52.

None of these solutions appears to have fully satisfied him, but it took him some ten years more to complete the final redaction, Pf,⁵ in which both of the themes that can be distinguished in B and M were integrated and even enriched by supplementary strands. In the intervening years his literary attention must have turned to continuing and completing his sermons on the Canticum, which in many aspects exhibit a related compositional scheme.⁶

In their ultimate form of Pf the liturgical sermons give the clearest evidence of Bernard's literary genius. Not only do they develop both the circular-time perspective of the liturgical year with its returning festivities and the linear perspective of historical and human experience of time, but they also manage to achieve in the reader a sense of a-temporality because of both the sense of the simultaneity of distinct liturgical solemnities, created by continuous liturgical cross-references, and a consciously anti-chronological use of events in time, thus offering a perfect meditative reading for the monk's *lectio divina*, for which Bernard finally intended the collection as a whole.

The final redaction, Pf, now consists of 128 sermons that Bernard organized in four blocks. Each opens with a group of sermons that can be connected to the Virgin Mary and closes with a sermon in which the central theme of the block is translated to human reality. Thus the first block of Sermons for the Christmas Season opens with the seven sermons for Advent, in which many of the themes and motives also found in the four Homilies for the Virgin Mother recur. This block, containing twenty-nine sermons, closes with the one on Paul's Conversion, confirming the central position of Conversion in this block. Indeed Bernard elaborates successively on the conversion of memory, will, and reason, concluding with the blinding of Paul as the embodiment of the point where reason has turned away from its earlier worldly occupations and discovered the truth of God in its

⁵ L^B can be considered an intermediate collection, like the collection contained in Luxembourg 32 (*Ar*) from Orval, to which we will return.

⁶ For the arguments that make me consider the Sermons on the Canticum a finished work, see my article "Les Sermons sur le Cantique de S. Bernard: Un chef-d'oeuvre achevé?" *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 61 (1999): 167–85.

earthly appearance, making reason even more conscious of its lack of the insight that is wisdom.

Bernard shows reason as slowly arriving at insight during the period of Lent. This second block, again containing twenty-nine sermons, opens with the sermons on the Purification and ends with a sermon on Saint Benedict. It also contains the long exegesis of Psalm 90 in seventeen sermons. Movement and progression dominate the entire block, from the procession of the candles at the solemnity of Purification to Bernard's allusions to the procession of Palm Sunday in the sermon for Saint Benedict. In the sermon on Saint Benedict, however, the movement changes from a horizontal to a vertical progression, from the linear movement of the donkey trotting forward to the vertical up and down movement of trees bearing fruit and seeds beginning to germinate. The Lenten block thus concentrates on the theme of progress, of purification as a process that moves forward until one achieves the maturity that may itself become fruitful. The sermons for Lent thus show the inner maturation of a spiritual person.

The third block consists of thirty-six sermons. It opens with the three sermons for the Annunciation and closes with the three Harvest sermons. Once again movement is a central topic in all the sermons, but in these it has yet another significance. It becomes more internalized, evoking first of all the resurrection of the Word in the human soul or, better, of the soul in the Word, which is the true sense of Easter. Yet, according to Bernard, one must not keep the living Word enclosed in one's own life. To do so is in fact impossible, for the Word will escape and retreat in order to make the soul long for its return. To make it return, the soul will recognize, she must reach out to it with her love. She has to rise in order to make the Word descend: that is the experience of Pentecost.

This tension between ascending and descending, between the love going up and the Word coming down, is next concretized in the bringing out of the Word. The soul realizes that being pregnant with the Word implies working for the Word. In her own words, she must follow the footsteps of those who announced the coming of the Word, and in her own life she must bear witness to her own experience of the presence of the Word, as did the apostles. No longer do

the sermons treat the soul's own spiritual process as an isolated task. Instead, they link the soul's progression to her fruitfulness, to the way she manages to cultivate the Word and to be fruitful in the harvest she gathers for the Word.

The theme of this third block in the liturgical series is the labor of sowing and harvest, the labor of the preacher of the Word. In a first movement, therefore, the Easter sermons, the preacher must unite with the Word: he has to die with it in order to be resurrected in it. The second movement—the sermons for Ascension and Pentecost—contains the slow process of learning to live without the presence of the Word while recognizing how in longing for it one experiences its strength. In the last movement the virtue of the Word is working in the spiritual person, causing him to preach in both words and deeds. This theme appears in the sermons for the feasts of John the Baptist and of Peter and Paul, and also in those that, by their succession, give a rhythm to the summer season and its labor.

This series concludes with the Harvest sermons, which link the toil on the land both to the moral suffering of the monks (In lab mess 2) and to the saintliness of monastic life (In lab mess 1) as the simultaneous actualization of the angelic, the prophetic, and the apostolic existence (In lab mess 3). This image of the monk as at once angel, prophet, and apostle, carrying out the Word in the deeds of his own body and in the intentions of his own heart, prepares for the last block in the series, the sermons for the Autumn Season, which are central to this introductory essay.

BUILDING UP THE AUTUMN SEASON

As the introductions to the former volumes of Bernard's liturgical sermons in translation have demonstrated, it is revealing to see how the single blocks of the liturgical series came into being.⁷ The different organization within each block, with the elimination and addition of specific texts, sheds light on the messages Bernard seeks to convey. The outcome is never entirely new as compared to the

⁷ CF 51:vi–lxii; CF 52:xxxv–xlvi.

former editions but indicates his goal of arranging the sermons in such a way that their message is as clear and comprehensive as possible, even if not immediately obvious. As a result, each step in the development of the series creates another aspect, which in its turn Bernard incorporates into the final narrative.

When we try to approach the sermons for the Autumn Season in a similar way, however, the attempt leaves us a bit perplexed. Within the history of the series, the Autumn Season has left hardly any traces. Fifteen of the thirty-four sermons do not appear in any of the earlier collections, a much higher percentage of new texts than in any of the other blocks.⁸ Many of these new elements (six in all) appear in the last part of Pf. They form the group of the sermons on saints: Saint Martin, Saint Clement, Saint Malachy, two sermons for the celebration of Saint Andrew the apostle, and a sermon for the Vigil of Saint Andrew.

This concentration of new texts at the end of the collection becomes even more conspicuous when considering the manuscript Luxembourg 32 (*Ar*), from the abbey of Orval.⁹ This manuscript is an important source for many of Bernard's smaller works, which are now included among the *Sententiae* and the sermons on different subjects (*de Diversis*). It is clearly divided into two parts, both of which contain several texts that ended up as part of the liturgical series. In its bipartition and its collection of mixed texts and some liturgical sermons, it recalls the structure of that other miscellaneous collection, L, which Dom Jean Leclercq considered to be one of the preliminary versions of the final liturgical edition Pf.

⁸ In Bernard's sermons for Advent and Christmastide (translated in CF 51), one sermon of the twenty-nine (The Feast of the Conversion of Paul) was only introduced in the final series. In the sermons for Lent and Eastertide (translated in CF 52), seven of the twenty-nine sermons were new in Pf (QH 10–17). The Easter and Summer Season (thirty-six sermons in Pf) was enlarged with the addition of ten sermons (Ann 3, Palm 3, Asc 6, Pent 3, JB, VPP, PP 1, VI Pent 1 and 2, Lab 3).

⁹ Dom Jean Leclercq traced two other manuscripts deriving from *Ar*: Brussels 10559–61 (*Ld'*), from Saint Lawrence in Liège, and Trier 101–1067 (*Tv*). See his "Inédits bernardins dans un manuscrit d'Orval," *Analecta monastica* 1 (1948): 142–66.

Indeed, a closer look at the content and structure of *Ar* suggests that the function of the underlying collection is similar to the one at the base of L.¹⁰ Both give an idea of the way Bernard organized his textual archives. Yet they also offer more, showing Bernard in the different blocks reflecting on how to construct his liturgical series. Both *Ar* and the manuscripts of L contain texts absent from the earlier versions, B and M. But L shows no overlap at all with the other collections. For the final edition of Pf, Bernard drew heavily on the liturgical part of both collections, as contained in *Ar* and in the manuscripts of L, including all of the liturgical sermons in *Ar*, albeit with some of his usual adaptations in the way of rewriting and reorganization.

When *Ar* is taken into consideration, the number of new elements in the Autumn Season of Pf diminishes to eight, all found in the portion devoted to the saints, showing even more clearly Bernard's desire to expand this element in the final edition of the work.

The Autumn Season thus seems to consist of three groups of sermons, each of which has a history of its own. The first is the large group of Marian sermons, which contains texts that also appear in the liturgical collections M and L^B. In Pf, these texts (eight in total) are reorganized around the solemnity of the Assumption, the Octave of the Assumption (the only new one in this group), and the Nativity of the Virgin. The second group of nineteen sermons extends from the sermon for Abbots to the Dedication of a Church. All but two of these—1 Nov 5 and Ded 6—can be found in the other collections. The last group consists of the sermons for the saints (seven) and contains no texts that appear elsewhere, except the last one, on the death of Humbert. Let us have a closer look then at each of these groups, how they developed, and what we can learn from the way Bernard reorganized them.

DILECTUS MEUS MIHI ET EGO ILLI: ESPOUSING THE WORD

The opening group of Marian sermons is the largest unit within the Autumn Season. As we now have it, it contains six sermons for

¹⁰ Leclercq's category of L is based upon 15 manuscripts. See SBOp 4:135–38.

the Assumption (Asspt 1–6) and one each for the Octave of the Assumption (OAsspt) and for the Nativity of the Virgin (NatBVM). This last text, however, with its eighteen paragraphs, is one of the longest in the entire collection.¹¹ It is also one of the most famous Marian texts by Bernard, equating Mary with an aqueduct.

As a group, this unit was developed in three steps. With the exception of the fifth sermon (Asspt 5), the entire group for Assumption was already in the first liturgical collection, M. Together with other Marian texts it opens the section *De sanctis* after the *De tempore*, which ends with two sermons for Pentecost. Asspt 1 to 4 can be found in their final order at the end of the Marian sequence in M. As they are followed by the sermons for the archangel Michael and three sermons for the Dedication, it is clear that in M they already refer to the solemnity of the Assumption.

As regards Asspt 6 the situation is different in M. It follows four texts that finally end up as the first sermon for the Annunciation (Ann 1) and the three sermons for Purification (Pur 1–3), while it is itself succeeded by the text that has been inserted in Pf as the second sermon for the Annunciation (Ann 2). Neither Ann 1 nor Ann 2 is a purely Marian text. Rather, Ann 1 treats the heavenly and allegorical preliminaries to the Redemption, while Ann 2 describes the descent of the Spirit.¹² In a liturgical sense, both thus seem to adhere more closely to the Easter and Pentecost solemnities. Yet in between comes the sequence for the Purification, which leads to the text Asspt 6, which contains a true yet very short praise of Mary.

The liturgical intent in this part of M is thus fluid. Even when taking seriously the bipartition between *De tempore* and *De sanctis*, the opening of the second part seems to concentrate less on Mary herself than on linking her to the mysteries of Easter and Pentecost. The most important theme in the entire series seems to be the converging of heavenly descent and human elevation. Where the Word has decided to come down for the redemption of humankind, a human answer is expected, an answer that is offered by the Purification pro-

¹¹ Only the first sermon for Easter and the sermon for Saint Martin are equal to it in length.

¹² See for these two sermons CF 52:l–liii.

cession, which itself constitutes a progression toward the sacrifice of humility.¹³ Mary not only leads the procession and offers her first-born to the temple but is actually the temple itself. For in M, the procession of Purification leads to the praise of Mary in Asspt 6, to the praise of her virginity, her humility, and her fertility. Only then will the Spirit descend to accomplish the Incarnation (Ann 2).

But the Word's incarnation in the Virgin means also the assumption of Mary into the Word (Asspt 1). Only by way of her assumption will the Word deign to descend into the pure body that is ready to receive him. He will continue to descend into human bodies as long as they are purified (Asspt 2–3) and even go down into the grave where they rest in order to resuscitate humans from their sins (Asspt 4). In the resurrection of Lazarus, the descent changes again into the ascending movement, thanks to the intervention of the living and vivifying Word. There, exactly at this turning point, the Virgin rises once more, and the entire movement of descending and ascending closes on a new praise of Mary, her virtues, her fertile virginity, her purity, her humility, and her mercifulness (Asspt 4.5–8).

The entire block in M thus contains two movements, both ending with the praise of Mary. The first can be labeled the preparatory movement of humankind, by which humans have to purify themselves in order to respond to the heavenly condescension to redeem them. Mary offers the way but also the goal of this purification. The second movement concentrates on the descent of the Word from the coming down of the Spirit through the mediation of Mary to the liberation of humankind, captured in the grave of sin. Here Mary is the way to human redemption, and for that reason she is also its coronation.

M clearly does not take the liturgical strand as the leading one. More important to Bernard are the purification of the body and the liberation from sin that are necessary to make the Word descend to each person. For that reason he engages freely with chronological sequence, as he continues to do in the final collection, Pf.¹⁴ Mary offers the child to the temple before the Spirit has descended and the

¹³ See for the sermons on Purification CF 52:xxiii–xxv.

¹⁴ See the commentary on the sermons for the Annunciation in CF 52:l–liii.

Word has come down. The sense may be clear, though: the historical Incarnation Mary made possible by her own purity will have to repeat itself in a spiritual descent of the Word to each sinful and laboring person thanks to her mediation. Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost imply one another. They coincide.

Two sermons of the final series did not appear in M: the fifth sermon for Assumption (Asspt 5) and the sermon for the Nativity of the Virgin (NatBVM). They occur for the first time in the liturgical part of L (L^B). There they belong to a sequence of texts that for the most part have no immediate link to any Marian solemnity.¹⁵ Practically all of them were omitted in the final liturgical collection but ended up in the *Sententiae* or in the sermons *De Diversis*. As in M, the focus lies on the upward and downward movements but with a stronger emphasis on the descending motion.

The entire group in L^B is preceded by three texts that deal with the opening of the tomb and are thus closely linked to the Easter solemnity.¹⁶ The first and third (Pasc 2, Div 58) show the women at the tomb (Matt 16:1-3), while the second one (Div 57) is a short exegesis on a verse from the Apocalypse about the breaking of the seals (Rev 5:5). As a whole, however, they all refer to the Incarnation. Easter, Christmas, and the End of Time coincide, and time becomes fleeting.

Next starts a block of sermons to which belong the two future Marian texts Asspt 5 and NatBVM. First come some sermons that develop variations on the descent of the Spirit. The first one treats the Ascension, but in its significance for humans (Div 60). Just as the Ascension of Christ is the complement to his Descent, humankind must descend in humility in order to be able to ascend in grace. After the sermon on the Ascension, four texts use various numerical explanations to elaborate on the work of the Spirit in humans: the way it becomes visible when a person is touched by the Spirit (Div 88), the parallel between the seven gifts of the Spirit and the seven Beatitudes (Sent III.126), the opposition between the seven gifts of the Spirit

¹⁵ In L, both texts appear in the following context: Div 60, Div 88, Sent III.126, Sent III.19, Sent I.2, Div 47, Asspt 5, Div 48, Div 52, and NatBVM.

¹⁶ The sermons are preceded by Pasc 2, Div 57, and Div 58 and followed by Ded 4 and Ded 5.

and the seven vices (Sent III.19), and the fivefold operations of the Spirit (Sent I.2). Those two last texts are true *sententiae*, concise expressions of an idea that Bernard possibly intended to develop more fully later.

While this group can be considered a draft for sermons on the Ascension and Pentecost, in the next texts Mary becomes more central. The first uses Mary's humility at the Annunciation as a beginning for a very short treatise on four forms of human arrogance and five remedies (Div 47). Then follows the text that will become Asspt 5 and that, based on Luke 10:38-42, treats the way the entry of the Word will transform the carnal fortress of the human body and life into a spiritual one, characterized by the unity of body and spirit, of action and contemplation. It is followed by a text that offers a variant exegesis of the same pericope, focusing on the difference between Martha and Mary (Div 48). There follows an exegesis of Proverbs 9:1 on the building of the house of wisdom, applied to Mary as the seat for Christ and linked to the Annunciation (Div 52). The group closes with what later becomes the NatBVM on Mary as both the aqueduct and the stairs that connect heaven and earth, God and humankind.

The most remarkable aspect of this group of sermons is that Asspt 5 has no explicit connection to Mary except in the pericope from the reading for the feast of the Assumption. A more important link, however, exists in its belonging to a group framed by texts closely linked to Mary. Yet none of these clearly Marian texts refers unambiguously to the solemnities to which they will ultimately be linked. Rather, they seem to develop themes connected with the Annunciation and the Incarnation. Mary appears as the mediator between heaven and earth, being elevated by her own humility and thus making possible the descent of the Word. NatBVM develops this topic in a marvelous way, presenting Mary's plenitude and mediation in terms of the Canticle. Yet here too the sermon alludes more to the Annunciation than to the solemnity of her nativity.

In the last texts of the group, however, an additional theme emerges, as all contain some kind of architectural element. Both Asspt 5 and Div 48 talk about the *castellum*, the fortress that Christ enters. In Asspt 5 Bernard equates the *castellum* with the human body and spirit, and in Div 48 he explains it as the voluntary poverty that he normally

equates with the monastic life. Then follow successively the comparison of Mary with the House of Wisdom, the Aqueduct, and the Stairs.

This architectural element seems to become the central theme in these texts. It results from the descent of the Spirit that leads first of all to the Edifice of Mary, into which the Word enters and is received. The succession of events becomes somewhat immobile because of the simultaneity of the different movements. The Edifice of Mary can only be built where the Word has entered, because only after having already entered can the Word be received. The Word will only enter, however, where one has prepared oneself to receive the Word by the working of the Spirit. Once entered into the corporeal fortress of a person, Bernard's sermons say, the Word will change that fortress into a spiritual stronghold, granting it a unity of body and spirit, of action and contemplation that it did not know before. In this new stronghold the Word today erects the House of Wisdom as he did once in Mary when his coming was announced. Thus only after having entered will the Word make known that he comes.

The true Annunciation is not a single movement: it is a movement within a movement, a building within a building. It is movement ending in the stability of the construction, but it implies that the construction starts to move. For the House of Wisdom mutates in the flowing course of water that the aqueduct pours over the soul before transforming itself into the ladder that parallels the descending movement from heaven with the ascending movement of human-kind. Then and only then can the divine union take place, when the double movement has become entirely silent and the Word is heard in silence. Then the lovers will meet where the Beloved feeds his flocks in the middle of the lilies.

In the end of this series Bernard exhorts his reader to become a lily with Mary by fighting the angel, by breaking the silence of the Word, so that he may descend to feed his flocks among men and women. So he did with Mary, and she will never refuse to mediate between the offering of humans' pure lilies and the divine grace that has been poured out in her. In the tumultuous rest at the end of NatBVM, in the floating stability of its architectural movements, in the loving struggle with the angel beloved, Mary remains humanity's sole point

of repair. If humans cannot be a lily by themselves, they will be more than a lily when sustained by her hands.

While L^B as a whole clearly remains a rather sketchy project, its general line is much more fluently and strongly developed than the one in M . In M , the downward and upward movements appear as successive stages in the spiritual liberation of humankind. They lead to a collapse of the liturgical events, giving rise to the simultaneity of the Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost mysteries as one single event during the life of humanity. In L^B , however, Bernard focuses more exclusively on the Annunciation as the moment when the irreconcilable is reconciled. This focus leads him to create an almost incredibly paradoxical unity, a converging of movement and stability, a collapse of ascent and descent, of silence and its rupture, of rest in flight, and of the impurity in the purity of lilies. The Annunciation as both the underlying theme and the initial act of the Incarnation embodies the concord of discordances to the highest degree.

Given the way he reorganized the other liturgical blocks, Bernard might now be expected in his final series, Pf , to strive to harmonize both the movements and the themes from the earlier collections. This time, however, he seems to have opted for another approach. He actually maintains the construction laid out in M while fusing it with the two texts from L^B . Of course this combination results in a new unity, in which the second movement of M dominates. The central idea in this series of manuscripts thus remains the descent of the Word. Bernard has even largely kept the order of the texts as transmitted in M , only developing the series of four Assumption texts by adding Asspt 5 and 6, the first coming from L^B and the other transposed from the end of the first movement in M to the end of its second movement. $NatBVM$ remains the conclusion of this group, as it does in L^B .

Yet the new order implies some smaller shifts of accent. In M , the descent of the Word started with the coming down of the Spirit, as described in Ann 2. In Pf this immediate link between the descent of the Spirit and that of the Word is interrupted. Now the entire movement starts with Mary's elevation to be the intermediary between heaven and earth. Mary's Assumption equals Christ's descent. Both are to be understood as a kiss of the kiss of his mouth (Asspt 1.4). By means of this arrangement, Bernard already anticipates the ultimate

climax of the entire movement in NatBVM 14–18 at the end of the first sermon. By ending the four Assumption sermons from M with NatBVM, Bernard achieves a beautifully closed ring composition.

Moreover, both texts, Asspt 1 and NatBVM, emphasize the coincidence of upward and downward movement, stressing the unity of the events of Christmas and Assumption. The reader of the liturgical sermons, having already been obliged to accept the simultaneity of Christmas, Easter, and Ascension—that is, of the most important Christ-centred solemnities—now recognizes that a similar process takes place with the Mary-centred solemnities of the year. Christmas, celebrating the Birth of the Word from the Virgin, not only overlaps with Christ's death, Easter, and ascent into heaven, Ascension, but it also coincides with the Assumption of the Virgin. The downward movement of the Word into the flesh by way of Mary not only responds to its upward movement by way of death to heaven, but it also evokes the upward movement of the Virgin. Just as is true for the Word, for Mary too death is the hinge that connects descent and ascent, Incarnation, Glorification, humility and elevation.

The final text in this group of Marian sermons, NatBVM, celebrates the nativity of the Virgin. Yet more than half of it contains an expanded exegesis of the Annunciation scene according to Luke (NatBVM 4–13). The solemnity thus becomes linked to the Incarnation and Advent, leading up to Christmas. Mary's nativity is overshadowed by the descent of the Word, the Incarnation, which, according to Bernard's arrangement of the sermons, can only take place after her Assumption, after she has been elevated and glorified because of being open to the Word.

By according this much attention to the Annunciation, Bernard has taken up the story line he broke off at the solemnity of the Annunciation itself. In that series of sermons, Gabriel is sent to Nazareth only in the end, after three sermons and after Bernard's conscious playing with biblical chronology. Indeed the sermons for the Annunciation give almost no attention to the event itself, as if it did not belong there. Only, now, at the Nativity, does Bernard explain the sense of the Annunciation, in words that often recall his earlier Homilies in Praise of the Virgin Mother. At the solemnity of the Annunciation, it seems, it was still too early to confront the reader with the Incar-

nation. Now, after the Virgin has been celebrated in her elevation, which leads to her plenitude in grace as extolled in the text that originally concluded the series of Purification sermons (Asspt 6), can her Nativity be celebrated, while only now does the Annunciation of the Word take on her flesh for his incarnation.

In his final liturgical collection, Bernard opts for the idea as he has embedded it in M, completely confusing readers about the exact solemnity he is discussing in these texts. Not unlike the way he interprets the liturgical apogees around Christ, making them all coincide, he treats the solemnities of the Virgin as similarly all-inclusive. Yet where Christ's death and ascent are already enclosed in Christ's descent at Christmas, for Mary this co-incidence happens only at the end, in the solemnities of her Assumption and Nativity. For the divine Word, there can be no beginning or end, no before or after. All happens simultaneously, or, better, everything takes place in one and the same event. Humans, however, have to elevate themselves as did the Virgin. She offers them the way to prepare for their glorification, that is, to their reception of the Word. They must purify their humanity in order to be the Spouse and to receive the kiss of the Word's kiss, to be glorified and born again in the announcement that the Word will become flesh in them. Then they will experience in themselves how accurately are the words, "And the name of the Virgin was Mary."¹⁷

In his final revision of this group of Marian sermons, Bernard added one entirely new one, a sermon for the Sunday within the Octave of the Assumption (OAsspt), inserted as a bridge between Asspt 6 and NatBVM. A more remarkable change, however, is that now, as in L^B, two texts separate Asspt 5 and NatBVM. And the message has become a different one. In L^B the architectural element prevailed in Asspt 5, Div 48, Div 52, and NatBVM. Bernard abandoned this building element in his final collection—not entirely, of course, as he kept two of the sermons—but he reduced its dominant position. Asspt 6 and OAsspt do not contain any clearly architectural allusions.

¹⁷ See Miss 2.17.

More important than the architecture now has become the preparation for the descent of the Word. Asspt 5 emphasizes the importance of unity between spirit and deed, Asspt 6 lauds Mary in her plenitude of grace, and NatBVM returns to all the former elements so as to end in the union of Groom and Spouse in Christ and Mary. But Bernard must have found the transition from Asspt 6 and its beautiful praise of the Virgin to her elaboration as aqueduct and ladder in NatBVM too abrupt or insufficient. He inserted this one text, OAsspt, built on a long exegesis of a pericope from the Apocalypse: “and there appeared a great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars” (Rev 12:1).

Once again, it is a long text.¹⁸ It opens with a short introduction on the necessity for humans to have both Christ and Mary as mediators, Christ as the *mediator Dei et hominis* (1 Tim 2:5) and Mary as the mediator between humans and her Son, who incorporates not only divine mercy but also divine judgment. Bernard presents Mary as the most secure retreat for humans against divine wrath. The introduction closes with a short hymn on her: “In short, she became all things to all, and of her great charity she made herself debtor to all, both wise and foolish.¹⁹ She opened her bosom of mercy to all, so that of her fullness all might receive:²⁰ the captive redemption, the sick healing, the sad consolation, the sinner pardon, the just grace, the angel joy, the whole Trinity glory, and the Son the substance of human flesh, so that no one should be hidden from her warmth” (OAsspt 1–2).

Bernard introduces his main topic with a question: “Don’t you think that this is the woman clothed with the sun?” Without quoting the pericope, as he is accustomed to do, he counters it in this indirect manner. Now he develops the image of Mary, clothed with the sun and with the moon under her feet (OAsspt 3–6). He immediately answers his question with a clear reference to the ecclesiological interpretation of the image, but he seems to prefer to give it a Marian

¹⁸ It has fifteen paragraphs, like Asc 6 and OS 1. The only longer sermons are Pasc 1, NatBVM, and Mart (all with eighteen paragraphs) and QH 7 (sixteen paragraphs).

¹⁹ 1 Cor 9:22, Rom 1:14.

²⁰ John 1:16.

sense: “Let us suppose that the rest of the prophetic vision shows the image to refer to the present-day church—but surely it is not unsuitable to attribute it to Mary” (OAsspt 3). In the interpretation that follows, the boundaries between Mary and the church somehow become very fluid. When talking about Mary, Bernard refers to her as to the church, and when clearly referring to the church, he treats her as Mary. Only in his exegesis of the moon does he make it clear that it is Mary who has the church beneath her feet, because she is set between Christ and the church.

A quotation of the Canticle that is used as the Introit at the Mass for the crown of thorns closes this part. A short phrase provides the transition to the crown of stars: “But this is elsewhere. Go in rather in the meantime and see the queen in the diadem with which her Son crowned her” (OAsspt 6).²¹ A literal quotation follows, opening the second part: “On her head, it says, is a crown of twelve stars.” Now Bernard gives a numerical exegesis of the twelve stars. He distinguishes them into three groups of Mary’s singular graces: the graces of heaven, of the flesh, and of the heart. Each group contains four stars. Mary’s heavenly graces are her birth, the greeting of the angel, the overshadowing of the Spirit, and the indescribable conception of the Son of God. Her graces of the flesh are her unprecedented choice to remain a virgin, her untainted fecundity, her easy pregnancy, and her painless childbearing. Her graces of the heart are her gentle diffidence, her devout humility, her magnanimous belief, and the martyrdom of the heart (OAsspt 7).

Bernard treats each of these graces separately, but he rather quickly passes over the first eight (OAsspt 8–9). They are singularly hers. As human believers, we can only admire them, adore them, devote ourselves to them, and find comfort in them. The last four, however, ask to be imitated, and so Bernard grants them more attention (OAsspt 10–15). He specifically elaborates the link between and unity of

²¹ The sentence is missing in some of the (less accurate) manuscripts, a fact that seems to imply that Bernard inserted it to join the preceding paragraphs to the following ones and that the sermon is constructed from different originally independent sermons. This inference is also supported by his two different approaches to the same pericope in this sermon.

Mary's gentleness, her humility, and her magnanimity (OAsspt 10–13). In short, he enters upon Mary's martyrdom to conclude finally that thanks to all these things, Mary is the only and best mediator between humankind and Christ.

In the entire Marian cycle of the final liturgical collection, OAsspt is the first truly Marian sermon, taking up the most central Marian themes.²² Indeed the preceding sermons for the Assumption pay almost more attention to Martha and Mary Magdalene than to Mary herself. Only Asspt 6 contains a true eulogy on the Virgin. It can thus be supposed that Bernard wanted to reinforce the Marian character of the entire group and for that reason inserted this new text.

Its insertion had some further consequences. The entire sermon is one large exegesis of Revelation 12:1, of the image of the woman clothed with the sun, the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars. As such OAsspt forms a logical sequel to the eulogy in Asspt 6 that praised Mary's plenitude. What can illustrate the plenitude of her grace better than the image in which she appears in the vision of the End of Time? But that is not all. The sermon takes up practically all Marian images as they appear in the prophets and the Old Testament: the woman promised long ago by God, who was to bruise the head of the ancient serpent with righteous foot (OAsspt 4), Gideon's fleece between the dew and the threshing-floor (OAsspt 5 and 8), the bush burning without being consumed (OAsspt 5), the woman who encompasses a man (OAsspt 6), the rod of the priest that flowered without a root (OAsspt 8), the gate facing the sunrise in Ezekiel's vision, open to no one (OAsspt 8), and Isaiah's rod, which should arise from the root of Jesse (OAsspt 8). In no earlier sermon did that many images follow one another at such speed, making this sermon not only a true Marian sermon but also a sermon heavily packed with symbolic significance. As such it prepares for the more elaborate images of the aqueduct and the ladder in the following sermon.

More important to Bernard than these prophetic images for the Virgin are the images the Virgin offers in connection to the final four stars, the moral stars that are to be imitated by humans. Bernard

²² As Gerhard B. Winkler noted in his annotation of the text in *Bernhard von Clairvaux. Sämtliche Werke* VIII (Innsbruck, Austria: Tyrolia, 1997), 1010n44.

presents Mary in her silence, pointing out that she only speaks four times in the gospels. He shows her in her humility, receiving the highest promise of an angel and presenting herself only as a servant, and, when Elizabeth lauds her, answering by praising God. Finally, he shows her in her martyrdom at the foot of the cross, being pierced by the lance as it penetrates the side of her Son—or even worse:

Did not these words wound you more than a sword, truly piercing your soul, reaching even to the division of soul and spirit: *Wōman, behold your son?* What a substitution! John will be to you as Jesus, the son of Zebedee in place of the Son of Man, a man pure and simple instead of the true God! When you heard this, how could it not pierce your most affectionate soul when ours, although of stone, although of iron, are torn by its very description? (OAsspt 15)

Mary has become very close to the reader. Her suffering is a human suffering, different from that of Christ. He suffered for humankind, but Mary suffered in her Son. His pains brought human redemption, but her pains were the pains of humankind: “Marvel not, brothers, that Mary is called a martyr in soul. Let the one wonder who does not remember hearing that Paul mentioned among the crimes of the heathen that they were without affection” (OAsspt 15). Who could ever mediate between humans and their Judge, who never knew the sentiments of humans? Mary is the mediator because in her heart she died with her Son at the cross. She did not herself suffer in her body, but she suffered in her love. That suffering made her the aqueduct, bringing down the Word and simultaneously offering to humans the ladder that leads them to her Son.

REAEDIFICANDI MURI: RESTORING HEAVEN

In the collection L^B, the liturgical simultaneity combined with the overlap of ascending and descending movements is even more complicated by the spiritual architecture accomplished in and by Mary, but this element declines somewhat in the final series. Apparently Bernard did not think it the most important contribution

to his image of the Virgin. And indeed the building metaphor in L^B serves there to prepare for his ultimate comparisons of Mary with the aqueduct and the ladder. So here too the movement was fundamental to his way of interpreting Mary's mediation.

Bernard did not forget his original idea, however. On the contrary, the spiritual architecture was part of the project from the outset, as can be seen in the evolution of the following group of sermons, all of which appear to be linked in one way or another to the ideas of building, of restoring, of erecting a construction. Yet his plans developed, and perhaps no other group of sermons demonstrates so clearly as these the criteria he used to select, to eliminate, and to build his ideal liturgical year.

The group of architectural sermons contains nineteen texts, divided into four smaller groups with the sermon to the Abbots (Abb) as an introductory sermon: two sermons in honor of Saint Michael (Mich 1 and 2), five sermons for the Sunday of the First Week of November (1 Nov 1–5), five sermons for All Saints (OS 1–5), and six sermons for the Dedication of a Church (Ded 1–6). Of these, only two, 1 Nov 5 and Ded 6, are not found in a preliminary state in the other collections.

Six texts, however, only appear in the separate tradition formed by the manuscript *Ar* (OS 3 and 4, 1 Nov 1–4). This manuscript seems to be an important intermediary between M and L^B on the one side and Pf on the other, as can be seen immediately when comparing the blocks in which these sermons appear in each of the different collections:

M	Mich 1–2 / Ded 1–3 / OS 1 – Conv – OS 2
L ^B	Ded 4–5 / OS 5
<i>Ar</i>	Mich 1–2 / . . . / OS 2–4 1 Nov 1–4 / Ded 3, 1, 2
Pf	Abb / Mich 1–2 / 1 Nov 1–5 / OS 1–5 / Ded 1–6

When looking at the different collections, one immediately notices that Bernard did not only strive to develop each of the sub-themes in order to fit into his final liturgical scheme. Apparently he felt some hesitation about how to organize the entire group. His first hesitation concerned the position of the sermons for the Dedication

of a Church in relation to those for All Saints. He started by putting the sermons for the Dedication first, but somewhere in the editorial process he changed his mind and exchanged the two groups.

At the same time he introduced an entirely new group, the sermons for the First Sunday of November, and inserted them between the two other groups, immediately preceding those for the Dedication. Yet this arrangement also clearly did not suit him. So in the end he brought the sermons for the First Sunday forward, to end up between the sermons for Saint Michael and those for All Saints.

This repeated shifting of sermons of course has implications for the interpretation of the narrative line, as I have shown in my treatment of all the groups of sermons during the entire liturgical year.²³ This time, however, an extra element is involved. All sermons are dedicated to feast days linked to specific moments in the liturgical year. All Saints falls on November 1. Changing the Dedication sermons from before to after this date implies the transposition of the dedication date of the church in question. But of course in that case, Bernard cannot be thinking of the same specific church, as each church has its fixed dedication day.

Originally Bernard must have connected this group to the dedication of the church of Clairvaux, which was commemorated on October 13 and thus clearly situated between the Feast of Saint Michael on September 29 and November 1. Locating the group after All Saints, however, implied a shift of focus. It is clearly not that suddenly the dedication day for Clairvaux was changed but rather that Bernard decided to link it to another commemoration, that of the dedication of Saint John in the Lateran, considered the *mater ecclesiarum*, the Mother of all churches. That feast was celebrated on November 9, between All Saints and the Feast of Saint Martin on November 11, which in the final edition opens the next subgroup of autumn sermons.

The changed position of these sermons does not only imply that they referred to another church; above all, it meant a complete and radical change of perspective. At first, Bernard had envisaged the

²³ See the introductions to CF 53 and CF 52, *passim*, as well as the preceding part on the Marian sermons.

sermons to refer to the dedication of the abbey church of Clairvaux and thus addressed his words to the monks there, identifying them with the living stones needed to complete the building. After the sermons' transposition, however, they came to address the readers in general, those who were children of the mother of all churches, i.e., of the church itself. This change widened the perspective enormously. The texts aim not to spur on a smaller monastic community but Christianity as a whole. With this change Bernard has transformed the liturgical series of sermons into a meditative reading for all Christians, whom he invites to become part of the celestial Jerusalem by way of the text he is addressing to them.

The other uncertainty demonstrated by these liturgical sermon collections concerns the group of sermons for the First Sunday of November. They appear for the first time in *Ar*, where they open the second part of the collection, immediately preceding the sermons for the Dedication. Chronologically, they thus indicate that they refer to the Sunday between November 1 and 9. Finally, however, they ended up before All Saints. Now it would not be a liturgical problem if they are used for a Sunday before or after All Saints. These sermons refer to the Sunday closest to November 1, which could comfortably fall before that date, although Bernard's hesitation may indicate that his natural reflex was to put them afterward. The change could thus indicate his wish to disorient the reader.

Yet the more important aspect of this displacement may have been the narrative line Bernard wanted to construct. Thus it becomes important once more to deduce the evolution of his thought from the arrangement of the sermons in the different collections.

Building Heaven in Oneself: M

In its oldest form, in *M*, this group, which consists of *Mich* 1 and 2, *Ded* 1–3, *OS* 1, *Conv*, and *OS* 2, followed the first four sermons for Mary's Assumption. These concluded with the ascending movement of the Virgin after Christ's descent into the grave to call Lazarus back to life. The entire preceding block of Marian sermons builds on the theme of coinciding upward and downward movements.

This theme continues in the sermons for Saint Michael. The downward movement of the angels in order to minister to humankind mirrors the descent of Christ, who humbled himself below the angels to redeem humankind (Mich 1.1–4). Humans must show themselves worthy of this grace by imitating the angels—that is, they should assimilate themselves to the angels' way of being, preserving unity and harmony in the community and thus elevating themselves to the angelic life (Mich 1.5–6 and 2.1–2). Therefore they ought to discard all that hinders them in bringing their conduct into union with that of the angels (Mich 2.3–4). They must rise in order to meet those descending to humankind. Heaven and earth meet where the angels find their own Jerusalem on earth (Mich 1.5).

In these sermons, indeed, a new element appears that Bernard more or less discarded from the preceding Marian sermons: the building of heaven. One of the reasons for the angels to come to the help of humans is their longing to restore the celestial city and to fill in the breaches in the heavenly walls caused by the fall of Lucifer. Only humankind offers the living stones that are capable of repairing the ruins of the celestial Jerusalem, and the building of heaven can only be achieved on earth: “If you love the beauty of God’s house [Ps 25:8], or rather because you truly love it, let the living and thinking stones [1 Pet 2:5] experience your zeal, since for the restoration of God’s house they can be built up only together with you” (Mich 1.4).

Making oneself fit for restoring the gaps in the celestial walls means installing on earth the mirror of heavenly Jerusalem, when the community of humans living together becomes the image of angelic union. To build up the House of God means to live an angelic life and thus to create a unity between God, angels, and humans. While it belongs to angels to embody God’s will spontaneously, humans need to be disciplined before being able to live the harmonious life of heaven, for only in a disciplined life are they able to amputate the spiritual limbs that impede their angelic state of life.

This idea of building God’s house is continued in the following sermons for the Dedication of a Church (Ded 1, 2, 3). The community becomes the house itself. It becomes the temple of the Lord because of the sanctity of its life. Having abolished all that obstructs the rise of the celestial Jerusalem, the community may celebrate its

own sanctification in building up and dedicating the house of God in the proper church, the proper body, and the proper soul. Church, body, and soul merge into one saintly edifice. The material church is saintly because of the saintly bodies visiting it. The bodies are saintly because of the saintly souls that vivify them, and the souls are saintly because of the Holy Spirit inhabiting them (Ded 1.1–2).

As soon as Bernard starts talking about the consecration of the building, he is focusing on the consecration of the monks themselves, of their lives dedicated to God. And the sacraments of the dedication only have meaning when depicting the community life of the monks (Ded 1.3–6). Thus Bernard creates an indissoluble union of the spiritual house, which leaves no place for the least suspicion to cause cracks in the living walls (Ded 1.7).

But to arrive at that point, God's house must first be built in the soul (Ded 2), because only the soul is capable of embracing his magnitude, "for she is created in his image" (Ded 2.2). That is why the temple must be erected in each single soul by cleaning reason of all errors, will of all iniquity, and memory of all stain (Ded 2.3). Only then will the Word come to inhabit each soul as well as the community of all, thanks to the mutual love each bears for the other. Yet this erection of God's dwelling in the soul demands continuous striving because, unlike God's house in heaven, which is a house of joy, God's house on earth remains a house of war (Ded 2.4).

War continues in the last sermon of this first group (Ded 3), in which the house of God reappears as a fortified town besieged by its enemies. Bernard incrementally analyzes all the elements needed to sustain the blockade and the attack: the spiritual bulwarks, the spiritual weapons, and the spiritual provisions (Ded 3.1–2). Yet those will not suffice once the defenders show themselves to be unreliable, once they include traitors, cowards, and indolent combatants among themselves (Ded 3.3–5).

On this negative image of the besieged the Dedication sermons end. Those who in the first sermon were addressed as saints giving the building its saintliness end up here alarmed by the presence among them of those who will either betray the House of God or do nothing to defend it. A downward movement results from this sequence, from the meeting of human and angel to the pact between

human and devil, from the unified and disciplined community as the earthly image of heavenly Jerusalem to a besieged and internally divided town where everyone must suspect everyone else. As in the preceding sermons on the Assumption (Asspt 1–4), the reader tumbles down toward the grave, now not that of the individual person, but of the entire community. Will there be a contrary movement to stop and reorient the community to its spiritual vocation?

There is. M continues with three sermons for All Saints (OS 1, Conv, and OS 2), which conclude the entire collection. Two of these texts remain in the liturgical collection (OS 1 and 2). The third (Conv) had another destination: it was or became the written version of the sermon Bernard preached to the students of Paris during the winter of 1140–41. Twice Bernard preached to the students: on All Saints 1140 and once again on Epiphany 1141. He started twice from the same premises that are found in the different versions of Conv. The final text is a more or less open attack on Abelard, which is completely lacking in the early version as it was inserted in M.²⁴

This new significance that the central sermon took on in the confrontation with Abelard may explain its disappearance from the liturgical collection. In M, however, it still formed part of the narrative line on which this first collection closed. And it certainly served the purpose of redirecting the narrative line. OS 1 starts by inviting the reader to the spiritual nutrition offered by the living Word and needed by the besieged in the preceding sermon. The alimentation offered here consists of the Beatitudes as they were offered in the Sermon on the Mount and as they have been the sustenance of all the saints ever since.

This theme reappears in the short version of Conv. Now, however, the Beatitudes are not presented as food necessary to endure the attacks of the enemy. This time Reason offers them to Will as medicaments to raise her from her sickbed, to which her attachment to her body has brought her. Only by way of the Beatitudes can she find the peace she longs for.

²⁴ I have analyzed the development of the sermon in my book, *Een middeleeuws drama. Het conflict tussen scholing en vorming bij Bernardus en Abaelardus* [A Medieval Drama. The Conflict between Schooling and Formation in Bernard and Abelard] (Kampen/Kalmthout: Clement/Pelckmans, 2002), 278–83.

This inner peace is attained in the last sermon, OS 2, in which memory becomes purified in the remembrance of the saints. Participation in their rest nestles itself in the conscience and spirit of those who remember their deeds and rejoice in the spiritual peace they enjoy. The memory of the saints thus changes into desire to join them in the eternal peace and rest of beatitude.

The narrative line as contained in M is very clear and develops in an almost unilinear way. The spiritual House of Wisdom as erected in Mary must be rebuilt on earth in the monastic community, where earthly life becomes angelic and mirrors the heavenly city. In the perfect community humans and angels meet, but this meeting implies each one's erecting the spiritual house in the self, both in the communal life lived with brothers and in the soul. There, in the soul, the person must sustain the attacks of the besiegers and thus arm the self with the spiritual weapons needed to repel enemies. These arms are found in the memory of the saints, in their deeds, and in the peace they now enjoy. This memory may give the person the strongest resistance, the desire to be worthy to join them. Thus open-endedly the M collection finishes.²⁵

Building Heaven on Earth: L

In L^B only three texts make up this part of the autumn sermons, Ded 4 and 5 and OS 5. They immediately follow NatBVM, the famous sermon on Mary as the aqueduct and the ladder between heaven and mankind. This strong use of architectural images in L^B is confirmed in the next sermons. In this collection Ded 4 is titled *On the Threefold Dwelling-Place*, though this title fits only the second part of the sermon, which Bernard introduces by a statement similar to that with which he introduces Ded 1: "a house is holy because of the bodies within it, and the bodies because of the souls, and the souls because of the Spirit dwelling within them" (Ded 4.4). Whereas in

²⁵ Three texts follow that might be attributed to Bernard's secretary, Nicolas of Montiéramey. See SBOp 4:130, 133–35; Leclercq, "La tradition," 214–17. We will return to the first of these.

Ded 1 this beginning led Bernard to transpose the consecration of the building with the consecration of the monks, in this sermon he sticks more closely to the architectural image. On the basis of two quotations from Psalm 83, he makes a clear distinction between the house of God and God's tents and courts. The human's road to God has to pass by each of them. In the tents, humans must camp during their battle for sanctification (Ded 4.4), and in the courts, they may enjoy their rest after the battle has passed and they can be secure in the peace they gained (Ded 4.5). In God's house, however, glorification will be their part. It invites people from afar with its promises of power, splendor, and glory (Ded 4.6).

The first part of the sermon enters the moral level of interpretation as an introduction to the allegorical one as it will be applied in the last paragraphs. The walls of the church have been sanctified by the mystery of consecration, by readings from Scripture, by prayers, by relics, and by angelic vigilance (Ded 4.1). It is not the celestial Jerusalem that needs to be watched over, Bernard emphasizes. Rather, it is the human walls, over which the angels keep diligent watch: "You are kind, O Lord; you cannot be content with this fragile protection of our walls, but over those who are themselves over others you have set an angelic guard so that they may defend both the walls and those who are contained within the circuit of the walls" (Ded 4.2). In a hardly remarkable move, Bernard has identified the church walls with the superiors, who need the guidance and vigilance of angels to perform their task. But it is not solely the walls that are sanctified by prayers, lectures, and relics. Instead, the superiors are; Bernard is. The vigilance of the angels contains his ministry, just as his ministry contains his monks. Humans' failure to see their spiritual guards with their physical eye is unimportant so long as they are aware of the angels' help, so long as their conviction remains unshaken that within these walls, within this guardianship, they are sanctified (Ded 4.3). For the life in the community is a life of strife, of battle. It is life in God's tents, preparing the way to God's house.

But what exactly is meant by God's house? The next sermon, Ded 5, opens with this question, and Bernard answers it at once. Using as its point of departure the Responsorial verse used at the consecration of a church (Rev 21:2), he identifies the house with the heavenly

Jerusalem coming down as a bride. Yet Bernard suggests that his audience wants to know more, that they wish to know “who in the world it is who should merit to be called and to be the house of this *Paterfamilias*, the temple of God, the city of this King, and indeed the bride of this glorious Bridegroom” (Ded 5.2).

And here Bernard introduces his actual theme for the sermon. He hesitates to express his opinion, he writes, because he is not “a man of deep experience.” But anyway, he continues,

I will say what I sometimes experience being acted out in me so that if others should judge it useful for themselves they can imitate me. For I am convinced that if I should but once have mercy on my own soul it would please my God! I frequently think about my soul; if only I might do so more extensively and always! For there was a time when it was acted upon, but just a little, or even less, of course because I loved it just a little or really hardly at all. For how can it be said that someone loves that whose death he loves? Because if—this is true and beyond dispute—wickedness is the death of the soul, then the truth in the saying *the one who loves iniquity hates his own soul* is proved absolutely. I used to hate my soul and would still if he who first loved my soul had not bestowed on me this, the beginnings of his love. (Ded 5.2)

Bernard now begins a meditation on the soul, on its being nothing in and by itself: “Surely, man is made as an emptiness, man is brought to nothing, man is nothing” (Ded 5.3). Is it not an incredible contradiction then, Bernard cries out, that humans have been so dignified by God: “How is one nothing upon whom God has set his heart?” (Ded 5.3).

From now on the entire sermon builds up the consistent pattern of contradictions that constitute human beings. In the judgment of truth, humans are nothing, but in the testimony of God’s love they are magnified. At one and the same moment, they see themselves in the light of truth as humiliated and tumbling down and, in the light of love, as exalted and elevated (Ded 5.5). The reality about themselves tears them down, but hope may lift them up. Their own judgment shows them to be nothing, but their belief in God’s love knows

them to be predestined to the glory (Ded 5.6–7). Human beings are a coherent mass of contradictions.

Departing from this image of humankind as a unity of paradoxes, Bernard suddenly returns to his initial question: “Now either by moving on from what we find in those imitations to something superior or else devoting a bit more attention to them, let us ask what is the house of God, let us ask what is the temple, let us ask what is the city, let us ask what is the bride” (Ded 5.8). So Bernard returns to the question he left open at the beginning of the sermon. What is the house of God? “I have not forgotten, but I say it with fear and reverence: ‘We are.’ ‘We are,’ I say, ‘but in the heart of God’” (Ded 5.8). Humans are the house of God! In all their inconsistencies, being both nothing and magnified by God, they are the house of God, God’s temple, and God’s bride. The more people descend in humility, in the confession of sins, in praying, Bernard says, the more they rise in continence, in peace, in belief (Ded 5.8–9). Humankind is heavenly Jerusalem, because humans have the potential of ascending while descending, because in their prayers they are the house of God, in their continence they are God’s temple, in their community life they are the heavenly city, and in their love they are the bride (Ded 5.10). Building heaven is earthly business.

This is where the saints enter. L^B continues with a sermon for All Saints that in the end will be the fifth in the series, OS 5. In this sermon Bernard insists that sanctity does not equal uniformity: “For there are saints of heaven, and there are saints of earth, and among those of earth some are still on earth, while some are already in heaven!” (OS 5.1). Holiness comprises the angels, who are triumphant without enduring any battle, and it comprises both those humans “who have washed their robes white in the blood of the Lamb” and those who are still hidden, “who still strive, still fight, still run, but have not yet received the prize.”

He goes on, however, with his audience and with himself, suggesting that they may already reckon themselves members of this last group: “As for us, we are forbidden to sing the praises of human beings in their lifetime” (OS 5.2). But at the same time, for what reason are the saints in heaven praised on earth? They do not need it. They are fulfilled:

We venerate their memory to our advantage, not to theirs. Do you wish to know how greatly that is to our advantage? I confess that a great longing flares up in me when I think of them, a threefold longing. People say, "What the eye does not see, the heart does not grieve for." My memory is my eye! To reflect on the saints is in some way to see them. This is our portion in the land of the living, and it is no mean portion if affection accompanies memory, as it should. Thus, I say, our citizenship is in heaven, but ours is not like theirs. They are there in fact, but we in desire. They are there in reality; we are there through memory. (OS 5.5)

Remembering the deeds and words of the saints means sharing their life in heaven, becoming among the citizens of the heavenly city, being among the living stones that build up the New Jerusalem. They are already there in substantiality. We may join them in desire when we praise their memory.

Once again Bernard imposes the contradictions of human existence on his audience. Humans are not to become saintly in heaven; they must do so on earth. Saints are those who have finished the battle and brought home the victory. They enjoy the presence of God and comprise part of the heavenly city immediately. Those on earth can only long to join them. Thus they must remember the saints and by their memory nourish the desire that can bridge the abyss separating humans from what makes up the truthfulness of their memory.

The house of God is built with stones of desire. It is memory's architecture, not of the past but of the future. Longing for the saints means longing to enter their unity with Christ and to be reformed in one's humble body and configured to the glory of the head as they are (OS 5.9). For the time being, however, the heavenly building comprises those on earth as well as those in heaven, joining them in the oneness of opposing poles. For "we rejoice together with them, and they suffer along with us; through devout meditation, we reign with them, while they by devoutly intervening fight with us and in us" (OS 5.11). While enjoying the undisturbed rest and peace of the heavenly homeland, the saints fight and suffer with humans on earth. And whereas living men and women are in the middle of the battle, they may with the saints enjoy the glory and the triumph. Humans

on earth still have to make temporary camp in the tents of military campaign, but not without tasting the peace of the court or without dwelling in the glory of the house. All movements coincide in memory's longing for what lies ahead.

Building the Vision: Ar

The interest of the manuscript *Ar*, from the abbey of Orval, lies primarily in the introduction of the new group of sermons for the First Sunday of November. They appear in close connection to the oldest group of sermons for the Dedication of a Church, but, probably because of the new combination, these last sermons have a new arrangement that indicates a narrative line diverging from the former collection.

Yet the manuscript has still other interesting points. In addition to the disjunction of the sermons for All Saints from those for the Dedication, some groups of sermons must clearly be considered as already fixed unities. This is true for the two sermons in honor of the Archangel Michael that appear again in this collection in the same order as in *M*. It is also true for the first three sermons for Dedication, which were taken over from *M* but rearranged to fit the connection with the newly introduced group for the First Sunday of November.

On the other hand, *Ar* shows that the connection between the first two sermons for All Saints, both of which belonged to *M*, did not comprise a similarly fixed group. OS 2 is now joined with two new texts that in the final edition, *Pf*, will end up as OS 3 and 4. These three texts now form a new unity. As to the link between the different groups, the sermons for the First Sunday of November and those for the Dedication of a Church must be taken together. This seems the logical way to explain the rearrangement of these sermons in *Ar*.²⁶

²⁶ As to the texts that separate Mich 1 and 2 from OS 2–4, it is hard to say whether they continue any line of liturgical thinking. The manuscript requires more careful study of the principles of its organization.

Bernard takes care to provide a close thematic unity in this new grouping of three sermons for All Saints. The focus in OS 2 on the peace and rest enjoyed by the saints recurs in both of the new texts (OS 3 and 4), which so closely follow OS 2 that they seem the result of one continuous succession of sermons. Both of these sermons open with a reference to the preceding sermon at the point at which it broke off. OS 2 and 3 even end by announcing a follow-up of the subject in a succeeding sermon. Given the appearance of OS 2 alone in the earlier collection M, it seems plausible that Bernard is evoking the connection here for literary and stylistic reasons. In any case it seems clear that he considered OS 2–4 to be a unity, developing the central theme of saintly rest in the Lord in accord with the way he originally treated it in OS 2 alone.

OS 2 considers the saintly rest first of all from the perspective of living humans. As life on earth is a battle and a continuous warfare, the saints' rest may be considered remuneration for the victory they brought home from their strife. For this reason, it is worth remembering them in reading and writing so that living men and women may realize the state these holy souls enjoy.

OS 3 continues on this theme, developing the saints' three states of being, linked to three states of the church. In the last state, the church will consist of souls without the slightest wrinkle, so as to be able to follow the Lamb wherever he goes. The Lamb, indeed, goes to the rest of the Lord, but only in the future, at the end of time. Until that moment the saints enjoy another rest, under the altar of the Apocalypse.

Bernard postpones his discussion of the meaning of the altar and the saints' resting underneath to OS 4. Here he distinguishes three states of death. Before the birth of Christ, all, just and unjust alike, were condemned to darkness and pain. The just experienced this death as the pain of desire and longing, figured by Abraham's bosom. Since Christ died for mankind, the just rest beneath the altar, that is, they repose in joy under the human nature of Christ. As soon as he returns, they will be exalted above the altar, where they may contemplate his glory.

Bernard then jumps to the three visions of God that humans may enjoy even now: seeing him in all creatures, possessing him in oneself, and knowing him in himself. From this threefold vision he deduces

a sevenfold beatitude, consisting of three beatitudes of the soul that result from holding God in oneself and the four of the body, which result from the vision of the outside world.

The three sermons for All Saints thus show a clear and ongoing reflection, leading from the saints' rest by way of the church's rest to the rest in death that one achieves in a threefold vision of God. From here the sermon returns to the sevenfold beatitude of living humans. The rest that the saints enjoy "under the altar" is attainable for all persons who consider God in themselves and in the world around. Not unlike the way Bernard treats of the saints in the other two collections, he here portrays holiness as a coherence of contradictions. Humans will come to know the saints' rest in the middle of their life struggles. Even while in the place of unrest, people's vision of the world around and inside themselves opens to them the delight that the holy souls enjoy in their vision of God.

The following sermon, OS 4, closes with one of those numerical explications that constitute one of Bernard's strengths in composing sermons. This time it leads to an enumeration of the seven Beatitudes of body and soul. These sermons thus develop the subject differently from the treatment in *M*. There the point of departure was the eight Beatitudes that were the subject of both OS 1 and the older version of *Conv.* OS 2, as a description of the rest of the saints, functioned somehow as the conclusion to both, and the *Sermon on the Mount* laid the foundations for the rest that the holy souls come to enjoy.

This time, the saintly rest has itself become the starting point for an evolution that ends with seven other Beatitudes. Bernard has shifted his focus. Instead of a linear development from Christ's teaching to the reward after death for those able to follow him, now he installs a much more complicated movement, in which the rest itself is less central than the audience's remembering and considering this rest of holy souls. The church becomes an important mediator between the recollection of the saintly rest and the preparation of the resting place under the altar. The sermon reintroduces the architectural image with the altar as the place from where the vision of God can take a new start to send living humanity out into the world again.

The two movements do not exclude each other. Rather, they are complementary. And it can be expected that in the final version of

his liturgical collection Bernard will bring them together in one continuous flow.

Before moving on to the final liturgical series, we still have to learn from manuscript *Ar* something about Bernard's rearrangement of the sermons for the Dedication of a Church. The second, originally independent part of the manuscript, opens with two groups of texts. First come four sermons for the First Sunday of November (1 Nov 1–4). They are immediately followed by the first three sermons for the Dedication in a new order (Ded 3, 1, 2).

The four sermons for the First Sunday of November contain an ongoing but not continuous meditation on the Vision of Isaiah (Isa 6:1–3). The starting point is the Responsory of the day, composed of Isaiah 6:1 and 3: "I saw the Lord seated upon a throne, high and lifted up, and the whole earth was full of his majesty." The last two sermons discuss the intermediate verse, on the two seraphim and their six wings. Sermons 1 Nov 1 and 2 clearly constitute a compositional unity, the first ending with an allusion to the second. Similarly 1 Nov 3 and 4 can be considered a unity, although Bernard does not explicitly draw the link.

Simultaneously, each of the sermons treats an independent topic derived from the biblical text. The first, 1 Nov 1, focuses on the vision itself. First contrasting the vision as described in Isaiah 6 with the one in Isaiah 53, Bernard points out the difference between the shared vision of 53—"We saw him"—and the personal, individual vision of 6: "I saw the Lord." The common vision of Christ is the one of the humble and suffering man on the cross. It is the vision of wintertime, when humans stay below in the winter quarters. It evokes compassion in the just or disdain in the unjust.

But it is granted only to the individual to contemplate the Lord seated upon his throne, to see him in his glory, and to mount up to the summer quarters in his mansion. There that individual may see the Lord upon his throne and wonder from what material it is built: "No material substance seems fit for such a throne, such an occupier. The spiritual structure, which the true and eternal life has chosen for his dwelling place, must be built of living stones" (1 Nov 1.4). Since Lucifer and his followers were expelled from heaven, the number of angels no longer suffices, so humans have to supply the material.

That is why Bernard describes the throne as both *high*, because of the angels, and *lifted up*, because of humankind.

In the second sermon, the topic is the last part of the verse: “the whole earth is full of his majesty” (Isa 6:3). The actual situation where earth and heaven will be filled with his majesty is postponed to the future, when God’s will shall reign everywhere. In order for this state to become true, there must be a reformation of the flesh and its configuration to the spiritual body that is Christ’s body without sins. Now, however, the temple is filled with those who live in humility, while the proud have been thrown out of it, for only the humble, angels and humans, will help to build the throne.

The third sermon takes up this last point and opposes the seraphim standing above the throne (Isa 6:2) to Lucifer and the fallen angels. Bernard takes up the name of Lucifer to demonstrate the failing of the devil: “O unhappy one, you had light, but you had no warmth” (1 Nov 3.1). There is one thing that, like the sun, gives both light and warmth, because the two are substantially united, but there is another, like the moon, that gives light without warmth. The first is the symbol for wisdom and is manifested in John the Baptist, who may be considered the true Lucifer, the true Light-Bearer. The other is the symbol for foolishness, as became manifest in the fall of Lucifer. But unlike Lucifer, the seraphim are stable, not because they are stable in themselves, as is only true for the Trinity, but because they have their stability from God. For that reason they stand instead of sitting, which is the prerogative of the Trinity alone.

1 Nov 4, which is the final sermon of the group in *Ar*, continues the former line of thought. It follows the second verse of Isaiah’s vision in Isaiah 6, speculating about the stability of the seraphim despite their six wings. How can one be stable while flying? Or why should one have wings while remaining in stability? Bernard immediately gives the answer: “For where should the seraphim fly but to him for whom they burn with love? See how a flame flies and stands still at the same time, and you will not find it strange that the seraphim fly while they stand and stand while they fly” (1 Nov 4.1).

Two wings they have with which they fly: the one is the wing of perception, which makes them know, and the other is the wing of devotion, which makes them love. Knowledge without love makes

one fall because of failing in devotion. So too love without knowledge causes one to fall because of the lack of perception.

With two wings the Seraphim cover the head; with two they cover the feet. Humans cannot see to what they were predestined; neither can they see to what they will be called. Beginning and end are hidden. Therefore, they are dependent on the grace bestowed on them. Only in the middle, between beginning and end, do humans notice what is expected of them, so justifying themselves through works of charity and knowledge so that they may through free will collaborate with grace.

This meditation on Isaiah 6:1–3 fits in well with aspects of Bernard's earlier projects. Several elements return: the architectural element in the construction of the throne, the tension between movement and stability, and the connection of angels and humankind. Additionally, the image of Lucifer falling often recurs in Bernard's works, almost always at the opening of a new sequence of thought. All these elements point to the possibility that Bernard has been composing these sermons deliberately to fit into the narrative line he wants to develop in the liturgical series.

In manuscript *Ar* these sermons are followed by the first three sermons for the Dedication of a Church but starting with Ded 3 rather than Ded 1. This sermon is the most military of these texts, setting out all that is needed to protect the House of God against the enemy. As such, it well follows the previous sermon, 1 Nov 4, which ended with the duty of humans to conform themselves to God's grace in order to be justified. As life is a battle, God's house can only be erected (Ded 1 and 2) after one has done everything possible to keep the enemy out, exactly as has been done in the first sermon, Ded 3. Reforming one's life to the life of the saints cannot have another sense.

Crossing the Bridge: Pf

All these different strands finally come to perfection in the final form of the liturgical series, Pf. In comparison to the placement of the entire subgroup in the earlier collections, Pf includes three previ-

ously untreated sermons, only two of which are truly new. The series opens with the Sermon to the Abbots (Abb), a text that appears for the first time in the exegetical part of L. There it belongs to a large group of texts that treat the ascent of the soul. Four of its preceding texts handle the relation between the soul and reason in different ways. Abb itself fits into the following part, which focuses on humility and obedience.

From that position, where it had no liturgical significance, it is now transposed to Pf, where it is incorporated as part of the liturgical year. Several manuscripts mention that this sermon was preached during one of the yearly general chapters at Cîteaux. These normally took place after the Solemnity of the Elevation of the Cross, on September 14, as fits perfectly with this sermon's current position in the collection, between the Nativity of the Virgin (September 9) and the Feast of Saint Michael (September 29).

Yet more interesting than this chronological insertion is the question of why Bernard thought it at all necessary to introduce this sermon into his project. Apparently placing the sermons for Saint Michael immediately after the sermon block for the Virgin, as in M, no longer satisfied him. He wanted something in between, a kind of intermediate text that would break the all too immediate transition from Mary's mediation to that of the angels, putting them somehow on one line.

By inserting the sermons to the abbots into this sequence, Bernard breaks this almost instinctive link. Now the abbots intervene. Their role has to be defined in terms of the celestial mediators between whom they now appear.

Another rupture can be discovered when reading the sermon. While in NatBVM and Mich 1 and 2 the dominating movements are vertical, going up and down between heaven and earth, in Abb the principal movement is horizontal. The text treats the crossing of the "great and wide sea" from Psalm 103, accessible to three groups of humans, equated with Job, Daniel, and Noah.²⁷ Thus Bernard makes a connection to Asspt 3.5, where he mentioned these three in a similar context, alluding to the ark and the crossing of the sea.

²⁷ After Ezek 14:14.

Bernard follows the traditional treatments of these men, equating Job with the laity (here specifying him as a married man), Daniel (referred to as a man of longing) with monks, and Noah with superiors. In this sermon Bernard focuses on the needs of the monks who cross the narrow bridge while he simultaneously preaches to their superiors about how to build the ark that will help them to pass over the sea and to guide the monks entrusted to their care. For each of the three groups must pass “this great and wide sea” in its own way. Married people are bound to take the shallows, “troubled and dangerous though they are, and the path they take is long, for they take no shortcut. Since the way is dangerous, we grieve that many perish on it, and consequently we see very few who complete the journey” (Abb 1). The monks take the “easier and shorter way” of the bridge, which is also the safer way (Abb 2). The superiors in their turn “are not confined to clearly marked bridges or footpaths” (Abb 6). They go down in ships and are free to go wherever they wish in order to meet those in trouble and assist them.

The sermon seems to offer a clear-cut image of horizontal movement, opposing itself to both the verticality of the ladder, with which NatBVM closed, and to the verticality resulting from the meeting of angels and humankind in Mich 1 and 2. But of course reading Bernard is not that easy; a more careful consideration of his sermon offers a rather different insight.

Bernard states that he will not linger on the third category of human life, those living a married life in the world, “as they have little to do with us” (Abb 1). This remark seems obvious, as he was originally preaching the sermon at a general chapter. Yet taking it in merely that sense would obscure the broader implications of these words. Indeed, in spite of being strongly involved in the worldly affairs, Bernard did not leave any works addressed to an audience consisting of “married men.” All his works, his entire pedagogical activity, focus on the groups in society that had not taken or had not yet chosen married life, had not taken the road through the shallows: students (Conv, Gra, Dil), secular clergy (Dil, Csi, VMal), and monks or semimonastic groups (Apo, Hum, Miss, Pre, Tpl). The same is true for his Commentary on the Song of Songs. The only possible exception is his epistolary collection, the final edition of which came into

being during the same period as the last redaction of the liturgical series Pf. Apparently in his letters Bernard wanted to address a lay public. Yet even that wish is not entirely evident.²⁸

Bernard's remark about married men thus seems to have a broader application than just the suggested evocation of the Cistercian chapter. Does he want to exclude the non-celibate reader from his teaching in the liturgical series? But why is he doing so at this point, almost at the end of the liturgical year? Why did he not give a similar warning earlier in the collection? Or is the exclusion only valid for the last part of the year, for the architectural and saintly sermons?

To answer these questions requires returning to the starting point. Abb was only introduced into the liturgical series in Pf, originally not having appeared in any liturgical context. One of the reasons for inserting this text into the collection thus had to do with the final composition, in which the sermons on the saints constituted an entirely new element. Apparently the message of these sermons was not aimed at "the rank of married men," as is obvious, as they focus on bishops, an apostle, and a monk.

But the position of Abb even seems to exclude married men from the architectural sermons that immediately follow. The reason can be found in the placement of this sermon both after the last Marian sermons and before the sermons on the angels. Mary, though Virgin, though Mother of God, was married. The angels are not. In the homilies on the Annunciation, Bernard dwells at length on the historical and moral necessity of Mary's being married (Miss 2.12–16). Bernard's exclusion of married men causes a reconsideration of Mary's role in the entire collection. Her Assumption and Nativity conclude the Marian part. By her elevation Mary is born as the universal and unique mediator between mankind and her Godly Son.

²⁸ As I demonstrated in my forthcoming book chapter, "Voicing your Voice: the Fiction of a Life. Early 12th-Century Letter Collections and the Case of Bernard of Clairvaux," Bernard's purpose in collecting and editing his letters was first of all to give insight to the way a monk could become involved in secular affairs. The corpus shows both the attitude such a monk ought to have vis-à-vis worldly exigencies and the ultimate tragedy of his inevitable failure. Of all Bernard's works, his epistolary corpus most strongly displays a tragic tone that, remarkably, comes close to the one in Abelard's *Historia calamitatum*.

Mary's mediation englobes all humanity, and in this sense she forms the true image of what the church on earth must be: the house for all, for celibate and non-celibate, for clergy and seculars, for sinners and saints. The church must bring the divine water down for each to drink and hold the ladder for each to climb. Mary's Virgin Motherhood encompasses the entire universe.

The angels too have a universal task. But as opposed to the Virgin, their task is not so much to plead for humankind as to offer humans' spiritual sacrifice in praying to God and to bring down again divine grace upon humans. Their vocation is to minister to humans in their relation to God. Theirs is also a celibate existence. Now, inside the church, their task can thus only be fulfilled by the celibate ranks in society, that is, the superiors in the world and in the monastery. They alone are able to restore the heavenly Jerusalem on earth.

Bernard does not really occupy himself with life hereafter. He writes for the living and thus focuses on the needs of men and women on earth. After having by way of his sermons given life to the universal community of true Christians, culminating in Mary's Assumption and Nativity, now he undertakes the arduous task of using his words in order to create God's spiritual ministers on earth, his earthly angels. And so, from now on, the rank of married men has "little to do with us." "We must speak" of those who are destined to offer universal humankind their spiritual service and of those who must guide and form spiritual ministers on earth. "We must speak" of those who take the bridge and the ship and are confined to both the shorter and the freer ways of crossing "this great and wide sea."

The monks have taken the straight way, the bridge of abstinence and continence. It is the shortest and safest road but also the narrow way that leads to life. Bernard's evocation becomes very concrete in painting the bridge over a wild and rough sea, a bridge built of only three planks, with no mention of a rail. One need not have a weak head for heights to start getting dizzy with the idea, especially at the sight of the waves' swelling and washing against the bridge. Lust of the flesh, lust of the eyes, and pride of life assail those walking upon it (Abb 4). Then they have to cling to the planks that make up the bridge: starvation of the body, poverty, and humble obedience (Abb 3). Yet they must continue. They cannot sit down, retreat, or try to

outstrip the one in front. The bridge is too narrow, and they would fall (Abb 2). So the only way to pass safely over is by rushing headlong over the sagging planks above the surging waves, driven only by the desire to reach the other side. Was Daniel not called a *vir desideriorum*, a man of longing? A monk's life is a life of dreaming: while traveling in the world he lives by his longing in the place he desires. This journey makes the monk the ideal minister between humanity and its dream, between each man or woman and God.

Of course, the monk needs guidance to be able to pass lightly over the bridge, and he needs assistance in case he stumbles or hesitates. Those who are to guide and assist him must be free to arrive at the places where their help is needed. They are abroad on the ship that must bring them safe over the sea. "But what ship can be found that can withstand such mighty waves and remain safe in so great a danger?" (Abb 6). And indeed the sea is rough, the waves are surging to frightening heights: "So *they mount up to the heavens, and they descend to the depths*" (Ps 106:26; Abb 6). The ship is tossed between heaven and earth. It is thrown even deeper into the depths of hell (*ad inferos*), because at one moment those abroad treat heavenly themes, and at the next they pass judgment on infernal and horrible deeds (Abb 6). So in order to survive, they need to be driven by pure love. For only love is strong as death, as long as it is made up of *a pure heart and of a good conscience and of faith unfeigned* (1 Tim 1:5).

The horizontal movement of passing over the sea has become floating once again. While the monks still run over the bridge, even if on bouncing planks, the superiors, both the monastic and the secular, see themselves as going up and down more than forward. Though bound to the earth, their task comes close to that of the angels, ministering to the monks by reminding them of both heaven and hell. Thus they invigorate their dream and their longing and make them hasten more securely toward the goal that they desire. Their moving forward depends on the love that reaches from heaven to hell. They will be able to pass over the bridge only thanks to the waves of love.

As a matter of course, the new way in which Bernard ultimately opened the architectural series gives the subsequent sermons an entirely different direction. The ascending and descending movements of angels and humanity in Mich 1–2 are now posed in contrast to

the tossing up and down of the superiors in order to show the correspondence inside the church between the superiors and the angelic rank. The emphasis on discipline as elaborated in Mich 1 and 2 now finds its true and obvious sense within the ecclesiastical or even monastic context.

These sermons are now followed by the sermons for the First Sunday of November, so the theme of the angels continues, both in the treatment of the Throne of God (1 Nov 1–2) and in the meditation on the seraphim (1 Nov 3–4). A new sermon, 1 Nov 5, concludes the entire development. It contains another long meditation on the verses of Isaiah 6:1–3, in which many of the themes of the preceding sermons return while being diversified. This sermon places most of the emphasis on the seraphim, who occupy more than half of the sermon (1 Nov 5.6–12). Once again Bernard describes them in opposition to Lucifer, and now he interprets their wings' concealing of head and feet as a demonstration of the right attitude toward God: veneration and admiration to God's head, voluntary ministry to God's feet. The wrong attitude, exemplified by Lucifer, expresses admiration linked to envy and involuntary ministry.

The reading of the biblical passage is preceded, however, by an introduction meditating on Christ's unity with the Father. Bernard develops this theme by way of the prepositions that can be applied to both persons in the Trinity: Christ's divinity as a union out of (*ex*), with (*cum*), and in (*in*) the Father (1 Nov 5.1); Christ's humanity as a movement from (*a*), for (*pro*), and under (*sub*) the Father (1 Nov 5.3). An unexpected culmination, however, is Bernard's conclusion of this short meditation: "Shall we dare to say that he was ever without the Father? No one would presume to say this if he himself had not first said, *My God, My God, why have you forsaken me?* There was some kind of dereliction there, and there was no show of courage in such tribulation, no demonstration of majesty" (1 Nov 5.3). Even Christ could be without (*sine*) the Father! At the moment of his death, in the utter abandonment of a man having to die, Christ felt the supreme and ultimate loneliness of man deserted by God.

This miserable state becomes the starting point for the new meditation on Isaiah's visions. But even then, as the sermon proceeds with the majesty of God's enthronement, the naked cry of the abandoned

man at the cross shivers through the heavenly vision and brings about a bizarre and somehow shocking assimilation of the images of Christ and of Lucifer. Both are presented as deserted by God. Both remain alone and cut off from the vision of God's splendor.

Yet an abyss separates them. Christ is abandoned out of love and because of his own voluntary choice to submit himself to divine justice. Lucifer's abandonment is due to his envy and arrogance, to his eternal revolt against divine order. The Son of God restored the universal harmony, creating the community of Christians in their loving ministry to God. He opened the way to elevate humans into the angelic ranks. The first angel, however, refused to serve the original unity and thereafter put all his efforts into destroying the universal community of God, angels and humankind.

While *Mich 1 and 2* conclude with the inner unity of humankind, the sermons for the First Sunday of November end in the fearful tensions that threaten to disrupt all coherence inside the community of humans, of angels, of the monks who have to cross the bridge. These tensions toss them up and down between the humility and the humiliation of the suffering and lonely but divine Christ and the arrogant complacency of the rebelling Lucifer, banished to Hell. The monastery becomes in a small way the mirror of universal success and failure.

But Bernard's pedagogy is directed toward success, and that is attainable only when his teaching is based on Christ. Those who come closest to the angelic state are the saints. Thus the ultimate goal of spiritual doctrine must be the community of saints. For this reason the meditation on Isaiah's vision of God must be followed by the sermons for All Saints instead of being preceded by them. All five of them are now united for the first time, leading to a marvelous circular movement.

Thanks to the teaching of the Word, humans know how to attain the state of holiness by way of the Beatitudes (OS 1). The rest that the saints enjoy can only be the result of strife and struggle to conquer the truth of the Word (OS 2–3). Yet only in this quiet will humans enjoy the vision of God, by remembering the saints and what awaits (OS 4). This vision leads the mind back to the seven Beatitudes, which kindle desire as the motor of memory. And only in memory can the unity of Christ's Body be enjoyed on earth (OS 5).

The Dedication sermons incorporate the unity of Christ's Body into the community of the church. The celestial edifice is built and consecrated (Ded 1), built as the inner temple (Ded 2), fortified and defended (Ded 3), sanctified (Ded 4), and unified in spite of all contradictions (Ded 5). As such, the community becomes the House of God, his temple, celestial city, and bride. Bernard concludes the Dedication series and thus the entire block of architectural sermons with one short sermon on the vision of Jacob (Gen 28:12), recalling that the patriarch saw the angels ascending and descending the ladder, at the top of which he saw the Lord bending forward. This sight provoked in him the terrified cry, *Truly the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not: "How frightful is this place, how evident and certain that the Lord is in this place, where not only two or three but a great multitude is gathered together and perseveres in his name! Let no one be unaware; let none of you be ignorant"* (Ded 6.1). Bernard is not speaking of Jacob's Bethel. Rather, God is present where a multitude is gathered in a common will, with a common purpose, in a spirit of unity. God is present in the monastic community but as well in the community that is created by his sermons, created in his words.

But how can one ignore that God is present? Is he not everywhere, "in every place, embracing all things and disposing all things" (Ded 6.2)? He is, Bernard declares, but in that place he truly is and truly as the Lord "where in his name angels and humans gather together" (Ded 6.2). In that place he is, and for that reason we say, "Our father who art in heaven." For "he may show himself as present there in some other way that is particularly his own—though not because he himself is different, but because each one distinguishes different things" (Ded 6.2).

The place where angels and humans gather is the place of the heavens, where God shows himself as he is. That place, however, is situated in the longing of the monk. It lies in the desire that makes him join the saints who already see God present. God is in the dream of the monk, absent to his bodily eyes but present to the eyes of memory, to the eyes of loving desire. There God manifests himself in hiding to the impious, in truth to the righteous, in happiness to the angels, in brutality to those below. God is all—not to all, but he is what human longing calls him to be: "For where he makes it rain on the just and on the unjust, he is our father and the father of mercies,

hoping for people to repent. When he condemns the stiff-necked, he is judge, and *It is dreadful to fall into the hands of the living God*. Where he takes his rest, he is spouse, and happy is the soul whom he takes into his chamber” (Ded 6.2).

God can thus only be true in that place where he is served “*in spirit and in truth*” (Ded 6.3). For only there can he be truly what he is, Spirit and Truth. How can he be with those who do not fulfill what he says? There he must by necessity be absent as he is and manifest himself only in hiding himself, until the day when this terrifying Truth manifests itself in the eternal abandonment of humans buried in darkness.

Truly, the Lord is in this place, and we know it not. Yet present he is, even when absent to our eyes or to the heart. He is where he has built the house and where he mounts the guard. And how else could humans support and persevere when they do not dwell in the house that God has built and that he guards? “What, then? In what way ought we to be here, in such great reverence standing in the very place where God is, working and serving, and where the angels are, ascending and descending? Clearly, it behoves us to be penitent and expectant” (Ded 6.3).

Penitence and expectance! On the one side, forgetting what lies behind, ignoring, condemning, and thinking over those years past with bitterness—not looking backward, but feeling pushed by the desire to leave it all behind. On the other side, in our thoughts and yearning stretching forward to what lies ahead, fleeing forward in desire, and being stimulated by the urge to depart from where we come, “we have come to this place; here we stand fast” (Ded 6.3). We are on the bridge, hovering over “the great and wide sea,” pushed along and carried only by three shaky planks and by our desire to reach the place of our longing. And our only guarantee of that place is the love of him whose words mount and descend, whose images paint heaven and hell, who places us where he is himself: in between all, lost and safe over “the great and wide sea” that is in the House of the Lord.

SIMILIS NOBIS PASSIBILIS: DEATH, WHERE IS YOUR VICTORY?

A final group of seven sermons remains to close the liturgical year. Three of them treat saintly bishops: Saint Martin (Mart), Saint Clement

(Clem), and Saint Malachy (Mal). Three of them deal with the Apostle Andrew (VAnd, And 1–2), and the last one is a sermon to the memory of Humbert, former abbot of Igny (Humb). None of these is linked to any of the greater solemnities during which the abbot was expected to preach according to the Cistercian statutes.²⁹ Worse, twice they concern the memory of the defunct (Mal, Humb), and the statutes even forbade preaching in annual commemoration of the dead.³⁰

Bernard thus once again takes all the liberty he needs as a writer to construct the series according to his personal aims. That this time his decision to incorporate these sermons is less evident than in the preceding parts of the corpus may be indicated by the fact that only one of these seven sermons appears in an earlier collection: the sermon to the memory of Humbert is already present in L^B. All the others appear for the first time in the final liturgical series Pf. Only this final collection can thus give the necessary cues for correctly interpreting these sermons.

As has been noted above, Pf is divided into four groups. Each opens with some sermons that are directly or indirectly connected to the Virgin, and each closes with a human concretization of the central theme. Thus the first group of the Christmas season opens with the sermons for Advent (Adv 1–7), which are internally closely related to the four Homilies to the Praise of the Mother-Virgin, and closes with the sermon on the Conversion of Saint Paul. The central theme of this group is insight and conversion. The second group, the sermons for Lent, starts with the sermons for the Purification, closes with the sermon on Saint Benedict, and treats the inner labor required to purify one's conscience. Both groups contain exactly twenty-

²⁹ See Danièle Choisselet and Placide Vernet, eds., *Les Ecclesiastica officia cisterciens du XII^{ème} siècle*, La documentation cistercienne 22 (Reiningue: Abbey d'Oelenberg, 1989), 190, chap. 67; Marielle Lamy, "Introduction," in *Bernard de Clairvaux: Sermons pour l'année I.1: Avent et Vigile de Noël*, SCh 480 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2004), 27. See also my remarks in the introduction to *Sermons for Advent and the Christmas Season*, CS 51: xv–xvii.

³⁰ *Ecclesiastica Officia Cisterciensis Ordinis according to Cod. 1711 Trente*, ed. Bruno Griesser, ASOC 12 (1956): 253–88: chap. (XC) LXVII: *In his etiam diebus, excepto commemoratione defunctorum, et in dominica prima adventus domini et in dominica palmarum habeantur sermones in capitulo.*

nine sermons. The third unit, containing the Easter and Summer sermons, contains thirty-six sermons, opening with the sermons for the Annunciation and closing with the Harvest Sermons. It focuses on preaching the Word as the spiritual equivalent of agricultural labor, of sowing and harvesting.

The final unit of thirty-four sermons is no exception to this general structure. The sermons on the Virgin's Assumption and Nativity open it, and the sermon on Humbert forms its conclusion. Both show that the central theme here is death and its defeat. Just as Mary's Assumption implies her Nativity, which makes possible the Annunciation, so Humbert's death is actually a victory over death, because Humbert died to gain eternal life. In the sermon, Bernard addresses death and cries out,

It is only the flesh you have taken; you have no power over the soul. It flies to its Creator, whom it had desired so ardently and followed so faithfully all the days of its life. That very body that you think you possess will be taken from you, but when you, the last enemy, have been destroyed, then you too will be swallowed up in victory. You will give it back, without a doubt; one day you will give back that body that yesterday, greatly rejoicing and applauding, you entangled in your nets, that as the sign of your arrival you filled with spittle and curses, with squalor and dirt. The Only-begotten of the Father will come with great power and glory to seek Humbert and to configure this cadaver to the body of his brilliance. But what of you? Assuredly, as it is written in Jeremiah, at the end of days you will still be foolish; while Humbert goes on living eternally, you will go on dying. (Humb 1)

Yet the sequence of seven sermons focusing on saints and humans also gives a human conclusion to the entire collection. As such it echoes the seven sermons for Advent. As these elaborated the desire for the Word to be born, now once again desire is central in the movement of the sermons, notably in those on Saint Andrew, but it is the human desire for eternal rebirth in death. Waiting and longing for the life of the New Man has become in the end a waiting and longing for the New Life of humankind.

The seven sermons on the saints thus constitute the final concretization of Bernard's message within his liturgical sermons as a whole.

Humans can only enjoy eternal life and glory thanks to the Word as it was born in Christmas, as it lived its life of patience and endurance, as it died at Easter in order to be sown by the Spirit in those who must labor in the soil, that is, who are preaching the Word. And this preaching must be like the sowing of the Word, so that the harvest will come when humankind is elevated and fertilized by the Word, becoming part of the House of God, worthy to replace the fallen angels and thus by death entering into the Glory of God.

These final sermons complete one of the three elementary readings as we distinguished them from the outset. The liturgical year stands for the life of humankind, for its linear evolution from the time of conception and expectation to the moment of death and transition. It contains the one-way narrative of earthly human life with no possibility of return. It starts with the state of happy expectancy, where all is waiting for the future newborn. It concludes where humankind's terrestrial journey must by necessity find its end, in the decaying corpse, the *cadaverosum corpus* (Humb 1).

But one's earthly and material life incorporates a second story, the spiritual narrative of the Word that wants to be born and live in humankind. As such, it starts with the desire to see the spiritual birth in men and women when they have conceived the Word. As soon as it is born in them, they will turn away from worldly occupation. As they see the futility of the world, a desire will be born in them for more lasting goods of a less material substance. In the end this desire leads to their conversion, when they place themselves under the guidance of a spiritual guide.

First, their new life will leave them blinded, as reason almost revolts against the idea that God could be found in a similar life of misery. But reason wins insight by a long process of purification until the old man dies and a new life in the Spirit can take its start. Reason now directs will into preaching to others, into the spiritual fertility of sowing the Word in the souls of others. The former disciple has become a teacher and a guide. The Bride did become a Virgin Mother.

By way of learning and teaching, thanks to word and deed, spiritual people can be elevated in order to conceive and be fruitful, giving birth to the Word in others. Then they become active builders, co-architects of the House of God that is constituted by the commu-

nity of those united in the Word. This is Jerusalem, the true one, the heavenly one.³¹ Here a place is constructed where heaven is built on earth, “where God is, working and serving, and where the angels are, ascending and descending” (Ded 6.3). This place of community united in the Word is a place of shared and purified memory. The House of God is a house of desire and is built in memory. Its stones are the living stones of the saints. Commemoration of the saints, of the apostles, of the dead who have been close to us helps us to build the House of Memory and to enkindle in us the desire for God.

The seven concluding sermons thus form a kind of recapitulation of the entire development of the liturgical collection. They round off humans’ spiritual growth by offering them the stones they need in order to finish their divine architecture and to receive God in the house of their memory. As such, these sermons also form the natural continuation within the architectural unit that began with the sermons on the Assumption and continued through the sermons for the Angels, for All Saints, and for the Dedication of a Church. Memory is erected in the saints who offer men and women the living stones to build their house of desire. A purified memory will arouse their desire to join the saints who already enjoy the divine vision. It will give them the wings to cross the bridge in security and speed.

But a purified memory will also help to construct the union of community. In Bernard’s sermons the saints offer the fundamental moral building stones to assure the coherence of a spiritual body. Bernard presents Saint Martin as a shining example of obedience and Saint Clement as an image of endurance, patience, and perseverance. Saint Andrew is a living flame of desire, longing to embrace the cross: “Brothers, this is flashing fire! It is not a talking tongue, or if it is a tongue, it is certainly fiery—coals of that fire that Christ sent down from heaven to the martyr’s bones” (VAnd 3).

But most important, the saints are human, like us:

³¹ See Bernard’s famous Letter 64 to the bishop of Lincoln about his canon Philip, who made the choice to stay in Clairvaux instead of finishing the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, as he had promised his superior to do. For a fine interpretation of this passage, see Marinus Burcht Pranger, *Bernard of Clairvaux and the Shape of Monastic Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 32–35.

I ask you, my brothers, is it a man who speaks thus? Or is it an angel or some other creature? He is a man like us, subject to suffering. Truly his passion proves that he is subject to suffering, yet when it is near he exults with great joy. When was there such unheard-of exultation, such strange joy, in a human? When was there such constancy in such weakness? When was there such a spiritual mind in a human, such burning charity, such strength of mind? Let us never imagine that such valor had its origin in him alone. It was a gift, the work of God, coming down from the Father of lights, from him *who alone does great marvels*. (And 2.3)

For a human being may protest that angels have it easy being obedient to God. They enjoy “perfect beatitude, eternal glory, and the highest pleasure” (Mart 7). As to the patriarchs or apostles, either they enjoyed different visions of God or they even enjoyed his physical presence: “What would I not have done if an opportunity like that had been presented to me! But *he has not dealt so with all the nations*, either before or since” (Mart 8). For that reason Bernard brings in Saint Martin and Saint Clement. Both were men, like each of us who is listening or reading: *a man like us, subject to suffering* (Mart 9, Clem 3, VAnd 3, And 1.3):

For today he is seen like us in all things, endowed with feeling and subject to suffering. He lived long after the times of the visions of patriarchs and prophets. He was pure human being, having nothing of the divine nature but believing in one whom he had not seen, full of the fruit of obedience, and rich in virtues. He forsook earth and strove after heaven, entrusting to earth what he had from earth and directing his spirit to the Father of spirits, whom he served faithfully in the spirit of adoption. He was not a heavenly body, nor was he a heavenly spirit. He was a rational animal, a mortal, an earth-dweller, a son of man. He was born on earth, brought up on earth, on earth trained and tested, on earth, too, accomplished. He was not a patriarch or one of the prophets, of whom Truth in the gospel said *the law and the prophets were until John*. He was not by any means Christ, though without a doubt Christ was in him by faith and faith alone. (Mart 9)

For that same reason, the sermons on saints and apostles from ancient times are followed by sermons on contemporaries, on people

even more human than those ancient heroes. Malachy was human, Humbert even all too human. But even they help to construe memory, help to arouse in us the flame of desire, the flame of longing for the other side of the bridge that we have to cross, moving forward with no return.

Linear reading, however, is only one of the elementary ways in which one can approach Bernard's liturgical collection, and not the most essential one. Indeed the concluding sermons also offer a key for the other two readings. As far as the circular reading is concerned, these sermons must be considered, strangely enough, in the linear succession of the liturgical year.

In fact, the beginning and end of the collection overlap. Originally, the time of Advent numbered forty days of fasting. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the time was reduced to four weeks. Thus originally both the solemnity for Saint Andrew (November 30) and the commemoration of Humbert (December 7) fell within Advent, and the chance was great that the solemnity of Saint Clement (November 23) would also occur during Advent. At least four of these seven sermons thus had to be read during Advent and in a certain sense as though parallel to the sermons for Advent.

In both the sermons for Advent and those for Saint Andrew, desire is the central element. In the Advent sermons the longing goes out to the Word, which desires to be born again in the world. Saint Andrew's desire embraces death as the long-aspired-for union with Andrew's Lord and Master. Longing for death thus overlaps with the longing for life. Moreover, after the death of both Saint Andrew and Humbert, the Word is born, and the cycle of life takes another turn. Spiritual life is only possible thanks to the desire to die for the world. Inversely, death can only result in new birth.

In that sense, the entire cycle repeats what was demonstrated in the group of sermons dedicated to the Virgin, in her Assumption and her Nativity. Mary was only born after her Assumption, i.e., after she died. For the same reason, the true Christmas can only be the result of Easter. Death, as long as it is an elevation of life, can only give new life to the Word. The deaths of both Saint Andrew and of Humbert cannot be the end of life. On the contrary, they overlap with the period of happy expectancy, looking forward to the newborn Word in

another soul. The cycle restarts, life leading to death but only when in death new life arises. The resurrection of Humbert's decaying body is not the only topic here but also the birth of the Word, the birth of spiritual life in a newborn soul. Linearity is turned into a curve. Human life starts to become cyclical and spiral, continuing both in heaven with the saints and on earth with the living.

Bernard strengthens this experience of a cyclical reading, of the intersection of different moments in time, with his technique of mixing liturgical references. The most obvious example occurs in the sermon for Saint Clement as he focuses on the three types of water with which the jars are filled at the Wedding of Cana. Bernard already treated these three jars in the first sermon for the first Sunday after Epiphany, focusing there on the number and measure of the jars. Now he draws attention to the water with which they have to be filled.

Between then and now lies almost the entire liturgical year, or ninety-nine sermons that had to prepare the jars, Bernard's readers, for the water that must fill them. Once filled with water, they are ready to undergo the miracle that changes the water into wine. But that is possible only after Christmas, as it contains the first sign the Word will fulfill when he has become alive. The solemnity of Saint Clement by necessity must at great distance follow the preparation of the jars at Epiphany. But the miracle of Epiphany is only possible after the fulfilment of the sermon on Saint Clement: "No one reaches the top in an instant; the top of the ladder is reached by climbing, not by flying. Let us climb, therefore, as it were with two feet: meditation and prayer. Meditation teaches us what is lacking; prayer takes care that it is not lacking. The one shows the way; the other takes you along it. By meditation we learn the dangers that threaten us; by prayer we avoid them, by the help of our Lord Jesus Christ" (And 1.10).

Humankind cannot fly over the years, cannot reach heaven in one step. Desire may give wings, but the body is heavy and trails behind.³²

³² See Bernard's evocation of his own progress in his treatise on humility: flying in words and spirit through the superior heavens while actually limping behind with lazy feet (*Liber de gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*, SBOp 3:24–26).

The jars must be prepared before they can be filled with water. And they must be filled with water before the miracle can take place. Year after year the water has to be renewed, the jars restored and refilled, waiting for the miracle to take place. Patience and endurance are the building stones offered to the soul in the sermon on Saint Clement. Meditation and prayer will help one to persevere, to sustain the martyrdom of every day: “But what is your struggle, my brothers? Every day suggestions enter your heart: Break your rule! Murmur! Malign people! Slack off! Pretend to be sick! To satisfy your feelings, answer back to someone who might have spoken harshly! But no one is told, ‘If you don’t do it, you will die!’ Yet only with difficulty and labor will you make a firm stand against them in your soul” (Clem 4). Humans die every day, and the Word must be born in them every day. The entire liturgical cycle never comes to an end. It takes its start right here and now when it comes to its end. And its only purpose is to make men and women conscious that the cycle is no closed circle, but it moves them in a spiral, forward along the bridge.

Both the temporal reading in its linearity and the reading according to nature and liturgy with their returning seasons and festivities are confirmed by the final sermons in the collection. The truly divine reading, however, was the punctual one, because for God there is no time past, present, or future. Time is one, and in God’s traces Bernard as the supreme organizer of his liturgical year has the right and the power to mix temporal succession according to his own spiritual insights. For God, the liturgical year has no extension. Easter overlaps with Christmas, because only he who descends can ascend again. Christ’s Death is his Birth, just as Mary’s Assumption is her Nativity, as well as being the moment of the Annunciation. But to have a good grip on this aspect of reading in the final sermons, it is illuminating to have a closer look at the one sermon with a clear temporal history.

Humb, “On the Death of Master Humbert,” appears for the first time in the final, liturgical part of L, where it is the penultimate text. It follows Ded 4, Ded 5, OS 5, and a text that ended up among the sermons *De diversis* (Div 16). And following it comes Div 90. The movement thus goes from the sanctification of the House of God, bringing into harmony the contradictions in humans as the recipients of the House of God, to the unity between the saints and the

living, thanks to the desire of those who are still on their way. Div 16 is dedicated to Saint Andrew but focuses on spiritual progress from the natural good, by way of the spiritual good, to the eternal good. Humb appears as a sequel to and exemplum of this route of spiritual elevation.

Div 90 treats the three ointments of Scripture. The first was intended for Christ's feet—pity and justice—and the second for Christ's head. Mary the sinner used both to obtain justification.³³ The third ointment was prepared for Christ's body and was made through the love for the living Christ; for that reason, it could not be wasted on the dead. The text ends with Christ's Resurrection.

So originally Humb was not meant to conclude the liturgical development. The death of Humbert ought to be read against the background of Christ's resurrection as an image for the general resurrection into eternal life, but Bernard did not maintain this plan. Instead, he chose Humb to conclude the sermons, so ending the liturgical year with one man's death. Even when the sermon evokes the ultimate defeat of death, the last image is that of a dying man, of humankind in the claws of death.

Some other elements, however, urge adaptation of this interpretation. First, there is a double Cistercian tradition as to Humbert's day of death. Almost consistently it is given in later sources as December 7, as conforms well to Bernard's liturgical chronology.³⁴ An independent tradition also exists, however, of September 7 as the day of his death.³⁵ Now a scribal error taking XII for IX (or *decembris* for *septembris*) is always possible. But one could imagine that a scribe who knew where the sermon was located in the collection was astonished to read that Humbert had died three months before and so

³³ See Luke 7:37–38.

³⁴ See Elphège Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard abbé de Clairvaux*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1895), 2:392n1 (404n1 in the 1927 ed.), for the reference, notably the twelfth-/thirteenth-century MS 401 from the municipal library of Troyes.

³⁵ See Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard*, 2:392n1 (404n1 in the 1927 ed.); Gerhard Winkler, *Bernhard von Clairvaux*, 8:26. Vacandard quotes the edition of the *Fasciculus Sanctorum Ordinis Cisterciensis* (Brussels, 1623) by Henriquez, fragments of which are published in PL 185:1559–60, and the *Menologium Cisterciense* (1630).

took the date of September to be an error. This disagreement about dates provides another indication of Bernard's adapting historical reality to his narrative purposes.

This conjecture is strengthened by another adaptation Bernard irrefutably made. Malachy died during the night of All Souls (November 2). His commemoration date was first set for November 3, then later for November 5.³⁶ Within the collection, however, the sermon for his commemoration appears after the solemnity of Saint Clement (November 23) and before the Vigil of Saint Andrew (November 29). Bernard consciously transposed the sermon (and thus the date of Malachy's commemoration) to a place that fit better in his overall plan. Malachy could not precede Saint Martin or Saint Clement; he had to follow them to show that while the heroic time of the first martyrs was not complete, saintliness was still possible.

For the same reason Humbert could not precede Saint Andrew in the collection but had to follow him. His commemoration had to be the coronation of the sermons on desire that characterized those of Saint Andrew. Bernard shows Humbert's death too as a death of desire:

Look, most sweet father: he is before your eyes, that fount of purity for whom you thirsted with such intensity of spirit. See, you are plunged into that depth of godly goodness, the memory of whose abundant sweetness you were accustomed so devotedly to bring forth! When did you ever speak words that did not resonate with true purity, or in which the holy goodness of God was not heard? Therefore I do not grieve for you, Humbert, for God gave you your heart's desire. Rather, I grieve for myself that your sweet counsel has been taken away, your great help, a man of sympathetic mind, one after my own heart. (Humb 6)

Humbert was a man of desire—perhaps not at the same height as Saint Andrew, but on a more human level, a level closer to those who

³⁶ David Hugh Farmer, "Malachy," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 257–59, esp. 258. Also Jean Leclercq, "Documents on the Cult of St. Malachy," *Seanchas Ardmhacha (Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society)* 3 (1959): 318–32; reprinted in *Recueil* 2:131–48, esp. 131 and 142–43.

read and listen. Saint Andrew may have been *a man like us, subject to suffering*; the joy he felt when approaching his martyrdom makes Bernard rightly ask, “I ask you, my brothers, is it a man who speaks thus? Or is it an angel or some other creature?” (And 2.3).

Humbert, however, is truly human, all too human. He died as humans die, not in a heroic way. Apparently he had suffered during his whole life from epilepsy, and death awakened the illness of his body: “That very body . . . that as a sign of your arrival you filled with spittle and curses, with squalor and dirt” (Humb 1). Humbert lived a human life, obedient but also recalcitrant:

He would have made it a rule always to drink water if I had not strenuously dissuaded him. If ever he was forced to drink wine, he diluted it so much that it was wine more in color than in taste. He scarcely ever entered the infirmary, and then only when compelled by obedience, and when he did enter it, he could scarcely be kept there. I confess that the insufficient obedience in this respect was because his great authority overwhelmed me. Am I to praise him? I do not praise him in this, because, as you know, he persisted too obstinately in this kind of thing. (Humb 4)

In spite of all this, Bernard chose to make his sermon for Humbert overlap with the period of longing for the newborn Word of eternal Life. Humbert’s all-too-human life and death becomes the cradle for the Word Incarnate, exactly because of its all-too-human humanity. Did death make Humbert spit and curse? Did it fill his body with squalor and dirt? Now just that is the humanity to which the Word has lowered itself. God lies in a cradle. He cries and weeps in the squalor of a trough. His diapers become dirty, and his mother must give him her breast. For that is humanity. Who would ever recognize God in the babe “wrapped in swaddling clothes” (Epi 2.4)? And who would ever recognize him pierced by nails, hanging on the cross? But he can be recognized in the dying Humbert, in his “spittle and curses,” in his decaying corpse. For out of this death the Word is born again, new and eternal: “Death, where is your victory?” As was true with Malachy, “Death struck against life, but life came to grips with death and was swallowed up in life” (Mal 3).

The cyclical reading of the liturgical year obliges us to see the overlap of Humbert's death with the newborn Word. It forces us to identify Humbert's decaying corpse with the crying child in its dirty diapers, to see the spittle of death on the lips of the baby, to understand the unity of death and life. Not that a human is born to die: each is born as he dies. Death is swallowed up in life. In the Word of God, there is no longer any place for death. For in the Spirit of God, there is also no place for time.

Bernard began many of his sermons with the exhortation to celebrate today (*celebrare hodie*). The little word *hodie* often also indicates the start of a new subunit, a new movement within the overall progress. In these last seven sermons, however, it appears in almost each one, alternating with the concept of every day (*quotidie*). Moreover, for the first time, Bernard takes the opportunity to explain his concept of today:

And now in the same way *the word is near you, in your heart and in your ear*, if only you seek him with an upright heart. Indeed this is the apostle's interpretation of what Moses said: this is the *word of faith*. And the same apostle says in another place, *Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today, and forever*. *Yesterday* refers to the time from the beginning to the Ascension of the Lord, *today* from now to the end of the world, and again *tomorrow* is eternity, after the common resurrection. Christ is not absent from any of these; from none is Jesus absent, from none is anointing absent, from none salvation. (Mart 10)

Today is the historical time from Christ's Ascension to the end of time. It is the liturgical time from the solemnity of his Ascension to the end of the liturgical year, Humbert's death. It is the present, taken from a divine perspective: the *quotidie hodiernum*, that is, today's every day. It is the present, also taken from the reader's perspective: the *celebrare hodie*, the today of every day's celebration. And to celebrate every day's today signifies the call to strive every day for Christ's presence, for being anointed in every day's today, and for enjoying salvation in every day's today.

"Today, brothers, we celebrate the beginning of Advent" (Adv 1.1). For "Today you are seated at the rich man's table; *consider carefully*

what is put before you" (Mart 12). At the end of the liturgical reading, Bernard's words have attempted to fill our memory with images of the Word. Now our reading can begin again, now not with words but in deeds:

I myself know that it is hard for someone who is negligent to embrace discipline, for a talkative person, silence, for one who is used to going here and there, stability; but it will be harder, much harder, to bear those future troubles. And as I myself have always known, that person who is buried here endured many temptations of this kind at first, but he fought bravely and was victorious. Then it was hard for him to maintain the fight in the midst of temptations; afterward, though, it would have been harder for him to return to those frivolities, because good habits had become natural to him. (Humb 8)

Bernard's liturgical sermons in the end have little to do with pure liturgy. They constitute a school of discipline, a school of meditation and perseverance, an effort to offer support in every day's struggle to make a school of every day's today, a day of the Word, a day of the entire liturgical year. In short, Bernard offers his readers a way to make every day's today a day of living Liturgy.

Editor's Note and Acknowledgments

This final volume of Bernard's Liturgical Sermons has been a long time coming. The task of digitizing Sr. Irene Edmonds's original translation of the sermons, updating her text, and preparing two indices of all four volumes has required the efforts of a number of people, not all of whom I can name here. I would like to express my special gratitude, though, to David Smith, who entered a great many of Sr. Irene's faded typescripts for this volume into the computer; Fr. Mark Scott, OCSO, who did most of the necessary revising and correcting of the thirty-seven sermons in this volume; and Br. Lawrence Jenny, OCSO, and Br. Placid Mokris, OCSO, who indexed the sermons in the four books. Compiling indices of 111 sermons published over twenty-four years in four volumes by two translators and three editors was an enormous job; I am deeply indebted to both Br. Lawrence and Br. Placid. I also received valuable assistance from Elana Harnish, Brian McGuire, Zander Meyers, Megan Milano, Emily Stuckey, and especially Barbara Grueser. I cannot say how grateful I am to all of them.

Finally, I want to thank Prof. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, of Harvard University, and Prof. Wim Verbaal, of the University of Ghent, for their brilliant introductions to the four Cistercian Publications volumes of Bernard's Liturgical Sermons (CF 51, 52, 53, 54). Having translated the nineteen sermons in *Sermons for the Summer Season* in 1991, Prof. Kienzle used her introduction to discuss the sermons' manuscript tradition and Bernard's method of composition; Professor Verbaal expanded both discussions in his introductions to the other three volumes. Between the two of them, they have greatly contributed to all of us through their illuminating discussions of Bernard's meticulous and thoughtful shaping of these sermons, revealing the attention Bernard gave to creating a whole thing out of a year's round of sermons.

Abbreviations

BIBLICAL BOOKS AND APOCRYPHA

In the sermons, direct scriptural quotations, even with minor variations from the Vulgate text, are italicized. Scriptural phrases and allusions that are not quoted verbatim are noted but not italicized. Psalms are cited according to the Vulgate numbering.

Gen	Genesis	Song	Song of Songs
Exod	Exodus	Wis	Wisdom
Lev	Leviticus	Sir	Sirac (Ecclesiasticus)
Num	Numbers	Isa	Isaiah
Deut	Deuteronomy	Jer	Jeremiah
Josh	Joshua	Lam	Lamentations
Judg	Judges	Bar	Baruch
1 Sam	1st Samuel	Ezek	Ezekiel
2 Sam	2d Samuel	Dan	Daniel
1 Kgs	1st Kings	Hos	Hosea
2 Kgs	2d Kings	Joel	Joel
1 Chr	1st Chronicles	Amos	Amos
2 Chr	2d Chronicles	Jonah	Jonah
Ezra	Ezra	Mic	Micah
Neh	Nehemiah (2 Esdras)	Nah	Nahum
Tob	Tobit	Hab	Habbakuk
Jdt	Judith	Zeph	Zephaniah
Esth	Esther	Hag	Haggai
Job	Job	Zech	Zechariah
Ps(s)	Psalms(s)	Mal	Malachi
Prov	Proverbs	Sus	Susanna
Eccl	Ecclesiastes	1 Macc	1st Maccabees

Matt	Matthew	1 Tim	1st Timothy
Mark	Mark	Titus	Titus
Luke	Luke	Phlm	Philemon
John	John	Heb	Hebrews
Acts	Acts	Jas	James
Rom	Romans	1 Pet	1st Peter
1 Cor	1st Corinthians	2 Pet	2d Peter
2 Cor	2d Corinthians	1 John	1st John
Gal	Galatians	2 John	2d John
Eph	Ephesians	3 John	3d John
Phil	Philippians	Jude	Jude
Col	Colossians	Rev	Revelation
1 Thess	1st Thessalonians	LXX	Septuagint
2 Thess	2nd Thessalonians	VL	<i>Vetus Latina</i>

SERIES AND WORKS

CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CF	Cistercian Fathers series
CS	Cistercian Studies series
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
Dialogus	Sulpicius Severus. "Dialogvs Secundus (Tertius)." In <i>Opera</i> , edited by C. Halm. CSEL 1:180–216. Salzburg, 1866.
Ep(p)	Epistula(e)
Ep M	Sulpicius Severus. "Epistula 3." In <i>Opera</i> , edited by C. Halm. CSEL 1:146–51. Salzburg, 1866.
Hom in Ev	<i>Homiliae in Evangelia</i> , by Gregory the Great. Edited by Raymond Étaix. CCSL 141. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 1999.
Int Heb Nom	<i>Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum</i> , by Jerome. In <i>S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera</i> , Pars 1, 1. Edited by P. de Lagarde, G. Morin, M. Adriaen. CCSL 72. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 1959.
PG	Patrologia Graeca. Edited by J.-P. Migne.
PL	Patrologia Latina. Edited by J.-P. Migne.
Pro	Prologue
RB	Regula Benedicti; Rule of Saint Benedict
S(s)	Sermon(s), Sermo(nes)

SBOp	Sancti Bernardi Opera. Ed. Jean Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais. Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–63.
SC	<i>Sermons on the Song of Songs</i> , by Bernard of Clairvaux. SBOp 1–2.
SSOC	Series Scriptorum Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis
V Mart	Sulpicius Severus. <i>Vita Sancti Martini, Episcopi et Confessoris</i> . In <i>Opera</i> . Edited by C. Halm. CSEL 1:108–37. Salzburg, 1866.

BERNARD'S SERMONS

Abb	Sermo ad abbates: SBOp 5:288–93; CF 54:85–90
Adv	Sermo in adventu Domini: SBOp 4:161–96; CF 51:3–42
And	Sermo in natali sancti Andreae: SBOp 5:427–40; CF 54:249–65
Ann	Sermo in annuntiatione Domini: SBOp 5:13–42; CF 52:63–98
Asc	Sermo in ascensione Domini: SBOp 5:123–60; CF 53:29–68
Asspt	Sermo in assumptione BVM: SBOp 5:228–61; CF 54:14–54
Ben	Sermo in natali sancti Benedicti: SBOp 5:1–12; CF 52:53–62
Circ	Sermo in circumcissione Domini: SBOp 4:273–91; CF 51:133–53
Clem	Sermo in natali sancti Clementis: SBOp 5:412–17; CF 54:229–34
Conv	Sermo de conversione ad clericos: SBOp 4:69–116; CF 25:1–79
Ded	Sermo in dedicatione ecclesiae: SBOp 5:370–98; CF 54:178–212
Div	Sermo de diversis: SBOp 6; CF 68
Epi	Sermo in epiphania Domini: SBOp 4:291–309; CF 51:154–75
4 HM	Sermo in feria iv hebdomadae sanctae: SBOp 5:56–67; CF 52:114–26
5 HM	Sermo in cena Domini: SBOp 5:67–72; CF 52:127–31
Humb	Sermo in obitu domni Humberti: SBOp 5:440–47; CF 54:266–73

In lab mess	Sermo in labore messis: SBOp 5:217–28; CF 54:1–13
Innoc	Sermo in festivitibus sancti Stephani, sancti Ioannis, et sanctorum innocentium: SBOp 4:270–73; CF 51:129–32
JB	Sermo in nativitate sancti Ioannis Baptistæ: SBOp 5:176–84; CF 53:88–96
Mal	Sermo in transitu sancti Malachiæ episcopi: SBOp 5:417–23; CF 54:235–43
Mart	Sermo in festivitate sancti Martini episcopi: SBOp 5:399–412; CF 54:213–28
Mich	Sermo in festo sancti Michaëlis: SBOp 5:294–303; CF 54:91–100
Nat	Sermo in nativitate Domini: SBOp 4:244–70; CF 51:99–128
NatBVM	Sermo in nativitate BVM: SBOp 5:275–88; CF 54:70–84
1 Nov	Sermo in dominica I novembris: SBOp 5:304–26; CF 54:101–29
OAsspt	Sermo in dominica infra octavam assumptionis: SBOp 5:262–74; CF 54:55–69
OEpi	Sermo in octava epiphania Domini: SBOp 4:310–13; CF 51:176–79
OPasc	Sermo in octava paschæ: SBOp 5:112–21; CF 52:177–87
OS	Sermo in festivitate omnium sanctorum: SBOp 5:327–70; CF 54:130–77
Palm	Sermo in ramis palmarum: SBOp 5:42–55; CF 52:99–113
Pasc	Sermo in die paschæ: SBOp 5:73–111; CF 52:132–76
Pent	Sermo in die sancto pentecostes: SBOp 5:160–76; CF 53:69–87
P Epi	Sermo in dominica I post octavam epiphaniæ: SBOp 4:314–26; CF 51:180–93
4 p P	Sermo in dominica quarta post pentecosten: SBOp 5:202–5; CF 53:115–18
6 p P	Sermo in dominica sexta post pentecosten: SBOp 5:206–16; CF 53:119–30
PP	Sermo in festo ss. apostolorum Petri et Pauli: SBOp 5:188–201; CF 53:100–14
Pur	Sermo in purificatione BVM: SBOp 4:334–44; CF 52:3–13
Quad	Sermo in quadragesima: SBOp 4:353–80; CF 52:24–52
Rog	Sermo in rogationibus: SBOp 5:121–23; CF 53:27–28
SC	Sermo super Cantica canticorum: SBOp 1–2; CF 4, 7, 31, 40
Sept	Sermo in septuagesima: SBOp 4:344–52; CF 52:14–23
SP	Sermo in conversione sancti Pauli: SBOp 4:327–34; CF 51:194–202

- VAnd Sermo in vigilia sancti Andreæ: SBOp 5:423–26; CF 54:244–48
- VNat Sermo in vigilia nativitatis domini: SBOp 4:197–244; CF 51:43–98
- VPP Sermo in vigilia apostolorum Petri et Pauli: SBOp 5:185–87; CF 53:97–99

BERNARD'S TREATISES

- Apo *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem*. SBOp 3:61–108; “St Bernard’s Apologia to Abbot William.” Translated by Michael Casey. In *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux*, vol. 1, *Treatises I*. CF 1. Spencer, MA, and Shannon, Ireland: Cistercian Publications, 1970.
- Conv *Ad clericos ad conversione*. SBOp 4:69–116. “On Conversion, a Sermon to Clerics.” Translated by Marie-Bernard Saïd. In Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermons on Conversion*. CF 25. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1981. 1–79.
- Csi *De consideratione*. SBOp 3:379–493; *Five Books on Consideration: Advice to a Pope*. Translated by John D. Anderson and Elizabeth T. Kennan. *Bernard of Clairvaux*, vol. 13. CF 37. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1976.
- Dil *Liber de diligendo Deo*. SBOp 3:109–54; *On Loving God*. Translated by Robert Walton. CF 13B. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1995.
- Gra *De gratia et libero arbitrio*. SBOp 3:155–203; *On Grace and Free Choice*. Translated by Daniel O’Donovan. In *Bernard of Clairvaux, Treatises III*. CF 19. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1977. 3–111.
- Miss *Homiliae super “Missus est” in Laudibus Virginis Matris*. SBOp 4:3–58; *Magnificat: Homilies in Praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary*. Translated by Marie-Bernard Saïd. CF 18. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1979. 1–58.
- Mor *Ep de moribus et officiis episcoporum*. SBOp 7:100–31; *On Baptism and the Office of Bishops*. Translated by Pauline Matarasso. CF 67. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2004.
- Pre *De praecepto et dispensatione*. SBOp 3:241–94; “St Bernard’s Book on Precept and Dispensation.” Translated by Conrad Greenia. In *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux*, vol. 1, *Treatises I*. CF 1. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1970. 71–150.

- Tpl *Liber ad milites templi (De laude novæ militiæ)*. SBOp 3:205–39. “In Praise of the New Knighthood.” Translated by Daniel O’Donovan. In *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux*, vol. 7, *Treatises III*. CF 19. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1977. 113–67.
- V Mal *Vita S. Malachiæ*, by Bernard of Clairvaux. SBOp 3:293–378; *The Life and Death of Saint Malachy the Irishman*. Translated by Robert T. Meyer. CS 10. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1978.

Bernard of Clairvaux

SERMONS FOR THE
AUTUMN SEASON

ON THE TIME OF HARVEST¹

SERMON ONE

How a Twofold Evil Works for Good

1. **W**e seem to be poor, and indeed we are, but if we have received *the spirit that is of God, so that we may know the things that have been given to us by God*,* great glory and great power accrue to us. *As many as received him, to them he gave power to become children of God*.* Is not this the power of the children of God, that all things are subservient to us? For the apostle himself knew that *all things work together for good to them that love God*.* But perhaps one of you will say “What has that to do with me?” and in the cowardice of his heart will reflect in this way: “God’s children, in whom filial love toward him burns and affection* flourishes, certainly glory in their power, and they presume that all things work together for good to them, for they love God in truth. *But I am poor and needy*,* lacking filial affection, without the devotion I should have.”

*1 Cor 2:12

*John 1:12

*Rom 8:28

**affectus*

*Ps 39:18

But notice what follows. The one who speaks elsewhere leaves no room for despair in his Scriptures: *That through patience and consolation of the Scriptures we may have hope*.* But the feeling you are looking for is

*Rom 15:4

¹ *Sermo in labore messis* (In lab mess 1).

peace, not patience, and peace is found at home, not on the way; there is no need for those who are already there to be consoled by Scripture.

2. Let us therefore have hope through the patience and consolation of Scripture, although we cannot yet claim peace. For when the apostle said that all things worked together for good to those who love God, he added shrewdly, *to those who are called saints according to his purpose*.*

*Rom 8:28

Do not let the mention of sanctity in this saying scare you, for he calls them saints not because of any merit of theirs but for his own purpose, nor through any feeling,* but for his own design, as the prophet says, *Preserve my soul, for I am holy*.*

**affectionem*

*Ps 85:2

Not even Paul himself, weighed down as he was by a corruptible body, thought he had taken hold of the sanctity you are considering. *This one thing I do*, he said, *forgetting the things which are behind and reaching out to the things which are before: I press on toward the mark of the prize of the heavenly calling*.*

*Phil 3:13-14

You see that although he had not yet won the victory, he was already called to sanctity. Therefore if you have decided in your heart to turn from evil and do good,* to hold to what you have begun and go forward always to what is better, and to repent and make amends as far as you can, if you sometimes do what is less righteous (such is human frailty) and are determined not to persist in it, you will without doubt be a saint, but in the meantime you must still cry, *Preserve my soul, for I am holy*.*

*Ps 36:27

*Ps 85:2

3. Do you wish to know how all things work together for good* for saints such as this? I shall not mention them all separately, for the hour does not permit a long sermon to be put forth. Time is passing us by, and the time for Vespers has arrived. Hear therefore a short explanation of how everything is to our advantage and all things work together for good.

*Rom 8:28

Enemies are our judges,* so if they are for us, who can be

*Deut 32:31

against us?*

If our enemies act in our interest, how can it be that all things do not act with them?

*Rom 8:31

4. Now clearly there are two kinds of enemy who oppose us, an obvious twofold evil: what we do and what we suffer. They are, to put it more plainly, the guilt and the penalty. So although both are against us, both can be for us if we wish, for the first will free us from the second, and likewise the second will aid us considerably against the first. I mean, look, we are pierced in the heart as well as in the bed of our consciences* over past sins, but our penitence, with the penalty that we voluntarily undergo, soothes our conscience and grinds down the gnawing teeth of sins, giving us the hope of pardon. Moreover, it drives away not only the things that are past but also the things that are to come, for it wards off the faults that assail us and annihilates some of them so that they can rarely or never rear their poisonous heads.

*see Ps 4:5

Thus the penalty acts for us against the guilt, so that it exists no longer, or at least is less. But the guilt, too, acts in such a way that the penalty either exists no more or is less. Not that it is entirely nonexistent, even if it is considerably less, because that would not be in our interests, but that it is no punishment, or less of a punishment, so that it is not burdensome at all, or at least less burdensome. For whoever feels the burden of sin to the full and the damage to the soul will either feel the bodily punishment less or will not feel it at all; nor will such a one find it difficult in the future to avoid sins known to have been destroyed in the past. For holy David did not think about the wrongs done by the servant who taunted him, because he was mindful of the son who was pursuing him.*

*2 Sam 16:5-13