

“Why should we know about texts once wrongly attributed to St. Bernard? The fact that some of them were extremely popular, while others were not or were in vogue only regionally suggests that readers looked beyond the *name* Bernard to the contents of the manuscripts. Lovingly translated and beautifully annotated, these works offer new and valuable glimpses into twelfth- and thirteenth-century religious mentalities.”

— Barbara H. Rosenwein
Loyola University Chicago

“Like many great spiritual writers, Bernard of Clairvaux had a number of works pseudonymously ascribed to him after his death. In Bernard’s case the total is said to be as high as 177. In modern times we rightly value authentic works over pseudonymous ones, but this should not lead us to neglect the ‘pseudo-Bernard,’ who has much to tell us about the saint’s fame and the subsequent history of his ideas. This valuable translation provides readable and well-annotated versions of three pseudo-Bernardine meditative texts particularly useful for the religious formation of monks. It is a welcome addition to our knowledge of Bernard’s afterlife and the history of the medieval monasticism.”

— Bernard McGinn
Divinity School, University of Chicago

CISTERCIAN STUDIES SERIES: TWO HUNDRED SEVENTY-THREE

Three Pseudo-Bernardine Works

Translated and annotated by the *Catena Scholarium*
at the University of Notre Dame,
under the direction of
Ann W. Astell and Joseph Wawrykow,
with the assistance of Thomas Clemmons

With an Introduction by Dom Elias Dietz, OCSO



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Scripture texts in this work were translated by the members of the *Catena Scholarium*.

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charitatis.* A Treatise on the State of the Virtues 79

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Prefatory Acknowledgments

Catena Scholarium (Chain of Scholars) is a talented team of young translators and scholars at the University of Notre Dame who, under the direction of Ann W. Astell and Joseph Wawrykow, collectively undertake the ongoing work, semester by semester, of translating into English previously untranslated Latin theological writings. A conscious goal of the group is to expand the canon of medieval works available to present-day English readers.

The name *Catena Scholarium* recalls the famous *Catena Aurea* (1265) of Saint Thomas Aquinas, a compilatory commentary on the four gospels, but also the *Theologia Scholarium* (1140) of Peter Abelard. The word *catena* also has obvious biblical and hagiographic resonances, recalling, for example, the chain of the angel in Revelation 20:1-2, the chains of the prisoners Peter (Acts 12:6-7) and Paul (Eph 6:20), the virtuous *catena* of Catherine of Siena (used by her hagiographer, Raymond of Capua [1330–1399], to interpret her name, *Caterina* Benincasa), and the legendary chain with which Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) bound the devil. It bespeaks a bond of shared responsibility and cooperation between and among the interlinked members of the team.

More particularly, “*Catena Scholarium*” gives expression to the pedagogical method used to achieve the complete translation and annotation of the Pseudo-Bernardine essays in this volume. The individual graduate students who enrolled in the one-credit classes co-taught by Astell and Wawrykow in Fall 2014 and Spring 2015 each translated different short portions of the text weekly, as assigned on the syllabus. At the weekly meeting the preliminary translations were read aloud seriatim, corrected, and discussed. During the following week, the students submitted their revised and annotated translations to the group as a whole.

Throughout the process, the interpretive work of scholarly annotation went hand in hand with that of translation. In this regard, the identification of quoted and paraphrased biblical passages was important, but also that of parallel passages in patristic and medieval texts. Guiding questions for the group included the following: Why might this text have been attributed to Saint Bernard? Who wrote this treatise and when? For whom, for what sort of audience, was this treatise composed?

Selected students oversaw the compilation, section by section, of the individual contributions, which were then reviewed by the instructors and the class as a whole. The review process entailed not only addressing any remaining issues in grammar and style, but also identifying and highlighting the key Latin terms, theological themes, and logical distinctions that served to structure each treatise as a coherent composition.

The following students were members of the *Catena Scholarium* during one or more of the semesters devoted to work on the Pseudo-Bernardine writings: Margaret Blume, Gregory Cruess, Roberto De La Noval, Peter Freddoso, Maj-Britt Frenze, Mary Helen Gallucci-Wright, Joshua Lim, Alex C. J. Neroth van Vogelpoel, Breanna Nickel, Emily Nye, Nicholas Ogle, Jon Kara Shields, and Gilbert Stockson. Thomas Clemmons assisted in the work of instruction.

Commenting on the translated Pseudo-Bernardine texts on behalf of the whole team, Breanna Nickel and Gregory Cruess (substituting for Joshua Lim) presented papers in May 2017, alongside Dom Elias Dietz, OCSO, at a Cistercian Studies session moderated by Ann Astell at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University. This volume, generously copyedited by Marsha Dutton and introduced by Dom Elias, brings the translated texts to a wider audience and demonstrates the value of studying the Pseudo-Bernardine texts both in their own right as historical witnesses and for the richly complex, formative contribution they have made to the tradition of Christian spirituality.

Every publication involves the work of many people, but this particular collection has been a team effort from the very start. The debt of mutual gratitude is great. Together with Joseph Wawrykow, I want to thank Dom Elias for first suggesting that we direct our efforts to some of the Pseudo-Bernardine treatises and especially

Marsha Dutton for her constant encouragement and patient editorial work. Finally, our thanks go to the staff at Liturgical Press for their expert engagement in seeing this project through to its completion.

Ann W. Astell
October 19, 2017

Translators and Annotators¹

Formula honestae vitae: Instruction for the Honorable Life

¶ 1–4, Emily Nye

¶ 5–10, Joshua Lim

Instructio sacerdotalis. Instruction for a Priest: A Treatise on the Principal Mysteries of Our Religion

Preface, Nicholas Ogle

¶ 1–6, Joshua Lim and Breanna Nickel

¶ 7–14, Maj–Britt Frenze and Peter Freddoso

¶ 15–25, Margaret Blume and Gilbert Stockson

¶ 26–32, Roberto De La Noval and Alex C. J. van Vogelpoel

¶ 33–36, Gregory Cruess

Tractatus de statu virtutum humilitatis, obedientiae, timoris, et charitatis. A Treatise on the State of the Virtues

¶ 1–7, Peter Freddoso

¶ 8–15, Jon Kara Shields

¶ 16–19, Joshua Lim

¶ 20–24, Breanna Nickel

¹ All the members of the *Catena Scholarium* contributed to the translation and annotation of each section of the text, but the named individuals bore responsibility for the final smoothing and polishing of the compiled paragraphs.

¶ 25–28, Gilbert Stockson

¶ 29–33, Mary Helen Gallucci-Wright

¶ 34–35, Emily Nye

¶ 36–39, Gregory Cruess

Abbreviations

ASOC	<i>Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis / Analecta Cisterciensia</i> . Rome, 1945– .
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis. Turnhout: Brepols.
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina. Turnhout: Brepols.
CF	Cistercian Fathers series. Cistercian Publications.
CPL	Clavis Patrum Latinorum
CS	Cistercian Studies series. Cistercian Publications.
CSQ	<i>Cistercian Studies Quarterly</i>
DSpir	<i>Dictionnaire de Spiritualité</i>
Ep(p)	Epistola(e)
Ep Frat	William of Saint-Thierry. <i>Epistola (aurea) ad fratres de Monte Dei</i> . Ed. Paul Verdeyen. CCCM 88. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.
FC	Fathers of the Church. 127 vols. Washington, DC: The Catholic University Press.
Fry	<i>RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes</i> . Ed. Timothy Fry. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981.
Gen ad litt	Augustine. <i>De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim</i> .
Hesbert	René-Jean Hesbert. <i>Antiphonale Missarum sextuplex</i> . Bruxelles: Vromant, 1935.

- MGH auct. ant. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores antiquissimi.
- Moralia Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*. Ed. Marc Adriaen. CCSL 143, 143A, 143B. Turnhout: Brepols, 1979.
- NPNF Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace.
- PL Patrologiæ cursus completus, series latina. Ed. J.-P. Migne. 221 volumes. Paris, 1844–1864.
- RBen *Revue bénédictine*. Maredsous, Belgium, 1884– .
- RHE *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*. Louvain (Belgium), 1900– .
- S(s) Sermon(s)
- SBOp Sancti Bernardi Opera. Ed. J. Leclercq, H. M. Rochais, C. H. Talbot. Rome: Cistercienses, 1957–1977.
- SS ref. Germ. Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum. Monumenta Germania Historica.
- ST Thomas Aquinas. *Summa Theologica*.
- Symb Athan Athanasian Creed

Works of Bernard of Clairvaux

- 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, 1, Treatises I*. CF 1. Spencer, MA, and Shannon, Ireland: Cistercian Publications, 1970.
- 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.
- Div *Sermones Diversis*. SBOp 6:56–406; *Monastic Sermons*. Translated by Daniel Griggs. CF 68. Colleagueville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2016.
- 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.
- Hum *Liber de gradibus humilitatis et superbiæ*. SBOp 3:13–59. “The Steps of Humility and Pride.” In Bernard of Clairvaux, *Treatises II*. Translated by M. Ambrose Conway. CF 13. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1980. 1–82.
- 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* (Ep 42). SBOp 7:100–31; *On Baptism and the Office of Bishops*. Translated by Pauline Matarasso. CF 67. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2004.
- SC *Sermo super Cantica canticorum*: SBOp 1–2; CF 4, 7, 31, 40.
- 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.

Introduction

The three works presented here in English translation belong to a category of writings that has received relatively little attention in recent decades. In order to place these three items in a meaningful context, it seems best to begin with an overview of the Pseudo-Bernardine writings and of the major questions raised by these kinds of texts. Specific introductions for each of the three works will then follow.

The Real Bernard and the Pseudo-Bernard

A whole generation has now benefited from the publication of Saint Bernard's works in the critical edition prepared by Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais in the 1950s.¹ Readers who use that edition or translations made from it are confident that all of the texts included there are authentically Bernardine. And thanks to this confidence about what Bernard wrote and didn't write, the many texts once attributed to him are generally set aside as inauthentic and unimportant. From a historical perspective, though, this is a new and unusual state of affairs. It is also a mistake.

For one thing, the distinction authentic/inauthentic is not black and white within the recognized Bernardine corpus. To call a work genuinely "Bernardine" does not necessarily mean that every word of every text was composed by Bernard. There are grey areas between the various degrees of authenticity. Secretaries were involved at different stages of writing, and some texts have the character of mere outlines or summaries of teaching delivered orally. In sorting out

¹ *Sancti Bernardi Opera* (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957) (=SBOp).

these texts, the editors of the critical edition encountered some surprises. Only in the face of overwhelming evidence did Leclercq and Rochais come to accept the authenticity of certain *De Diversis* sermons and *Sentences*, some of which seem no more worthy of that distinction than most Pseudo-Bernard works.²

Moreover, early on in the manuscript tradition, apocryphal works appeared mixed in with genuine ones. As time went on, Bernard's fame created a kind of gravitational pull, making it more and more likely for scribes to put things under his name deliberately or out of ignorance or as an educated guess. Some Pseudo-Bernard works were more successful than most of the authentic works, as was the case with the *Meditationes*, copied in over six hundred manuscripts and constantly reprinted into the nineteenth century.³ Copyists and editors were eager to collect anything with Saint Bernard's name on it. A good witness of this trend is Bernard Tissier, prior of the Cistercian abbey Bonnefontaine and one of the consultants for Jean Mabillon's first edition of Bernard's collected works (1667). In 1662, he wrote,

If I were to undertake this project, I would proceed in a manner exactly opposite from the one that has prevailed up to the present, and I would completely remove from these works anything that is not Saint Bernard's, instead of, with every new edition, giving him a few new pieces of which he is not at all the author.⁴

This question of sorting out the genuine and apocryphal works was the biggest challenge for Mabillon. It is significant to note that, notwithstanding Mabillon's general concern regarding authenticity,

² For further information and bibliography on the question of authenticity, see Jean Leclercq, "Introduction to Saint Bernard's Sermons *De diversis*," CSQ 42 (2007): 37–41; and Jean Leclercq, "Introduction to the *Sentences* of Bernard of Clairvaux," CSQ 46 (2011): 277–86.

³ For an extensive history of this text and for a comprehensive study of the phenomenon of pseudepigraphic texts, see Cédric Giraud, *Spiritualité et histoire des textes entre Moyen Âge et époque moderne. Genèse et fortune d'un corpus pseudépigraphique de méditations*, Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes 52 (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2016).

⁴ Jean Leclercq, "La préhistoire de l'édition de Mabillon," in *Études sur Saint Bernard et le texte de ses écrits*, ASOC 9 (1953): 202–25, here 207.

he nonetheless opted to include an entire volume of *Opera dubia, notha et supposititia* (dubious, spurious, and inauthentic works). Tissier had done the groundwork for Mabillon, sorting out these texts and assigning them to their true authors where possible. But removing them from the collection of Bernard's works did not mean discarding them altogether. Tissier, after all, had compiled his own *Library of Cistercian Fathers*⁵ and was eager to make known the writings of Bernard's Cistercian contemporaries as well as works from the following generation. So a number of misattributed and anonymous works were also included in this appendix to Mabillon's edition. The inclusion of works like Gilbert of Hoyland's *Sermons on the Song of Songs* and William of Saint-Thierry's *Golden Epistle* was a way of definitively remedying these serious misattributions and of promoting these texts under their true author's name. As for the texts of doubtful or unidentifiable authorship, few reasons are given for including them in the collection. Some are provided with a brief introduction or explanatory footnote; some appear without comment. No doubt these items were judged to come from manuscripts of value. Perhaps Mabillon's characterization of the first two and best-known items of this category reveal something of his rationale for editing the whole: the *Meditationes* "are not Bernard's but are not unworthy of him," and the *De interiori domo* is a "pious and useful work" by one of his Cistercian contemporaries.⁶

The Intrinsic Value of the Pseudepigraphical Works

On one hand it is understandable that Pseudo-Bernardine works have been relegated to the background over the last few centuries. Increased historical consciousness brings with it greater sensitivity to questions of authenticity, especially in the case of someone like Bernard of Clairvaux, whose image was shaped (or misshaped) by the popularity of the apocryphal works under his name throughout

⁵ The complete title of Tissier's 1660 edition reads, *Bibliotheca Patrum Cisterciensium. Opera abbatum et monachorum ordinis Cisterciensis, qui saeculo S. Bernardi, aut paulo post eius obitum floruerunt.*

⁶ Since these same introductions appear in all the editions, the simplest reference is to Migne's *Patrologia Latina*: for the *Meditationes*, see PL 184:485–86; for *De interiori domo*, see PL 184:507–8.

the Middle Ages and well into modern times. It is an advantage to have an accurate list of works and reliable biographical documentation for so central a figure. On the other hand, it seems that the time has come to retrieve some of the “pious and useful” material that falls under the umbrella of Pseudepigraphical works. A parallel might be drawn with the revival of interest in Cistercian *exempla* in recent years, which has resulted in important new editions and translations.⁷ Compared to the writings of figures like William, Bernard, or Aelred, these stories are secondary in terms of both substance and style. They are, nevertheless, rich in real-life details and lived experience that not only complement our information about the material culture and mentalities of the period but also paint a lively picture of how Cistercian men and women both failed and succeeded in living out their values and religious aspirations. A comparable revival of interest in Pseudepigraphical texts would bring similar benefits. As Mark DelCogliano has said regarding the minor authors of what he calls the Silver Age,

Cistercians of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were very much aware that previous generations of Cistercians had bequeathed to them a vast corpus of spiritual writings that merited study and application. In their era, there was no need to try to repeat their achievement but rather to interpret it and re-express it, in a way that would help ordinary monks live their day-to-day lives. In other words, Cistercian monks of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries needed the writings of the earlier Cistercian Fathers translated into practical terms. Earlier Cistercians had expressed the theory, or perhaps the theology, of Cistercian spirituality, and subsequent Cistercians felt the need to articulate its practice.⁸

⁷ For an overview of this development, see Brian Patrick McGuire, “Cistercian Storytelling—A Living Tradition: Surprises in the World of Research,” *CSQ* 39 (2004): 281–309; the most important translation of such works in recent years is Benedicta Ward and Paul Savage, trans., E. Rozanne Elder, ed., *The Great Beginning of Cîteaux: A Narrative of the Beginning of the Cistercian Order: the Exordium Magnum of Conrad of Eberbach*, CF 72 (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2012).

⁸ Mark DelCogliano, “Cistercian Monasticism in the Silver Age: Two Texts on Practical Advice,” *CSQ* 45 (2010): 421–52.

The Historical Importance of the Pseudo-Bernard Writings

This work of interpretation, application, and re-expression had the added benefit of making these texts quite accessible. Anonymity afforded the writers greater freedom of expression in presenting traditional material in an experiential, personal key. Their intended audience may have been monks or perhaps novices, but the works themselves ended up reaching secular clergy and educated lay persons as well. Works of this kind were particularly conducive to meditative reading, and, as Cédric Giraud has shown, their popularity came to shape the meaning of the word *meditation* in the West.⁹ Another key concept shaped by these works is *conscience*.¹⁰ According to Mirko Breitenstein, they popularized the twelfth century's new ethic of conviction (*Gesinnungsethik*) and thus conveyed into modern times a notion of conscience that has to do not only with fear and uncertainty about salvation but also with freedom, self-determination, and responsibility.¹¹

Of particular importance is the role these texts played in medieval formation practices.¹² Some Pseudo-Bernardine works were specifically intended for novices, others served as sources for these kinds of writings, and several became standard novitiate reading. A few selections from this literature have been the object of editions and translations in recent years, and the present volume includes three such texts. The far-reaching influence of these kinds of works is illustrated in a thirteenth-century reading list for Dominican novices (by Master General Humbert of Romans, †1277), which recommends the following:

⁹ Giraud, *Spiritualité et histoire*, 37–117.

¹⁰ Philippe Delhayé, "Dans le sillage de S. Bernard. Trois petits traités *De Conscientia*," *Cîteaux* 5 (1954): 92–103.

¹¹ Mirko Breitenstein, "Der Tracktat 'Vom inneren Haus.' Verantwortung als Ziel der Gewissensbildung," in *Innovation in Klöstern und Orden des Hohen Mittelalters: Aspekte und Pragmatik eines Begriffs*, ed. Mirko Breitenstein, Stefan Burkhardt, and Julia Burkhardt, *Vita regularis* 48 (Berlin: LIT, 2012), 263.

¹² Mirko Breitenstein, *Das Noviziat im hohen Mittelalter: Zur Organisation des Eintrittes bei den Cluniazensern, Cisterziensern und Franziskanern*, *Vita regularis* 38 (Münster: LIT, 2009), 29–33, where further bibliography is found.

Hugh's *De disciplina*, the book *De claustro animae*, Bl. Bernard's *Meditationes*, Anselm's *Meditationes* and *Orationes*, Augustine's *liber Confessionum*, along with the *Abbreviata* and *Florigerus* from Augustine, the *Collationes*, *Vitae*, and *Dicta* of the [desert] Fathers, the *Passiones* and *Legendae Sanctorum*, Bernard's *Epistola ad Fratres de Monte Dei*, the book *De gradibus superbiae*, the *Liber Barlaam*, the *Tractatus de vitiis et virtutibus*, and other similar works.¹³

Looking further afield, it should be noted that Bernard—and just as often, Pseudo-Bernard—appealed to a broad spectrum of sensitivities. Both his authentic and his apocryphal works were appreciated by adherents to the movement known as *Devotio Moderna*.¹⁴ Through that movement Pseudo-Bernardine works influenced spirituality in the West into modern times through *The Imitation of Christ*, whose author drew freely on them. Bernard's name and the special character of these works also made it possible for them to cross denominational lines. Luther's admiration for Bernard ensured that certain of his works or works attributed to him had a place in the libraries of the reformers. Thanks largely to its attribution to Bernard, a minor work in verse by a thirteenth-century Cistercian entitled *Rythmus ad singula membra Christi patentis* had a remarkable future through Paul Gerhardt's translation of it into German, which in turn was used for the hymn "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," first published in 1656, often referred to as the "Passion Chorale" ("O Sacred Head Surrounded" in a later, Catholic version).¹⁵ Parts of the original Latin text were set to music by Dietrich Buxtehude in his 1680 cycle of cantatas entitled *Membra Jesu nostri* (BuxWV 75), which continues to be performed and recorded today.

No doubt the lesser of these works only survive because of their association with Bernard. In the case of the more important ones, though, the Pseudo-Bernardine attribution is only one factor in their success. The only way to know the historical Bernard of Clairvaux

¹³ Cited in Giraud, *Spiritualité et histoire*, 34.

¹⁴ Giraud, *Spiritualité et histoire*, 270–75.

¹⁵ For a full account of this hymn's long history, see George Faithful, "A More Brotherly Song, a Less Passionate Passion: Abstraction and Ecumenism in the Translation of the Hymn 'O Sacred Head Now Wounded' from Bloodier Antecedents," *Church History* 82 (2013): 779–811.

is to set aside all the apocryphal texts. But the only way to understand the Bernard of history as he was known from the thirteenth through the nineteenth centuries is take these texts into account.

Toward a Canon of Pseudo-Bernard Works

If the task of establishing the authentic corpus of Bernard's writings is one of elimination, any attempt at recovering the most important Pseudo-Bernardine texts will necessarily involve selection. In his 1891 *Bibliographia Bernardina*, Leopold Janauschek listed 177 works falsely attributed to Saint Bernard, 120 of them in prose and 57 in verse.¹⁶ Ferdinand Cavallera's 1935 article on these apocrypha provides an initial sorting-out of this unwieldy and disparate body of texts.¹⁷ His division of them into three categories—extracts or abridged versions of authentic works, works restored to their true authors, and apocryphal works by unknown authors—is a first step toward reducing the list to a manageable number. His attributions, however, must be used with caution, since subsequent scholarship has made several additions and corrections.

Because a number of these works circulated under more than one name, the effort to sort out the Bernardine apocrypha overlaps in many cases with similar tasks regarding other authors, especially Saint Augustine and Hugh of Saint Victor.¹⁸ Other important resources for this effort are studies of *florilegia*,¹⁹ of devotional texts,²⁰

¹⁶ Leopold Janauschek, *Bibliographia Bernardina qua Sancti Bernardi primi abbatis Claravallensis operum cum omnium tum singulorum editiones ac versiones, vitas et tractatus de eo scriptos quotquot usque ad finem anni MDCCCXC reperire potuit*, Xenia Bernardina 4 (Vienna: Hölder, 1891), IV–XIV.

¹⁷ Ferdinand Cavallera, "Bernard (Apocryphes attribués à saint)," *DSpir* 1:1499–1502.

¹⁸ See especially Patrice Sicard, *Iter victorinum. La tradition manuscrite des œuvres de Hugues et de Richard de Saint-Victor. Répertoire complémentaire et études*, Biblioteca Victorina 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

¹⁹ Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto: PIMS, 2000).

²⁰ Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

and of treatises on the virtues and vices.²¹ Strictly speaking, very few of the Pseudo-Bernardine works fall into this latter category,²² but Morton Bloomfield's *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D.*—along with the 2008 *Supplement* to that work—remains an indispensable starting point for tracing the manuscript tradition of these texts.

In the end, as was the case in Mabillon's appendix to Bernard's *Opera omnia*, there are no obvious objective criteria for deciding which texts are worth editing, translating, and studying. Since very few of them have been the object of critical editions, a great deal of work remains to be done. Without such editions, many questions of date and authorship will remain unanswered. In the meantime, translation efforts like the present volume, even if based on old editions, are a good, if provisional, step forward. The texts that deserve priority treatment are anonymous Cistercian works or works of uncertain attribution that date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nearly all the sermons included in Mabillon's appendix can be attributed to a known author. The remaining works fall more or less into four categories. A first group, the *De conscientia* treatises, are a kind of experiential counterpart to *De anima* works. Highly introspective in character, these texts are meant to encourage the moral reform of the person from within. A second group consists of short works of practical advice or so-called *mirrors*, some of which are intended for novices. Various meditations on the passion form a third group. And, finally, there are devotional texts in the form of prayers or hymns.

The following list is offered as a first attempt at forming a canon of worthwhile texts from these categories. This list is limited to items edited in Mabillon's edition, but it is possible that worthwhile texts are to be located among some of the unedited works listed by Janaushek. Titles and column numbers are given as found in

²¹ Morton W. Bloomfield, *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D.: Including a Section of Works on the Pater Noster* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1979); Richard Newhauser and István Bejczy, *A Supplement to Morton W. Bloomfield et al., Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D.* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

²² Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 55–96.

volume 184 of the *Patrologia Latina*. Where possible their number in Bloomfield's repertory is also noted.

De Conscientia treatises:

Meditationes piissimae de cognitione humanae conditionis; col. 485–508; Bloomfield 3126.²³

De interiori Domo, seu de Consciencia aedificanda; col. 507–52; Bloomfield 1787.

De Conscientia; col. 551–60; Bloomfield 3896.

Short works of practical advice or so-called mirrors:

Formula honestae vitae; col. 1167–72; Bloomfield 3897.

Tractatus de statu virtutum humilitatis, obedientiae, timoris, et charitatis; col. 791–812; Bloomfield 0740.

Speculum monachorum; col. 1175–78; Bloomfield 5582.

Doctrina Sancti Bernardi; col. 1177–82.

Octo puncta Perfectionis assequendae; col. 1181–86; Bloomfield 2303.

Meditations on the passion:

Lamentatio in Passionem Christi; col. 769–72.²⁴

Rhythmus ad singula membra Christi patientis; col. 1319–24.

Devotional texts:

Jubilus Rhythmicus de Nomine Jesu; col. 1317–20.²⁵

²³ For a summary of the manuscript history of this text, see Giraud, *Spiritualité et histoire*, 476–77.

²⁴ On the importance of the *Lamentatio*, see Charlotte Allen, "Thirteenth-Century English Religious Lyrics, Religious Women, and the Cistercian Imagination," PhD dissertation, Catholic University of America, 2011, 140–41.

²⁵ This is the hymn "Iesu, dulcis memoria," often attributed to Bernard but probably the work of an anonymous thirteenth-century Cistercian. For an edition and study of the text, see André Wilmart, *Le Jubilus Dit de Saint Bernard*, *Storia e Letteratura* 2 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia et Letteratura, 1944).

Conclusion

The fact that Pseudo-Bernardine works were popular and accessible in the Middle Ages is no guarantee that they will appeal to a modern audience. Readers familiar with early Cistercian authors will be at home in some passages. Other passages will seem quite foreign to them, but that foreignness itself is instructive about the cultural shifts to which these works bear witness. Jean Leclercq's quip about one of the texts translated in this volume will no doubt apply in many cases: "The main value of such apocryphal works is not that they show Bernard's influence . . . but that, by contrast, they make us appreciate the real Bernard even more."²⁶

It is now time to introduce the three selections translated in this volume. They are fairly representative of the kinds of works discussed in this general introduction. All are short works of instruction. One was intended for novices and another no doubt became standard reading for novices. Two were originally anonymous texts that only later fell under Bernard's wide umbrella. The authorship of one is perhaps a case of mistaken identity, but its correct attribution is far from certain. Two of them attest to the fact that the authors of Pseudo-Bernardine works borrowed from each other or else used common sources that have since been lost. They range from well known and often copied to little known and seldom copied. And no doubt readers' response to them will range from delight to dismay.

Formula honestae vitae.

Instruction for the Honorable Life²⁷

This brief text is ideal for a first contact with the Pseudo-Bernardine works of the Silver Age. Although it belongs to the category of short treatises of practical advice, its emphasis on the world of the thoughts

²⁶ The text in question is the third in this volume, "De Statu Virtutum." Jean Leclercq, "Le premier traité authentique de Saint Bernard?" RHE 48 (1953): 196–210, here 210; reprinted in Jean Leclercq, *Recueil d'études sur saint Bernard et ses écrits* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1966), 2:51–68, here 67.

²⁷ PL 184:1167–72; Bloomfield (and Supplement) 3897; see also Sicard, *Iter victorinum*, 604–11.

and the movements of the heart creates an atmosphere similar to that of the *De conscientia* treatises. Not only does it recommend introspection and self-knowledge, but it is also composed in such a way that the act of reading it leads the reader into an experience of interiority. Its combination of an optimistic, encouraging tone with challenging moral demands places it firmly in the tradition of early Cîteaux. The author is steeped in the best of Cistercian literature: the method of engaging the memory and senses in meditation on biblical scenes is reminiscent of Aelred, Bernard's influence can be seen in the use of passages from the Song of Songs, and the importance given to recalling the events of the passion is typical of the *memoria passionis* so often recommended by these same authors. The composite nature of the text, with two apparently borrowed passages tacked on at the end, also places it in the lineage of anonymous works of the Silver Age. In some respects the *Formula honestae vitae* is reminiscent of writings intended specifically for novices, like the *Mirror for Novices*, a longer and probably contemporary work written in England. The scenario is clearly that of an experienced monk giving advice to a less experienced monk, but nothing in the work indicates that the advice is being given to a novice.

As is the case with many Pseudepigraphical works, this one goes by a number of titles²⁸ and is sometimes attributed to other authors, in this case, Hugh of Saint Victor. It is important not to mistake its *incipit* ("Petis a me, frater carissime") with the similar *incipit* of the treatise *De conscientia* ("Petis a me, dilecte mi"). Confusion must also be avoided between this *Formula honestae vitae* and a work with the same title by Martin of Braga.²⁹ The popularity of *Formula honestae vitae* is attested by over seventy surviving manuscript witnesses, a number that will probably increase with further inquiry. It is no surprise that one of the variant titles calls it a *speculum*, since it is similar to the *Speculum monachorum* in length, content, and tone.³⁰ It

²⁸ E.g., *Speculum beati Bernardi abbatis de honestate vitae, De modo conversandi, Tractatus de formula vitae sive de novitiis*.

²⁹ For bibliography on Martin of Braga's work, see Patrice Sicard, *Iter victorinum*, 604, n. 17.

³⁰ The *Speculum monachorum* is sometimes ascribed to Arnulf of Bohéries, although there remain many mysteries about identity of this Arnulf and as many

also shares with that work nearly word for word a remarkable passage entitled “A Useful Admonition about the Consideration of Death,” although it seems to be an add-on. There is also some overlap between the *Formula honestae vitae* and yet another Pseudo-Bernard work entitled *Octo puncta Perfectionis assequendae*.³¹ The relationship between these works is a puzzle that will only be resolved when there are critical editions of all three. In the meantime it is impossible to say which borrows from which.³²

Instructio sacerdotalis.

Instruction for a Priest:

A Treatise on the Principal Mysteries of Our Religion³³

The organization of this *Instructio* is fairly simple. The author is responding to a friend’s question about the mystery of what takes place at Mass:

Your intention, unless I am mistaken, was for it to be explained to you, by genuine authorities and suitable examples, in what way Christ, although on the altar he is hidden and veiled beneath the species of bread, nevertheless remains in the splendor of infinite and inestimable clarity.

Rather than address the question straightaway, the author chooses to respond by providing an ample theological framework. He divides the work into three parts, each part dealing with one of three gifts of Christ (or one threefold gift): “First, that the Son of God, dying

doubts about the authorship of that work. For a recent study and edition of this text, see Mirko Breitenstein, “*Consulo tibi speculum monachorum*. Geschichte und Rezeption eines pseudo-bernhardinischen Traktates (mit vorläufiger Edition),” *Revue Mabillon* 20 (2009): 113–49; for a recent translation of this text, see Mark DelCogliano, “Cistercian Monasticism,” 437–40.

³¹ This text is also introduced and translated in Mark DelCogliano, “Cistercian Monasticism,” 429–35 and 441–51.

³² On this bibliographical wasp’s nest, see István Bejczy, “De ‘Formula vitae honestae’ in het Middelnederlands: een bibliografisch wespennest,” *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 78 (2004): 25–30; and Breitenstein, *Consulo tibi*, 121–22 and 126–27.

³³ PL 184:771–92.

for us, gave himself to us; second, that he gives himself to us in the Eucharist; third, that he gives himself to us in eternal life." The central question about the Eucharist is thus framed by consideration of the Lord's self-giving in this life (the incarnation and passion) and his self-gift as our reward in heaven.

Perhaps because of its theological approach, the *Instructio* was the object of a partial English translation, published in 1954, under the title *The Threefold Gift of Christ*,³⁴ thus receiving a degree of attention unusual for most Pseudo-Bernardine works. In addition to making minor omissions in the text, this translation leaves out nearly all of part three, where it is a question of hell, because, as the translator saw it, "the crude realism of the mediaeval approach to that subject does not commend itself to modern minds" (*Threefold Gift*, 6). So this new translation is a useful contribution not only because it includes the entire text but also because of its extensive annotations dealing with vocabulary, sources, comparisons with contemporary works, and other background information.

This *Instructio* goes by more than one name and is often called *De praecipuis mysteriis nostrae religionis*,³⁵ so the translators do well to combine the titles. The association of this work with Bernard of Clairvaux is probably a case of mistaken identity. Its *incipit*, "Reverendo sacerdoti, Frater Bernardus," led scribes to assign it to the Bernard they knew best. A more likely author is a certain Bernardus Cluniensis (or Cluniacensis), perhaps the Cluniac Prior Bernard of Morlax.³⁶ This Cluniac Bernard was a prolific writer of poetry, and a number of works in verse from the mid-twelfth century can confidently be attributed to him. Whether or not this same Bernard of Morlax wrote the *Instructio sacerdotalis* is still an open question. The most that can be said is that, on the basis of a careful comparison between the

³⁴ The full title of this translation by Ruth Penelope Lawson is *The Threefold Gift of Christ. By Brother Bernard. Translated and Edited by a Religious of C.S.M.V. (i.e. Sister Penelope) [A Translation of "Instructio Sacerdoti de Praecipuis Mysteriis Nostrae Religionis," Formerly Attributed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux]*, Fleur de Lys Series of Spiritual Classics 4 (London: Mowbray, 1954).

³⁵ Other titles used are *Epistola beati Bernardi ad sacerdotem* and *Gemma crucifixi*.

³⁶ The name of the place of this Bernard's monastery is found in many forms: Morlaas, Morlaix, Morlas, or Morval; see André Wilmart, "Grands poèmes inédits de Bernard le clunisien," *RBen* 45 (1933): 249.

Instructio and the few prose passages known to have been written by this Bernard, there are no grounds to deny him authorship of this work.³⁷ This case is a good illustration of the difficulties involved in sorting out the origins of the mass of writings under the all-too-general designation Pseudo-Bernard.

To judge by the relatively small number of extant manuscript witnesses (twelve), the *Instructio* seems to have enjoyed only a modest dissemination. The manuscript tradition also indicates that this work was distributed mostly in Germanic lands, which is another reason for caution regarding its attribution to the prior of a Cluniac house in France. It circulated most often with other works on the liturgy or with collections of like-minded material intended to promote reform of the clergy.

*De statu virtutum humilitatis,
obedientiae, timoris, et charitatis.*
A Treatise on the State of the Virtues³⁸

This treatise exemplifies many of the typical aspects of anonymous Pseudo-Bernardine works. The author's inspiration clearly comes from genuine works of Bernard of Clairvaux, but in some instances the writer of this text displays a less-than-perfect grasp of the original Bernard's thoughts. As is stated at its outset, the work is intended "for the growth of novices," and its accessibility apparently gained for it an even wider audience. The relative popularity of the piece is attested by over twenty extant manuscripts, originating mostly from Germanic regions. Another indication of its widespread distribution is the fact that it is used as one of the sources for a work entitled *De novitiis instruendis*, a late-twelfth-century Cluniac text consisting mostly of citations from patristic and monastic sources.³⁹ The textual

³⁷ Francis John Balnaves, "Bernard of Morlaix: The Literature of Complaint, the Latin Tradition and the Twelfth-century 'Renaissance,'" PhD thesis, Australian National University, March 1997, 15–16.

³⁸ PL 184:791–812; Bloomfield 0740.

³⁹ Mirko Breitenstein, *De novitiis instruendis: Text und Kontext eines anonymen Traktates vom Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts*, *Vita regularis* 1 (Münster: LIT, 2004), 60–61.

history of this *Treatise on the State of the Virtues* is complicated by the fact that it circulated in two forms: most of the extant copies carry a long version of the text, but about one quarter of them carry a shorter text.⁴⁰

This twelfth-century treatise had an unexpected day in court in the mid-twentieth century. At that time, the chronology of the earliest writings of Bernard of Clairvaux was in full debate. In 1950, George B. Burch built an interesting case, arguing not only that the section on humility in *A Treatise on the State of the Virtues* was an authentic work by Bernard of Clairvaux but also that this *De humilitate* (*On Humility*)—as Bernard refers to it in his *Letter 18*—was his first published work, and not the *De gradibus humilitatis* (*On the Steps of Humility*).⁴¹ Jean Leclercq, at the time fully engaged in preparatory work for the critical edition of Bernard's writings, had the means at hand to investigate the value of Burch's claim. As Leclercq argued in a 1953 article, the manuscript tradition of the *Treatise on the State of the Virtues* indicates that it is a unified composition and does not support the hypothesis of an independent existence of the section on humility in *De gradibus*. Moreover, careful analysis of the text reaffirms that the section on humility was written by the same author as the rest of the work. Finally, the differences in style and thought make an attribution of this text to Bernard of Clairvaux unthinkable. Thanks to Burch's hypothesis and Leclercq's refutation, we are better informed about this treatise than we are about most Pseudo-Bernardine works. No author can be named, but, as Leclercq shows, there is good reason to assign it to a twelfth-century Cistercian, who, according to a note in one manuscript, may have been an abbot.

Dom Elias Dietz, OCSO

⁴⁰ For a detailed account of the manuscript tradition of this text, see Jean Leclercq, "Le premier traité," 196–210 (RHE); 196–210 (Recueil).

⁴¹ George B. Burch, *The Steps of Humility by Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux*, 3d ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950), 237–38.

Formula honestae vitae.
**Instruction for the
Honorable Life¹**

1. You seek something from me, my dearest brother, that I have never heard anyone to have sought from the one in whose care he is.* Nevertheless, because your devotion earnestly requests this, I am unable to say no to you, you who seek justly and reasonably something in the name of Christ: namely, that I depict in a brief sermon* the formula for the worthy† life. If you, afire with the love or affection of Christ, perseveringly observe this formula, you will without doubt obtain eternal life. Inasmuch as a word* proceeds from the interior man to the exterior, it is fitting that you unceasingly strive inwardly for the purity of your heart, where God, the lover of all purity, will deem it worthy to locate his seat, just as God locates a seat for himself in heaven. As Scripture states, *heaven is a seat for me,** and, *The soul of the just man is the seat of wisdom.** It is necessary, therefore, that you vigilantly always direct your thoughts to the good and the worthy,* so that you fear to think or meditate before God what you would deservedly blush to say or do before other people.

** a suo provvisore*

** sermo
† honestae*

** sermo*

** Isa 66:1*

** Prov 12:23 LXX*

** honestum*

¹ *Honorable* here translates the Latin *honestae*, which is translated below according to context. This work is translated from PL 184:1167–72.

One knows that just as through our words or deeds we are made known to another person, so too we are surely made known through our thoughts to *the Spirit that searches all things*,* because what words do for people, thoughts do for God. For God knows that the *thoughts of human beings are empty*.* And just as no creature is invisible to God, absolutely nothing can be thought that is hidden from God. For the word* of God is alive and efficacious and is more penetrating than any double-edged sword, reaching all the way to the division of soul and spirit, to joint, too, and marrow, and *God is the discerner of the thoughts of the heart*.*

2. Also, let Jesus always be in your heart, and let the image of the crucified one never depart from your mind. Let him be *your food and drink*,* your sweetness and comfort, your honey and your desire, your reading and your meditation, your prayer and contemplation, your life, death, and resurrection. Always think about him, now placed in the manger* and wrapped up with swaddling clothes,* now presented to his Father in the temple by his parents,* now fleeing into Egypt,* staying there a long time in extreme poverty and need, and returning from there with the greatest hardship.* Now in the temple, listening to and questioning the teachers,* he who teaches knowledge to humankind,* and afterward, subject to his parents,* he to whom every creature is subject by law,† then hungry and thirsting in the desert,‡ he who is the bread of life~ and the fountain of wisdom[∠] and who *pastures amongst the lilies*† and fills every creature with blessing.[∞]

Now, weary from the trip, he sits thus above the well, talking alone with only the woman,* appointed ruler of the whole world; afterward, made into a victim for sacrifice, stretched out beyond limit, praying, and guiding all things sufficiently for all people.* And likewise, reflect on him himself, who is the sweetness

*1 Cor 2:10

*Ps 94:11

*sermo

*Heb 4:12

*John 6:35, 48, 51-59

*Luke 2:7, 16

*Luke 2:7

*Luke 2:22-39

*Matt 2:13

*Matt 2:21

*Luke 2:46

*Ps 94:10

*Luke 2:51

†Heb 2:10

#Matt 4:2

≈John 6:35, 48

∠Sir 1:5

†Song 2:16

∞Ps 144:16

*John 4:6-26

*1 Cor 9:22

and consolation of angels and of human beings, nonetheless receiving consolation from an angel;* reflect on that One who is the support of the whole world bound and lashed against a column.† He himself who is the splendor of the angels, smeared² with spittle,# slapped in the face,° crowned with thorns,♠ drenched in disgrace.‡

Finally, reflect on him condemned along with the iniquitous,∞ hanging in your place on the cross and dying, and commending his spirit to the hands of the Father.~ Surely in this way your beloved will be a bundle of myrrh;^ thus will he abide³ between your breasts.° In this way, gather together just this kind of bundle from all the cares and sorrows of your Lord, so that you prepare for yourself the bitter cup of tears. But if when you have been kindled by the most ardent love of Christ you should now wish along with the apostle to come to know that one, and not according to the flesh,* you will lift up the eyes of your mind a little⁴ to the victory of the resurrected one, to the glory of the one ascending to the glorious majesty, seated and reigning in the glory of God the Father, savoring the things that are above and seeking the things which are above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God.* Nevertheless, do not long delay there, lest perhaps, if you should be a scrutinizer of the majesty for rather too long a time, you be obliterated by glory.*

* Luke 22:43
 † Matt 27:26;
 Mark 15:15;
 John 19:1
 # Matt 27:30;
 Mark 15:19
 ° lit. "struck by palms in the face";
 Matt 27:30; Mark 15:19; John 19:3
 ◊ Matt 27:29;
 Mark 15:17;
 John 19:2
 † Matt 27:27-30;
 Mark 15:16-20;
 John 19:1-3
 ∞ Matt 27:38;
 Mark 15:27-29;
 Luke 23:33
 ≈ Luke 23:46
 Δ John 19:39
 ◉ Song 1:13
 * 2 Cor 5:16

* Col 3:1-2

* Prov 25:27

² *Illitum* may also mean "anointed," providing a rich double meaning already implicit in the mystery of the Gospel event.

³ The author varies verbs throughout the passage but here tellingly repeats *commoror*, a verb used earlier in the paragraph to describe the child Christ's time in Egypt. This repetition seems to liken the Lord's flight into Egypt and dwelling there "in extreme poverty" to his descent into the human heart.

⁴ Perhaps an implicit reference to Ps 131:1: "O LORD, my heart is not lifted up, my eyes are not raised too high; I do not occupy myself with things too great and too marvelous for me."